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COMPRISING ITS

ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

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Second Edition.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I., PART II.

ELZABAD—JUTTAH.

T-h-21

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1893.

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DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

THE MAP OF JERUSALEM, Plate I., to face page 1596.

Do. do. Plate II. to face page 1646.

Do. do. Plate III., to face page 1654

DICTIONARY

OF

BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

EL-ZA'BAD (אֶלְזָבָד = *God hath given.* Cp. Theodore et alm.; B. Ἐλιαζέρ, A. Ἐλεζαβάδ; *Elzabad*). **1.** The ninth of the eleven Gadite heroes who came across the Jordan to David when he was in distress in the wilderness of Judah (1 Ch. xii. 12).

2. B. Ἐλημαβάθ, A. Ἐλζαβάδ. A Korhite Levite, son of Shemaiah and of the family of Obed-edom; one of the doorkeepers of the "house of Jehovah" (1 Ch. xxvi. 7). [G.] [F.]

EL-ZA'PHAN (אֶלְצָפָן = *God hath protected.* Cp. Phoen. צפנבעל [MV.ii]; Ἐλισαφάν; *Elsaphan*), second son of Uzziel, who was the son of Kohath son of Levi (Ex. vi. 22). He was thus cousin to Moses and Aaron, as is distinctly stated. Elzaphan assisted his brother Mishael to carry the unhappy Nadab and Abihu in their priestly tunics out of the camp (Lev. x. 4). The name is a contracted form of the more frequent ELIZAPHAN. [G.] [F.]

EMBALMING, the process by which dead bodies are preserved from putrefaction and decay. The Hebrew word חָנַט (*chānaṭ*), employed to denote this process, is connected with the Arabic حَنَّطَ, which in conj. 1 signifies "to be red," as leather which has been tanned; and in conj. 2, "to preserve with spices." In the 1st and 4th conjugations it is applied to the ripening of fruit, and this meaning has been assigned to the Hebrew root in Cant. ii. 13. In the latter passage, however, it probably denotes the red colour of the ripening figs (see Delitzsch in loco). The word is found in the Chaldee and Syriac dialects, and in the latter ܚܢܛܬܐ (*chūnṭethō*) is the equivalent of *μίγμα*, the confection of myrrh and aloes brought by Nicodemus (John xix. 39).

The practice of embalming was most general among the Egyptians, and it is in connexion with this people that the two instances which we meet with in the O. T. are mentioned (Gen. l. 2, 26). Mummies exist which are to be dated just before and after this period (Ebers). Of the Egyptian method of embalming there remain two minute accounts, which have a general kind of agreement, though they differ in details.

Herodotus (ii. 86–88. Cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 383, &c. [1878])—whose account is on the whole accurate—describes three modes, varying in completeness and expense, and practised by persons regularly trained to the profession, who were initiated into the mysteries of the art by their ancestors. The most costly mode, which is estimated by Diodorus Siculus (i. 91) at a talent of silver (about £250), was said by the Egyptian priests to belong to him whose name in such a matter it was not lawful to mention, viz. Osiris. The embalmers first removed part of the brain through the nostrils, by means of a crooked iron, and destroyed the rest by injecting caustic drugs. An incision was then made along the flank with a sharp Ethiopian stone, and the whole of the intestines removed. The cavity was rinsed out with palm-wine, and afterwards scoured with pounded perfumes. It was then filled with pure myrrh pounded, cassia, and other aromatics, except frankincense. This done, the body was sewn up and steeped in natron (subcarbonate of soda, Ebers) for seventy days (cp. the extract given by Ebers from the Setnan papyrus). When the seventy days were accomplished, the embalmers washed the corpse and swathed it in bandages of linen, cut in strips, and smeared with gum. They then gave it up to the relatives of the deceased, who provided for it a wooden case, made in the shape of a man, in which the dead was placed, and deposited in an erect position against the wall of the sepulchral chamber. Diodorus Siculus gives some particulars of the process which are omitted by Herodotus. When the body was laid out on the ground for the purpose of embalming, one of the operators, called the scribe (*γραμματεύς*), marked out the part of the left flank where the incision was to be made. The dissector (*παρασχίστης*) then, with a sharp Ethiopian stone (black flint, or Ethiopian agate, Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 141), hastily cut through as much flesh as the law enjoined, and fled, pursued by curses and volleys of stones from the spectators. When all the embalmers (*ταριχευταί*) were assembled, one of them extracted the intestines, with the exception of the heart and kidneys; another cleansed them one by one, and rinsed them in palm-wine and perfumes.[a] The body was then washed with oil of cedar, and other things worthy of notice, for more than

[a] Ebers allocates these duties somewhat differently, and adds the names and special functions of other officers.

thirty days (according to some MSS. forty), and afterwards sprinkled with myrrh, cinnamon, and other substances, which possess the property not only of preserving the body for a long period, but also of communicating to it an agreeable smell. This process was so effectual that the features of the dead could be recognised. It is remarkable that Diodorus omits all mention of the steeping in natron.

The second mode of embalming cost about 20 minae (about £60). In this case no incision was made in the body, nor were the intestines removed, but cedar-oil was injected into the stomach by the rectum. The oil was prevented from escaping, and the body was then steeped in natron for the appointed number of days. On the last day the oil was withdrawn, and carried off with it the stomach and intestines in a state of solution, while the flesh was consumed by the natron, and nothing was left but the skin and bones. The body in this state was returned to the relatives of the deceased.

The third mode, which was adopted by the poorer classes, and cost but little, consisted in rinsing out the intestines with syrmæa, an infusion of senna and cassia (Pettigrew, p. 69), and steeping the body for the usual number of days in natron.

Porphyry (*De Abst.* iv. 10) supplies an omission of Herodotus, who neglects to mention what was done with the intestines after they were removed from the body. In the case of a person of respectable rank they were placed in a separate vessel and thrown into the river. This account is confirmed by Plutarch (*Sept. Sap. Conv.* c. 16).

Although the three modes of embalming are so precisely described by Herodotus, it has been found impossible to classify the mummies which have been discovered and examined under one or other of these three heads. Dr. Pettigrew, from his own observations, confirms the truth of Herodotus' statement that the brain was removed through the nostrils. But in many instances, in which the body was carefully preserved and elaborately ornamented, the brain had not been removed at all; while in some mummies the cavity was found to be filled with resinous and bituminous matter.

M. Rouyer, in his *Notice sur les Embaumements des Anciens Égyptiens*, quoted by Pettigrew, endeavoured to class the mummies which he examined under two principal divisions, which were again subdivided into others. These were —I. Mummies with the ventral incision, preserved (1) by balsamic matter, and (2) by natron. The first of these are filled with a mixture of resin and aromatics, and are of an olive colour—the skin dry, flexible, and adhering to the bones. Others are filled with bitumen or asphaltum, and are black, the skin hard and shining. Those prepared with natron are also filled with resinous substances and bitumen. II. Mummies without the ventral incision. This class is again subdivided, according as the bodies were (1) salted and filled with pisasphaltum, a compound of asphaltum and common pitch, or (2) salted only. The former are supposed to have been immersed in the pitch when in a liquid state.

The medicaments employed in embalming were various. From a chemical analysis of the substances found in mummies, M. Rouelle detected three modes of embalming—1, with *asphaltum*, or Jew's pitch, called also *funeral gum*, or *gum of mummies*; 2, with a mixture of asphaltum and cedria, the liquor distilled from the cedar; 3, with this mixture together with some resinous and aromatic ingredients. The powdered aromatics mentioned by Herodotus were not mixed with the bituminous matter, but sprinkled into the cavities of the body.

It does not appear that embalming, properly so called, was practised by the Hebrews. Asa was laid "in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kind *of spices* prepared by the apothecaries' art" (2 Ch. xvi. 14); and by the tender care of Nicodemus the body of Jesus was wrapped in linen cloths, with spices, "a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound *weight* . . . as the manner of the Jews is to bury" (John xix. 32, 40).

The account given by Herodotus has been supposed to throw discredit upon the narrative in Genesis. He asserts that the body is steeped in natron for seventy days, while in Gen. l. 3 it is said that only forty days were occupied in the whole process of embalming, although the period of mourning extended over seventy days. Diodorus, on the contrary, omits altogether the steeping in natron as a part of the operation; and though the time which, according to him, is taken up in washing the body with cedar oil and other aromatics is more than thirty days, yet this is evidently only a portion of the whole time occupied in the complete process. Hengstenberg (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 69, Eng. tr.) would reconcile this discrepancy by supposing that the seventy days *of* Herodotus include the whole time of embalming, and not that of steeping in natron only; others, with more probability, explain any differences of detail and variations of practice by local or dynastic customs (cp. Dillmann, *Genesis*, *in loco*). Ebers thinks that there are grounds for believing that the embalming the body of Jacob would have been after the manner of Memphis.

Their religious views suggested to the Egyptians the idea of embalming. They practised it in accordance with their doctrine of the transmigration of souls (see further, EGYPT, p. 872, col. 2). The actual process is said to have been derived from "their first merely burying in the sand, impregnated with natron and other salts, which dried and preserved the body" (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 142). Drugs and bitumen were of later introduction, the latter not being generally employed before the 18th dynasty. When the practice ceased entirely is uncertain (cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 398 [1878]).

The subject of embalming is fully discussed, and the sources of practical information well-nigh exhausted, in Dr. Pettigrew's *History of Egyptian Mummies*. See also Ebers in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n. 'Einbalsamiren.' [W. A. W.] [F.]

EMBROIDERER. This term is given in the A. V. as the equivalent of *rokem* (רֹקֵם), the productions of the art being described as "needlework" (רִקְמָה). In Exodus the embroiderer is contrasted with the "cunning workman," *chosheb* (חֹשֵׁב): and the consideration of one of these terms involves that of the other. Various explanations have been offered as to the distinction between them, but most of these overlook the dis-

tinction marked in the Bible itself, viz. that the *rokem* wove simply a variegated texture, without gold thread or figures, and that the *chosheb* interwove gold thread or figures into the variegated texture. We conceive that the use of the gold thread was for delineating figures, as is implied in the description of the corslet of Amasis (Her. iii. 47), and that the notices of gold thread in some instances and of figures in others were but different methods of describing the same thing. It follows, then, that the application of the term "embroiderer" to *rokem* is incorrect; if it belongs to either, it is to *chosheb*, or the "cunning workman," who added the figures. But if "embroidery" be strictly confined to the work of the *needle*, we doubt whether it can be applied to either, for the simple addition of gold thread, or of a figure, does not involve the use of the needle. The patterns may have been worked into the stuff by the loom, as appears to have been the case in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 81 [1878]; cp. Her. *loc. cit.*), where the Hebrews learned the art, and as is stated by Josephus (*ἄνθη ἐνύφανται, Ant.* iii. 7, § 2). The distinction, as given by the Talmudists, and which has been adopted by Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 1311) and Bähr (*Symbolik*, i. 266), is this—that was *rikmah*, or "needlework," where a pattern was attached to the stuff by being sewn on to it on *one* side; and that was the work of the *chosheb* when the pattern was worked into the stuff by the loom, and so appeared on *both* sides. This view appears to be entirely inconsistent with the statements of the Bible, and with the sense of the word *rikmah* elsewhere. The absence of the figure or the gold thread in the one, and its presence in the other, constitutes the essence of the distinction. In support of this view we call attention to the passages in which the expressions are contrasted. *Rikmah* consisted of the following materials, "blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen" (Ex. xxvi. 36, xxvii. 16, xxxvi. 37, xxxviii. 18, xxxix. 29). The work of the *chosheb* was either "fine twined linen, blue, purple, and scarlet, *with cherubim*" (Ex. xxvi. 1, 31; xxxvi. 8, 35), or "*gold*, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen" (xxviii. 6, 8, 15; xxxix. 2, 5, 8). Again, looking at the general sense of the words, we shall find that *chosheb* involves the idea of invention, or *designing* patterns; *rikmah* the idea of *texture* as well as *variegated colour*. The former is applied to other arts which demanded the exercise of inventive genius, as in the construction of engines of war (2 Ch. xxvi. 15); the latter is applied to other substances, the texture of which is remarkable, as the human body (Ps. cxxxix. 15). Further than this, *rikmah* involves the idea of a regular disposition of colours, which demanded no inventive genius. Beyond the instances already adduced, it is applied to tessellated pavement (1 Ch. xxix. 2), to the eagle's plumage (Ezek. xvii. 3), and, in the Targums, to the leopard's spotted skin (Jer. xiii. 23). In the same sense it is applied to the coloured sails of the Egyptian vessels (Ezek. xxvii. 16), which were either chequered or worked according to a regularly recurring pattern (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 413 [1878]). Gesenius considers this passage as conclusive for his view of the distinction, but it is hardly conceivable that the patterns were on one side of the sail only, nor does there appear any ground to infer a departure from the usual custom of working the colours by the loom. The ancient Versions do not contribute much to the elucidation of the point. The LXX. varies between *ποικιλτὴς* and *ῥαφιδευτής*, as representing *rokem*, and *ποικιλτὴς* and *ὑφαντὴς* for *chosheb*, combining the two terms in each case for the work itself, *ἡ ποικιλία τοῦ ῥαφιδευτοῦ* for the first, *ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικιλτὸν* for the second. The distinction, so far as it is observed, consisted in the one being *needle-work* and the other *loom-work*. The Vulgate gives generally *plumarius* for the first, and *polymitarius* for the second; but in Ex. xxvi. 1, 31, *plumarius* is used for the second. The first of these terms (*plumarius*) is well chosen to express *rokem*, but *polymitarius*, i.e. a weaver who works together threads of divers colours, is as applicable to one as to the other. The rendering in Ezek. xxvii. 16, *scutulata*, i.e. "chequered," correctly describes one of the productions of the *rokem*. We have lastly to notice the incorrect rendering of the word שֵׁבֶץ in the A. V.—"broider;" "embroider" (Ex. xxviii. 4, 39; R. V. "chequer-work"). It means stuff worked in a *tessellated* manner, *i.e.* with square cavities, such as stones might be set in (cp. *v.* 20). The art of embroidery by the loom was extensively practised among the nations of antiquity. The Babylonians were also celebrated for it, but embroidery in the proper sense of the term, *i.e.* with the needle, was a Phrygian invention of later date (Plin. viii. 48). [W. L. B.]

EMERALD (נֹפֶךְ; LXX., *ἄνθραξ*; N. T. and Apoc., *σμάραγδος*), a precious stone, first in the second row on the breastplate of the high-priest (Ex. xxviii. 18, xxxix. 11), imported to Tyre from Syria (Ezek. xxvii. 16), used as a seal or signet (Ecclus. xxxii. 6), as an ornament of clothing and bedding (Ezek. xxviii. 13; Judith x. 21), and spoken of as one of the foundations of Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 19; Tob. xiii. 16). The rainbow round the throne is compared to emerald in Rev. iv. 3, *ὅμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ*.

The etymology of נֹפֶךְ is uncertain. Gesenius suggests a comparison with the word פּוּךְ, a paint with which the Hebrew women stained their eyelashes. Kalisch on Exodus xxviii. follows the LXX., and translates it *carbuncle*, transferring the meaning *emerald* to יָהֲלֹם in the same *v.* 18. The Targum Jer. on the same verse explains נֹפֶךְ by כַּרְכְּדָנָא = *carchedonius, carbuncle* (so R. V. marg.). Riehm (*HWB.* 'Edelsteine,' No. 13) prefers "granat." [H. W. T.]

EMERODS (טְחוֹרִים עֳפָלִים; ἕδρα; *anus, nates*; Deut. xxviii. 27; 1 Sam. v. 6, 9, 12, vi. 4, 5, 11). The probabilities as to the nature of the disease are mainly dependent on the probable roots of these two Hebrew words; the former of which[a] evidently means "a swelling;" the latter, though less certain, is most probably from

[a] Closely akin to it is the Arab. عَفَل, which means *tumor qui apud viros oritur in posticis partibus, apud mulieres in anteriore parte vulvae similis herniae virorum.*

a Syriac verb, ܥܡܣ, meaning "*anhelavit sub onere, enixus est in exonerando ventre*" (Parkhurst and Gesenius); and the Syriac noun ܥܡܣܐ from the same root denotes (1) such effort as the verb implies, and (2) the *intestinum rectum*. Also, whenever the former word occurs in the Hebrew *Kethib*,[b] the *Keri* gives the latter, except in 1 Sam. vi. 11, where the latter stands in the *Kethib*. Now this last passage speaks of the images of the emerods after they were actually made, and placed in the Ark. It thus appears probable that the former word means the disease, and the latter the part affected, which must necessarily have been included in the actually existing image, and have struck the eye as *the essential* thing represented, to which the disease was an incident. As some morbid swelling, then, seems the most probable nature of the disease, so no more probable conjecture has been advanced than that *haemorrhoidal tumours* (R. V. Deut. marg. Or, *tumours* or *plague boils;* in 1 Sam. text "tumours," marg. or *plague boils*), or bleeding piles, known to the Romans as *mariscae* (Juv. ii. 13), are intended. These are very common in Syria at present; Oriental habits of want of exercise and improper food, producing derangement of the liver, constipation, &c., being such as to cause them. The sense of *plague-boils*, a disease found among the Druses, is preferred by others (see Dillmann[2] on Deut. *l. c.*). The words of 1 Sam. v. 12, "the men that *died not* were smitten with emerods," show that the disease was not necessarily fatal. It is clear from its parallelism with "botch" and other diseases in Deut. xxviii. 27, that עֳפָלִים is a disease, not a part of the body; but the translations of it by the most approved authorities are various and vague.[c] Thus the LXX. and Vulg., as above, uniformly render the word as bearing the latter sense. The mention by Herodotus (i. 105) of the malady, called by him *θήλεια νοῦσος*, as afflicting the Scythians who robbed the temple (of the Syrian Venus) in Ascalon, has been deemed by some a proof that some legend containing a distortion of the Scriptural account was current in that country down to a late date. The Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 231) mentions a similar plague (followed by a similar subsequent propitiation to that mentioned in Scripture), as sent upon the Athenians by Bacchus.[d] The opinion mentioned by Winer (s. v. *Philister*), as advanced by Lichtenstein, that the plague of emerods and that of mice are one and the same, the former being caused by an insect (*solpuga*) as large as a field-mouse, is hardly worth attention. [H. H.]

E'MIM (אֵימִים; B. Ὀμμαείν, A. Ὀομεὶν [v. 10], Ὀμμεὶν [v. 11], only twice mentioned, Gen. xiv. 5 [LXX. om.] and Deut. ii. 10, 11). As a Semitic word the name appears to mean "terrors," and is used of the idols of Chaldea, which "is a land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols" (Jer. l. 38). It appears that the Emim were the aborigines of Moab: they "dwelt therein aforetime, a people great, and many, and tall as the Anakim" (R. V.). They may have been of the same race as the Rephaim in Bashan, the Zuzim in Ham, and the Horites in Mount Seir. It is not, however, at all certain that they were of Semitic race, although the word presents a Semitic plural. The Hittites are believed by scholars to have been non-Semitic, and the Emim may have belonged to the ancient Turanian people, who preceded the Semitic stock in Chaldea, as the Emim preceded the sons of Lot in Moab. If these aborigines were really what is called Turanian, the meaning of the word is to be sought in Turanian languages. In this case it would be comparable with the widely diffused word *aima* for a "horde" or "tribe" (Tunguse *aiman*, Buriat *aimak*, Mongol *aimak*, Livonian *aim*, "tribe"). The name of the Hittites occurs in the Bible with a Semitic plural attached. In the A. V (but not in the R. V.) the English plural has in like manner been added to the Hebrew—Emims being a case in point. [C. R. C.]

EM'MAUS (Ἐμμαούς), the village (*κώμη*) to which the two disciples were going when our Lord appeared to them on the way, on the day of His Resurrection (Luke xxiv. 13). The only indication of position is the distance from Jerusalem, which St. Luke gives as 60 stadia[a] (A. V. threescore furlongs) or about 6¾ English miles. St. Mark (xvi. 12) simply says that the disciples were on their way into the country (*εἰς ἀγρόν*). Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 6, § 6) mentions a place (*χωρίον*) called Emmaus, which was the only portion of Judaea exempted from the general lot of being sold. It was given by Titus to 800 men discharged from the army, and the distance from Jerusalem is stated to have been 60, or, according to the Latin copies, 30 stadia. This last feature has led to the general supposition that it is the same place as the Emmaus of the N. T. Six sites have at various times been proposed for Emmaus.

1. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 257, 21; p. 121, 6) identify it with the city of Emmaus, *'Amwâs*, afterwards called Nicopolis, which was 176 stadia, or about 20 English miles, from Jerusalem, and situated on the maritime plain, at the foot of the mountains of Judah. This view was held by all Christians down to the 12th century (Sozomen, *H. E.* v. 20; Abbot Daniel, lxii.), and has been maintained in modern times by Dr. Robinson (iii. 147 sq.), and by Guérin (*Judée*, i. 301 sq. Cp. Schiffers, *Amwâs, das Emmaus d. hl. Lucas*, 160 *Stad. v. Jerus.* 1891). It necessitates a journey of 40 miles in one day, and is at variance with the circumstances of the narrative. The two disciples having journeyed

[b] Parkhurst, however, *s. v.* עֳפָלִים, thinks, on the authority of Dr. Kennicott's *Codices*, that מְחוֹרִים is in all these passages a very ancient Hebrew *varia lectio*.

[c] Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 1, § 1, *δυσεντερία*; Aquila, *τὸ τῆς φαγεδαίνης ἕλκος*.

[d] Pollux, *Onom.* iv. 25, thus describes what he calls *βουβών*. *οἴδημα μετὰ φλεγμοδοῦς αἱμορῥοῦ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ἕδραν ἔντος, ἐστὶ δὲ ὁμοία μύρμηξι ὠμοῖς*. Cp. Bochart, *Hierozoic.* i. 381.

[a] The Sinaitic MS., supported by *I*, K, and N, has 160 stadia; but the best MSS. are decisive in favour of 60 stadia (see Westcott and Hort). If the Sinaitic be one of the MSS. of the N. T. prepared by Eusebius, at the command of Constantine, it is possible that he altered the text to bring it into agreement with the distance of Emmaus-Nicopolis, *'Amwâs*, from Jerusalem.

from Jerusalem to Emmaus in part of a day (Luke xxiv. 28, 29), left the latter again after the evening meal, and reached Jerusalem before it was very late (*vv.* 33, 42, 43). Now, if we take into account the distance, 20 miles, and the nature of the road, leading up a steep and difficult mountain, we must admit that such a journey could not be accomplished in less than from six to seven hours, so that they could not have arrived in Jerusalem till long past midnight. The expressions used by St. Luke, "a village named Emmaus," and by St. Mark, "into the country," would hardly have been employed if the disciples had been going to the well-known fortress-city of Emmaus-Nicopolis (Reland, pp. 427, 758; Thomson, *L. and B.* p. 534).

2. *Kuryet el-'Enab*, about 66 stadia from Jerusalem, on the road to Jaffa, has been proposed by the Rev. G. Williams (*Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Geog.*) and Thomson (*L. and B.* p. 666). The arguments in its favour are, a not very ancient Greek tradition, the distance from Jerusalem, and proximity to *Kustul* (Castellum) and *Kulônieh* (Colonia). *Kuryet*, however, is an ancient name, Kirjath, and is not likely to have been also known as Emmaus.

3. *Kulônieh*, about 36 stadia from Jerusalem, on the road to Jaffa. In Josh. xviii. 26 mention is made of a town MOZAH, really ham-Motsah ('Αμώσα), which is believed to be the same place as the Motsah mentioned in the Mishna (*Succah*, iv. § 5), which was also a *Colonia*. Ham-Motsah is in all probability the Ammaous which, according to the Latin copies of Josephus, was 30 stadia from Jerusalem (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1881, p. 237). It is identified by Schwarz (*D. heil. Land*, p. 98) and Neubauer (*Géog. du Talmud*, pp. 152, 153) with *Kulônieh*, but is more probably the ruin *Beit Mizza*, in the immediate vicinity. The arguments in favour of identifying *Kulônieh* with the Emmaus of St. Luke are very fully given by Sepp (*Jer. u. d. heil. Land*, i. 54–73), who identifies *Kustul* with the Castellum Emmaus of the Crusaders, and by Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* vi. 675 sq.). See also Furrer in Schenkel, *B. L.* s. v. *Kulônieh* was, and still is, a place to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out for recreation.

4. The claims of *el-Kubeibeh* have been well set forth by Zschokke (*Das N. T. Emmaus*), and are maintained by Baedeker-Socin (*Hdbk.* p. 141), the Franciscans, Schick, Riehm (*HWB.* s. v.), and others. It is about 63 stadia N.W. of Jerusalem, on an old Roman road leading through *Beit Likia* to *Ludd*, Lydda; and at the head of one branch of the valley in which *Kulônieh* lies. The tradition connecting E. with *el-Kubeibeh* does not appear to be earlier than the 14th century, and cannot be considered trustworthy. A monastery of Latin monks was established there in 1862 (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 17, 131).

5. Etam ('*Ain 'Atân*) and *Urtâs*, near "Solomon's Pools," have been proposed by Lightfoot (*Chor.* iv. § 3) and Mrs. Finn (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1883, pp. 53–64). The distance from Jerusalem is about 60 stadia; but the place is not likely to have been selected as the site of a Roman colony; and it may be inferred from Josephus (*Antiq* viii. 7, § 3) that the name Etam had not been superseded by Emmaus.

6. *Kh. el-Khamasa*, 72 stadia in a direct line, and 86 by road, from Jerusalem, and close to one of the Roman roads leading to the plain near *Beit Jibrin*. The arguments in its favour, of which the principal is the name, are given by Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 36) and Geikie (*Holy Land and the Bible*, ii. 142, 143). The distance from Jerusalem, however, is far too great, and all tradition points to a site further north.

The indication of position is so slight that no positive identification can be made: the choice seems to lie between *Kulônieh*, or *Beit Mizza*, and *el-Kubeibeh*. [W.]

EM'MAUS, or NICOP'OLIS ('Εμμαούς; Joseph. 'Εμμαοὺς and 'Αμμαούς), a town on the Maritime plain, at the foot of the mountains of Judaea, 22 Roman miles from Jerusalem, and 10 from Lydda (*Itin. Hieros.*; Reland, pp. 306, 427–430; Jerome, *Com. ad Dan.* ch. xii.). The name does not occur in the O. T.; but the town rose to importance during the later history of the Jews, and was a place of note in the wars of the Hasmoneans. In 164 B.C. Lysias, Governor-general of Syria, sent an army under Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias to invade Judaea. The army encamped on the plain near Emmaus (1 Macc. iii. 40); and in this position was attacked by Judas Maccabaeus, who had moved down from Jerusalem and pitched his camp on the S. side of Emmaus (*v.* 57). The battle resulted in the complete defeat of the Syrians (1 Macc. iv. 3–25). Emmaus was fortified, with other towns, by Bacchides, the general of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. ix. 50; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1, § 3). Under the Romans it was the chief town of a toparchy (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 5; Plin. *H. N.* v. 14). It was reduced by Cassius to a state of slavery (*Ant.* xiv. 11, § 2; *B. J.* i. 11, § 2); and was afterwards (4 A.D.) burned by order of Varus (*B. J.* ii. 5, § 1), as a punishment for an attack made on a company of soldiers carrying corn and weapons to the Roman army (4, § 3). When the Jews divided the country into military districts, after the defeat of Cestius, Emmaus formed part of the district of John the Essene (*B. J.* ii. 20, § 4). Vespasian, during the Jewish war, established a fortified camp at Emmaus, and occupied the passes leading thence to Jerusalem (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 1); and, prior to the siege of Jerusalem, the 5th Legion marched up from Emmaus (*B. J.* v. 1, § 6), and joined Titus at Gabaoth-Saul (2, § 3).

In 131 A.D. Emmaus was destroyed by an earthquake; and in the 3rd century, about 221 A.D., it was rebuilt, under the title Nicopolis, in consequence of the representations of a native of the place, Sextus Julius Africanus, the Christian historian, who went as an envoy to the Emperor Heliogabalus (*Chron. Pas. ad* A.C. 223; Jerome, *De Vir. ill.* lxiii.). According to Sozomen (v. 20) and Nicephorus (x. 21), Emmaus was called *Nicopolis after the capture* of Jerusalem, and to commemorate that event. To Eusebius and Jerome, Emmaus-Nicopolis was the Emmaus of Luke xxiv. 13 (*Onom.*, and Jerome, *Per. S. Paulae*, v.), and such was the general belief to the 14th century. Sozomen (v. 20) mentions a spring endowed with miraculous powers which it owed to the touch of Christ. This spring was closed by order of the Emperor Julian to suppress the Christian belief attached to it (Theophanes, *Chron.* 41); but it appears to

have been open again in the 8th century (*Itin. S. Willibaldi*, xiii.); and at a later period (Will. of Tyre, vii. 24).

It is now *'Amwâs*, a small village, near the foot of the mountains, to the left of the road from *Jaffa* to Jerusalem. There are the ruins of a Byzantine church, rock-hewn tombs, a spring, *'Ain Nini*, and a well, *Bir et-Tâûn*, "Well of the Plague," which probably derives its name from the plague of Emmaus which desolated the Moslem army after the conquest of Syria. The church was excavated by the French in 1881, and an account published in *Les Missions Catholiques*, 3rd March, 1882. For a description of the ruins, see *PEF. Mem.* iii. 14, 63; Sepp, *Das heil. Land*, i. 42; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 29 sq.; and Clermont-Ganneau in *PEFQy. Stat.* 1874, pp. 149, 160, 162; 1882, pp. 24–37.

The later Jewish legends are given by Neubauer (*Géog. du Talmud*, pp. 101, 102). Bishops of Emmaus attended the Council of Nicæa, the second Council of Constantinople, and the meeting at Jerusalem in 536 A.D.

The name Emmaus was also borne by a village of Galilee close to Tiberias; probably the ancient HAMMATH, *i.e.* hot springs. The springs are mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 2, § 3; *B. J.* iv. 1, § 3. [W.]

EM'MER (B. Ἐμήρ, A. Ἐμμήρ; *Semmeri*), 1 Esd. ix. 21. [IMMER.]

EM'MOR (Ἐμμώρ, Westcott and Hort; *Emmor*), the father of Sychem (Acts vii. 16). [HAMOR.]

ENA'JIM, more correctly as in R. V. ENAIM (עֵינַיִם), is the marginal reading of the A. V. for "an open place" (Gen. xxxviii. 14), and "openly" (*v.* 21). The LXX. have Αἰνάν. The Vulgate renders it by *in bivio*. The Talmudists considered it to be the name of a place (Tal. Bab. *Sotah*, 10 *a*), and identical with Enam in the neighbourhood of Adullam. In *Pesik. rab.* 23 mention is made of a *Kefar Enaïm*. Philo and Eusebius also regard it as a place, and modern commentators consider it the same as 'ENAM (see Delitzsch and Dillmann[5] in loco). [W.]

E'NAM (with the article, הָעֵינָם = *the double spring*, Ges. *Thes.* p. 1019 *a*; B. Μαιανεί, A. Ἡναείμ; *Enaim*), one of the cities of Judah in the *Shefelah* or lowland (Josh. xv. 34). From its mention with towns (Jarmuth and Eshtaol, for instance) which are known to have been near Timnath, this is very probably the place in the "gate" of which Tamar sat before her interview with her father-in-law (Gen. xxxviii. 14). In the A. V. the words *Pathach enayim* (פֶּתַח עֵינַיִם) are not taken as a proper name, but are rendered "an open place" (see ENAJIM); but "the gate of Enaim" (or the double spring) is the translation adopted by the LXX. (ταῖς πύλαις Αἰνάν), R. V., and now generally accepted. In Josh. xv. 34, for "Tappuah and Enam," the Peshitto has "Pathuch-Elam," which supports the identification suggested above. Müller (in Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.) suggests *Beit 'Anân*, but this place is far to the E. and not on the road from Adullam to Timnath. Schwarz (p. 73) identifies it with the village *Beth Ani*, perhaps *Beit 'Anân*; Conder (*Hdbk. to Bible*, p. 410) more probably with *Kh. Wâdy 'Alîn* near *'Ain Shems*, Bethshemesh. [AIN.] [G.] [W.]

E'NAN (עֵינָן; Αἰνάν; *Enan*). Ahira ben-Enan was "prince" of the tribe of Naphtali at the time of the numbering of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 15, ii. 29, vii. 78, 83, x. 27). [G.]

ENA'SIBUS (B. Ἐνάσειβος; *Eliasib*), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [ELIASHIB.]

ENCAMPMENT (מַחֲנֶה, *machăneh*, in all places except 2 K. vi. 8, where חֲנֻיוֹת, *tachănôth*, is used). The word primarily denoted the resting-place of an army or company of travellers at night[a] (Ex. xvi. 13; Gen. xxxii. 21), and was hence applied to the army or caravan when on its march (Ex. xiv. 19; Josh. x. 5, xi. 4; Gen. xxxii. 7, 8). Among nomadic tribes war never attained to the dignity of a science, and their encampments were consequently devoid of all the appliances of more systematic warfare. The description of the camp of the Israelites, on their march from Egypt (Num. ii., iii.), supplies the greatest amount of information on the subject: whatever else may be gleaned is from scattered hints. The Tabernacle, corresponding to the chieftain's tent of an ordinary encampment, was placed in the centre; and around and facing it (Num. ii. 1),[b] arranged in four grand divisions, corresponding to the four points of the compass, lay the host of Israel, according to their standards (Num. i. 52, ii. 2). On the east the post of honour was assigned to the tribe of Judah, and round its standard rallied the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun, descendants of the sons of Leah. On the south lay Reuben and Simeon, the representatives of Leah, and the children of Gad, the son of her handmaid. Rachel's descendants were encamped on the western side of the Tabernacle, the chief place being assigned to the tribe of Ephraim. To this position of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, allusions are made in Judg. v. 14 and Ps. lxxx. 2. On the north were the tribes of Dan and Naphtali, the children of Bilhah, and the tribe of Asher, Gad's younger brother. All these were encamped around their standards, each according to the ensign of the house of his fathers. In the centre round the Tabernacle, and with no standard but the cloudy or fiery pillar which rested over it, were the tents of the priests and Levites. The former, with Moses and Aaron at their head, were encamped on the eastern side. On the south were the Kohathites, who had charge of the Ark, the table of shewbread, the altars and vessels of the sanctuary. The Gershonites were on the west, and when on the march carried the Tabernacle and its lighter furniture; while the Merarites, who were encamped on the north, had charge of its heavier appurtenances. The order of encampment was preserved on the march (Num. ii. 17), the signal for which was given by a blast of the two silver trumpets (Num. x. 5). The details of this

[a] Whence חֲנוֹת הַיּוֹם (*chănôth hayyôm*), "the camping-time of day," *i.e.* the evening, Judg. xix. 9.

[b] The form of the encampment was probably circular, and not square, as it is generally represented.

account supply Prof. Blunt with some striking illustrations of the undesigned coincidences of the Books of Moses (*Undes. Coincid.* pp. 75–86).

In this description of the order of the encampment no mention is made of sentinels, who, it is reasonable to suppose, were placed at the gates (Ex. xxxii. 26, 27) in the four quarters of the camp. This was evidently the case in the camp of the Levites (cp. 1 Ch. ix. 18, 24; 2 Ch. xxxi. 2).

The sanitary regulations of the camp of the Israelites were enacted for the twofold purpose of preserving the health of the vast multitude and the purity of the camp as the dwelling-place of God (Num. v. 3; Deut. xxiii. 14). With this object the dead were buried without the camp (Lev. x. 4, 5): lepers were excluded till their leprosy departed from them (Lev. xiii. 46, xiv. 3; Num. xii. 14, 15), as were all who were visited with loathsome diseases (Lev. xiv. 3). All who were defiled by contact with the dead, whether these were slain in battle or not, were kept without the camp for seven days (Num. xxxi. 19). Captives taken in war were compelled to remain for a while outside (Num. xxxi. 19; Josh. vi. 23). The ashes from the sacrifices were poured out without the camp at an appointed place, whither all uncleanness was removed (Deut. xxiii. 10, 12), and where the entrails, skins, horns, &c., and all that was not offered in sacrifice, were burnt (Lev. iv. 11, 12; vi. 11; viii. 17).

The execution of criminals took place without the camp (Lev. xxiv. 14; Num. xv. 35, 36; Josh. vii. 24), as did the burning of the young bullock for the sin-offering (Lev. iv. 12). These circumstances combined explain Heb. xiii. 12, and John xix. 17, 20.

The encampment of the Israelites in the desert left its traces in their subsequent history. The Temple, so late as the time of Hezekiah, was still "the camp of Jehovah" (2 Ch. xxxi. 2; cp. Ps. lxxviii. 28); and the multitudes who flocked to David were "a great camp, like the camp of God" (1 Ch. xii. 22; R. V. "host" [twice]).

High ground appears to have been uniformly selected for the position of a camp, whether it were on a hill or mountain side, or in an inaccessible pass (Judg. vii. 18). So, in Judg. x. 17, the Ammonites encamped in Gilead, while Israel pitched in Mizpeh. The very names are significant. The camps of Saul and the Philistines were alternately in Gibeah, the "height" of Benjamin, and the pass of Michmash (1 Sam. xiii. 2, 3, 16, 23). When Goliath defied the host of Israel, the contending armies were encamped on hills on either side of the valley of Elah (1 Sam. xvii. 3); and in the fatal battle of Gilboa Saul's position on the mountain was stormed by the Philistines who had pitched in Shunem (1 Sam. xxviii. 4), on the other side of the valley of Jezreel. The carelessness of the Midianites in encamping in the plain exposed them to the night surprise by Gideon, and resulted in their consequent discomfiture (Judg. vi. 33; vii. 8, 12).

Another important consideration in fixing upon a position for a camp was the propinquity of water: hence it is found that in most instances camps were pitched near a spring or well (Judg. vii. 3; 1 Macc. ix. 33). The Israelites at Mount Gilboa pitched by the fountain in Jezreel (1 Sam. xxix. 1), while the Philistines encamped at Aphek, the name of which indicates the existence of a stream of water in the neighbourhood, which rendered it a favourite place of encampment (1 Sam. iv. 1; 1 K. xx. 26; 2 K. xiii. 17). In his pursuit of the Amalekites, David halted his men by the brook Besor, and there left a detachment with the camp furniture (1 Sam. xxx. 9). One of Joshua's decisive engagements with the nations of Canaan was fought at the waters of Merom, where he surprised the confederate camp (Josh. xi. 5, 7; cp. Judg. v. 19, 21). Gideon, before attacking the Midianites, encamped beside the well of Harod (Judg. vii. 1), and it was to draw water from the well at Bethlehem that David's three mighty men cut their way through the host of the Philistines (2 Sam. xxiii. 16).

The camp was surrounded by the מַעֲגָלָה, *ma'gâlâh* (1 Sam. xvii. 20), or מַעְגָּל, *ma'gâl* (1 Sam. xxvi. 5, 7), which some, and Thenius among them, explain as an earthwork thrown up round the encampment, others as the barrier formed by the baggage-waggons. The etymology of the word points merely to the circular shape of the enclosure formed by the tents of the soldiers pitched around their chief, whose spear marked his resting-place (1 Sam. xxvi. 5, 7), and it might with propriety be used in either of the above senses, according as the camp was fixed or temporary. We know that, in the case of a siege, the attacking army, if possible, surrounded the place attacked (1 Macc. xiii. 43), and drew about it a line of circumvallation (דַּיֵק, *dâyêk*, 2 K. xxv. 1), which was marked by a breastwork of earth (מְסִלָּה, *m'sillâh*, Is. lxii. 10; סוֹלְלָה, *sol'lâh*, Ezek. xxi. 27 [22]; cp. Job xix. 12), for the double purpose of preventing the escape of the besieged and of protecting the besiegers from their sallies.[c] But there was not so much need of a formal entrenchment, as but few instances occur in which engagements were fought in the camps themselves, and these only when the attack was made at night. Gideon's expedition against the Midianites took place in the early morning (Judg. vii. 19), the time selected by Saul for his attack upon Nahash (1 Sam. xi. 11), and by David for surprising the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 17; cp. Judg. ix. 33). To guard against these night attacks, sentinels (שׁוֹמְרִים, *shôm'rim*) were posted (Judg. vii. 20; 1 Macc. xii. 27) round the camp, and the neglect of this precaution by Zebah and Zalmunna probably led to their capture by Gideon and the ultimate defeat of their army (Judg. vii. 19).

The valley which separated the hostile camps was generally selected as the fighting ground (שָׂדֶה, *sâdeh*, "the battle-field," 1 Sam. iv. 2, xiv. 15; 2 Sam. xviii. 6), upon which the contest was decided, and hence the valleys of Palestine have played so conspicuous a part in its history (Josh. viii. 13; Judg. vi. 33; 2 Sam. v. 22, viii. 13, &c.). When the fighting men went forth to the place of marshalling (מַעֲרָכָה, *ma'ărâcâh*,

[c] The Chaldee renders מַעְגָּלָה (1 Sam. xvii. 20) and דַּיֵק (2 K. xxv. 1) by the same word, בַּרְקוֹם, or בַּרְקוֹמָא, the Greek χαράκωμα.

1 Sam. xvii. 20), a detachment was left to protect the camp and baggage (1 Sam. xvii. 22, xxx. 24). The beasts of burden were probably tethered to the tent pegs (2 K. vii. 10; Zech. xiv. 15).

The מַחֲנֶה, *machănch*, or movable encampment, is distinguished from the מַצָּב, *matstsab*, or נְצִיב, *n'tsîb* (2 Sam. xxiii. 14; 1 Ch. xi. 16), which appear to have been standing camps, like those which Jehoshaphat established throughout Judah (2 Ch. xvii. 2), or advanced posts in an enemy's country (1 Sam. xiii. 17; 2 Sam. viii. 6), from which skirmishing parties made their predatory excursions and ravaged the crops. It was in resisting one of these expeditions that Shammah won himself a name among David's heroes (2 Sam. xxiii. 12). *Machănch* is still further distinguished from מְצָד, *mîtsâr*, "a fortress" or "walled town" (Num. xiii. 19).

Camps left behind them a memorial in the name of the place where they were situated, as among ourselves (cp. *Chester*, *Grantchester*, &c.). Mahaneh-Dan (Judg. xiii. 25) was so called from the encampment of the Danites mentioned in Judg. xviii. 12. [MAHANAIM.] The more important camps at Gilgal (Josh. v. 10, ix. 6) and Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 9; Judg. xxi. 12, 19) left no such impress; the military traditions of these places were eclipsed by the greater splendour of the religious associations which surrounded them. [W. A. W.]

ENCHANTMENTS. 1. לָטִים or לְהָטִים, Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 7; *φαρμακεῖαι*, LXX. (Grotius compares the word with the Greek λιταί); secret arts, from לוּט, *to cover*; though others incorrectly connect it with לַהַט, *a flame*, or the glittering blade of a sword, as though it implied a sort of dazzling cheironomy which deceives spectators. Several Versions render the word by "whisperings," *insusurrationes*; but it seems to be a more general word, and hence is used of the various means (some of them no doubt of a quasi-scientific character) by which the Egyptian Chartummim (R. V. "magicians") imposed on the credulity of Pharaoh.

2. כְּשָׁפִים; *φαρμακεῖαι*, *φάρμακα*, LXX. (2 K. ix. 22; Mic. vi. 12; Nah. iii. 4); *veneficia*, *maleficia*, Vulg.; "maleficae artes," "praestigiae," "muttered spells." Hence it is sometimes rendered by *ἐπαοιδαί*, as in Is. xlvii. 9, 12. The belief in the power of certain formulae was universal in the ancient world. Thus there were *carmina* to evoke the tutelary gods out of a city (Macrob. *Saturn.* iii. 9), others to devote hostile armies (*Id.*), others to raise the dead (Maimon. *de Idol.* xi. 15; Senec. *Oedip.* 547), or bind the gods (*δεσμοὶ θεῶν*) and men (Aesch. *Fur.* 331), and even influence the heavenly bodies (Ov. *Met.* vii. 207 sq., xii. 263; "Te quoque Luna traho," Virg. *Ecl.* viii., *Aen.* iv. 489; Hor. *Epod.* v. 45). They were a recognised part of ancient medicine, even among the Jews, who regarded certain sentences of the Law as efficacious for healing. The Greeks used them as one of the five chief resources of pharmacy (Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 8, 9; Soph. *Aj.* 582), especially in obstetrics (Plat. *Theaet.* p. 145) and mental diseases (Galen, *de Sanitat. tuendâ*, i. 8). Homer mentions them as used to check the flow of blood (*Od.* xix. 456), and Cato even gives a charm to cure a disjointed limb (*de Re Rust.* 160; cp. Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 2). The belief in charms is still all but universal in uncivilised nations: see Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 300, 306, &c., ii. 177, &c.; Beeckman's *Voyage to Borneo*, ch. ii.; Meroller's *Congo* (in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, xvi. pp. 221, 273); Huc's *China*, i. 223, ii. 326; Taylor's *New Zealand*, and Livingstone's *Africa*, passim, &c.; and hundreds of such remedies still exist, and are considered efficacious among the uneducated.

3. לְחָשִׁים, Eccles. x. 11; *ψιθυρισμός*, LXX., from לָחַשׁ. This word is especially used of the charming of serpents, Jer. viii. 17 (cp. Ps. lviii. 5; Ecclus. xii. 13, Eccles. x. 11, Luc. ix. 891—a parallel to "cantando rumpitur anguis," and "Vipereas rumpo verbis et carmine fauces," Ov. *Met.* l. c.). Maimonides (*de Idol.* xi. 2) expressly defines an enchanter as one "who uses strange and meaningless words, by which he imposes on the folly of the credulous. They say, for instance, that if one utter the words before a serpent or scorpion it will do no harm" (Carpzov, *Annot. in Godwinum*, iv. 11). An account of the Marsi who excelled in this art is given by Augustin (*ad Gen.* ix. 28), and of the Psylli by Arnobius (*ad Nat.* ii. 32); and they are alluded to by a host of other authorities (Plin. vii. 2, xxviii. 6; Aelian, *H. A.* i. 57; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 740; Sil. Ital. viii. 495. They were called Ὀφιοδ.ώκται). The secret is still understood in the East (Lane, ii. 106).

4. The word נְחָשִׁים is used of the enchantments sought by Balaam, Num. xxiv. 1. It properly alludes to ophiomancy, but in this place has a *general* meaning of endeavouring to gain omens (*εἰς συνάντησιν τοῖς οἰωνοῖς*, LXX.).

5. חֶבֶר is used for magic, Is. xlvii. 9, 12. It comes from חָבַר, *to bind* (cp. *καταδέω*, *βασκαίνω*, *bannen*), and means generally the process of acquiring power over some distant object or person; but this word seems also to have been sometimes used specifically of serpent charmers, for Rashi on Deut. xviii. 11 defines the חוֹבֵר חָבֶר to be one "who congregates serpents and scorpions into one place."

Any resort to these methods of imposture was strictly forbidden in Scripture (Lev. xix. 26; Is. xlvii. 9, &c.), but to eradicate the tendency is almost impossible (2 K. xvii. 17; 2 Ch. xxiii. 6), and we find it still flourishing at the Christian era (Acts xiii. 6, 8, viii. 9, 11, *γοητεία*; Gal. v. 20; Rev. ix. 21). All kinds of magic are frequently alluded to in the Talmudic writings (see *Berachoth*, f. 53. 1, f. 62. 1; *Pesachim*, f. 110. 1, 2; *Soteh*, f. 48. 1; *Baba Bathra*, f. 58. 1, and multitudes of other passages collected by Mr. Hershon in his *Talmudic Miscellany*, pp. 230–235).

The chief *sacramenta daemoniaca* were supposed to be a rod, a magic circle, dragon's eggs, certain herbs, or "insane roots," like the henbane, &c. The fancy of poets both ancient and modern has been exerted in giving lists of them (Ovid and Hor. *ll. cc.*; Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, Act iv. 1; Southey's *Curse of Kehama*, Cant. iv. &c.). [WITCHCRAFTS; AMULETS; DIVINATION.] [F. W. F.]

EN-DOR (עֵין־דֹּר = *spring of Dor; Endor*), a place which with its "daughter-towns" (בְּנוֹת) was in the territory of Issachar, and yet possessed by Manasseh (Josh. xvii. 11; LXX. om.). This was the case with five other places which lay partly in Asher, partly in Issachar, and seem to have formed a kind of district of their own called "the three, or the triple, *Nepheth*."

Endor was long held in memory by the Jewish people as connected with the great victory over Sisera and Jabin. Taanach, Megiddo, and the torrent Kishon all witnessed the discomfiture of the huge host, but it was emphatically to Endor that the tradition of the death of the two chiefs attached itself (Ps. lxxxiii. 9, 10). Possibly it was some recollection of this, some fame of sanctity or good omen in Endor, which drew the unhappy Saul thither on the eve of his last engagement with the Philistines (1 Sam. xxviii. 7; B. Αελδώρ, A. Νηνδώρ). Endor is not again mentioned in the Scriptures; but it was known to Eusebius, who describes it as a large village 4 miles S. of Tabor. Here to the north of *Jebel Dûhy* (the "Little Hermon" of travellers), and at the foot of the volcanic *Tell el-'Ajjûl*, the name still lingers, attached to a considerable but now deserted village. The rock of the mountain, on the slope of which *Endûr* stands, is hollowed into caves, one of which may well have been the scene of the incantation of the witch (Van de Velde, ii. 383; Rob. ii. 360; Stanley, p. 345). There are a few rock-hewn tombs, and from one of the caverns issues a small spring. From the slopes of Gilboa to Endor is 7 or 8 miles, partly over difficult ground. [G.] [W.]

ENEAS. [AENEAS.]

EN-EGLA'IM (עֵין־עֶגְלַיִם = *spring of two heifers; Ἐναγαλλείμ; Engallim*), a place named only by Ezekiel (xlvii. 10), apparently as on the Dead Sea; but whether near to or far from Engedi, on the west or east side of the Sea, it is impossible to ascertain from the text. In his comment on the passage, Jerome locates it at the embouchure of the Jordan; but this is not supported by other evidence. By some (*e.g.* Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 1019) it is thought to be identical with EGLAIM, but the two words are different, En-eglaim containing the *Ain*, which is rarely changed for any other aspirate. The LXX. B. by reading Βαιθαγλαὰμ (Josh. xv. 6) seems to identify BETH-HOGLAH with En-eglaim.

Tristram (*Bib. Places*, p. 93) identifies it with Beth-hoglah, *'Ain Hajlah*; Riehm (*HWB.*) with *'Ain Feshkhah*, both near the N. end of the Dead Sea. There is an *'Ain 'Ajjûl*, "calf's spring," near Lake *Hûleh*, in the northern portion of the Jordan valley, but this would appear to be too far from the Dead Sea. [G.] [W.]

ENEMES'SAR (Ἐνεμεσσάρ, Ἐνεμεσσαρός) is the name by which the well-known king Shalmaneser (IV.) of Assyria is designated in the book of Tobit (i. 2, 15, &c.). This book is not of any historical authority, being simply a work of imagination composed probably by an Alexandrian Jew between the years 300 and 150 B.C. The author of Tobit represents Enemessar as the king who carried the children of Israel into captivity (i. 2, 10) to Nineveh (where Tobit became purveyor to Enemessar), having followed closely the narrative of the Book of Kings (2 K. xvii. 3–6, xviii. 9–11), where it is related that Hoshea rebelled against Shalmaneser, who besieged Samaria and "carried Israel away unto Assyria." [ASSYRIA; SHALMANESER.] He likewise mentions Sennacherib not only as the successor, but also as the son of Enemessar (Tobit i. 15), and in this he has evidently followed his own interpretation of the Book of Kings. As we know from the Assyrian inscriptions, Sennacherib was the son of Sargon, the first king of a new Assyrian dynasty, and probably, therefore, wholly unrelated to Shalmaneser IV., so that Sennacherib cannot by any means be regarded as being descended from him. The form Enemessar for Shalmaneser is a corruption, being apparently put for Senemessar (*sh* changed to *s* and then to the light breathing, as in Arkeanos [Ἀρκέανος] for Sargon), *l* being dropped, and the *m* and *n* transposed. The Hebrew Shalmaneser is itself a corruption or shortening of the Assyrian Šulman-ašarid or Šalmanu-ašarid. [T. G. P.]

ENE'NIUS (B. Ἐνήνιος; *Emmanius*), one of the leaders who returned with Zorobabel from the Captivity (1 Esd. v. 8). There is no name corresponding to it in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. [F.]

EN'GADDI (B. ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς, א^c.a Ἐνγαδδοῖς; *in Cades*), Ecclus. xxiv. 14. [ENGEDI.]

EN-GAN'NIM (עֵין־גַּנִּים = *spring of gardens*). **1.** A city in the low country of Judah, named between Zanoah and Tappuah (Josh. xv. 34). The LXX. in this place is so different from the Hebrew that the name is not recognisable. Vulg. *Aen-Gannim*. It is now probably *Umm Jina*, 3 miles N.W. of *Zânû'a*, Zanoah (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 42).

2. A city on the border of Issachar (Josh. xix. 21; B. Ἰεὼν καὶ Τομμάν, A. Ἠγανείμ; *En-Gannim*); allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (xxi. 29; Πηγὴ γραμμάτων; *En-Gannim*). These notices contain no indication of the position of En-gannim with reference to any known place, but there is great probability in the conjecture of Robinson (ii. 315) that it is identical with the Ginaia of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6, § 1), which again, there can be little doubt, survives in the modern *Jenîn*, the first village encountered on the ascent from the great plain of Esdraelon into the hills of the central country. *Jenîn* is still surrounded by the "orchards" or "gardens" which interpret its ancient name, and the "spring" is to this day the characteristic object in the place (Rob. ii. 315; Stanley, p. 349, note; Van de Velde, p. 359; *PEF. Mem.* ii. 44; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 327). The position of *Jenîn* is also in striking agreement with the requirements of Beth-hag-Gan (A. V. "the garden-house;" Βαιθγάν), in the direction of which Ahaziah fled from Jehu (2 K. ix. 27). The rough road of the ascent was probably too much for his chariot, and keeping the more level ground he made for Megiddo, where he died (see Stanley, p. 349).

In the lists of Levitical cities in 1 Ch. vi. ANEM is substituted for En-gannim. Possibly it is merely a contraction. [G.] [W.]

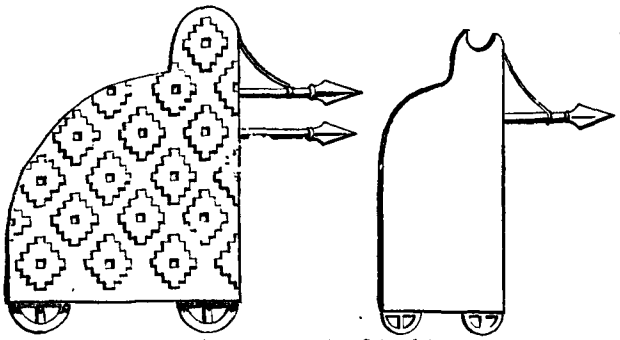
EN'GEDI (עֵין גֶּדִי = *spring of the kid.* The Arabic عين جدي preserves the same meaning; Ἐγγαδδί and Ἐγγαδδαΐ), the present *'Ain Jidy* on the western shore of the Dead Sea. The old name appears to have been חֲצְצֹן־תָּמָר. Hazazon Tamar (see Gen. xiv. 7; 2 Ch. xx. 2) In the latter passage (*v.* 16) the "ascent of Ziz" (הַצִּיץ) is also mentioned as near Engedi (perhaps we should read חציץ). The old name is usually rendered "palm prunings," and Engedi was once famous for its palms, but the root also gives the word חָצָץ, "gravel," and north of Engedi there is still an important valley called *Hasâsa*, وادي حصاصا, "the valley of gravel." When first mentioned, this place was held by the Amorites. It appears under its name Engedi as a town of Judah "in the wilderness" (Josh. xv. 62). Eusebius (*Onom.* s. v. Gadda) supposes Hazar Gaddah (Josh. xv. 27) to be perhaps the same, but this is clearly inadmissible. The Samaritan Version (Gen. xiv. 71) renders Hazazon Tamar פלון כדי, "the ravine of Cadi," probably for נדי (*i.e.* Engedi). In Ezekiel (xlvii. 10) it is mentioned apparently as near the shores of the Dead Sea. In the Song of Solomon (i. 14) the vineyards of Engedi are mentioned, and in Ecclesiasticus (xxiv. 14) the palms of Engedi. Pliny, speaking of the Essene hermits, says that they lived at Engadda, and notices groves of palms (*H. N.* v. 17). In the Talmud (Tal. Bab. *Sabb.* 26 a) the balm which was gathered between Engedi and Ramatha (perhaps *Râmeh*, in the Ghor es Seisabân, east of the Jordan, opposite Jericho) is noticed. The name is also found in Ptolemy (quoted by Reland, *Pal.* p. 462), and in Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 1, § 2), but these authors add little to our information as to the site. Josephus places it 300 stadia (37½ Roman miles) from Jerusalem, the true distance being about 25 English miles, In later ages the place seems to have been little known. Jerome gives no clear account of its position, though he represents St. Paula looking from Caphar Barucha (now *Beni N'aim*) towards the balm gardens and vines of Engedi (*Epit. Paulae* xii.). From the site in question, on a hill overlooking the desert of Judah, south of Hebron, the vicinity of Engedi can be seen.

The desert of Engedi was the hiding-place of David (1 Sam. xxiv. 1-4), and the "rocks of the wild goats" are the cliffs round this site where the ibex is still found. The Crusading chronicles do not mention the place, but according to Ludolph of Suchen (*Rey Colonies Franques*, p. 250) the best vineyards in Palestine were here found in the 12th century, and the Templars took thence slips which they planted in Cyprus at Baffo. These vineyards seem to have existed in the 15th century, and, according to Hasselquist, even as late as 1739, A.D. There are neither palms nor vines at Engedi now, but the local Arabs believe that the Christians once had vineyards in this desert, which is no doubt a tradition of Crusading cultivation. The place is mentioned by Mejr ed Din in 1495 A.D., and by Seetzen in 1806. It seems to have been first visited and recovered by Robinson in 1838, and two years later by Lynch, since which time several travellers have visited the spot.

The site of Engedi presents some of the finest wild scenery west of the Dead Sea. [See the drawing under SEA, THE SALT.] The great valley (*Wâdy el-Ghâr*) here forms a deep gorge with precipitous sides, called *Wâdy el-'Areijeh* ("valley of ascent"). The cliffs north of the spring present a sheer wall of rock nearly 2,000 feet high, above which is a barren plateau 660 feet above the Mediterranean; and from it, a little further north, rises a solitary peak (Ras esh Shukf, 1227 feet above same level). A very narrow winding descent, partly cut in the face of the cliff, leads down 1340 feet to the bank or undercliff, where the spring issues from under a great boulder. The water is sweet, and has been found at various times to be from 81° to 95° F., or less than the air temperature. A jungle of canes marks the line of the brook or cascade which flows down a deep descent to the Dead Sea—600 feet beneath. The 'Oshir tree (*Calotropis procera*) or apple of Sodom grows beside the water, and the Solanum or egg plant. The Sidr or Zizyphus, and the tamarisks (*T. tenuifolius*), with alkali plants (*Hubeihib*) and other desert shrubs, are also found, but the surrounding cliffs and slopes are very barren. There is a fine view of the Dead Sea and of the western cliffs, and on the east side of the lake the castle of Kerak is well seen. The hopping thrushes, black grackle, bulbul, and other birds of the Jordan valley here haunt the spring. There are traces of ruined terraces just below it, perhaps remains of the former vineyards, and a curious sort of platform of large rudely-shaped stones, measuring 15 ft. square and 3 ft high. To the south is a ruined tower (*Kusr el-'Areijeh*), apparently not very ancient, but perhaps of Crusading date: it was supplied by an aqueduct from the spring, and resembles the ruined mediaeval sugar mills near Jericho. In the gorge are ancient rock-cut tombs or chambers, perhaps the hermitages of the Essenes, or of later Christian Eremites. There is another spring in this gorge. The salt brought from Jebel Usdum is carried up by the ascent, and the path may be very ancient, as it would appear that by it the Idumaeans and their allies reached the plateau of the Judaean desert when advancing to attack Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xx.). [C. R. C.]

ENGINE, a term exclusively applied to military affairs in the Bible. The Hebrew חִשָּׁבוֹן (2 Ch. xxvi. 15) is its counterpart in etymological meaning, each referring to the *ingenuity* (engine, from *ingenium*) displayed in the contrivance. The engines to which the term is applied in 2 Ch. were designed to propel various missiles from the walls of a besieged town: one, like the *balista*, was for stones, consisting probably of a strong spring and a tube to give the right direction to the stone; another, like the *catapulta*, for arrows, an enormous stationary bow. The invention of these is assigned to Uzziah's time—a statement which is supported both by the absence of such contrivances in the representations of Egyptian and Assyrian warfare, and by the traditional belief that the *balista* was invented in Syria (Pliny, vii. 56). Luther gives *Brustwehren*, i.e. "parapets," as the meaning of the term. Another war-engine, with which the Hebrews were acquainted, was the battering-ram, described in

Ezek. xxvi. 9 as מְהִי קָבְלוֹ, lit. *a beating of that which is in front*, hence a ram for striking walls; and still more precisely in Ezek. iv. 2, xxi. 22, as כַּר, *a ram*. The use of this instrument was well known both to the Egyptians (Wilkinson, i. 387 [1878]) and the Assyrians. The references in Ezekiel are to that used by the latter people, consisting of a high and stoutly built framework on four wheels, covered in at the sides in order to protect the men moving it, and armed with one or two pointed weapons. Their appearance



Assyrian war-engines. (From Botta, pl. 160.)

was very different from that of the Roman *aries* with which the Jews afterwards became acquainted (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 7, § 19). No notice is taken of the *testudo* or the *vinea* (cp. Ezek. xxvi. 9, Vulg.); but it is not improbable that the Hebrews were acquainted with them (cp. Wilkinson, i. 387 [1878]). The A. V. marginal rendering *engines of shot* (Jer. vi. 6, xxxii. 24; Ezek. xxvi. 8) is incorrect. [W. L. B.]

ENGRAVER. The term חָרַשׁ, so translated in the A. V., applies broadly to any *artificer*, whether in wood, stone, or metal: to restrict it to the *engraver* in Ex. xxxv. 35, xxxviii. 23, is improper (R. V. marg. *craftsman*): a similar latitude must be given to the term פָּתַח, which expresses the operation of the artificer: in Zech. iii. 9, ordinary stone-cutting is evidently intended. The specific description of an *engraver* was חָרַשׁ אֶבֶן (Ex. xxviii. 11), and his chief business was cutting names or devices on rings and seals; the only notices of engraving are in connexion with the high-priest's dress—the two onyx-stones, the twelve jewels, and the mitre-plate having inscriptions on them (Ex. xxviii 11, 21, 36). The previous notices of signets (Gen. xxxviii. 18, xli. 42) imply engraving. The art was widely spread throughout the nations of antiquity, particularly among the Egyptians (Diod. i. 78; Wilkinson, ii. 337 [1878]), the Aethiopians (Her. vii. 69), and the Indians (Von Bohlen, *Indien*, ii. 122). [W. L. B.]

EN-HAD'DAH (עֵין־חַדָּה = *sharp* or *swift spring* [Gesen.]; B. Αἰμαρέκ, A. Ἡναδδά; *Enhadda*), one of the cities on the border of Issachar named next to En-gannim (Josh. xix. 21). Van de Velde (i. 315) would identify it with *'Ain Haud* on the western side of Carmel, and about 2 miles only from the sea. But this is surely out of the limits of the tribe of Issachar, and rather in Asher or Manasseh. Conder, with more probability, has suggested (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 45) *Kefr Adân*, near *Jenin*, En-gannim. See other suggestions in Dillmann[2] in loco. [G.] [W.]

EN-HAK-KO'RE, A. V. En-hakkore (עֵין הַקּוֹרֵא = *the spring of the crier*; πηγὴ τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου; *fons invocantis*), the spring which burst out in answer to the "cry" of Samson after his exploit with the jawbone (Judg. xv. 19). The name involves a play on the word in *v.* 18, *yikera* (יִקְרָא, A. V. "he called"). The word *maktesh*, which in the story denotes the "hollow place" (literally, the "mortar") in the jaw, and also that for the "jaw" itself, *lechi*, are both names of places. The spring was in LEHI, in the territory of Judah, and apparently at a higher level than the rock ETAM (Judg. xv 9–19); but the position of neither of these places has yet been identified. Aquila and Symmachus translate Lehi by Σιαγών, and Josephus knew the place by the same name (*Ant.* v. 8, §§ 8, 9). Glycas (*Ann.* ii. 164) states that, in his time, the spring was shown at Eleutheropolis under the name πηγὴ Σιαγόνος. The spring is alluded to by Jerome (*Ep. S. Paulae*, 18), and it is mentioned as being at Eleutheropolis by Antoninus Martyr (p. 32). The spring intended by these writers is apparently the *Bir Umm Judei'a*, at *Beit Jibrîn*, Eleutheropolis. Conder connects *Kh. es-Siâgh*, E. of *'Ain Shems*, with Σιαγών, and En-hakkore with *'Ayûn Kâra*, N.W. of Zoreah (*Tent Work*, i. 277). Van de Velde (*Memoir*, p. 343) endeavours to identify Lechi with *Tell el-Lekîyeh*, 4 miles N. of Beersheba, and En-hakkore with the large spring between the Tell and *Khuweilfeh*. But Samson's adventures appear to have been confined to a narrow circle, and there is no ground for extending them to a distance of some 30 miles from Gaza, which *Lekîyeh* is, even in a straight line. A more probable position is in the neighbourhood of *Wâdy Ûrtâs*, and *'Ain Atân*, ETAM (2), near Bethlehem. [ETAM, THE ROCK.] [G.] [W.]

EN-HA'ZOR (עֵין חָצוֹר = *spring of the village*; πηγὴ Ἀσόρ; *Enhasor*), one of the "fenced cities" in the inheritance of Naphtali, distinct from Hazor, named between Edrei and Iron, and apparently not far from Kedesh (Josh. xix. 37). Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, identifies it with *Kh. Hazîreh*, where there is a remarkable tomb called *Hazzûr*. Conder (*PEF. Mem.* i. 204, 223, 239) follows Renan. Guérin (*Galilée*, ii. 118) raises the objection that there is no spring at *Hazîreh*, to represent the En of Enhazor, but does not suggest any other identification. [G.] [W.]

EN-MISHPAT עֵין מִשְׁפָּט, *fountain of judgment*; ἡ πηγὴ τῆς κρίσεως; *fons Misphat*), Gen. xiv. 7. [KADESH.]

E'NOCH, and once HE'NOCH (חֲנוֹךְ = *dedication*: Philo, *de Post. Caini*, § 11, ἑρμηνεύεται Ἐνὼχ χάρις σου; Ἐνώχ; Joseph. Ἔνωχος: *Henoch*). **1.** The eldest son of Cain (Gen. iv. 17), who called the city which he built after his name (*v.* 18). Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 356, note) fancies that there is a reference to the Phrygian Iconium, in which city a legend of one Ἄννακος was preserved; but the legend is evidently derived from Biblical and Jewish accounts of the father of Methuselah (Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἰκόνιον, Suid. *s. v.* Νάννακος), and owes much of its existence to the similarity of name (Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. "Henoch"). Other places have been identified with the site of Enoch, but with little probability; e.g. *Anuchta* in Susiana, the *Heniochi* in the Caucasus, &c. (see Dillmann,[2] Delitzsch [1887] in loco).

2. The son of Jared (יֶרֶד = *a descent*, cp. *Jordna*), and father of Methuselah (מְתוּשֶׁלַח = *a man of arms*; Philo, *l. c.* § 12, Μαθουσάλεμ ἐξαποστολὴ θανάτου; Gen. v. 21 sq.; Luke iii. 28). In the Epistle of Jude (*v.* 14, cp. Enoch lx. 8) he is described as "the *seventh* from Adam;" and the number is probably noticed as conveying the idea of divine completion and rest (cp. August. *c. Faust.* xii. 14), while Enoch was himself a type of perfected humanity, "a man raised to heaven by pleasing God, while angels fell to earth by transgression" (Iren. iv. 16, 2). The other numbers connected with his history appear too symmetrical to be without meaning. He was born when Jared was 162 (9×6×3) years old, and after the birth of his eldest son in his 65th (5×6+7) year he lived 300 years. From the period of 365 years assigned to his life, Ewald (i. 356), with very little probability, regards him as "the god of the new year," but the number may have been not without influence on the later traditions which assigned to Enoch the discovery of the science of astronomy (ἀστρολογία, Eupolemus *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 17, where he is identified with Atlas). After the birth of Methuselah it is said (Gen. v. 22–24) that Enoch "walked with God three hundred years . . . and he was not; for God took him" (לָקַח, *μετέθηκεν*, LXX. [here only]; *tulit*, Vulg.). The phrase "walked with God" (הִתְהַלֵּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים) is elsewhere only used of Noah (Gen. vi. 9; cp. Gen. xvii. 1, &c.), and is to be explained of a prophetic life spent in immediate converse with the spiritual world (Enoch xii. 2, "*All his action was with the holy ones, and with the watchers during his life*"). There is no further mention of Enoch in the O. T., but in Ecclesiasticus (xlix. 14) he is brought forward as one of the peculiar glories (οὐδὲ εἷς ἐκτίσθη οἷος Ἐ.) of the Jews, for he was taken up (ἀνελήφθη, A. *μετετέθη*) from the earth. "He pleased the Lord and was translated [into Paradise, Vulg.], being a pattern of repentance" (Ecclus. xliv. 14). In the Epistle to the Hebrews the spring and issue of Enoch's life are clearly marked. "By faith Enoch was translated (*μετετέθη, translatus est*, Vulg.) that he should not see death . . . for before his translation (*μετάθεσεως*) he hath had witness borne to him that he had been well-pleasing to God" (xi. 5, R. V.; cp. Riehm, *l. c.*). The contrast to this Divine judgment is found in the constrained words of Josephus: "Enoch departed to the Deity (*ἀνεχωρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον*), whence [the sacred writers] have not recorded his death" (*Ant.* i. 3, § 4). A further contrast is sometimes drawn between the translation of Enoch and the apotheosis of a Hercules, a Ganymede, &c. (see Riehm, *l. c.*). It is more interesting to refer to the Chaldaean tradition of the apotheosis of Xisuthros, the tenth of the antediluvian Patriarchs (see Smith's *Chaldaean Genesis*, pp. 42–6). The comparative sobriety of the Biblical narrative will be, in all these cases, apparent.

The Biblical notices of Enoch were a fruitful source of speculation in later times (for Talmudical views, see Hamburger, *RE.*[2] 'Henochsage'). Some theologians disputed with subtilty as to the place to which he was removed; whether it was to Paradise or to the immediate Presence of God (cp. Feuardentius *ad* Iren. v. 5), though others more wisely declined to discuss the question (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, p. 758). On other points there was greater unanimity. Both the Latin and Greek Fathers commonly coupled Enoch and Elijah as historic witnesses to the possibility of a resurrection of the body and of a true human existence in glory (Iren. iv. 5, 1; Tertull. *de Resurr. Carn.* 58; Hieron. *c. Joan. Hierosol.* §§ 29, 32, pp. 437, 440); and the voice of early ecclesiastical tradition is almost unanimous in regarding them as "the two witnesses" (Rev. xi. 3 sq.) who should fall before "the beast," and afterwards be raised to heaven before the great judgment (Hippol. *Frag. in Dan.* xxii.; *de Antichr.* xliii. Cosmas Indic. p. 75, *ap.* Thilo, *κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν*; Tertull. *de Anima*, 29; Ambros. *in Psalm.* xlv. 4; *Evang. Nicod.* c. xxv. on which Thilo has almost exhausted the question: *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* pp. 765 sq.). This belief removed a serious difficulty which was supposed to attach to their translation; for thus it was made clear that they would at last discharge the common debt of a sinful humanity, from which they were not exempted by their glorious removal from the earth (Tertull. *de Animâ*, l. c.; August. *Op. imp. c. Jul.* vi. 30).

In later times Enoch was celebrated as the inventor of writing, arithmetic, and astronomy (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 17. Cp. Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*,[2] ii. p. 627). He is said to have filled 300 books with the revelations which he received, and is commonly identified with *Idris* (i.e. *the learned*), who is commemorated in the Koran (ch. 19) as one "exalted [by God] to a high place" (cp. Sale, l. c.; Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 30 sq.). But these traditions were probably due to the apocryphal book which bears his name (cp. Fabric. *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 215 sq.).

Some writers (*e.g.* Ewald), arguing from the meaning of the name ("dedicator" or "beginner") and the length of his life (365 years), have considered Enoch a sun-god, a good spirit to whom men would appeal to bless any fresh undertaking. Baethgen (*Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 152–3) has well shown the untrustworthiness of such conjectures.

Some (Buttm. *Mythol.* i. 176 sq.; Ewald, l. c.) have found a trace of the history of Enoch in the Phrygian legend of Annacus (Ἄννακος,

Νάννακος), who was distinguished for his piety, lived 300 years, and predicted the deluge of Deucalion. [ENOCH, 1.] In the A. V. of 1 Ch. i. 3, the name is given as HENOCH.

3. The third son of Midian, the son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 4, A. V. and R. V. *Hanoch*; 1 Ch. i. 33, A. V. *Henoch*, R. V. *Hanoch*).

4. The eldest son of Reuben (A. V. and R. V. *Hanoch*; Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14; 1 Ch. v. 3), from whom came "the family of the Hanochites" (Num. xxvi. 5).

5. In 2 Esd. vi. 49, 51, *Enoch* stands in the Latin (and Eng.) Version for *Behemoth* in the Aethiopic. [B. F. W.] [F.]

ENOCH, THE BOOK OF, is one of the most important remains of that early apocalyptic literature of which the Book of Daniel is the great prototype. From its vigorous style and wide range of speculation the book is well worthy of the attention which it received in the first ages, and recent investigations have still left many points for further inquiry.

1. *History.*—The history of the book is remarkable. The first trace of its existence is generally found in the Epistle of St. Jude (*vv.* 14, 15; cp. Enoch i. 9), but the words of the Apostle leave it uncertain whether he derived his quotation from tradition (Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 420) or from writing (*ἐπροφήτευσεν . . . Ἐνὼχ λέγων*), though the wide spread of the book in the second century seems almost decisive in favour of the latter supposition. It appears to have been known to Justin (*Apol.* ii. 5), Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* iv. 16, 2), and Anatolius (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32). Clement of Alexandria (*Eclog.* p. 801) and Origen (yet cp. *c. Cels.* v. 52. The patristic references are collected by Schürer, ii. 628) both make use of it, and numerous references occur to the "writing," "books," and "words" of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and in the Testament of the XII. Patriarchs, which present more or less resemblance to passages in the present book (Fabr. *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 161 sq.; Gfrörer, *Proph. Pseudep.* 273 sq.; Schurer, ii. 627). Tertullian (*De Cult. Fem.* i. 3; cp. *De Idol.* 4) expressly quotes the book as one which was "not received by some, nor admitted into the Jewish canon" (*in armarium Judaicum*), but defends it on account of its reference to Christ (*legimus omnem scripturam aedificationi habilem divinitus inspirari*). Augustine (*De Civ.* xv. 23, 4) and an anonymous writer whose work is printed with Jerome's (*Brev. in Psalm.* cxxxii. 2; cp. Hil. *ad Psalm.* l. c.) were both acquainted with it; but from their time till the revival of letters it was known in the Western Church only by the quotation in St. Jude (Dillmann, *Einl.* lvi.). In the Eastern Church it was known some centuries later. Considerable fragments are preserved in the *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf, i. 20–3, 42–7) of Georgius Syncellus (*c.* 792 A.D.), and these, with the scanty notices of earlier writers, constituted the sole remains of the book known in Europe till the close of the last century. Meanwhile, however, a report was current that the entire book was preserved in Abyssinia; and at length, in 1773, Bruce brought with him on his return from Egypt three MSS., containing the complete Aethiopic translation. Notwithstanding the interest which the discovery excited, the first detailed notice of this translation was only given by Silvestre de Sacy in 1800, and it was not published till the edition of Archbishop Lawrence in 1838 (*Libri Enoch versio Aethiopica . . .* Oxon.). But in the interval Lawrence published an English translation, with an introduction and notes, which passed through three editions (*The Book of Enoch*, &c. by R. Lawrence. Oxford, 1821, 1833, 1838). The translation of Lawrence formed the basis of the German edition of Hoffmann (*Das Buch Henoch*, Jena, 1833–38); and Gfrörer, in 1840, gave a Latin translation constructed from the translations of Lawrence and Hoffmann (*Prophetae veteres Pseudepigraphi*, Stuttgart., 1840). All these editions were superseded by those of Dillmann, who edited the Aethiopic text from five MSS. (*Liber Henoch, Aethiopice*, Lipsiae, 1851), and afterwards gave a German translation of the book, with a good introduction and commentary (*Das Buch Henoch*, . . . von Dr. A. Dillmann, Leipzig, 1853). The discovery of a small Greek fragment (ch. 89, 42–9) in the Vatican, published by Mai in facsimile (*Patrum nova Biblioth.* ii.), and deciphered by Gildermeister (*ZDMG.* for 1855, pp. 621–4), led to the hope that more might be found, but this hope has been disappointed (cp. Merx, *Archiv*, ii. 243). In 1882 an English translation from the original Ethiopic, with introduction and notes, was published by Dr. Schodde. The work of Dillmann gave a fresh impulse to the study of the book (cp. also his article on the subject in Herzog, *RE.*²). Among the essays which were called out by it, the most important were those of Ewald (*Ueber des Aethiopischen Buches Henoch Entstehung*, &c., Göttingen, 1856) and Hilgenfeld (*D. Jüdische Apokalyptik*, Jena, 1857). The older literature on the subject is reviewed by Fabricius (*Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 199 sq.).

2. *Original Language.*—The Aethiopic translation was made from the Greek, and it was probably made about the same time as the translation of the Bible, with which it was afterwards connected, or, in other words, towards the middle or close of the fourth century. The general coincidence of the translation with the patristic quotations of corresponding passages shows satisfactorily that the text from which it was derived was the same as that current in the early Church, though one considerable passage quoted by Georg. Syncell. is wanting in the present book (Dillm. p. 85). But it is still uncertain whether the Greek text was the original (Volkmar in *ZDMG.* 1860, p. 131; Philippi, *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 126, 1868), or itself a translation. One of the earliest references to the book occurs in the Hebrew *Book of Jubilees* (Dillm. in Ewald's *Jahrb.* 1850, p. 90), and the names of the Angels and winds are derived from Aramaic roots (cp. Dillm. pp. 236 sq.). In addition to this a Hebrew book of Enoch was known and used by Jewish writers till the thirteenth century (Dillm. *Einl.* lvii.), so that on these grounds, among others, many (J. Scaliger, Lawrence, Hoffmann, Dillmann, and Schürer, who refers especially to Halévy, *Journ. Asiat.* 1867, pp. 352–95) have considered it very probable

that the book was first composed in Hebrew (Aramaean). In such a case no stress can be laid upon the Hebraizing style, which may be found as well in an author as in a translator; and in the absence of direct evidence it is difficult to weigh mere conjectures. On the one hand, if the book had been originally written in Hebrew, it might seem likely that it would have been more used by Rabbinical teachers; but, on the other hand, the writer certainly appears to have been a native of Palestine,[a] and therefore likely to have employed the popular dialect. If the hypothesis of a Hebrew original be accepted, which as a hypothesis seems to be the more plausible, the history of the original and the version finds a good parallel in that of the Wisdom of Sirach. [ECCLESIASTICUS.]

3. *Contents.*—In its present shape the book consists of a series of revelations supposed to have been given to Enoch and Noah, which extend to the most varied aspects of nature and life, and are designed to offer a comprehensive vindication of the action of Providence. [ENOCH.] It is divided into five parts. The *first part* (chs. 1–36, Dillm.), after a general introduction, contains an account of the fall of the angels (Gen. vi. 1) and of the judgment to come upon them and upon the giants, their offspring (chs. 6–16); and this is followed by the description of the journey of Enoch through the earth and lower heaven in company with an Angel, who showed to him many of the great mysteries of nature, the treasure-houses of the storms and winds, the fires of heaven, the prison of the fallen, and the land of the blessed (chs. 17–36). The *second part* (chs. 37–71) is styled "a vision of wisdom," and consists of three "parables," in which Enoch relates the revelations of the higher secrets of heaven and of the spiritual world which were given to him. The first parable (chs. 38–44) gives chiefly a picture of the future blessings and manifestation of the righteous, with further details as to the heavenly bodies: the second (chs. 45–57) describes in splendid imagery the coming of Messiah and the results which it should work among "the elect" and the gainsayers: the third (chs. 58–69) draws out at further length the blessedness of "the elect and holy," and the confusion and wretchedness of the sinful rulers of the world. The *third part* (chs. 72–82) is styled "the book of the course of the lights of heaven," and deals with the motions of the sun and moon, and the changes of the seasons; and with this the narrative of the journey of Enoch closes. The *fourth part* (chs. 83–91) is not distinguished by any special name, but contains the record of a dream which was granted to Enoch in his youth, in which he saw the history of the kingdoms of God and of the world up to the final establishment of the throne of Messiah. The *fifth part* (chs. 92–105) contains the last addresses of Enoch to his children, in which the teaching of the former chapters is made the groundwork of earnest exhortation. The signs which attended the birth of Noah are next noticed (chs. 106–7); and another short "writing of Enoch" (ch. 108) forms the close to the whole book (cp. Dillm *Einl.* i. sq.; Lücke, *Versuch einer vollständ. Einl.* &c., i. 93 sq.; Schodde, pp. 17–19; Schürer, ii. 617–9).

4. *Integrity and Date.*—If a certain general unity marks the book in its present form, yet internal coincidence shows clearly that different fragments are incorporated into the work, and some additions have been probably made afterwards. Different "books" are mentioned in early times, and variations in style and language are discernible in the present book. The belief, once prevalent, that the work is the work of one man written at one time, is entirely given up by modern critics (Schürer, ii. 620). To distinguish the original elements and later interpolations is the great problem which so many have set themselves to solve. Hofmann, Weisse, and Philippi place the composition of the whole work after the Christian era; the first and the last think that St. Jude could not have quoted an apocryphal book (Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 420 sq.), and Weisse seeks to detach Christianity altogether from a Jewish foundation (Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*, p. 214 sq.). It seems to be now generally acknowledged that the *second part* (chs. 37–71) was the work of one compiler, whose date is variously placed in Christian times (Hilgenfeld and Volkmar agreeing here with Hofmann, Weisse, and Philippi) or in pre-Christian (the date ranging from B.C. 144–64; see Schürer, ii. 621). The rest or groundwork of the whole (chs. 1–36, 72–108) is with great unanimity (Volkmar excepted) placed in the second century B.C. Thus Ewald places the composition of the groundwork of the book at various intervals between 144 B.C. and *c.* 120 B.C., and supposes that the whole assumed its present form in the first half of the century before Christ. Lücke (2nd ed.) distinguishes two great parts, an older part including chs. 1–36 and chs. 72–105, which he dates from the beginning of the Maccabaean struggle, and a later, chs. 37–71, which he assigns to the period of the rise of Herod the Great (B.C. 141). He supposes, however, that later interpolations were made without attempting to ascertain their date. Dillmann upholds more decidedly the unity of the book, and assigns the chief part of it to an Aramaean writer of the time of John Hyrcanus (*c.* 110 B.C.). To this, according to him, "historical" and "Noachian additions" were made, probably in Greek translation (*Einl.* lii.). Köstlin (quoted by Hilgenfeld, p. 96, &c.) assigns chs. 1–16, 21–36, 72–105, to about 110 B.C.; chs. 37–71 to *c.* B.C. 100–64; and the "Noachian additions" and ch. 108 to the time of Herod the Great. Hilgenfeld himself places the original book (chs. 1–16; 20–36; 72–90; 91, 1–19; 93; 94–105) about the beginning of the first century before Christ (*a. a. O.* p. 145, n.). This book he supposes to have passed through the hands of a Christian writer who lived between the times "of Saturninus and Marcion" (p. 181), who added the chief remaining portions, including the great Messianic section, chs. 37–71. In the face of these conflicting theories (see them and others collected in Schodde, pp. 20–6) it is evidently impossible to dogmatize, and the evidence is insufficient for conclusive reasoning. The interpretation of the Apocalyptic histories

[a] The astronomical calculations by which Lawrence endeavoured to fix the locality of the writer in the neighbourhood of the Caspian are inconclusive. Cp. Dillmann, p. li.

(chs. 56, 57; 85–90), on which the chief stress is laid for fixing the date of the book, involves necessarily minute criticism of details, which belongs rather to a commentary than to a general introduction. Some inconsiderable interpolations have been made, and large fragments of a much earlier date were undoubtedly incorporated into the work; but as a whole, a work thus gradually created may be regarded as describing an important phase of Jewish opinion shortly before the coming of Christ.[b]

5. *Doctrine.*—In doctrine the book of Enoch exhibits a great advance of thought within the limits of revelation in each of the great divisions of knowledge. The teaching on nature is a curious attempt to reduce the scattered images of the O. T. to a physical system. The view of society and man, of the temporary triumph and final discomfiture of the oppressors of God's people, carries out into elaborate detail the pregnant images of Daniel. The figure of the Messiah is invested with majestic dignity as "the Son of God" (ch. 105, 2 only), "Whose Name was named before the sun was made" (ch. 48, 3), and Who existed "aforetime in the Presence of God" (ch. 62, 6; cp. Lawrence, *Prel. Diss.* li. f.). And at the same time His human attributes as "the son of man," "the son of woman" (ch. 62, 5 only), "the elect one," "the righteous one," "the anointed," are brought into conspicuous notice. The mysteries of the spiritual world, the connexion of Angels and men, the classes and ministries of the hosts of heaven, the power of Satan (ch. 40, 7; ch. 65, 6), and the legions of darkness, the doctrines of resurrection, retribution, and eternal punishment (ch. 22; cp. Dillm. p. xix.), are dwelt upon with growing earnestness as the horizon of speculation was extended by intercourse with Greece. But the message of the book is emphatically one of "faith and truth" (cp. Dillm. p. 32); and while the writer combines and repeats the thoughts of Scripture, he adds no new element to the teaching of the Prophets. His errors spring from an undisciplined attempt to explain their words, and from a proud exultation in present success. For the great characteristic by which the book is distinguished from the later apocalypse of Ezra [ESDRAS, 2ND BOOK] is the tone of triumphant expectation by which it is pervaded. It seems to repeat in every form the great principle that the world, natural, moral, and spiritual, is under the immediate government of God. Hence it follows that there is a terrible retribution reserved for sinners, and a glorious kingdom prepared for the righteous, and Messiah is regarded as the Divine Mediator of this double issue (chs. 90, 91). Nor is it without a striking fitness that a patriarch translated from earth, and admitted to look upon the Divine Majesty, is chosen as the "herald of wisdom, righteousness, and judgment to a people who, even in suffering, saw in their tyrants only the victims of a coming vengeance."

6. *Reception.*—Notwithstanding the quotation in St. Jude, and the wide circulation of the book itself, the apocalypse of Enoch was uniformily and distinctly separated from the canonical Scriptures. Tertullian alone maintained its authority (*l. c.*), while he admitted that it was not received by the Jews. Origen, on the other hand (*c. Cels.* v. p. 267, ed. Spenc.), and Augustine (*de Civ.* xv. 23, 4), definitively mark it as apocryphal, and it is reckoned among the apocryphal books in the Apostolic Constitutions (vi. 16), and in the catalogues of the *Synopsis S. Scripturae*, Nicephorus (Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* p. 145), and Montfaucon (*Bibl. Coislin.* p. 193).

7. *Literature.*—The literature of the subject is very voluminous. The English edition of Schodde places within the reach of the student the most important materials for the study of the book; and notices of all the important works which have been published since the first edition of this Dictionary will be found in his book, in Schürer, ii. 629–30, and in Zöckler, in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm. zu d. heil. Schriften A. u. N. T.*, 'Die Apokryphen des A. T.'s nebst einem Anhang üb. die Pseud-epigraphenlitteratur,' p. 430. [B. F. W.] [F.]

[b] Schürer's examination of chs. 85–90, as the only passage which is helpful in fixing a date of composition, leads him to agree as to points of interpretation (*e.g.* the shepherds = Angels) and exposition of the numbers with Hofmann, Ewald, and Dillmann; and he assigns as the date the third quarter of the second century B.C. Further, he concludes that chs. 37–71 are of Christian origin, the "Noachian sections" and chs. 106–8 being interpolations whose date cannot be fixed (ii. 621–7).

ENOCH, CITY. [ENOCH, No. 1.]

ENON. [AENON.]

ENOS (אֱנוֹשׁ = *man as weak*, not etymologically but in accordance with usage, see MV.[11]; Ἐνώς; *Enos*), son of Seth the son of Adam (Gen. iv. 26). Kenan was his firstborn (Gen. v. 9). His length of life is given as 905 years. The R. V. gives the name under the form Enosh in the O. T. reff. (see also 1 Ch. i. 1), but reads Enos in Luke iii. 38. [F.]

ENOSH (A. V. and R. V. in 1 Ch. i. 1). [ENOS.]

EN-RIM'MON (עֵין רִמּוֹן = *fountain of pomegranates*; B. omits, A. ἐν Ῥεμμών; *et in Rimmon*), one of the places which the men of Judah re-inhabited after their return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 29). From the towns in company with which it is mentioned, it seems very probable that the name is the same which in the earlier Books is given in the Hebrew and A. V. in the separate form of "Ain and Rimmon" (Josh. xv. 32; see Dillmann in loco), "Ain, Remmon" (xix. 7; and see 1 Ch. iv. 32), but in the LXX. combined, as in Nehemiah [AIN, 2]. Van de Velde (*Mem.* p. 344) identifies it with *Umm er-Rumâmîn* between *Beit Jibrîn* and *Bir es-Seb'a*. See also *PEF. Mem.* iii. 392, 398. [G.] [W.]

EN-RO'GEL (עֵין רֹגֵל = *fountain of the fuller*; πηγὴ Ῥωγήλ; *Fons Rogel*), a spring which formed one of the landmarks on the boundary-line between Judah (Josh. xv. 7) and Benjamin (xviii. 16). It was the point next to Jerusalem, and at a lower level, as is evident from the use of the words "ascended" and "descended" in these two passages. Here, apparently concealed

from the view of the city, Jonathan and Ahimaaz remained, after the flight of David, awaiting intelligence from within the walls (2 Sam. xvii. 17), and here, "by the stone Zoheleth, which is close to (אֶצֶל) En-rogel," Adonijah held the feast, which was the first and last act of his attempt on the crown (1 K. i. 9). These are all the occurrences of the name in the Bible. By Josephus on the last incident (*Ant.* vii. 14, § 4) its situation is given as "without the city, in the royal garden," and it is without doubt referred to by him in the same connexion, in his description of the earthquake which accompanied the sacrilege of Uzziah (*Ant.* ix. 10, § 4), and which "at the place called Eroge"[a] shook down a part of the eastern hill, "so as to obstruct the roads, and the royal gardens."

In the Targum, and the Arabic and Syriac Versions, the name is commonly given as "the spring of the fuller" (מַצְרָא, قطر), and this is generally accepted as the signification of the Hebrew name—*Rogel* being derived from רגל in the sense of "to tread," in allusion to the practice of the Orientals in washing linen.

En-rogel has been identified with (*a*) the present "Fountain of the Virgin," *'Ain Umm ed-Deraj = spring of the mother of steps*—the perennial source from which the Pool of Siloam is supplied; and (*b*) with *Bîr Eyûb*, the "well of Job," 125 ft. deep, below the junction of the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom, and south of the Pool of Siloam. The arguments in favour of the "Fountain of the Virgin" are briefly as follows:—

1. The "Fountain of the Virgin" is the only real spring close to Jerusalem. *Bîr Eyûb* is a well, not a spring (En); and, except after heavy rain, the water in it is generally 70 ft. or 80 ft. below the level of the ground. Thus, if the former be not En-rogel, the single spring of this locality has escaped mention in the Bible.

2. Exactly opposite the "Fountain of the Virgin," and only separated from it by the breadth of the valley, there is a rude flight of rock-hewn steps which leads, up the precipitous face of a ledge of rock, directly to the village of Siloam. This place, called by the villagers *ez-Zehweileh*, a name identical with Zoheleth, is supposed by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1869-70, p. 253) to mark the position of "the stone Zoheleth which is close to En-rogel." [ZOHELETH.]

3. The "Fountain of the Virgin" must always have been a well-known spring, and as such a suitable landmark on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin. The date of *Bîr Eyûb* is unknown; it is very possibly later than the time of Joshua.

4. *Bîr Eyûb* does not suit the requirements of 2 Sam. xvii. 17. It is too far off both from the city and from the direct road over Olivet to the Jordan; and is in full view of the city, which the other spot is not.

5. The martyrdom of St. James was effected by casting him down from the Temple wall into the valley of Kedron, where he was finally killed by a fuller with his washing-stick. The natural inference is that St. James fell near where the fullers were at work.[b] Now *Bir Eyûb* is too far off from the site of the Temple to allow of this, but it might very well have happened at the Fountain of the Virgin (see Stanley's *Sermons on the Apost. Age*, pp. 333-4).

6. *Deraj* and *Rogel* are both from the same root, and therefore the modern name may be derived from the ancient one, even though at present it is taken to allude to the "steps" by which the reservoir of the Fountain is reached.

Add to these considerations (what will have more significance when the permanence of Eastern habits is recollected)—7. That the Fountain of the Virgin is still the great resort of the women of Jerusalem for washing and treading their clothes: and also—8. That the king's gardens must have been above *Bîr Eyûb* and below the Fountain of the Virgin, which thus might be used without difficulty to irrigate them. A reminiscence of these gardens perhaps lingers in the name *Wâdy Fer'aûn*, "Pharaoh's valley," equivalent to "valley of the king," which the *fellahin* of Siloam apply to the section of the Kedron valley between the S.E. angle of the *Haram* wall and the junction of the Kedron and Hinnom valleys.

The tradition that *Bir Eyûb* is En-rogel is apparently first recorded by Brocardus. In an early Jewish Itinerary (Uri of Biel in Hottinger's *Cippi Hebraici*) the name is given as "Well of Joab," as if retaining the memory of Joab's connexion with Adonijah—a name which it still retains in the traditions of the Greek Christians. The chief arguments in its favour are, that being below the junction of the two valleys its situation agrees better with the common boundary of Judah and Benjamin than the "Fountain of the Virgin," but see above (3); and that in the Arabic version of Josh. xv. 7, *'Ain Eyûb*, or "Spring of Job," is given for En-rogel. Neither of these arguments is of much weight.

For descriptions of the "Fountain of the Virgin" and Bîr Eyûb, see Robinson, i. 331-334; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 489-495; *Notes to O. S. of Jerusalem*, p. 84; and *PEF. Mem.*, "Jerusalem," pp. 365-375. [JERUSALEM.] [G.] [W.]

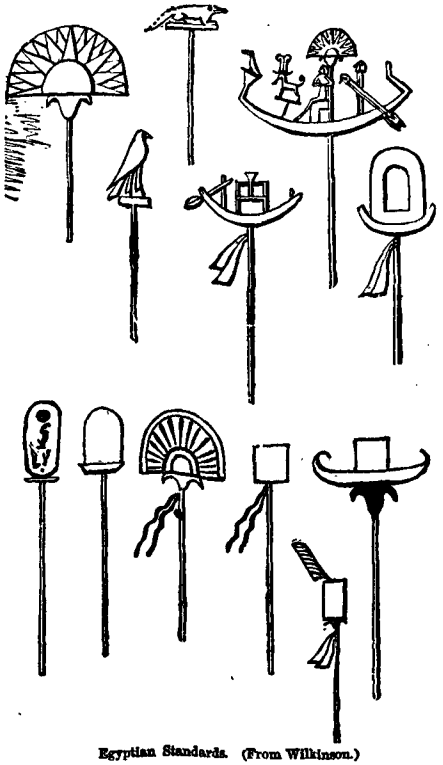
EN-SHE'MESH (עֵין־שֶׁמֶשׁ = *spring of the sun*; ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἡλιοῦ, πηγὴ Βαιθσαμύς; *Ensemes, id est, Fons Solis*), a spring which formed one of the landmarks on the north boundary of Judah (Josh. xv. 7) and the south boundary of Benjamin (xviii. 17). From these notices it appears to have been between the "ascent of Adummin"—the road leading up from the Jordan valley south of the *Wâdy Kelt*—and the spring of En-rogel, in the valley of Kedron. It was therefore east of Jerusalem and of the Mount of Olives. The only spring at present answering to this position is the *'Ain Haul*—the "Well of the Apostles,"—about a mile below Bethany, the traveller's first halting-place on the road to Jericho. Accordingly this spring is generally identified with En-Shemesh (see

[a] This natural interpretation of a name only slightly corrupt appears to have first suggested itself to Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 184).

[b] So Jerome, *Quaest. Heb.* on 2 Sam. xvii. 20: "Ancilla quasi, lavandi gratia, cum pannis ad fontem Rogel erat."

Dillmann on Josh. xv. 7). The aspect of *'Ain Haud* is such that the rays of the sun are on it the whole day. This is not inappropriate in a fountain dedicated to that luminary (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 42). [G.] [W.]

ENSIGN (נֵס; in the A. V. generally "ensign," sometimes "standard;" דֶּגֶל, "standard," with the exception of Cant. ii. 4, "banner;" אוֹת, "ensign"). The distinction between these three Hebrew terms is sufficiently marked by their respective uses: *nes* is a *signal*; *degel* a military *standard* for a *large* division of an army; and *oth*, the same for a *small* one. Neither of these latter words, however, expresses the idea which "standard" conveys to our minds, viz. a *flag*; the standards in use among the Hebrews probably resembled those of the Egyptians (see below). (1.) The notices of the *nes* or "ensign" are most frequent; it consisted of some well-understood signal which was exhibited on the top of a pole from a bare mountain top (Is. xiii. 2, xviii. 3)—the very emblem of conspicuous isolation (Is. xxx. 17). Around it the inhabitants mustered, whether for the purpose of meeting an enemy (Is. v. 26, xviii. 3, xxxi. 9), which was sometimes notified by the blast of a trumpet (Jer. iv. 21, li. 27); or as a token of rescue (Ps. lx. 4; Is. xi. 10; Jer. iv. 6); or for a public proclamation (Jer. l. 2); or simply as a gathering point (Is. xlix. 22, lxii. 10). What the nature of the signal was, we have no means of stating; it has been inferred from Is. xxxiii. 23 and Ezek. xxvii. 7, that it was a flag: we do not observe a flag depicted either in Egyptian or Assyrian representations of vessels (cp. Wilkinson, ii. 127 [1878]; Bonomi, pp. 166, 167); but, in lieu of a flag, certain devices, such as the phoenix, flowers, &c., were embroidered on the sail; whence it appears that the device itself, and perhaps also the sail bearing the device, was the *nes* or "ensign." It may have been sometimes the name of a leader, as implied in the title which Moses gave to his altar, "Jehovah-nissi" (Ex. xvii. 15). It may also have been, as Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 1648) suggests, a blazing torch. The important point, however, to be observed is, that the *nes* was an occasional signal, and not a military standard, and that *elevation* and *conspicuity* are implied in the use of the term: hence it is appropriately applied to the "pole" on which the brazen serpent hung (Num. xxi. 8), which was indeed an "ensign" of deliverance to the pious Israelite; and again to the censers of Korah and his company, which became a "sign" or beacon of warning to Israel (Num. xvi. 38). (2.) The term *degel* is used to describe the standards which were given to each of the four divisions of the Israelite army at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 52, ii. 2 sq., x. 14 sq.). Some doubt indeed exists as to its meaning in these passages, the LXX. and Vulgate regarding it not as the standard itself, but as a certain military division annexed to a standard, just as *vexillum* is sometimes used for a body of soldiers (Tac. *Hist.* i. 70; Liv. viii. 8). The sense of *compact and martial array* does certainly seem to lurk in the word; for in Cant. vi. 4, 10, the brilliant glances of the bride's eyes are compared to the destructive advance of a well-arrayed host, and a similar comparison *is* employed in reference to the bridegroom (Cant. v. 10); but on the other hand, in Cant. ii. 4, no other sense than that of a "banner" will suit, and we therefore think the rendering in the A. V. and R. V. correct. In Ps. xx. 5 most scholars accept the term "banners" (see Delitzsch, Perowne, and Schultz in loco). A standard implies, of course, a standard-bearer; but the supposed reference to that officer in Is. x. 18 (A. V. and R. V. text) is probably incorrect, the words meaning rather *as when a sick man pineth away* (R. V. marg. Cp. Delitzsch,[4] Dillmann[3] in loco); similarly, in a somewhat parallel passage (Is. lix. 19) the marg. translation of R. V., *the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard*, is not now so generally adopted as that of the text. The character of the Hebrew military standards is quite a matter of conjecture; they probably resembled the Egyptian, which consisted of a sacred emblem, such as an animal, a boat, or the king's name (Wilkinson, i. 342–3 [1878]). Rabbinical writers state the devices to have been as follows: for the tribe of Judah, a lion; for Reuben, a man; for Ephraim, an ox; and for Dan, an eagle (Carpzov. *Crit. App.* p. 667); but no reliance can be placed on this. As each of the four divisions, consisting of three tribes, had its standard, so had each tribe its "sign" (*oth*) or "ensign," probably in imitation of the Egyptians, among whom not only each battalion, but even each company, had its particular ensign (Wilkinson, *l. c.*). We know nothing of its nature. The word occurs figura-



Egyptian Standards. (From Wilkinson.)

tively in Ps. lxxiv. 4, as some think in reference to the images of idol gods (but see *Comm.* in loco). [W. L. B.] [F.]

ENSUE (Fr. *ensuivre*, Lat. *insequor*) = to follow after (1 Pet. iii. 11, A. V. The R. V. has "pursue." Cp. Ps. xxxiv. 14, Prayer Book version). [F.]

EN-TANNIM. [DRAGON WELL.]

EN-TAP-PU'AH (עֵין־תַּפּוּחַ = *spring of apple* or *citron*; B. πηγὴ Θαφθώθ, A. ἡ γὴ Θαθφώθ, B^{abmss}. Ναφέθ; *Fons Taphuae*). The boundary of Manasseh went from facing Shechem "to the inhabitants of En-tappuah" (Josh. xvii. 7). It is probably identical with Tappuah, the position of which will be elsewhere examined. [TAPPUAH.] Conder (*Hbk. to Bible*, p. 263) identifies it, with some probability, with a spring near *Yâsûf*, S. of *Nâblus*, Shechem, and at the head of a branch of the "brook Kanah," *Wâdy Kânah*, which is the next point mentioned on the boundary. Guérin (*Samarie*, i. 259) would place it at *'Ain el-Fârâh*, N.E. of *Nâblus*, but this is too far from *W. Kânah*. [G.] [W.]

ENTRANCE TO HAMATH. [HAMATH.]

EPAENETUS (Ἐπαινετός; *Epaenetus*, Vulg. Clem., but earlier spelling varies considerably), a name meaning "praiseworthy." He is mentioned immediately after Prisca and Aquila in Rom. xvi. 5. He is described (R. V.) as "the firstfruits of Asia unto Christ." The A. V. gives "Achaia" for "Asia." This is undoubtedly an error, as the reading "Asia" has much better documentary support, and the position of firstfruits of Achaia is elsewhere (1 Cor. xvi. 15) assigned to other persons; namely, the household of Stephanas. Asia is the province of which Ephesus was the capital (ASIA); and Epaenetus was probably an Ephesian converted by Prisca and Aquila after they were left there by St. Paul (Acts xviii. 19). When they departed to Rome (implied in Rom. xvi. 3), Epaenetus may very naturally have accompanied them. [E. R. B.]

EPAPHRAS (Ἐπαφρᾶς; *Epaphras*), a Colossian (Col. iv. 12), who was with St. Paul at the time of his writing his Epistle to that Church. He had probably been the principal instrument in the foundation of the Churches of the Lycus—viz., Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis, which had not as yet seen St. Paul's face in the flesh (Col. ii. 1). Epaphras felt responsible for their spiritual welfare (Col. iv. 13), and it is probable that his uneasiness about the heresy which had shown itself in Colossae was the cause of his visit to St. Paul, and the occasion of the Epistle being written. St. Paul implicitly contrasts the teaching which the Colossians had originally received from Epaphras with the speculations now rife among them (Col. i. 7 and ii. 6, 7). The position of Epaphras is much cleared by the reading adopted in the R. V. (ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν). He is described by St. Paul as "a faithful minister of Christ on our behalf" (see Lightfoot on Col. i. 7, note). The Apostle regards him as his delegate in the ministry of Christ to the Colossians. As Epaphroditus represented the Philippians in his ministry to the Apostle's personal needs, so conversely Epaphras represented the Apostle in his ministry to the spiritual needs of the Colossians. As we find Epaphras sending greeting in Col. iv. 12, we may conclude that he did not return when the letter was despatched. The expression "my fellow-captive" applied to him in Philem. v. 23 may possibly give the reason for this; viz that he had in some way become involved in St. Paul's lot of imprisonment. But more probably he was voluntarily sharing it. The objection taken to this sense of the Greek word, συναιχμάλωτος (Lightfoot on Col. iv. 10, note), may be met by regarding it as a continuation of the metaphor implied in "fellow-soldier" (συστρατιώτης). They were engaged in warfare for Christ, and therefore their captivity was that of prisoners of war. [E. R. B.]

EPAPHRODI'TUS (Ἐπαφρόδιτος; *Epaphroditus*). The name is a common one, and means "attractive" or "charming." He is described by St. Paul as "my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier, and your messenger and minister to my need." He had come to St. Paul in his captivity at Rome as the bearer of gifts from the Philippians (Phil. iv. 18). He had remained with him, both to do him personal service and also to help him in "the work of Christ" (Phil. ii. 30). His exertions in both ways had led to or aggravated a dangerous illness. He had risked his life to do all that his brethren at Philippi would have desired to be done for St. Paul on their behalf. Now his affectionate nature was distressed on account of the anxiety which his friends at Philippi were feeling at the news of his illness. He desired to return, and St. Paul was desirous to send him. With his usual delicacy and sympathy, he represents the mission of Epaphroditus as being for his pleasure because it was for theirs ("that I may be the less sorrowful," Phil. ii. 28). On the title "messenger" (ἀπόστολον) applied to Epaphroditus, see art. APOSTLE. Epaphroditus was almost certainly the bearer of the Epistle to the Philippians (see Lightfoot[2] on Philippians, p. 36), and may possibly be intended by the expression "true yokefellow" (Phil. iv. 3). Although Epaphras is merely a shortened form of Epaphroditus, yet the longer form of the name is always used of the Philippian delegate and the shorter of the Colossian teacher. The identity of the two is most improbable (see Lightfoot[2] on Philip., p. 60, note). [E. R. B.]

EPENETUS (Rom. xvi. 5). [EPAENETUS.]

E'PHAH (עֵיפָה; A. Γεφάρ, *DE*. Γαιφάρ [Gen.]; B. Γαφέρ, A. Γαιφάρ [1 Ch.]; *Epha*), placed first in order among the sons of Midian (Gen. xxv. 4; 1 Ch. i. 33), and connected by Isaiah (lx. 6, 7) with the Midianites, the Keturahite Sheba, and the Ishmaelites, both in the position of their settlements and in their wandering habits; but no satisfactory identification of the tribe has been discovered. The Arabic word غَيْفَة (*Gheyfeh*), which has been supposed to be the same as Ephah, is the name of a village near Cairo; but this is far from the Midianite settlements, and the tradition that Ephah settled in Africa does not rest on sufficient authority. [MIDIAN; SHEBA.] Fried.

Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 304) and Schrader (*KAT.*[2] pp. 146 sq., 613) compare it with the cuneiform Hajapa, a North Arabian tribe, and Halévy believes that עֵיפָה as a personal name is to be read in the Safa inscriptions (see Dillmann[5] on Gen. *l. c.*). [E. S. P.] [F.]

E'PHAH (עֵיפָה; B. Γαιφαὴλ παλλακή, A. Γαιφὰ ἡ παλλ.; *Epha*). **1.** Concubine of Caleb, in the line of Judah (1 Ch. ii. 46).

2. BA. Γαιφά. Son of Jahdai; also in the line of Judah (1 Ch. ii. 47).

E'PHAH. [MEASURES.]

EPHAI (following the *Keri*, עֵיפַי; but the original text is עוֹפַי = OPHAI; and so LXX. B. Ἰωφέ, ℵ. ὠφέτ; *Ophi*), a Netophathite, whose sons were among the "captains (שָׂרֵי) of the forces" left in Judah after the deportation to Babylon (Jer. xl. 8). They submitted themselves to Gedaliah, the Babylonian governor, and were apparently massacred with him by Ishmael (xli. 3, cp. xl. 13). [W. A. W.] [F.]

E'PHER (עֵפֶר; Ἀφέρ [Gen.], Ὀφέρ [1 Ch.]; *Opher*, *Epher*), named second in order among the sons of Midian (Gen. xxv. 4, 1 Ch. i. 33), but not mentioned in the Bible except in these genealogical passages. His settlements have not been identified with certainty. According to Gesenius, the name is equivalent to the Arabic *Ghifr*, غفر, signifying "the young of the cow" [probably meaning the bovine antelope called the wild cow], and "a small beast or creeping thing or an insect" (Lane, *Ar. Lex.* s. v.). Two tribes bear a similar appellation, *Ghifâr* (غفار); but since one was a branch of the first Amalek, the other of the Ishmaelite Kinâneh (cp. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, i. 20, 297, 298; and Abulfedae *Hist. Anteislamica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 196), we can only identify one of them with the Biblical Epher by assuming a confusion to have arisen in respect to these nearly related tribes. The first settled about Yethrib (Medîna); the second, in the neighbourhood of Mekka. Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] (on Gen. *l. c.*) adopt Wetzstein's view that the name corresponds with 'Ofr, a place between the Tihâma range and Abân, from which that district of Arabia acquired the name of the *Neg'd* of *'Ofr*. [E. S. P.] [F.]

E'PHER (עֵפֶר, *a calf*; B. Ἄφερ, A. Γαφέρ; *Epher*).

1. A son of Ezra, among the descendants of Judah; possibly, though this is not clear, of the family of the great Caleb (1 Ch. iv. 17).

2. Ὀφέρ. One of the heads of the families of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Ch. v. 24). [G.] [W.]

EPHES-DAM'MIM (אֶפֶס דַּמִּים; Ἐφερμέν, B. -μεμ, A. Ἀφεσδομμείν; *in finibus Dommim*), a place between Socoh and Azekah, at which the Philistines were encamped before the affray in which Goliath was killed (1 Sam. xvii. 1). The meaning of the word is uncertain, but it is generally explained as the "end" or "boundary of blood," in that case probably derived from its being the scene of frequent sanguinary encounters between Israel and the Philistines. According to Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 158, the term Maaleh Adumim is applied to Ephes-dammim in the Talmud. Under the shorter form of PAS-DAMMIM it occurs once again in a similar connexion (1 Ch. xi. 13). For the situation of the place, see ELAH, VALLEY OF. [G.] [W.]

EPHE'SIAN (Ἐφέσιος; *Ephesius*), an inhabitant of Ephesus. In the singular it is applied to TROPHIMUS (Acts xxi. 29), and in the plural to the people of Ephesus (Acts xix. 28, 34, 35). [F.]

EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

§ 1. TITLE, p. 947.
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(d) PURPOSE, p. 949.
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§ 3. AUTHENTICITY, p. 952:—
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(2) *History of the enquiry*, p. 952.
(3) *Is the Epistle genuine?* p. 954.
(*a–d*) Objections to genuineness, p. 954.
(*e*) Literary relations to Colossians and other books, p. 957.
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§ 1. TITLE.

The title (with amplifications) πρὸς Ἐφεσίους is attested by all extant MSS. and Versions. But Marcion, and possibly others in his train ("haeretici," Tertull. *c. Marc.* v. 11), adopted the title "ad Laodicenos." Tertullian's statement to this effect is confirmed by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 42, vol. i. p. 811, Migne), who makes Marcion quote Ephes. iv. 5, 6, from his "Epistle to the Laodiceans." It is true that in a previous passage (p. 708), when enumerating the Epistles in Marcion's canon, he includes, *as well as* Ephesians, καὶ τῆς πρὸς Λαοδ. λεγομένης μέρη. But in the face of the quotation just mentioned, and of Tertullian's plain statement, this must be set down to a confusion on the part of Epiphanius similar to that noticed by Bp. Lightfoot (*Col.* p. 292) in the Muratorian Canon. To Marcion, then, the title was "ad Laodicenos." But there is no evidence (Bleek, *Einl.* § 169, notwithstanding) that this was due to anything but a critical conjecture on Marcion's part. Tertullian's language, moreover, is positive proof that the usual title of our Epistle was given to it on grounds independent of the disputed reading. He accuses Marcion of tampering with *the title*, not with the *words*, of the Epistle, "*titulum* ei aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator" (*ibid.* 17. The suggestion of Davidson, Alford, &c., that "titulus" may include the *greeting* of the Epistle, is linguistically admissible, but far from likely). Tertullian makes no allusion to the words in dispute, and therefore cannot have read them.

§ 2. CIRCUMSTANCES, PURPOSE, AND STRUCTURE.

(a.) *For what readers?*—The decision depends upon the following considerations, which call for a more extended discussion than is possible here. We state results only.

(α) The genuineness of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (i. 1). The evidence (collected by Tischendorf) goes to show that from the first the Epistle was circulated both with these words and without them, but that *in either case* (*supra*, § 1) it was known as an Epistle to the Ephesians.

(β) The connexion of the Epistle with Ephesus may accordingly be regarded as certain, independently of the reading of ch. i. 1. The readers are moreover

(γ) Gentiles (i. 13; contrast *v.* 12; ii. 1, 11–13, 19; iii. 1; v. 8), and a definite group of persons (*i.* 15; vi. 21).

But (δ) the Epistle was not intended for Ephesus *only*. This follows from the fact that St. Paul is personally unknown to at any rate the mass of his readers (i. 15, cp. iv. 21, iii. 2, 3). Now the Apostle's labours at Ephesus, though fruitful of result outside the city (1 Cor. xvi. 9; Acts xix. 10, 26), had been carried on entirely in Ephesus itself (Acts xx. 18, τὸν πάντα χρόνον); he had not visited even the Lycus valley (Col. ii. 1).

(ε) It is therefore as impossible to limit the range of the letter to Ephesus as it is to exclude Ephesus from it altogether. That the Epistle was primarily addressed to Laodicea (greeted through Colossae, Col. iv. 15), or that it was purely catholic in its destination (see *supra*, γ), cannot be maintained. That it was addressed merely to the Gentile element in the Asiatic churches (Milligan in *Encycl. Brit.*) is an approximation to the view regarded by the writer of this article as probable: but this view postulates an explanation of τοῖς οὖσιν in i. 1 which will not commend itself to all, and overlooks St. Paul's frequent custom of addressing a Church or Churches of mixed origin as if purely Gentile (Rom. *i.* 13, xi. 13 sqq., and contrast 1 Thess. i. 9 with Acts xvii. 3, 4).

(ζ) The Epistle then was probably (1) addressed to Ephesus, but intended by St. Paul[a] to circulate[b] among "the churches of Asia," and (2) identical with the letter ἐκ Λαοδικείας of Col. iv. 16. The latter identification is based on the verse just cited, combined with the close relation of our Epistle to Colossians (see below), and the identity of the bearer, Tychicus. The identification of our Epistle with that "from Laodicea" is of course denied by those who maintain its exclusively Ephesian destination (see *supra*, δ), and by those who reject its authenticity while maintaining the genuineness and integrity of the Epistle to the Colossians (Davidson; Renan, *St. Paul*, xii.; Ewald, *S. S.* p. 157; and Von Soden substantially). Others, however, rejecting Ephesians entirely and Colossians wholly or in part, see in Col. iv. 16 a reference to our Epistle (Baur, *Paulus*, ii. 47; Volkmar, *Apoc.* 67; Hitzig; Hausrath, *Ap. Paulus;* Holtzmann, *Krit.*, passim, and *Einl.*[2] p. 294). The great mass of those critics who accept both Epistles as genuine and regard Ephesians as in any sense a circular letter take the same view (Anger, *Ueber den Laod.-brief*, 1843; Reuss, *Hist. N. T.* §§ 119, 120, in Eng. tr.; and especially Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 274 sq., where the question is discussed in all its bearings and with full references to the literature of the subject). The objections (restated by Weiss, *Einl.* p. 262) turning on the difficulties as to the method of circulation and the movements of Tychicus are not generally regarded as very serious.

(*b.*) *Place and Date of Composition.*—The Epistle was written at the same time as those to Colossians and Philemon, and carried by Tychicus (vi. 21), who, with Onesimus the bearer of the letter to Philemon (Philem. *v.* 13), was also charged with the delivery of that to Colossae (Col. iv. 7). St. Paul was a prisoner at the time (Ephes. iii. 1, iv. 1, vi. 20; Philem. *v.* 10); this fixes us to the alternative[c] of either his two years' imprisonment at Caesarea (Acts xxiii. 35, xxiv. 27), or his two years' imprisonment at Rome (Acts xxviii. 30). The former has been contended for by some modern scholars, but is certainly to be rejected[d] [COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE]. The silence of St. Paul as to the earthquake which reduced Laodicea, as well as Hierapolis and Colossae according to Eusebius, to ruins in Nero's reign, is explained by the fact that the disaster had taken place at least two years previously (A.D. 60) if we follow Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 27), or else did not take place till at least a year later (A.D. 64, Eus. *Chron.*).

Taking Rome then as the *place* of writing, the *date* depends (1) on the date of St. Paul's arrival there [see FESTUS; PAUL]; (2) on the order of the Epistles written from Rome (see Lightfoot, *Phil.* Introd., and articles COLOSSIANS and PHILIPPIANS). Assuming St. Paul to have reached Rome in the beginning of A.D. 61, and the Philippians to be the first of his Roman Epistles, our group would come at the very end (Philem. *v.* 22) of the διετία (Acts xxviii. 31), *i.e.* at the beginning of the year 63.

(*c.*) *Occasion.*—St. Paul when he wrote had reason to hope for a speedy release, and intended to *visit* Asia at once upon regaining his liberty (Philem. *v.* 22). But, in addition to the possibility of his former disappointment (Philip. ii. 24) being repeated, there were strong motives for his *writing*, and that without delay. (1) *The rapid*

[a] The omission of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ would thus correspond in purpose to that of ἐν Ῥώμῃ (Rom. i. 7) in G, g (Cod. Böm.), an omission possibly (see article ROMANS, and Lightfoot in *Journ. of Phil.* 1870) indicative of a circulation of that Epistle (in a form abridged by the omission of xv., xvi.) as an encyclical letter.

[b] The "circular" destination of the Epistle has been maintained, with numerous modifications and subsidiary hypotheses, by a host of scholars from Beza, Usher, and Bengel onwards, including Hug, Neander, Rückert, Credner, Harless, Anger, Olshausen, Klostermann, Sabatier, Reuss, Ellicott, Holtzmann ("for choice," *Einl.*[2] p. 286), Weiss (Herzog, *RE.*[1] Suppl. i. 481, &c.), Wold. Schmidt (in Herzog, *RE.*[2] xi. 373, and in 6th ed. of Meyer). Schenkel (*Christusbild der Apost.* 1879, p. 88) was a convert to it, while Bishop Lightfoot, who had promised a full discussion of the two kindred questions in his long-looked-for introduction to Ephesians, meanwhile expressed his belief that educated opinion is tending, however slowly, in this direction. (See also his remark, *Ign.*[1] ii. p. 63, that the Ephesians were "the chief, though probably not the sole, recipients" of the Epistle.)

[c] St. Paul's other imprisonments (2 Cor. vi. 5, xi. 23; cp. Acts xvi. 23) cannot have been of the duration implied in the language of these Epistles (Col. iv. 18). The "second" and final imprisonment is of course not to be thought of (contrast 2 Tim. iv. 6 with Philem. *v.* 22).

[d] See Lightfoot, *Coloss.* p. 37 sq., and on the other side Weiss, *Einl.* p. 260; Reuss, *Hist. N. T. Script.*, Eng. Tr. p. 106.

growth of Gentile Christianity in proconsular Asia had for some time been filling him with eager and increasing anxiety (Col. ii. 1 and Ephes. throughout) for the healthy growth, and settlement in the one true Israel of God (Gal. vi. 16; Ephes. ii. 12), of the converts from the uncircumcision. From Epaphras (Col. i. 7, iv. 12), who evidently entered into all that he felt, he heard of their love and faith, their difficulties with the Jewish element in the Church (Ephes. ii. 11, and iv. 3?), and longed to impart to them (as he had done to the original Gentile Church of Antioch years before, Acts xi. 26) the special χάρισμα (Rom. i. 11, 13 b) of his apostleship (Gal. ii. 7, 8; Rom. xi. 13). (2) An equally strong and even more urgently pressing motive was *the state of things in the Lycus valley* [see COLOSSIANS]. It would seem indeed almost probable that the (3) *return of Onesimus* to his master at this particular time was suggested by the opportunity of the mission of Tychicus, rather than the converse: the desirability of sending him with all possible promptitude (Philem. *vv.* 14, 15) would at any rate make the opportunity thus offered one to be seized. [PHILEMON.]

It would appear (see below, § 3 e) that St. Paul at first contemplated, in addition to the private letter to Philemon, a single letter to the Churches of Asia, embodying his anxiety for the spiritual growth of the Gentile Christians; for their progressive realisation of their position in the commonwealth of Christ's Body, of all that that position meant, and of its claims upon their practical life. But upon the arrival of Epaphras with the news from Colossae, it became impossible to meet the special requirements of that Church and neighbourhood with an epistle fitted for the widely-spread communities of proconsular Asia. The Epistle ultimately took shape in two forms:[e] a special letter for the Colossians, and a general letter which the Apostle finally addressed to Ephesus, the metropolis in the faith (Acts xix. 10, 26) of the entire province. The relative priority of the two Epistles is on this view unimportant: while it is psychologically more natural for the general idea to precede its special application, it is quite in harmony with this that, when the time for writing came, the more special letter was written first. The question cannot be decided, however, upon such *a priori* grounds: nor is the relation between the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans an exact parallel. Bp. Lightfoot, numbering Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, 1, 2, and 3 respectively in this group, evidently regards Ephesians as written last.

(d.) *Main Purpose and leading Ideas.*—The Epistle as finally drafted carries out the aim indicated above. Its object is accordingly "much more definite than it is often thought to be . . . These views [of Meyer, Schenkel, Alford, Harless, Gloag, Lightfoot] may be all partially correct, but they are not enough. In this very setting forth of the greatness of the Church, in this description of her life, in this presenting of her to us in all the ideal glory of her state as united to her Lord, the Apostle has a farther and immediately practical aim—to show us that this ideal glory contemplated from the first the union of both Jews and Gentiles in equal enjoyment of the privileges of God's covenant, and that to the completeness of the body of Christ the latter are as necessary as the former, and that it is only when both are together in Christ that His fulness is realised and manifested" (Milligan, *Encyc. Brit.* p. 462; the whole section should be consulted). The Epistle is in fact *the Gospel of the Gentiles*, St. Paul's own Gospel in its positive expression. For his Apostleship of the Gentiles to be μὴ εἰς κενόν (Gal. ii. 2, and see Philip. ii. 16), it was not enough to have vindicated their rights against Judaising demands: they must realise and justify their position as fellow-citizens of the saints (Ephes. ii. 19), as living branches of the sacred olive-tree (Rom. xi. 17), of the ancient and renovated (Ephes. iv. 13, 24; v. 25, 26) congregation of God, into which, in consummation of God's eternal purpose (iii. 5, 11, &c.), they had been at length engrafted. This central purpose[f] of the Epistle is (1) immediately suggested by its general character and by the Gentile origin of its readers (*supra*, § 2, a γ), and (2) brought out with irresistible clearness by an examination of its structure (*infra*, e).

Reserving for the present a general discussion of the theological contents of the Epistle and its relation to St. Paul's other writings (§ 3), we will now point out how its central purpose is worked out. St. Paul traces the calling of the Gentiles to the eternal (i. 4) counsel of God, now at last in the fulness of time made known to all His creatures (i. 9, 10; iii. 9–11), to sum up all things *once again* in Christ (ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, i. 10: so Bengel; Schenkel, *Christusbild*; Weiss, *B. T.*; the sense of ἀνα- is marked by Tertull. *Monog.* 5, "*ad initium* reciprocare;" Pesh., Vulg., Goth.). This again carries us back to the original cosmic mediation of the Son, a principle presupposed in all St. Paul's teaching (1 Cor. viii. 6: cp. Weiss, *B. T.* § 79, c; and Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 116), and brought out prominently in the companion Epistle (Col. i. 16), but in our Epistle tacitly taken for granted. The unity of all in Christ, involved both in His original relation to creation and in the corresponding eternal purpose of God to sum up again (cp. ἀποκαταλλάσσειν, Col. i. 20, 21) all things in Him, is as a matter of fact in abeyance. The reason of this, the great problem of the later Gnostics, St. Paul does not discuss: but *sin* is here, as in the earlier Epistles (Rom. i. 21; viii. 20), assumed as the cause (Ephes. ii. 1), while an original personal source of the cosmic discord (ii. 2, vi. 12) is pointed to. In relation to man, this severance or estrangement has come (1) between man and his Creator (v. 18; cp. Col. i. 21), involving the former in darkness (v. 8), death, and the wrath of God (ii. 3–5, iv. 22); and (2) between Jews and Gentiles, as a wall of division

[e] So Weizsäcker, *Ap. Zeitalter*, p. 565 (rejecting both Epistles), "The two were probably composed, not successively but simultaneously."

[f] Baur, Ewald, Holtzmann, and others have pointed it out, but their perception of the truth has been embarrassed by assumptions as to date and authorship, and consequently the doctrinal perspective of the whole has been missed. Especially, too much has been made of the "conciliatory" (iv. 3) purpose of the letter, supposed to be exemplified in the language applied to the Jews (ii. 12, Baur), to the older Apostles (ἅγιοι, iii. 5), and to the author of the Apocalypse (προφῆται, Holtzmann!), and even in the use made of 1 Peter (Weiss).

(ii. 14) and a state of hostility (*ib.* 15, 16). In relation to this latter point, the case has a two-fold aspect, only to be understood in relation to the respective functions of Covenant and Law as laid down in St. Paul's older Epistles (cp. Gal. iii. 6–29; Rom. iii. 1, 2, 9, &c. The paradox is expressed Rom. xi. 28; cp. Rom. iii. 20). On the one hand, the "commonwealth of Israel" (Ephes. ii. 12) was founded by God (Gal. iii. 16; Rom. iv. 13) as a first step in the reconciliation of man to his Creator. Israel was united to God by a *covenant*, and enjoyed the privilege of *hope*, on the ground of Divine *promises* (Ephes. ii. 12). Moreover, this πολίτεια was to endure for ever (Rom. iii. 3, xi. 29). It was *as Abraham's seed* that the "many nations" (Rom. iv. 13, 17) were to be called: the Gentiles were in God's good time (Ephes. i. 10) to take their place within "the Israel of God" (Gal. vi. 16). The removal of the μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, visibly embodied in the ordinances (ii. 15; cp. *v.* 11) which sharply severed Jew from Gentile, was not to destroy the "household of God," but to bring *within* its bounds those who had previously been excluded. *The continuity of the Church* thus lies at the very root of St. Paul's conception of it (cp. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, ii. 40 sq.). But, on the other hand, the Israelite stood in no less need of redemption than the Gentile: "*We* were by nature children of wrath as well as the rest" (ii. 3). The "ordinances" set an ἔχθρα not only between them and the rest of mankind, but between them *and God* (cp. Rom. iv. 15; Col. ii. 14). They that were "near," not less than they that were "afar off," needed "peace" and "access to the Father" (Ephes. ii. 17, 18). Both in being reunited to God were reunited to one another (cp. Rom. iii. 30) by the death of Christ (Ephes. i. 7; ii. 16). It follows from this that, great as were the privileges of the πολίτεια τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, they were provisional and prospective, awaiting completion with the fulfilment of the Promises. In other words, the restoration of the individual involves that of the Church. In Christ, she receives (i. 23) a Head, a new principle of life and organic unity (iv. 16); in Him she is redeemed, saved, cleansed (*vv.* 23–27), she is His body; in Him she realises the highest and tenderest Old Testament ideal (Hos. ii. 16, 19; Is. liv. 5, &c.) of the relation of God to His People (Ephes. v. 25); in her His function in relation to the Universe finds its complete realisation (i. 23). Until the Church has grown into one (iv. 13 sqq.; cp. Col. i. 28, iii. 11), until all exclusive distinctions are effaced within her, God's eternal purpose in Christ is unsatisfied (i. 10, &c.). It is this, then, that St. Paul "agonises" (Col. ii. 1) to impress upon the Gentile Christians of Asia, praying again and again (Ephes. i. 15; iii. 1, 14) that they *may* learn more and more to what they have been called, until they grow to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. The key-note to the Epistle is struck in the word ἐπίγνωσις (i. 17), progressive enlightenment, not merely intellectual, but of a kind that will be fully realised only hereafter (1 Cor. xiii. 12; on the word, see Lightfoot on Col. i. 9 and Phil. i. 9). With this growth in spiritual wisdom will come mutual toleration (iv. 2) and forgiveness, the fruit of Christ's redemptive grace (iv. 32; cp. ii. 15), and a life worthy of their calling.

(c.) *Structure.*—The analysis given below aims, not at following the sequence of ideas into every detail, which in the case of this Epistle would involve a commentary, but at bringing out the main flow of the thought. The Epistle is characterised by great simplicity in this respect, coupled with extraordinary complexity and length in its parenthetic matter. Its lack of argumentative sequence is compensated by the intense *unity of purpose* which runs through it, compelling the writer back to a thread which is constantly dropped, but never lost sight of from beginning to end. St. Paul, after blessing God for the privileges bestowed in Christ (i. 3), prays for the progress of his readers in knowledge of what these privileges imply (*i.* 15–18). This prayer, after a reminder of the great change from their past to their present condition (ii. 1, 5, 8, 11–13), he reiterates (iii. 1, 14) with deeper fervency and significance, the climax culminating in a doxology. He exhorts them to carry out their privileges to their normal practical issues, unity, renunciation of Gentile vices, fidelity to social and moral obligations, the armour of God, prayer. Such is the outline of the Epistle, the expression of St. Paul's burning anxiety that the Gentiles should understand, and justify, their fellow-citizenship with the saints and Israel of God. But the peculiar distinction of the Epistle is due to the fulness of substance which the simple theme draws up at every joint and turn from the underlying springs of the unsearchable riches of Christ. The following table will make this plain:—

I. 1–2. Apostolic salutation.

I. i. 3–14. *Blessed be God for the blessings bestowed in Christ upon all Christians.*

[These blessings involve—

4–6. God's eternal purpose of our adoption in Christ.

7–14. Our redemption and forgiveness through His Blood, by virtue of the riches of His grace, to which also we owe—

8–10. Knowledge of God's purpose *to sum up all things in Christ*.

11. This purpose includes us all, both

12. Jews, τοὺς προηλπικότας (who had previously hoped in the Christ),

13, 14. You Gentiles also who accepted the good tidings and were accordingly sealed with *the Spirit* to the destiny in store for the Israelites (εἰς ἐπ. τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ repeated).]]

II. i. 15–23. *For this reason* (God's calling of the Gentiles) *I also* (*i.e.* as corresponding to God's purpose) *pray for your enlightenment by God, that you may grow in knowledge of Him.*

[18, 19. This involves enlightenment concerning the hope and heritage to which you are called, and particularly concerning

20–23. The Power of God exerted in Christ, and shown in Him { Resurrection, Exaltation, Consequent relation to *the Church*.]

III. ii. 1–10. *You too, once dead in Gentile sins*, or rather
[since we Jews were in no better case]
us (ἡμᾶς, *vv.* 4, 5, including ὑμᾶς, *v.* 1, and ἡμᾶς, *v.* 3), *God raised to life in Christ.*
[7–10. Import of this (1) as demonstrating God's grace for all future ages, 7,
(2) as the foundation of Christian ethics, 8–10.]
11–22. *Bear in mind, then, this momentous change in your state; once aliens, now fellow-citizens of the saints* (19).
[13–18. This effected by the blood-shedding of Christ, which has removed the barrier (μεσότοιχον τοῦ φρ.) and made both one.
20–22. You are now being built into God's habitation, reared upon the Apostles and Prophets, and upon Christ as corner-stone.]

IV. iii. 1–19. *To this end* (your complete incorporation into the Edifice of the Church) *I Paul, in virtue of my special charge over you Gentiles, of which my bonds* (1) *and tribulations* (13) *are the pledge,*
[2–6. This charge, of which you have heard, or may learn from what I have written, is a stewardship, or gift entrusted to me, namely the revelation of *a secret*, to be made known at last, of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the promise,
7–9. Which secret I am to proclaim to the Gentiles,
10–12. In order that to Powers unseen may be revealed God's manifold Wisdom, corresponding to His *eternal purpose* in Christ,]
bow my knees to the one Father that He may inwardly confirm and enlighten you, to comprehend the love of Christ (18 b, 19 a), *that you may be brought to Christian perfection.*
20, 21. Doxology: climax of the foregoing description of God's unlooked-for bounty, of which the Church is the eternal monument.

V. iv. 1–vi. 9. *Therefore, walk worthily of your calling,*
[2, 3. General characteristics of this:]
iv. 3b–16. *Endeavouring to realise* UNITY:
[4–6. Principles of Unity: One Lord, &c.
7–12. Means divinely provided for its maintenance:
7, 8. Individuals variously gifted by the exalted Christ (9, 10, a point in reference to His Exaltation),
9–13. And specially, for various offices, all subserving the progress of the Church toward (unifying) completeness.
14–16. This completeness characterised—
(1) negatively, in relation to their old life,
(2) positively, in relation to *Christ the Head* and source of life to *the Body.*]
β. iv. 17–v. 14. *Renouncing heathen habits and conduct, and, in general, exchanging the old self for the new:*
iv. 25–v. 4. Various details to be avoided.
(iv. 30–v. 1, 2. Counter-principles interjected—
(1) The Spirit not to be grieved.
(2) Filial imitation of God.
(3) Response to the Love shown in Christ's sacrifice.)
v. 5, 6. Warning as to consequences.
v. 7–14. Contrast of *Light and Darkness.*]
v. 15–vi. 9. *Walking wisely and redeeming the time*, especially with regard to
(1) v. 18–21. Sobriety in body and mind (*Spiritual Songs*).
(2) v. 22–vi. 9. Family and social relations.
[a. v. 22–33. Wives and husbands.
[[24–32. CHRIST AND THE CHURCH.]]
b. vi. 1–4. Children and parents.
c. vi. 5–9. Slaves and masters.]

VI. vi. 10–24. Conclusion.
α. 10–20. *Final Exhortation:* (1) Be strong in the Lord.
[The whole armour of God.]
(2) Prayer, generally (18);
specially for St. Paul (19, 20).
β. 21–24. *Epistolary matter.*
Tychicus and his mission.
Final peace and benediction.

It will be observed, firstly, that with every desire to steer clear of exegetical assumptions on debated points in analysing the Epistle, it is impossible to do so entirely[s]; secondly, that the commonly made division into a "doctrinal" (i.–iii.) and "practical" (iv.–vi.) portion is scarcely indicative of the main lines of cleavage (against Holtzm. *Krit.* pp. 191, 218). The Epistle contains no systematic exposition of doctrine: its doctrinal richness is subsidiary to and illustrative of the practical purpose which binds the entire Epistle into one (for instance, the cardinal doctrine of Christ as Head of the Church appears in i. 23, iv. 16, and not least in v. 24–32), while the practical precepts (iv.–vi.) come under the general head of ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι (iv. 1), and so fall into the main current of the Epistle. Full enlightenment, and a life worthy of their calling, were not to be thought of as separable; each was equally necessary on the part of the Gentile Church, if St. Paul was not to "have run in vain" (Philip. ii. 16).

[s] *e.g.* the close connexion of iii. 1 and iii. 14 is assumed with many of the very best authorities, in the face of others (Chrysostom, Meyer, &c.), who make *v.* 1 into a self-contained clause by what must be called the arbitrary and ungainly insertion of a verb neither expressed nor implied in the Greek.

§ 3. Authenticity.

If the above view of the purpose of the Epistle be correct, it establishes a presumption in favour of its Pauline origin. It is difficult for us to put ourselves into St. Paul's position with reference to the admission of the Gentiles to the Divine kingdom. To us this admission is a truism. To him "this amazing Gospel was always fresh; there was a touch of strangeness in it to the last" (Dale, *Lect.*[3] xii. p. 202). Nor is it easy to believe that anyone even in the generation which immediately succeeded St. Paul, and which entered upon his labours, could have felt the novelty of this revelation with its first freshness. To the writer of this Epistle, not indeed the existence, but the full naturalisation within the Churches of Gentile Christendom, is still on its trial; it is a great task, a matter demanding fervent prayer and full of anxiety, to show them their rightful place as heirs to God's promises and fellow-citizens of the saints. Now after the fall of Jerusalem the Church no longer had a Jewish metropolis; Jewish Christianity fell more and more into the background (cp. Lightfoot, *Gal.*[2] pp. 300 sqq.; Harnack, *Dogmg.*[1] pp. 97, 215 sqq.; also Schenkel, *Christusbild*, p. vii. sqq.); after 70 A.D. the composition of such a letter as ours would be improbable; by 100 A.D. almost impossible. Such a presumption, however, might be outweighed by strong contrary evidence; and contrary evidence has in this case convinced critics of weighty authority.

(1.) *External evidence.* The apostolic authorship of the Epistle was fully recognised in the earlier decades of the 2nd century (Mangold in Bleek, *Einl.*[4] p. 288; Holtzm. *Krit.* p. 278). Of writers who show *reminiscences* of its language may be mentioned Clement of Rome [see index of passages in Lightfoot or Gebhardt; no single instance is decisive, but taken all together they fairly imply a knowledge of the Epistle]; Polycarp, *Ep. ad Phil.* i., cp. Ephes. ii. 8, 9, and xii. [quotes Ephes. iv. 26 as from the "Scriptures"; the chapter has with others been regarded as the work of an interpolator, on grounds which Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 586) has shown to be arbitrary; there is, however, the possibility that Polycarp is *directly* quoting two separate "Scriptures" (Ps. iv. 5, Deut. xxiv. 13, 15), especially as he couples the two clauses by an *et*; but the combination would in that case be an extraordinary coincidence with Ephes. iv. 25 (yet the composite quotation might be from a common source; see Hatch, *Essays in Bib. Greek*, pp. 203 sqq.)]; Hermas [*Mand.* x. 2 = Ephes. iv. 30, *Sim.* ix. 13 = Ephes. iv. 4]; Letter to Diognetus [c. ii., cp. Ephes. iv. 21–24?]; Justin [*Dial.* 39, 87 (from Ps. lxviii. 18) = Ephes. iv. 8, *Dial.* 120 = Ephes. i. 21]. A *direct reference* to the Epistle is made by Ignatius, who, in writing to the Ephesians (§ 12), addresses them as Παύλου συμμύσται, ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ[h] μνημονεύει ὑμῶν. Setting aside Meyer's arbitrary explanation of ὑμῶν as not referring to the Ephesians at all (but "to Pauline Christians as such"!), it is difficult not to see in συμμύσται a reference to the language of our Epistle (*e.g.* iii. 4, v. 32), especially as the Epistle of Ignatius bears other traces of its language; compare Ign. *Ephes.* i. with Ephes. i. 3–6, 9, 11, and cp. Ephes. v. 1, 2 (also other letters of Ign.: e.g. *Polyc.* 5, cp. Ephes. v. 25; *Smyrn.* 6, cp. Ephes. i. 21; *Trall.* 11, cp. Ephes. iv. 25, v. 30). Ignatius, then, regarded our Epistle as written by St. Paul. To this body of evidence we must add that of the *Gnostic sectaries.* From the Ophites downward, the quotations from their writings in Hippolytus show that our Epistle was known to them. It is not, indeed, always certain whether this or that individual heresiarch (Basilides, Valentinus; cp. Westcott, *Can.*[4] pp. 291, 295 sq.), or merely his followers, are stated by Hippolytus to have used the language quoted, for he uses the words φασί, φησί convertibly, and that even when speaking of a sect as distinct from a person (see Salmon, *Introd.*[1] pp. 69, 73; Holtzm. *Einl.*[2] p. 136, n.). But when we find the Epistle commonly acknowledged among these schools, it is unreasonable to exclude their founders, especially as the case of *Marcion* at least is beyond all doubt. The *Valentinians* (and, as Westcott, *ubi supra*, shows ground for believing, Valentinus himself) quoted Ephes. iii. 4–18 as γραφή (Hipp. *Phil.* vi. 34), and Heinrici (*Die Val. Gnosis u. die h. Schrift*, pp. 184, 192, Berl. 1871) has further shown grounds for believing that they actually commented upon it. By the close of the second century our Epistle was universally received as St. Paul's: Irenaeus, the Muratorian Canon, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, unite the testimony of widely separated Churches: it is unnecessary to do more than mention their names, or to refer to evidence later in date. Thus strongly attested by uncontradicted tradition, the Pauline authorship of the Epistle was unquestioned until the third decade of the present century.

(2.) *Modern Enquiries* — (a.) *Negative criticism.* Doubts as to the authenticity of the Epistle were first expressed by Usteri (*Paul. Lehrbegriff*, 1824), but purely on the ground of its relation to Colossians. He regarded the character of the Epistle as thoroughly Pauline, and uses it throughout his book as a standard for St. Paul's doctrine. He derived his doubts from Schleiermacher's lectures, which however, as published, merely express the opinion ("very improbable," Bleek) that Tychicus, the bearer of Colossians, was charged by St. Paul with the composition of this as a companion Epistle (pp. 165 sq., 194). De Wette (*Introduction*[4] and *Commentary*, 1843) rejected the Epistle on internal grounds also, as un-Pauline in language and ideas, and a mere "verbose amplification"

[h] The phrase ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ is open to some doubt. The translation (of Kiene, *St. Kr.* 1869, p. 286) "in an entire letter" is scarcely tenable. We must choose between (1) "in every letter" (Lightfoot, *Ign.* 2, p. 65), who relies on Rom. xvi. 5, 1 Cor. xv. 32, xvi. 8, 19, 2 Cor. i. 8 sq., 1 and 2 Tim.—passages which scarcely satisfy the language of Ignatius, as they none of them refer to the Ephesian Church; and (2) "in every part of his letter" (Westcott, *Can.*[4] p. 47): this use of πᾶς without the article is borne out by such passages as Acts xvii. 26, ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς (according to the correct reading), Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I. xiii. 7, καὶ πᾶν σῶμα, passages which can hardly be brought under the rebutting principle laid down by Lightfoot in loco. The great exaggeration involved in the former alternative almost vanishes with the adoption of the latter, as the Epistle to the Ephesians, in spite of its lack of local or personal references, is throughout closely addressed to the particular spiritual needs of its readers.

of Colossians. He ascribed the Epistle to a disciple of St. Paul and to the sub-Apostolic age, as also did Ewald (*Sieben Sendschr. des N. B.* pp. 153 sqq.; *Hist. of Isr.*[2] viii. 190 sqq., E. Tr.), who dated it about A.D. 75. A similarly negative attitude toward the Epistle is taken up by Renan, Davidson, Hausrath (*Apost. Paul.* and *Hist. of N. T. Times*), Ritschl (*Rechtfert. u. Versöhn.*[2] ii. p. 244, &c.), Weizsäcker (*Apost. Zeitalter*, 1886, pp. 330, 561, &c.), and others, in addition to those to be mentioned presently. De Wette's objections were answered by Lünemann (*de Ep. ad Eph. authentia*, Gött. 1853), and among others who have defended the Epistle may be mentioned here Bleek (*Lectures*, and *Introd. to N. T.*), Schenkel (in the 1st ed. of Lange's *N.T.* and elsewhere), Klöpper (*de origine Epp. ad Eph. et Col.*, Greifsw., 1853), Meyer, W. Schmidt, Reuss, and Weiss.

(b.) Merely negative criticism was incomplete without some attempt to give *a positive account* of the origin of the Epistle. This attempt was first made by Schwegler (in the *Theol. Jahrb.* 1844) and Baur (*Paulus*,[1] 1845), who found in the Epistle traces of Gnostic and even Montanist language and ideas, and assigned it, along with that to the Colossians, to the middle of the 2nd century; the main theme and underlying idea of the "twin" letters being the reconciliation, in Christ as Head of the Universe and of the Church, of all opposing principles, and more especially of Judaism and Gentilism; the author a Pauline Christian writing in order to conciliate the Jewish element in the Church, and offering "as concessions" the recognition of the earlier prerogative of the Jews (Ephes. ii. 12), and of good works as on a par with faith (ii. 8 sqq.). This construction was adopted by the Tübingen School generally (Zeller, Volkmar, &c.), and is maintained in a modified form by Hilgenfeld and by Pfleiderer, who deny, however, the single authorship of the two letters; the former (*Einl.* pp. 666, 677) regarding the two as successive editions by distinct hands, at an interval of some twenty years, of a work designed by a gnosticising Paulfne Christian to re-assert the diminished authority of St. Paul against the opposite extremes of Gnosticism and Jewish Christianity which had thrust it into the background in the Asiatic Churches (against this assumption cp. Lightfoot, *Col.* pp. 50–62); while Pfleiderer regards our Epistle as quite distinct in aim from that to the Colossians, and as the work of a Pauline Jewish Christian, aiming at the reconciliation of opposing parties in the Church, and as chiefly directed against a hyper-Pauline or rather Asiatic and Gnostic (*Urchristentum*, pp. 684 sq., 693) Antinomianism coupled with practical licence (*Paulinism*, ii. 162). Lastly, Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 1886, p. 561) sees in the two Epistles the work of one hand, and an attempt to rehabilitate in Asia Minor the forgotten authority of St. Paul. It may fairly be said that the "tendency criticism" of the Tübingen School, whether in its original shape or in its later modifications, has failed to reach any consistent result as to the origin of the two Epistles.

(c.) More definite results were to be expected from the method of *literary analysis*, especially with regard to the mutual relations of Ephesians and Colossians. If the genuineness of either is called in question, their relative priority (together with their literary relation to other N.T. writings) becomes a vital problem. Mayerhoff (1838) had decided the question of priority in favour of Ephesians, while questioning the genuineness of either Epistle. But the majority of critics decided in favour of Colossians until a new departure was made by Hitzig (*Zur Kritik paulin. Briefe*, 1870), who suggested (following a hint of Weisse in his *Philos. Dogmatik*, 1855) the possibility of *mutual priority*, the wholly spurious Epistle to the Ephesians having been written in the time of Trajan, and then used by its composer in order to interpolate a genuine Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians. This suggestion was followed up by Hönig, who however made the "Interpolator" a third person (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1872), and by Holtzmann, whose elaborate essay (*Kritik des Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe auf Grund einer Analyse ihrer Verwandschaftsverhältnisse*, 1872) presents the problem with a thoroughness which leaves nothing to be desired. (His theory will be discussed below: it is conveniently summarised in his *Einleitung*,[2] pp. 291 sq.; but for its thorough appreciation the original work is indispensable.) While Holtzmann's general idea has been endorsed, but with deviations in detail, by Hausrath, Pfleiderer, Mangold (in Bleek, *Einl.*[4]) and others, no one critic has so far adopted the theory in its original and most consistent form. His most recent and able follower, Von Soden ("Colosserbrief," in *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1885; "Epheserbrief," *ibid.* 1887), has reduced Holtzmann's theory almost to a vanishing point, by re-asserting the genuineness of Colossians with the exception of nine verses, and the spuriousness and dependence of Ephesians only. With a remarkable reservation as to the latter (to be noticed below), he thus brings back the question to the *status quo ante*, and leaves it where Weisse and Hitzig found it. His theory may be summarised as follows:—The Epistle to the Ephesians is un-Pauline in many of its ideas and in much of its language (cp. *infra*, (3) c), and is the work of an imitator thoroughly familiar with the writings of St. Paul (worked out by Von Soden in an elaborate criticism of "reminiscences," with little or no proof that the resemblances are due to anything but identity of authorship). The main interest of the writer is in the ultimate destiny of the Christian (p. 460) in relation to the glorified Christ, and in connexion with His cosmic function. In this cosmic redemptive process, of which the Church (p. 463) is the instrument, there are two stages: (1) Peace between Jews and Gentiles (*formation* of the Church); (2) perfect *realisation* of the Church as the πλήρωμα of Christ, with whom the Church is thus quasi-identified, occupying the place which St. Paul himself assigns rather to the individual (1 Cor. xi. 3, 5; Gal. ii. 20). The letter accordingly is an attempt to further the fusion of Jewish and Gentile Christians after the fall of Jerusalem by an appeal as from St. Paul in view of the peculiar circumstances of the time, and is in fact (p. 495) much what St. Paul would have written had he lived till then.

The problem of the relation of Ephesians to Colossians is got rid of by the denial of any special relation between them (except in the

8½ rejected verses of Colossians and the "practical portion" of Ephesians). Of this contention, to which Von Soden devotes several pages (109-121) of laboured proof, it is enough to say *τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀμφισβητεῖ ἐναργῶς* (*e.g.* he will not allow any marked parallelism between Ephes. iii. 2, 5-7, and Col. i. 25-27!). The discussion below [(3) e, *a*] will therefore take account of Holtzmann rather than of Von Soden.

(3) *Is the Epistle genuine?* The purely negative points will be considered first, then evidence supposed to point to some positive date later than St. Paul, lastly the literary relations of the Epistle to other New Testament books, especially to Colossians. The latter relation, however, enters into so many problems belonging to our Epistle that in discussing the authorship of the one it is seldom possible to exclude all reference to the other.

(*a*.) *The historical situation.*—The points urged are (1) absence of local or personal references; (2) absence of personal acquaintance[1] between St. Paul and his readers. These objections, pointedly summed up by Kamphausen in his verdict that the Epistle was "either not written by Paul or not written to the Ephesians," fall to the ground with the result of our discussion (§ 2, *a*) of the destination of the Epistle. (3) That it is unworthy of St. Paul to have copied himself, as he must have done if both Colossians and Ephesians are genuine (against this, see above, § 2, *c*, and below). It may be added here that the Epistle to PHILEMON, the genuineness of which has not been seriously questioned, lends a historical context and corroboration to its two companions, so much so that Baur, condemning the two latter, rejected Philemon on that ground alone; his highly fanciful explanation of its origin will be found in *Paulus*, ii. p. 93.[j] The remark of Holtzmann (*Krit.* p. 14; more smartly put by Von Soden, p. 473) that if the Epistle is genuine its traditional inscription is a standing puzzle (against this see above, § 2, *a*) suggests the reply that this is still more the case if it be spurious. If the imitator of St. Paul wrote *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* (i. 1), he must have been singularly lacking in ingenuity to have avoided all reference to St. Paul's intercourse with the Ephesian Church. If he did not, how are we to explain such a daring deviation from his model? Holtzmann's answer to this question (p. 131) will scarcely satisfy anyone but himself. Von Soden's (p. 479) is ingenious, but does not meet the difficulty.

(*b*.) *Absence of characteristic Pauline ideas.*—It must be remembered *in limine* that it is one thing to take the Pauline "homologumena" (Galatians, Corinthians, Romans) as the standard of Pauline doctrine and language, but quite another thing to demand that St. Paul shall never be permitted to step beyond their special vocabulary or special mental horizon, never be supposed to be occupied with any problems or controversies other than those of the period of his life to which they belong, nor to give to conceptions developed in the conflicts of that critical epoch a more positive and final expression. The same caution applies in some measure to the attempt to compare such an Epistle as ours with the four earlier ones in concentration, power, and intensity. Such a psychological crisis as marks the period of those letters does not come twice in a man's life, nor does it last long[k] (see also the remarks in article on COLOSSIANS). It leaves its mark behind; but while it lasts, it must draw from depths of the spirit which less stirring conditions fail to sound. Since the last Epistle of the main group was written, nearly five years had passed, and much had happened. The Epistle to the Romans was St. Paul's last word on the question of principle between himself and the Judaisers. If the latter were still at work, St. Paul did not think it necessary to re-open against them a question which had been argued out (see Philip. i. 17, iii. 2). The Gentile Churches were growing, and new difficulties and dangers were threatening them.

The main Pauline characteristics missed by the critics of our Epistle are: (1) *Polemic against Judaisers.* This is met by what has been said. Our Epistle is probably at least a year later than Philippians, where no such doctrinal polemic is entered upon. The Asiatic Churches were now exposed to a new Judaising influence (Col. ii. 16, &c.), not to be met in the old way. (2) *Justification by faith.* It is certainly true that this Epistle, like that to Colossians, contains no mention of this doctrine. "The word 'justification' does not occur; the specific idea for which the word stands does not occur" (Dale). But "to St. Paul the doctrine of justification by faith was not a final statement of Christian truth:" the idea of justification had been the common ground between St. Paul and his Judaising opponents; he had met their insistance upon the authority of law by the doctrine of justification by faith, "a conception of the Christian redemption expressed in terms of law:" this particular expression of i belonged, then, to a controversy of which already in the Epistle to the Philippians (iii. 9) we catch merely the echo. "The Fact which his account of Justification by Faith represented in one form is represented here in another. His mind and heart are filled with the Divine Grace" (Dale, *Lect.*[2] x., pp. 170–177). While *πίστις*, the human factor in salvation, is not lost sight of (ii. 8, iii. 17, vi. 23), it is overshadowed by the Divine and Creative (Ephes. ii. 10, iv. 22–24; 2 Cor. v. 17) factor *χάρις*, conceived in a manner admittedly Pauline (Holtzm. *Krit.* p. 213). Hence the "catholic synthesis of faith and works" (id.), a rock of offence to hostile critics, but here (ii. 10), as in the older Epistles (Rom. vi. 4, 14; viii. 3, 4), regarded as the work of the Spirit, resulting

[1] Holtzmann insists on the contrast between the colourlessness of our Epistle in this respect and the richness of personal details in Acts xx. 17–38, or in Rom. xvi. 3–16, where "we have a genuine greeting from the Apostle to Ephesian Christians." For the reasons which have led a number of scholars (Renan, Reuss, Farrar, &c., first suggested by Keggermann, 1767) to see in Rom. xvi. 1–20 the fragments of a lost letter to the Ephesians, see ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

[j] Baur's view is revived by Weizsäcker, *Ap. Zeitr.* 1886, p. 565: see Renan (*St. Paul*, p. xi.).

[k] Against the view (current in Germany) that the Epistle to the Galatians was written not less than three years before those to the Corinthians and Romans, see GALATIANS, and Lightfoot, *Gal.* Introd. iii. (especially on the close relation between Gal. and 2 Cor.).

from union with God through and in Christ. (The transition to the Ephesian form of this doctrine is to be found in Philip. ii. 12, 13.) We may add that the psychological and anthropological assumptions of the older Epistles are also to be found here [*e.g.* the conception of σὰρξ as the seat of lust and sin (ii. 3, Col. ii. 11), and the intermediate position of the νοῦς, needing, yet susceptible of, renewal (Col. ii. 18; Ephes. iv. 23; cp. Rom. vii. 23, 25). The use of πνεῦμα (iv. 23) is not more surprising than that in 2 Cor. vii. 1]. On the identity of the teaching of this Epistle with that of the main Epistles on the previous position of Jews and Gentiles, see above, § 2 d (and on this part of the subject generally, Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* §§ 100, 101, the general validity of whose results is allowed by Holtzm. *Krit.* p. 205). So far, then, as ideas characteristic of the "homologumena" are absent from our Epistle, there is nothing in the fact inconsistent with the genuineness of the latter. But there remains the more crucial inquiry, whether the Epistle contains ideas inconsistent with the known mind of St. Paul, or wholly foreign to it, or to anything in his historical environment, and whether its form betrays the work of another hand.

(c.) *Definitely un-Pauline Features.*—i. *Vocabulary,*[1] *Style, and Constructions.* It is an easy method of impugning the genuineness of any book to ascribe divergencies of language to diversity of authorship, and coincidences to imitation. Holtzmann, in his elaborate verbal analysis (pp. 113–120, 131–148) of the Epistle, has not always kept clear of this method, although he is of course alive to its fallacy. His test (correspondence *of idea*) is satisfactory so far as it goes, but diversity of idea, even where the language is strikingly alike, does not demonstrate unintelligent imitation (compare *e.g.* the similar passages, Rom. iv. 15, v. 13, vii. 8, each distinct from the others in idea and connexion). Peculiar expressions there certainly are in our Epistle, such as vi. 11, μεθοδεία τοῦ διαβόλου (St. Paul always says σατανᾶς, not διάβολος, except in 1 and 2 Tim.); v. 5, ἴστε γινώσκοντες; iii. 21, εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων, and others: but many are objected to with no show of fairness: *e.g.* St. Paul may imply (Rom. vi. 21), but may not expressly state (Ephes. v. 11), that Gentile sins are ἄκαρπα; he may combine (Rom. v. 21) ἁμαρτία and παράπτωμα in the singular, but not in the plural, at least not with καί (Ephes. ii. 1); he may give two lists of church officers (1 Cor. xii. 28; Rom. xii. 5), but must not give a third (Ephes. iv. 11); he may speak of ἀγαπᾶν τὸν θεὸν (Rom. viii. 28) and φιλεῖν τὸν Κύριον (1 Cor. xvi. 21), but on no account of ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Κύριον (Ephes. vi. 24); he may call his converts "beloved children" *of his own* (1 Cor. iv. 14, 17), but not "beloved children" *of God* (v. 1; Holtzmann, p. 102, singles out this as "a speaking example"). Diffuseness, tautology, catchwords and tricks of style (such as fondness for indirect questions after verbs of knowledge, φωτίζειν τί τὸ πλοῦτος and the like, i. 18, iii. 9), combination of cognate words (i. 6, ii. 4, iii. 6,, strings of genitives (i. 6, 10, 18, 19, &c.), the use of πᾶς, especially to intensify abstract nouns, are more or less decided peculiarities of this Epistle and that to the Colossians, many of which, however, are found (with less frequency) elsewhere in St. Paul. But when we are told (Holtzm. *Krit.* p. 139) that the occurrence of a word (ἀνεξιχνίαστος) only in Rom. xi. 33 and Ephes. iii. 8 is a proof that one place borrows from the other, or that the writer of Ephes. iii. 14 can only have derived the idea of bowing his knees to God from the study of Rom. xi. 4 or xiv. 11, we realise the deceptiveness of verbal coincidences. The *style* of the Epistle is further objected to as lacking the syllogistic structure, the sharp dialectical spring, the nerve and spontaneity of the acknowledged writings of St. Paul. This criterion is to some extent subjective: so far as it rests on tangible data (such as the infrequency of γάρ, so characteristic of Rom., Gal., Cor.; ἄρα οὖν, once only Ephes. ii. 19, eight times in Rom., but only once in Gal., 1 Thess., not in Cor.; διό, five times in our Epistle, quite as frequent as elsewhere), it is amply explained by the fact that St. Paul is not here engaged in argument. Nor is it reasonable to look for uniformity or equality of style in the letters of a man of action (see the interesting parallel case of Xenophon, in Salmon, *Introd.*,[4] p. 419, note).

ii. *Ideas.*—(1) *Christology.* The relation of Christ's Redemptive Work to the Universe ("the mere presence of which shows the later point of view," Holtzm.) is certainly a prominent thought in our Epistle (i. 10; Col. i. 20), but it cannot surprise us in the writer of Rom. viii. 18–23. His original mediation in creation (Col. i. 18) is admitted to be already expressed in 1 Cor. viii. 6. From 1 Cor. xv. 27 the transition (through Philip ii. 9, 10, as Holtzmann admits in *Zeitschr. wiss. Theol.* 1881, p. 102, n.) to the doctrine of our Epistles is not great, nor in any way inconsistent with the final ὑποτάξις of the Son to the Father as expressed in 1 Cor. xv. 28 (see also COLOSSIANS). Von Soden has made a very remarkable discovery in this connexion (pp. 440 sqq.). After drawing out (most admirably) the way in which Christ pervades the Epistle from end to end, standing always as the Centre of Christian faith and hope, conduct and life, as the Bond of all Christian relations, as the Source of all Christian graces, he appeals to this leading characteristic of the letter, not indeed as decisive proof, but as a confirmation of the other proofs, of its *un*-Pauline authorship! To realise the contrast, he bids us read Colossians or Philippians, and note the difference of atmosphere. It is certainly a novel test of an un-

[1] As to the vocabulary, the facts are these. The Epistle contains about 2,400 words, that to the Colossians about 1,600. Of the former, 36 are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα (in the N. T. But this is nothing unusual; the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, with something more than 5,000 words, has 100 ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, *i.e.* nearly 2 per cent., as against 1¼ per cent. in our Epistle). The Epistle to the Colossians has 33, just 2 per cent. Our Epistle has 18 words (Colossians has 11) peculiar to St. Paul (omitting the Epistles to Colossians, Timothy, and Titus from the argument), 39 New Testament words not elsewhere used by St. Paul (Colossians has 15); while of the (nearly) 600 words common to both Epistles, 10 are peculiar to them in the N. T., 5 peculiar to St. Paul, 6 N. T. words not elsewhere used by St. Paul (see Holtzmann, *Krit.* pp. 100, 111, and the Appendix to Thayer's *Lexicon of N. T. Greek*).

Pauline work—that it is too full of Christ! But Von Soden goes on to suggest (p. 443) that the author is reacting against a post-apostolic and faded grasp of Christ as the Centre of life and thought. The importance of this admission is to be carefully noted. Von Soden cannot refuse to see the gulf between our Epistle with its energetic grasp of a living Christ, and the whole group of Apostolic Fathers and apologists to which he supposes it to belong. Von Soden goes on to remark that the Christology of the Epistle is its most Pauline characteristic. (2) *Angelology.* The addition of θρόνοι (Col. i. 16) and κυριότητες (Ephes. i. 21) to the terms applied in the earlier Epistles (Rom. viii. 38; 1 Cor. xv. 24) to angelic beings (cp. Ephes. iii. 10) cannot reasonably be objected to: their mention in connexion with the exaltation of Christ (Ephes. i. 20) reminds us of Philip. ii. 10, which also supplies a point of contact for the ἐπουράνια of our Epistle, which term, however, is here used in a more definitely local sense (i. 3, 20; ii. 6; iii. 10; vi. 12). The demonology (Ephes. ii. 2; iv. 27; vi. 11, 12, 16) is paralleled by 1 Cor. x. 20, and elsewhere, save that ὁ διάβολος or ὁ πονηρὸς (Ephes. vi. 16) is here substituted for the older σατανᾶς. (3) *The Church, and Christ as Head of the Church.* It is objected that whereas St. Paul knows of local churches (*e.g.* xi. 16), we here for the first time find the idea of *the* Church (but see Gal. i. 3; 1 Cor. x. 32); and further, that whereas in the older Epistles the many members of Christ stand in organic relations with one another through Him (Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 13, 27), Christ being the vital principle uniting (1 Cor. vi. 17) and pervading the whole (1 Cor. xii. 12), in those to Ephesians and Colossians (Ephes. i. 23, iv. 15; Col. ii. 19, &c.) Christ is the "Head," *i.e.* a member of the organic whole, the Church as such being reduced to a trunk! (Holtzm. *Krit.* p. 240.) As this criticism has been gravely adopted by several German scholars (*e.g.* Von Soden, *Col.* p. 514, also *Ephes.* p. 467), it may not be superfluous to point out that although the former metaphor may be the more adequate, either metaphor is perfectly natural, and expressive of part of the truth (cp. 1 Cor. xi. 3), but that any metaphor may be pressed too far. It should be further remarked that as the head is incomplete without its body, so the Church is the πλήρωμα of Christ, its Head (i. 23), inasmuch as it is only in the Church that God's purpose in the κένωσις of his Son is completed (Ephes. i. 10: cp. Philip. ii. 7, 9, 10; Rom. viii. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 25). (4) *Intellectualism.* It is certainly true that ἐπίγνωσις and its cognate ideas (i. 17, iv. 13: cp. σύνεσις, iii. 4; φρόνησις, σοφία, i. 8, 17; ἀποκάλυψις, i. 17, iii. 3, 5, 10; γνωρίζειν, φωτίζειν, i. 18, iii. 9: see a more complete list in Holtzm. *Krit.* 217) play a very prominent part in our Epistle, the key-note to which (see above, § 2, d *sub fin.*) is the earnest desire of St. Paul for the increase in spiritual enlightenment of the Gentile Christians. It should be noted that here again the Epistle to the Philippians comes to our aid (Philip. i. 9, 10), opening in the same strain, and revealing the same desire on St. Paul's part on behalf of another Gentile community at a slightly earlier date (cp. also Philip. iii. 15, φρονεῖν, ἀποκαλύπτειν, and Philip. iv. 8, also 1 Cor. i. 5 sqq.). That St. Paul should recognise wisdom as a factor in Christian perfection (cp. 1 Cor. ii. 6, iii. 1 sqq., xiv. 20, &c.) is not surprising: to see a "theosophical" tinge in the enlightenment which he desires for his readers is purely arbitrary. The thought (of 1 Cor. ii. 6–16, &c.) that the revelation of Christ is the deepest wisdom satisfies even such passages as Col. i. 26, 27, ii. 2, 3; Ephes. iii. 3 sqq. The μυστήριον of these Epistles is no esoteric or abstruse doctrine, but St. Paul's "gospel" of the calling of the Gentiles (the use of the word in Ephes. v. 32 stands by itself. On the word μυστήριον in these Epistles, see Lightfoot on Col. i. 26, 28; on ἐπίγνωσις, see his note on Philip. i. 9). The prominence given to ἐπίγνωσις and its cognates in this Epistle is quite explicable, therefore, in view of the phenomena of Philippians on the one hand, and of St. Paul's earlier teaching on the other. For a more thorough discussion, see Weiss, *B.T.*, § 102; also cp. Von Soden, p. 456 sq.

(d.) *Indications of post-Apostolic date.*—(1) *General.* To this head belongs the alleged "studied assumption of St. Paul's personality" (iii. 1–3, 7; iv. 1; vi. 20); the expressions ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι, iii. 5; ἐλαχιστότερος, iii. 8 ("an extravagant imitation of 1 Cor. xv. 9"); the enumeration of church-officers, iv. 11 (ποιμένες καὶ διδάσκαλοι, "union of the two offices late: the gifts of miracles and tongues have ceased, as is shown by comparison with 1 Cor. xii. 28"); "the destruction of Jerusalem has taken place." (Holtzmann, *Krit.* p. 160, infers this from Col. iii. 1, 2; Ephes. ii. 6, comparing Heb. xii. 22, but why not Gal. iv. 26?) Lastly, the age is one of many sects (iv. 13, 14; Baur, Ewald, Holtzmann, &c., importing too much into the Greek). It is not necessary to examine at length all of the above and some other lesser objections, urged by almost every adverse critic of the Epistle; but those founded on the difficult passage iii. 3, 4, and on the phrase cited above from iii. 5, are not so easy to meet. Of the last no very satisfactory explanation has been given—see Meyer in loco and Schmidt—and taken alone it would certainly appear to reveal a writer who looked upon the Apostles and Prophets with the distant veneration of a later date rather than as one of their number. But it must be remarked that the epithet ἅγιοι stands in close connexion with the parallel passage in Colossians (i. 26), in which τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ corresponds to the τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις of our present passage. The ἅγιοι in general are the *mediate* or general (ἐφανερώθη), the ἀπ. κ. προφ. the *immediate* or special (ἀπεκαλύφθη), recipients of the revelation. Is it not possible, then, that the word ἁγίοις was meant to have the same sense in our passage as it had in Col. i. 26, but that the words as they stand have in some way been dislocated? Reuss (*Gesch. N. T.*[6] p. 166) suggests that this is due to a gloss. But even leaving the passage as it stands, this difficulty alone will only turn the scale if the other evidence is more nicely balanced than the writer of this article can regard it as being. The problem is not unlike that involved in Rev. xxi. 14, where the twelve Apostles seem to be looked at by the writer *ab extra.*

(2) *Gnosticism.*—Baur (*Paulus*, ii. pp. 10–25) regarded the two Epistles as belonging to the earlier stages of the Gnostic development, "at

which the Gnostic ideas still passed as unobjectionable Christian speculation." (His arguments to prove that they also bear traces of early Montanist ideas—*προφῆται*, progressive maturity of the Church, the Spirit, holiness of the Church, &c.—need no longer be examined: they break down in the face of Marcion's possession of our Epistle, and "would prove almost any Epistle of St. Paul to be Montanist," Holtz. *Krit.* p. 276.) His main arguments, in which he was followed by the Tübingen School generally, and in part by Holtzmann and others, are the use of the term *πλήρωμα*—but in these Epistles it is always, except Col. i. 19 (where the context suggests *τῆς θεοτ.*), a *relative* term, *πλήρωμά τινος*, whereas in the Gnostic systems it is used *absolutely*, as a term with a fixed denotation: see also Lightfoot's discussion (*Coloss.* p. 257 sqq.)—the use of *αἰῶνες* ("personified as the vehicles of divine ideas," a conception wholly foreign to this Epistle), *γενέαι* (not "spiritual existences," but human generations; cp. Ephes. iii. 5), and, in connexion with this, the Christology and Angelology (on which see above), the "Syzygia" of Christ and the Church—the descent into hades, Ephes. iv. 8 (not peculiar to Gnostics, cp. 1 Pet. iii. 18; but the reference is disputed)—the "intellectualism" of the Epistles (the antipodes of esoteric Gnosis: see above). Doubtless there are coincidences with Gnostic terminology, but they are most simply explained by Gnostic borrowings from St. Paul. Moreover, if it be contended that our Epistle, without betraying traces of any particular Gnostic system, yet anticipates Gnosticism in its glances into transcendent and mystical regions, this may be allowed, in the sense in which we can trace "a Gnostic element in Paulinism" itself (Holtz. *Einl.*[2] p. 134). For a fuller discussion of the question, the article of Dr. Milligan (*ut supra*) may be consulted.

(3) *Faded Paulinism.*—The adequate discussion of this note of time would involve a discussion of current theories of the history of the sub-Apostolic age, and of the manner in which the various elements which the Church included from the first (Jewish, Gentile, Pauline, &c.) became assimilated. That this was on a basis common to all follows from the nature of the problem. That this again involved mutual approximation and the formation of a common or average presentment of doctrine, in which much of the individuality of such a teacher as St. Paul would be missed, is no more than may fairly be gathered from the character of (say) the Epistle of Clement. To show that the essential and moving faith of the Gospel was not involved in any such process would be possible in the proper place. But what concerns us here is the question whether we have before us a product of the peculiar mind of St. Paul (Paulinism in the strictest sense), or merely the reflex of his teaching in a mind other than his own, under the influence of later circumstances, and able to enter only into the general forms, not into the inmost personal spirit, of the Apostle of the Gentiles. What has been pointed out above (§ 2, d, and preliminary remarks to the present §; see also § 3, b) goes far, it is submitted, to decide for the former alternative. It may be admitted that the sharp outlines of the conflict which colours the earlier Epistles have faded in that to the Ephesians: but this was already the case in Philippians (see above, § 3, b). The general character of the post-Apostolic age is found (see *e.g.* Holtzmann, *Einl.*[2] p. 106) in a "Christian legalism," a co-ordination of faith and works, a tendency to translate Pauline ideas into ethical generalities. Now, as far as our Epistle is concerned, the main example of this tendency is found in ii. 8–10, a passage wholly similar in idea to Philip. ii. 12, 13; nor can it be justly said that Christian ethics are in either passage placed on a foundation different from that of Rom. vi. 1 sqq. (see Weiss, *Bib. Theol.* § 101 b, and note 5; also Pfleiderer's admissions as to "successful harmonising," &c.; *Paulinism*, ii. p. 189). To take one more example, Pfleiderer (*ib.* p. 181) objects that the Epistle gives an ethical turn (i. 7, ii. 4, v. 25, but especially v. 2) to the Death of Christ, thus showing that the writer "was not familiar with the idea of an expiatory death." This, again, is a charge which might equally be brought against the Epistle to the Philippians (ii. 8, iii. 10); but is not the distinction between *θυσία* (Ephes. v. 2) and *ἱλαστήριον* (Rom. iii. 27) rather a precarious support for so sweeping a conclusion? As a matter of fact, in speaking of the Death of Christ St. Paul goes back invariably to the ultimate moral ideas upon which the compound and symbolic idea of sacrifice rests: only in Ephes. v. 2 is the term *προσφόρα* or *θυσία* expressly applied to it. (See Weiss, *B. T.* § 80 c, notes 8–10; on the relation of Christ's death to the reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles, a point also objected to by Pfleiderer, see above, § 2, d.)

We are unable, therefore, to regard as successful any attempt to identify the date of our Epistle with some definite period of the post-Apostolic age. But can we not, by an analysis of its relations to other N. T. writings, trace it definitely to an imitator of St. Paul?

(e.) *Literary genesis of the Epistle.*—*a. Relation to Colossians.* This is the touchstone of the entire question of authorship: it was the first ground that raised the question (*supra*, § 3. (2) a), and upon it depends almost every problem relating to the Epistle. It is necessary first to show the *extent* of the correspondence between the two Epistles. It may be said that with the exception of the Christological passages (Col. i. 15 sq.; ii. 3, 9, 10, 14, 15), the passages relating to the Colossian heresy, certain personal matter (Epaphras, Onesimus, &c.), and one or two lesser features (*e.g.* Col. i. 24; iii. 1–4; iv. 6), *the whole of the Epistle to Colossians is more or less directly reproduced in that to the Ephesians.* The table[m] of strictly parallel passages does not do full justice to the facts: many passages which at first appear peculiar to Colossians correspond, though not verbally, to passages of the sister Epistle. To take an example unpromising

[m] The following list of parallelisms is fairly complete: for the convenience of the discussion in the text it is divided, in accordance with Holtzmann's hypothesis, into two classes. It is impossible to denote the *exact degree of similarity* in each place; it varies from entire paragraphs to single words or expressions. This also explains the fact that portions of the same verse in some cases appear in *both* classes of parallelisms. For other tables, see

at first sight, compare Col. iii. 11 with Ephes. ii. 15, i. 23, iv. 13 (unity of Church in Christ, who is all in all, *in context with the idea of the corporate new or perfect man*, effacing pre-existing lines of division). To show it in detail would involve a comparative analysis of the two Epistles: but the converse might also be shown, that, excepting the topics of the relations of Jew and Gentile, the unity of the Church as including both, the marriage of the Church to Christ, the Spirit, the contrast of darkness and light, and the armour of God, there is little in our Epistle that is not also to be found in Colossians.

Starting from the argument that *literal simultaneity is impossible*, Holtzmann lays stress on the *cul de sac* in which both critics and defenders of the Epistles find themselves, in face of the question which of the twin Epistles came first into the world. (In particular he poises the καὶ ὑμεῖς of Ephes. vi. 21—no καὶ in Col. iv. 7—against the καὶ ὑμεῖς of Col. iii. 8—no καὶ in Ephes. iv. 22—the καὶ in either case appearing to presuppose a similar message already penned for other readers.) Assuming that this holds good (against the view taken above, § 2, c), he proceeds to his first main step, the proof that *neither Epistle can claim priority throughout* (as had been assumed in earlier discussions). While in many passages Colossians shows indisputable originality, the same can be shown of Ephesians in other cases. He then propounds the explanation of a common original in the shape of a short Pauline Epistle to Colossians, used (with other genuine Epistles of St. Paul) by the composer of Ephesians. The latter Epistle is then used *by its composer* to fill out the original Epistle, which also receives Christological and polemical additions, directed against an early form of Gnosticism; the result being our present, "half-Pauline, half-Ephesian," Epistle to Colossians. The theory is then further corroborated (p. 130), first by the fact that the parallelisms which are due to the original Pauline letter occur in different order in the two Epistles, while those due to the "Autor ad Ephesios" proceed *pari passu*, owing to the systematic use of his own work made by the latter in his interpolations (a glance at the list given in note * will show that this is not everywhere the case): secondly, by a most minute analysis of the Epistles, with the aim of showing (1) the dependence of Ephesians throughout upon St. Paul's admitted Epistles, but especially upon the alleged original Epistle to Colossians; (2) that the latter is unmistakably Pauline and original, in addition to hanging better together than the existing Epistle to Colossians; (3) that the latter is marked by repetitions corresponding to the double use alleged to have been made of it ("doublets"), and that it has in every way a double look,—style, theology, the heresy combated, all in some respects like what we know of St. Paul, while in others they present features of a later date. Finally, after a glance at analogous cases of interpolation (successive forms of apocryphal acts, &c., Epistle of Polycarp, but especially Ignatian Epistles), and an examination of the doctrinal characteristics of the two Epistles, their relation to the rest of the N. T. literature is estimated, and the date, motives, and historical circumstances of their production hypothetically determined.

In order to estimate the force of this indictment against our Epistle, we must remember that Holtzmann relies throughout on the validity of the *negative* criticism (see above, a–d),

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Meyer, *Introd.* to this Ep.; Holtzm. *Krit.* p. 25, and (more complete) *Einl.*[2] p. 291. The asterisks (*) denote passages about which Holtzmann appears now (*Einl.*[2]) to have changed his mind.

(1) *Alleged priority on side of Colossians.*		(2) *Alleged priority on side of Ephesians.*	
Col. i. 1, 2	= Ephes. i. 1, 2.	Ephes. i. 4	= Col. i. 22.†
Col. i. 3, 4	= Ephes. i. 16, 15.	Ephes. i. 6, 7	= Col. i. 13 (τ. ἀγαπ.), 14.
Col. i. 5	= Ephes. i. 3, 12, 13, 15.	Ephes. i. 7–11	= Col. i. 9, 16, 17, 19, 20.
Col. i. 9	= Ephes. i. 15, 16.	Ephes. i. 17	= Col. i. 9, 10.
Col. i. 10	= Ephes. iv. 1.	Ephes. i. 18	= Col. i. 27; cp. iii. 4.
Col. i. 13	= Ephes. ii. 2, 3.	Ephes. i. 19, 20	= Col. i. 11; ii. 12 (πιστ.); iii. 1.
Col. i. 21	= Ephes. ii. 1, 2, 10, 13, 15.	Ephes. i. 21–23	= Col. i. 16, 18, 19; ii. 10.
Col. i. 22	= Ephes. ii. 13, 16.	Ephes. ii. 2, 3	= Col. iii. 7.
Col. i. 23	= Ephes. iii. 1.	Ephes. ii. 10	= Col. i. 10.
Col. i. 25	= Ephes. iii. 2, 7, 8.	Ephes. ii. 11	= Col. ii. 11, 13.
Col. i. 29	= Ephes. iii. 7, 20.	Ephes. ii. 12, 13–17	= Col. i. 20, 21 (in part); ? ii. 14 (δογ.).
Col. ii. 4	= Ephes. iv. 17; v. 6.	Ephes. ii. 20	= Col. iii. 7 (ἐπ οἷς.).
Col. ii. 6, 7[b]	= Ephes. iv. 17, 20, 21.	Ephes. iii. 1	= Col. i. 24.
Col. ii. 8[a]	= Ephes. iv. 14.	Ephes. iii. 3, 4, 5, 9, 16	= Col. i. 26, 27, 28 (cp. iv. 3).*
Col. ii. 12	= Ephes. i. 20; ii. 6.	Ephes. iii. 10	= Col. i. 16; cp. ii. 15.
Col. ii. 13	= Ephes. ii. 1, 4, 5.	Ephes. iii. 13	= Col. i. 24.
Col. ii. 14, 20	= Ephes. ii. 15.	Ephes. iii. 17	= Col. ii. 7.
Col. iii. 3[b]	= Ephes. iii. 9.	Ephes. iii. 18	= Col. i. 23, 27; ii. 2.*
Col. iii. 12, 13	= Ephes. iv. 2, 32; v. 1, 2.	Ephes. iv. 3, 4	= Col. iii. 14, 15.
Col. iii. 17	= Ephes. v. 20.	Ephes. iv. 13	= Col. i. 28 (πάντ.).
Col. iv. 2, 3[a], 4[b]	= Ephes. vi. 18–20[b].	Ephes. iv. 15, 16	= Col. i. 18[a]; ii. 19;* cp. ii. 2.
Col. iv. 5	= Ephes. v. 15, 16.	Ephes. iv. 18	= Col. i. 21.
Col. iv. 6	= Ephes. iv. 29.	Ephes. iv. 19	= Col. iii. 5.*
Col. iv. 7, 8	= Ephes. vi. 21, 22.	Ephes. iv. 21–24	= Col. iii. 9, 10.*
		Ephes. iv. 25–31	= Col. iii. 8, 9[a]*?.
		Ephes. v. 3–6	= Col. iii. 5, 6,* 8 (cp. ii. 8[b]).
		Ephes. v. 19	= Col. iii. 16.*
		Ephes. v. 22–25, 28	= Col. iii. 18, 19.*
		Ephes. v. 23	= Col. i. 18.
		Ephes. vi. 1, 4–9	= Col. iii. 20–iv. 1.*
		Ephes. vi. 20[a]	= Col. iv. 3[b], 4[a].

which he re-states with the greatest lucidity and incisiveness, and seeks to supplement by a *positive* account of the phenomena. If the negative criticism holds good, some theory of the kind is needed: if what has been alleged in reply has any weight, and if the account (*supra*, 2, c, d) of the Pauline origin of the Epistle is natural and probable, the hypothesis becomes unnecessary and artificial. Remembering this, we proceed to test it on its merits.

Holtzmann's hypothesis examined.—So far as the hypothesis depends on phenomena peculiar to the Colossian Epistle, we may refer to the article upon it, and to Lightfoot's commentary, where the essential homogeneity of that Epistle and the consistency of its ideas and notes of time (especially with reference to the heresy combated and the internal unity of the composition) are clearly shown. It may be added that many of the phenomena relied on by Holtzmann have been shown by Von Soden (see *infra*) to warrant no such inference as Holtzmann supposed. This latter fact also destroys what at first seems a strong recommendation of the hypothesis, viz. the coincidence in support of it of so many independent tests (*Krit.* pp. 99, 130). The facts in reality yield no such certain sound as is taken for granted: the hypothesis is ready before their investigation is begun, and all that they have to do is to fall, whether they will or no, into their assigned place. This stares us in the face, so soon as we examine Holtzmann's case in detail.

(i.) *Instances of priority.*

Christ the Head of the Church.

Ephes. iv. 16.	Col. ii. 19.
ὃς ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλή, Χριστός,	τὴν κεφαλήν,
ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα	ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα
συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον	διὰ τῶν ἁφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων
διὰ πάσης ἁφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας	πιχορηγούμενον καὶ συνβιβαζόμενον
κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἐν μέτρῳ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου	
μέρους τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ σώματος	αὔξει τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.
ποιεῖται εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ.	

Here the passage in Colossians has the advantage in point of conciseness and perspicuity, gained however at the expense of the idea of mutual interdependence among the members, which the language in the Ephesian parallel labours to bring out. On this ground, coupled with the greater fitness of ἐξ οὗ after the masculine Χριστός, the naturalness of the passage in its Ephesian rather than in its Colossian context, the "un-Pauline" sense of ἐπιχορηγεῖν (cp. Gal. iii. 5; 2 Cor. ix. 10), and of αὔξειν (αὐξάνειν only transitive in St. Paul), Holtzmann (*Krit.* pp. 51, 142, 158) regards the Ephesian passage as the original. The precariousness of every one of these numerous tests is sufficiently shown by the fact that, in spite of them all, he now regards the Colossian passage as original and genuine (*Einl.*[2] p. 296, line 25, so also Von Soden), while Pfleiderer regards it as spurious, but as the original of the other (ii. pp. 100, 103).

Hymns and Spiritual Songs.

Ephes. v. 19.	Col. iii. 16.
λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς	διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλμοῖς
[πνευματικαῖς] ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν	ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν [τῇ] χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν
τῷ Κυρίῳ.	ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ Θεῷ.

Here the Colossian passage is the more expanded of the two: the λαλοῦντες of Ephesians is replaced by a more definite phrase: on these grounds and on that of the more obvious connexion in Ephesians, the latter is regarded by Holtzmann as the original. But, in spite of the "un-Pauline" (*Krit.* p. 164) language of the passage, it is now (*Einl.*[2] ubi supra, and Von Soden, *Col.* p. 528) restored to the Apostle, and the priority previously inferred is inverted.

The Reconciliation wrought by Christ.

Col. i. 20–22.	Ephes. ii. 14–16.	Col. ii. 14.
καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, [δι' αὐτοῦ] εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· καὶ ὑμᾶς ποτὲ ὄντας ἀπηλλοτριωμένους καὶ ἐχθροὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς πονηροῖς,—νυνὶ δὲ ἀποκατήλλαξεν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου.	αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἓν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας, τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι καταργήσας, ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ποιῶν εἰρήνην, καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν αὐτῷ.	ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασι ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἦρκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ· ἀπεκδυσάμενος . . . . ἐν αὐτῷ.

The question of priority as between these three passages (see Holtzmann, *Krit.* pp. 63 sq., 92 sq., 137, 151; Pfleid. ii. p. 179 sq.) is highly complicated. The Ephesian passage is connected with Col. i. by the ideas of *an* enmity reconciled, peace being made, and that through the Cross, and by the phrases ἐν . . . σώματι and τῆς σαρκός (τῇ σαρκί)—with Col. ii. by the references to the abolition of δόγματα, to the removal of a μέσον, to the Cross, and by the supplementary statement as to something accomplished by the instrumentality of the latter (ἐν αὐτῷ following an aorist participle in both places). The Ephesian passage, thus closely connected with the others by its wording, yet embraces quite a distinct idea. Common to all three is the thought of the Cross as the instrument of man's reconciliation to God; but while in Col. i. this is deduced from the idea of its *cosmic* efficacy, and in Col. ii. is connected with that of cancelling a bond or

indictment (and while in each of the two Colossian passages the process has reference also to superhuman beings), in Ephes. ii. the common reconciliation of Jew and Gentile to God (*v.* 16) is in close relation (*supra*, § 2, d, e) with the removal of the ancient barrier between the two; the ideas ἔχθρα, εἰρήνη, μέσον, δόγμα, are adapted to this specific reference; and lastly the Colossian phrase ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ assumes a new colour, the verbally parallel ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι (cp. Col. iii. 15) referring to the (mystical) body of Christ regarded as embracing all reconciled mankind without distinction, while ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ (*v.* 15) preserves the idea of the literal body of the Crucified, but with the secondary instrumental reference. The Ephesian passage is therefore regarded by both Holtzmann and Pfleiderer as, at least mainly, modelled upon its parallels, the writer having thrown his subject (the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile in Christ) into confusion by borrowing from the passages in Colossians language there used to express a different idea. Hence the changed sense of σῶμα, and the irrelevant ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, irrelevant because "the slain body of Christ cannot well be regarded as a means of reconciliation ... between Jew and Gentile" (Pfleiderer, p. 180). This extravagant criticism comes strangely from Pfleiderer, who has so clearly drawn out the significance of Christ's death to St. Paul in this respect (i. p. 7, ii. p. 44). The whole argument, in fact, for the priority of Colossians in this parallelism is open to the charge of ignoring, firstly, the main idea of the Epistle to the Ephesians (*supra*, § 2, d); secondly, the fact that, of the leading thoughts respectively distinctive of the three passages (cosmic efficacy of Christ's death, abolition of the law and consequent unification of all in Christ, abolition of the law as a hostile bond), that of Ephes. ii. 14 is in most immediate contact with the earlier teaching of St. Paul,—whence Holtzmann expunges, *inter alia*, all cosmic references from the first passage, while Von Soden also condemns part of the third; — thirdly, the extremely plain and straightforward connexion of the whole passage in Ephesians (ii. 11–20), the spontaneous flow of which absolutely forbids the idea of such laboured and unintelligent compilation as its supposed genesis involves.—The above is on the whole the strongest case of supposed priority; and if the result of a careful examination is so indecisive, may we not reasonably say that the method itself is open to suspicion? (Cp. Von Soden, *Col.* p. 328, "But who does not know how precarious are all conjectures, in literary criticism, as to the relative priority of parallel passages?")

ii. *Critical Analysis of Ephesians.* This test is supposed to bring to light a more or less studied "literary dependence" on St. Paul's earlier Epistles. The "auctor ad Ephesios," while borrowing most directly from the *genuine* Colossians, the whole of which, with the exception of its personal and polemic matter, he carefully uses up, has also shown himself a careful student of the rest of the Pauline literature. Of course, in applying this test, everything depends on distinguishing such resemblances and differences as naturally follow from the identity of the writer from such as betray the imitator. But this is exactly the weakest part of Holtzmann's discussion. To substantiate this, in addition to the few instances given above (c. 1.), it may be well to examine one or two cases in detail. (1) The parallelism last given (Ephes. ii. 14, &c.) is a case in point. The words ἔχθρα (Rom. xi. 28), ἀποκαταλλάσσειν (καταλλ. Rom. xi. 15, 2 Cor. v. 18 sq.), σῶμα (Rom. vii. 4), ἀποκτείνειν (Rom. vii. 11, 2 Cor. ii. 6), are, it is argued, borrowed from St. Paul to express ideas foreign to their original place in his vocabulary. But St. Paul's mind was more elastic than that of his critics: the ideas of slaying and enmity lend themselves to more metaphors than one; while the word σῶμα is admittedly used by him of the Church, and the transition from the literal to the mystic sense of it (Col. i. 22; Ephes. ii. 16) has a strict parallel in 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. To take another example: (2) the alleged imitation of 1 Cor. xv. 20, 23–25, 27, 28, in Ephes. i. 20–23, is clearly due to the natural connexion of ideas, which in a subject so habitually on the Apostle's lips would inevitably bring with it a standing collocation of terms. Once more (3) let us examine the passages Ephes. iv. 22 sqq., Col. iii. 8–10, together with their parallels in other Epistles.

Ephes. iv. 22–24.	Col. iii. 8–10.
ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης, ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ θεὸν κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας.	νυνὶ δὲ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα .... ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν, ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι κ.τ.λ.

Cp. Rom. vi. 6. ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος.

2 Cor. iv. 16. εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἀνακαινοῦται ... 2 Cor. v. 17, καινὴ κτίσις (and Gal. vi. 15).

Rom. xiii. 12, 14. ἀποθώμεθα οὖν ... ἀλλὰ ἐνδύσασθε τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

In 1872 the latter passages were supposed to have been laid under contribution by the compiler of Ephesians, who subsequently abridged his patchwork in the passage Col. iii. In 1886 the latter is supposed to be from the hand of St. Paul (Holtzm. *Einl.*²; Von Soden, *Col.* p. 253), the borrowing from the older Epistles on the part of Ephesians being, as a consequence, restricted to the least obvious points of resemblance (φθειρόμενον?). Resemblances which were formerly proofs of the "*dependence*" *of Ephesians* are now allowed to prove the *Pauline authorship of Colossians*. If we further recollect that (although Pfleiderer, ii. 188, sees in Ephes. iv. 24 an unintelligent reproduction of Col. iii. 10) the words καὶ ὑμεῖς, Col. iii. 8 (of which Von Soden is therefore anxious to get rid), strongly suggest that the writer had in his mind a similar summons addressed to other readers,—a fact which, taken with Ephes. iv.

22, 25, makes it far more natural to assume that the priority, if any, is here on the side of Ephesians,—the examination of this single instance will have sufficed to show the precarious character of Holtzmann's canon of dependence.

One more example shall be given, this time in his own words, and without comment (*Krit.* p. 141). "What is said of love, iv. 3, has its double in Rom. xiii. 10, the reference to ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, iv. 4, in 1 Cor. x. 17, xii. 4, Rom. xii. 5. That καλεῖν is constructed with ἐν, in preference to the favourite εἰς, follows the example of 1 Cor. vii. 15," &c. Holtzmann has certainly collected an admirable mass of illustrative matter for our Epistle (even if not always quite fairly selected), but what evidence does he offer that furnishes solid ground for his theory?

iii. *The "original Epistle to the Colossians."* As the result of the comparative and critical processes which we have described (*parturiunt montes . . .*), Holtzmann arrives at a supposed genuine relic of St. Paul,—in reality a cento of words and phrases from the Colossian Epistle, in connexions of his own. He analyses it verse by verse with the aim of showing the conformity of its language to the Pauline standard, and does so, we may admit, with success. But, with every wish on his part to avoid the pitfall (*Krit.* p. 184), it strikes the reader at every turn that the very same phenomena which betray imitation elsewhere are here the credentials of authenticity. For example, while Holtzmann is unable to approve "the kingdom of Christ and of God" (Ephes. v. 5), the phrase in Col. i. 13, τὴν βασ. τοῦ υἱοῦ . . . αὐτοῦ (τῆς ἀγαπῆς is condemned), is in his eyes "an indisputable trace of the Apostle's hand" (p. 172); to Pfleiderer (ii. 112) it is the very reverse. In its reduced form the letter is supposed to gain in clearness, unity of purpose, consecutiveness, and compactness of structure. The two latter are more than doubtful: the "purpose" is the very general one περιπατῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ Θεοῦ (Col. i. 10); the whole is a laboriously dovetailed piece-work, without colour, point, or passion.

iv. *Improbability of Holtzmann's hypothesis.* We now come to an unanswerable objection to the hypothesis, quite independent of the foregoing strictures. Could such a process of interpolation have been carried out without leaving its traces upon the textual evidence? It is no answer to appeal to admitted interpolations such as those of the Ignatian letters, for the latter have survived in their earlier form as well. Nor is the appeal to interpolations in classical writers legitimate: for in the case of N. T. writings the evidence is abundant enough to bear traces even of very early alterations in the text [COLOSSIANS]. The most elementary principles of evidence, then, are fatal to such a theory as Holtzmann's. He has, it is true, made some concession to the force of this objection, in his assumption of the identity of the Ephesian compiler and the interpolator of Colossians. Every addition to the *dramatis personae* aggravates the unlikelihood of the plot by widening the circle of persons acquainted with the original Pauline letter, and so adds to the force of the demand for evidence of its having ever existed. But the necessity of assuming that the interpolator "rescued" this precious relic "from oblivion" (*Krit.* p. 305) only to relegate it thither again,—in other words, that its existence was known to one person alone,—is in its turn a sufficient *reductio ad absurdum*. Accordingly the tendency now is to reduce the number of interpolated passages to such limits as leave the relation between Ephesians and Colossians exactly where Holtzmann found it. Under his guidance we find ourselves as much in a *cul de sac* as ever.

v. *Probable Solution.* It is fatal to the theory of reciprocal priority to give up the identity of compiler and interpolator, as has been done by most of those critics who have expressed partial[a] approval of Holtzmann's scheme. We have then to choose between complete dependence on one side or the other, and simultaneous composition by a single author. The former alternative Holtzmann's analysis has shown to be inadmissible. His instances of "priority of Ephesians," for example, may be shown (as by Von Soden) to fall short of proving their case: but the same may be shown of the instances alleged in favour of the converse relation. To both classes of instances, however, we can consistently allow an equal *negative* validity, as disproving that, the contrary of which they fail to establish. Holtzmann, as is so commonly the case, succeeds in pulling down the assumptions of others, but fails in proving his own. A continuous survey of the language and thought[b] of the two Epistles shows the impossibility of carrying out any hypothesis of simple dependence on either side, while the only consistently worked out attempt at a more complex solution breaks down, both from the indecisiveness of the internal evidence, from the absolute lack of external proof, and from the improbability of its historical presuppositions.

There is, then, on the assumption of literary dependence, no consistent hypothesis in the field. What then prevents our accepting as true that account of the origin of these letters which they bear upon their face,—that they were simultaneously composed by St. Paul, and sent by him to the same province by the same messenger? Simply the supposed impossibility of simultaneous composition on the one hand; the improbability, on the other, of St. Paul copying his own letters. But this objection must be regarded as altogether unreal. Are not the phenomena of our Epistles such as we should

[a] The principal names are Hausrath (*Ap. Paulus*,[2] and *Zeitgesch.*[2] vol. iii. "differs in details"); Pfleiderer (see above); Von Soden (in *Jahrbücher für prot. Theol.* 1885, 1887), who merely expunges eight and a half verses of Colossians, and except as to these substantially goes back to the old view of De Wette, &c.; Schmiedel (in Ersch and Gruber, 1886); Mangold (Bleek,[4] p. 602). These critics generally reject Holtzmann's distinctive hypothesis (reciprocity of relations), but approve the idea of interpolations in Colossians, and dependence of Ephesians, ascribing the latter to a third hand.

[b] The contention (Hönig, *Zeitschr. wiss. Theol.* 1872; Pfleiderer, ii. 99, 165, &c.) that the two Epistles betray diversities of thought incompatible with unity of authorship has been incidentally anticipated (§§ 2, d; 3, c). But on the special points of supposed difference, a reference to Lightfoot's notes and Excursus, and often to Holtzmann's discussions, will show the inconclusiveness of the reasons alleged.

expect in letters written to different persons, but on partially identical subjects, by the same writer, and possibly on the same day?

β. Relation to the First Epistle of St. Peter. The resemblances between the two Epistles are such in number[p] and in kind as to exclude the idea of accidental coincidence. One instance may be discussed in full:—

Descent and Exaltation of Christ.

Ephes. i. 20–22.	1 Pet. iii. 19, 21.	Ephes. iv. 8–10.
	19. ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξε	τὸ δὲ ἀνέβη τί ἐστιν εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς; ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν . . . .
ἐγείρας αὐτὸν καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως . . . . καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.	21. . . . . δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανὸν ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων.	

What attracts our attention here is the correspondence of the ideas with which the exaltation of Christ is associated in the two Epistles. On the one hand the subjection, to the risen Christ at the right hand of God in heaven, of Angels and powers (passages 1 and 2), on the other the exaltation (here only in N. T.) coupled with the descent into hades (passages 2 and 3: the reference to the latter doctrine is disputed, but probably correct, in the Ephesians, and overwhelmingly probable in 1 Peter: the latter passage at any rate appears to be founded upon the other, so much so that Holtzmann calls it the first known commentary upon it). The two Epistles are moreover linked by several marked words and expressions applied by either writer in the same way, *e.g.* πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, ἀναστροφή, ἁγνοια,' ἀκρογωνιαῖος, διάβολος;—by the similarity of their opening,—by the scheme of household relations and duties,—by the encyclical character of either,—by the reproduction of the idea of Ephes. iii. 10 in 1 Pet. i. 12 (Angels spectators of the work of Redemption), &c. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the writer of one Epistle was directly influenced by his knowledge of the other. If the Epistle of Peter is regarded as prior in date, and spurious—so Pfleiderer, Hilgenfeld, &c.—our Epistle of course is condemned also. If 1 Peter is prior but genuine, we have to suppose that St. Paul borrowed from St. Peter. This is the hypothesis of Weiss (*Petr. Lehrbegriff*, v. 5; Introd. § 25, 6), which is at once obliged to face the fact that 1 Peter shows equally striking correspondences with other Epistles of St. Paul (notably Romans, *e.g.* Rom. vi. 10, 1 Pet. iv. 1; Rom. ii. 28, 1 Pet. iii. 4, and above all Rom. xii., xiii.). Weiss accepts the challenge by assuming that there also St. Paul is the borrower, a contention (connected with an elaborate theory as to the diffusion of Christianity in Asia Minor at a very early date, and with a special view as to date and readers of 1 Peter) which cannot be discussed here [PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF; ROMANS, EPISTLE TO], but which, in common with almost every one whose opinion is entitled to respect, we regard as untenable. (It is supported by Kühl in the last issue of Meyer's Commentary on 1 Peter. Holtzmann, *Einl.*[2] p. 517, calls it "the most desperate step upon which modern apologetics have ventured." Weiss' last restatement of his case, *Introd. to N. T.* § 40.) The other alternative, that 1 Peter borrows from Ephesians, does not affect the genuineness of the latter, and the questions involved in it will be discussed in the art. PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF. It is necessary, however, to mention the attempt of Seufert (*Zeitsch. wiss. Theol.* 1881, pp. 178, 332) to show that both Epistles are the work of a single author, probably the compiler of the Third Gospel and the Acts. It should in fairness be observed that Seufert only follows up a hint thrown out by Holtzmann (*Krit.* p. 265, l. 24), without, however, securing even his master's agreement with the result. That the order of ideas in the two Epistles is "on the whole (*Krit.* ibid., and Seufert repeatedly) similar," is a generalisation which will not bear statement in detail.

γ. Relation to other New Testament writings. The points of contact with the Synoptic Gospels (Holtzm. *Krit.* p. 248) are numerous though slight: they prove nothing more than that the writer of our Epistle was acquainted with the πεπληροφορημένα of the Apostolic preaching. The connexion with the Third Gospel (χαριτοῦν, πανοπλία, δσιότης, &c.) is slightly more marked: that with the Acts (cp. *supra*, § 2, a, *β*) is not peculiar to our Epistle (cp. *e.g.* Acts xxvi. 18 with Col. i. 12–14) and forms part of the larger question of the Pauline affinities of the third Evangelist [ACTS; GOSPELS]. The like applies to the coincidences with HEBREWS (*e.g.* Ephes. v. 26, Heb. xiii. 12, and the Christology), which, it may be added (in agreement with Von Soden, pp. 483–486), are not such as to suggest the dependence of our Epistle (against Holtzm. p. 255, and *passim*). With regard to the Johannine writings, while Dr. Salmon's remark

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[p] The following are among the most striking: a fuller list in Weiss (*Einl.* § 27, 6, note 2, and *Petr. Lehrbegriff*, p. 425 sq.):

1 Pet. i. 3	= Ephes. i. 3.
1 Pet. i. 14	= Ephes. v. 11 (and ii. 3).
1 Pet. i. 16–18	= Ephes. iv. 22.
1 Pet. i. 18–20	= Ephes. i. 4, 7; iv. 17.
1 Pet. ii. 1	= Ephes. iv. 21, 25, 31.
1 Pet. ii. 4–6	= Ephes. ii. 20 sq.
1 Pet. ii. 9	= Ephes. v. 8.
1 Pet. ii. 16	= Ephes. vi. 6.
1 Pet. ii. 18	= Ephes. vi. 5.
1 Pet. iii. 1	= Ephes. v. 22.
1 Pet. iii. 18	= Ephes. ii. 18.
1 Pet. iii. 19, 21, 22	= Ephes. iv. 8, 9; i. 20–22.
1 Pet. iv. 3	= Ephes. v. 7–14.
1 Pet. iv. 10	= Ephes. iii. 10; iv. 12?
1 Pet. v. 2	= Ephes. v. 11 (ποιμ.).
1 Pet. v. 8, 9	= Ephes. vi. 11.

(p. 487, note) that "St. John read and valued St. Paul's writings" is on any theory a sufficient explanation of the few but striking resemblances between the Gospel and our Epistle (those in 1 John are very faint), the relations of the latter to the Apocalypse require a little more discussion. Holtzmann confidently includes the Apocalypse among the materials used by the compiler of Ephesians, and even sees in Rom. xvi. 26 (*γραφ. προφ.*—see below), Ephes. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11, an express reference to the prophetic (Rev. xxii. 9) author of the former! In this, as when he derives the phrase *ἅγιοι ἀποστ.* (Ephes. iii. 5) from the indisputably wrong reading of Rev. xviii. 20, and refers Ephes. iii. 18 to the dimensions of the heavenly city in Rev. xxi. 16, we recognise the old fallacy of reading into the phenomena more than they really tell us. The undoubted resemblances (Ephes. i. 15, T. R., and Rev. ii. 4, ii. 20, cp. Rev. xxi. 14; iii. 5, cp. Rev. x. 7; iii. 9, cp. Rev. iv. 11; v. 11, cp. Rev. xviii. 4; v. 25 sq., cp. Rev. xix. 7, xxi., xxii., &c.) are partly explicable (as in the last instance mentioned) by common use of O. T. symbolism, and partly lend themselves at least as easily to Dr. Salmon's explanation as to that of Holtzmann.

It remains to add a few supplementary remarks as to the relation of our Epistle to St. Paul's undoubted writings. Rejecting the idea of literary dependence, as the result of an arbitrary method of investigation (as shown by its now generally admitted failure as applied to the greater portion of Colossians), and taking as admitted the general conformity of our Epistle to the Pauline theology, we remark: (1) the peculiar resemblance to it, in language and ideas, of the doxology in Rom. xvi. 25–27 (Ephes. iii. 5, 20 sq., &c.). Holtzmann ascribes the doxology to his "Autor ad Ephesios," and there are well-known textual grounds which warrant the suggestion that the doxology may be nearer in date to our Epistle than to that of which it now forms the conclusion (see ROMANS and Gifford's Introduction to that Epistle). (2) *Use made of the Old Testament.* To estimate the influence of the LXX. upon the forms both of thought and of language in our Epistle, recourse must be had to the commentaries: a glance at the text as printed by Westcott and Hort will show the most conspicuous instances, but by no means all. The quotations are mostly according to the LXX., but not in every case dependent upon it: in particular, iv. 8 (Ps. lxviii. 19) betrays familiarity with rabbinical exegesis (cp. v. 32 and Meyer on both places); v. 31, iv. 25, 26, &c., are free quotations and combinations quite in St. Paul's manner, while v. 14 (cp. Is. xxvi. 19, li. 17, lii. 1, lx. 1, 2; Ps. xliv. 23) presents a problem closely analogous to that of 1 Cor. ii. 9 (*γέγραπται*). Moreover the characteristic ideas of our Epistle—Christ the Corner-stone, Peace preached to those far and near, the heavenly armour, the Church wedded to her Lord (see above, § 2, d), &c.—find close points of contact in the Old Testament.

Relation to Philippians. The use frequently made of that Epistle in the foregoing discussions brings the genuineness of Ephesians into close reciprocal connexion with the order of the Epistles of the Imprisonment. The latter fall into two sub-groups, of which Philippians by itself constitutes one. If our Epistle is genuine, the sub-group to which it belongs must be placed after, not as has usually been supposed before, the other. If, again, there are independent grounds for putting Philippians earlier in the Roman imprisonment than has been usually inferred, and as near as possible to the great polemic group (Lightfoot, *Philipp.*, Introd.; PHILIPPIANS), not only is a real psychological objection to the Pauline authorship of our Epistle (ably put by Pfleiderer, i. p. 31, note) removed, but an important link is recovered between our Epistle and the "Pauline homologumena." This is conspicuously true of the Christology (allowed by Holtzmann, *supra*, c. ii.), of the stress laid upon *ἐπίγνωσις* and cognate ideas, of the position assigned to good works (Philip. ii. 12, 13), of the practical teaching (Philip. i. 27, cp. Ephes. iv. 1, 4), of the "wealth" of God in Christ (Philip. iv. 19; Ephes. i. 18, &c.), of the true and *false* *περιτομή* (Philip. iii. 3; Ephes. ii. 11): cp. also Ephes. iii. 19 with Philip. iii. 8, iv. 7; Ephes. ii. 6 with Philip. iii. 20; Ephes. v. 21 with Philip. ii. 3; Ephes. v. 19 with the tone of Philip. iv. 4, 6. Considering the shortness of the Epistle to Philippians and the great proportion of it taken up with personal matter, the instances given—and they might be multiplied—of its affinity in ideas and language with our Epistle are striking enough. If it reaches out one hand (see Lightfoot's parallel passages) to the Pauline homologumena, it touches Ephesians and Colossians with the other. (The points of contact with Colossians are not limited to the matter common to Ephes. Col., but make in the same direction as those here given; a list is given by Von Soden, *Col.* p. 541.)

f. *Summary of literary question and conclusion of question of Authenticity.*—An examination of the relations between our Epistle and other New Testament writings has shown the failure of all attempts hitherto made to construct, upon that basis, an account of its origin which can weigh in the balance against that which the letter bears upon its face. The ablest and only complete attempt of the kind, that of Holtzmann, has been adopted, in its essential points, by nobody, although it has been before the world for nineteen years. An examination of it upon its merits has not gained us over to its side. On the contrary, the Epistle's own account of itself has received incidental confirmation from more sources than one. Since, then, literary and historical indications (*supra*, d) alike fail to confront that account with any rival or counter-theory, and since the purely negative objections are, to say the least, indecisive (*supra*, a–c), what is there to stay judgment in the case? True, it is easier to meet specific charges than to prove positively the Pauline character of an Epistle. If we take as the tests of the "pectus Paulinum" mystical depth, dogmatic firmness, warmth of personal feeling, polemic incisiveness—the last being excluded by the scope of our Epistle—then the others, we venture to say, are all there. Still, the appeal must be, from the nature of the case, *lectori cordato*; the matter is one of taste and feeling, not one to be argued.

Without attempting, therefore, to prove what is no subject for demonstration, we accept the Epistle's own account of its authorship, supported as it is by the unanimous testimony of antiquity, and uncontradicted by any decisive

test or by the claims of any equally probable theory of its origin. We will only add, in the words of Erasmus, to which modern investigations have only lent an added significance, "non est cuiusvis hominis Pauli pectus effingere." If the exact theological idiosyncrasy of St. Paul, "so Jewish in its foundations, so anti-Jewish in its results" (as in this Epistle, *supra*, § 2, d), was so little understood by the generation which succeeded him,—if, in fact, "Paulinism as a living whole existed but once, and that in the mind of its original exponent" (Holtzm. *Einl.* p. 105 sq.), then the attempt to insert the Epistle to the Ephesians in the sub-apostolic cycle, to class it with the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and the other literature of that singularly uncreative period, is a historical paradox, and nothing more.

§ 4. Text—Literature.

(1) The text of Ephesians has suffered less from assimilation than that of Colossians: the longer and more general would seem to have somewhat overshadowed the shorter and more special Epistle. But there are striking assimilations of Ephesians to Colossians in such passages, among others, as i. 15, *τὴν ἀγαπήν*, ℵ°D., Vulg., Syr. Verss., many Fathers (=Col. i. 4); om. ℵAB., Orig., Hier., &c. (see WH); iii. 7, *τὴν δοθεῖσαν*, D°E., &c., and Greek Fathers (=Col. i. 25): *τῆς δοθείσης*, ℵBD.*, Vulg., &c.; v. 22, *ὑποτάσσεσθε*, KL., Syr., Chrys. (=Col. iii. 18, but *-σθωσαν*, ℵA. Verss., Greek Fathers, &c. = *ὡς ἐν*, Col.?): om. B. and MSS. seen by Jerome. Among textual *cruces* may be mentioned iii. 9, *πάντας*; iii. 11, *ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*: while in iii. 5 the view of *ἁγίοις* suggested above is adopted by Lachmann and Tregelles, who place a comma after the word,—the suggestion of some primitive disturbance in the text finding support in a certain confusion in the readings (Orig., Theodt. omit *ἁγίοις*; B, Ambrst omit *ἀποστ.*; several MSS. and Fathers put *αὐτοῦ before ἀποστ.*), coupled with the fact that in early times the difficulty of the words as they stand would scarcely be felt. On the materials for the text, see Colossians, but add that with the exception of C, which contains only ii. 18–iv. 16 of our Epistle, the materials for Ephesians are slightly more abundant (*e.g.* for the Old Lat. r. contains Ephes. i. 16–ii. 16).

(2) *Literature.*—For general commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, see Romans, Epistle to the, and the Introd. to Meyer's *Romans* (E. Tr.). For patristic commentaries on our Epistle, see Colossians (and cp. Lightfoot in *Galatians*, p. 223 sq.). For Ephesians, Cramer's *Catena* preserves many valuable fragments of Origen's commentary (see *Dict. Christ. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 118). For a full list of modern commentaries, see the Introd. to Meyer's *Ephesians* (Eng. Tr.); another list in the last German edition by Schmidt. Among the older special commentaries on Ephesians (mentioned in the 1st ed. of this Dict.), Harless (1834, 2nd ed., 1858) stands pre-eminent for point and thoroughness, and still well repays consultation. The most recent German commentaries (in addition to Ewald's *Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus*, 1857; *Sieben Sendschr. des N. B.* 1870) are those of Schenkel in the 1st ed. of Lange's *Bibelwerk* (2nd separate ed., 1867, when Braune's commentary took the place of it in Lange), Bleek (1867), and Woldemar Schmidt (6th German ed. of Meyer, 1886, very judiciously retouched). Ellicott (3rd ed. 1864) remains the standard English edition; that of Llewelyn Davies (2nd ed., 1884) is brief, but able, reverent, and often suggestive; while that by Moule (*Camb. Bib. Sch.* 1886) is careful and concise, though the exegesis is apt to be founded upon doctrinal presuppositions. The doctrine and ethics of the Epistle are the subject of the Lectures of R. W. Dale (3rd ed., 1887), a masterpiece of insight and theological grasp, and the best possible introduction to the thought of the Epistle. Bishop Lightfoot's *Colossians* contains much incidental matter relating to Ephesians: his commentary on the latter, promised in the Introduction to Colossians, was not completed. Beet and Klöpper have published editions (1891), and one by Von Soden is announced. Of works other than commentaries, Holtzmann's *Kritik* (1872), so often quoted above, is, whatever may be thought of its method and conclusions, a thorough and luminous manual of almost everything bearing upon the question of authorship; Von Soden, in *Jahrb. für Prot. Theol.* 1887, is most able, especially on the theology of the Epistle, although the view taken by him is not that maintained in the present article. It has been referred to above as "Von Soden" simply. "Von Soden. *Col.*" refers to his articles on Colossians, 1885. Of articles on the Epistle, the most recent is by Schmiedel in Ersch and Gruber's *Encycl.* (1886, commended by Holtzmann); that in Herzog² (under "Paulus") is by Wold. Schmidt, and is worth consulting (the article in Herzog¹ by Weiss has been referred to above). Nothing new will be found in Riehm's *HWB.* ("Ephesus"). In the *Bibel-Lex.* the article is Schenkel's own; that by Dr. Milligan in the *Encycl. Brit.*⁹ is excellent. [A. R.]

EPHESUS (Ἔφεσος), an illustrious city in the district of Ionia (*πόλις Ἰωνίας ἐπιφανεστάτη*, Steph. Byz. *s. v.*), nearly opposite the island of Samos, and about the middle of the western coast of the peninsula commonly called Asia Minor. Not that this geographical term was known in the 1st century. The Asia of the N. T. was simply the Roman province which embraced the western part of the peninsula (Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. viii. See especially Marquardt's *Römische Alterthümer*, vol. iv.). Of this province Ephesus was the capital.

Among the more marked physical features of the peninsula are the two large rivers, Hermus and Maeander, which flow from a remote part of the interior westward to the Archipelago, Smyrna (Rev. ii. 8) being near the mouth of one and Miletus (Acts xx. 17) of the other. Between the valleys drained by these two rivers is the shorter stream and smaller basin of the Caÿster, called by the Turks *Kuchuk Menderc*, or the Little Maeander. Its upper level (often called the Caÿstrian meadows) was closed to the westward by the gorge between Gallesus and Pactyas, the latter of these mountains being a prolongation of the range of Messogis which bounds the valley of the Maeander on the north,

the former more remotely connected with the range of Tmolus which bounds the valley of the Hermus on the south. Beyond the gorge and towards the sea the valley opens out again into an alluvial flat (Herod. ii. 10), with hills rising abruptly from it. The plain is now about five miles in breadth, but formerly it must have been smaller; and some of the hills were once probably islands. Here Ephesus stood, partly on the level ground and partly on the hills. The early history of Ephesus was an oscillation between the ascendency of the Greek city on the hills and the old Asiatic temple on the plain.

Of the hills, on which a large portion of the city was built, the two most important were Prion (or Pion) and Coressus, the latter on the S. of the plain, and being in fact almost a continuation of Pactyas, the former being in front of Coressus and near it, though separated by a deep and definite valley. The height of the Acropolis on Coressus is about 1250 ft.; that of Prion, about 500 ft. On the east side of Prion is a church, cut in the solid rock, which is said to have been dedicated to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (J in *Map*, p. 970). Further to the N.E. is another conspicuous eminence, about 250 ft. high. It seems to be the hill mentioned by Pro-

Ephesus from the Theatre. (From Laborde.)

In the centre are the ruins of the "Great Gymnasium," with the "Civil Port" beyond them, and a hill crowned with the "Prison of St. Paul" in the middle distance. To the left of this hill are the slopes of Coressus, and, to the right, the windings of the Cayster.

copius (*de Aedif.* v. 1) as one on which a church dedicated to St. John was built; and the present name of the village on its slopes, *Ayasolûk*, is a corruption of Ἅγιος Θεολόγος. Considerable remains of a church were found in excavations on the hill: these may perhaps be identified with St. John's church, which was in existence when the Council of Bishops assembled in 431 A.D. Among the coins found under the Turkish pavement on the site of the temple of Diana were a number bearing the legend *moneta quae fit in Theologo*.

Ephesus is closely connected with St. John, not only as being the scene (Rev. i. 11; ii. 1) of the most prominent of the churches of the Apocalypse, but also in the story of his later life as given by Eusebius. Possibly his Gospel and Epistles were written here. The so-called "Tomb of St. Luke," S. of Prion (F in *Map*), is a Greek *polyandrion* (Prof. W. M. Ramsay's *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 1890, p. 110). "St. Paul's Prison" is the name fancifully given to the other ruins of an ancient fort on the crest of a hill between the "Civil Port" and the sea (L in *Map*). There is a tradition that the mother of our Lord was buried at Ephesus, as also Timothy and St. John: and Ignatius addressed one of his epistles to the church of this place (τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας, Hefele, *Pat. Apostol.* p. 154; Lightfoot's *Ignatius*, p. 27), which held a conspicuous position during the early ages of

Christianity, and was in fact the metropolis of the churches of this part of Asia. But for direct Biblical illustration we must turn to the life and writings of St. Paul, in following which minutely it is remarkable how all the most characteristic features of ancient Ephesus come successively into view.

1. *Geographical Relations.* — These may be viewed in connexion, first with the sea and then with the land.

All the cities of Ionia were remarkably well situated for the growth of commercial prosperity (Herod. i. 142), and none more so than Ephesus. With a fertile neighbourhood and an excellent climate, it was also most conveniently placed for traffic with all the neighbouring parts of the Levant. In the time of Augustus it was the great emporium of all the regions of Asia within the Taurus (Strabo, xiv. p. 950): its harbour (named Panormus), at the mouth of the Cayster, was injudiciously reconstructed in the time of Attalus (*ib.* p. 641), and the consequent increase of alluvial matter caused serious hindrances, especially in St. Paul's own time (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 23). The Apostle's life alone furnishes illustrations of its mercantile relations with Achaia on the W., Macedonia on the N., and Syria on the E. At the close of his second missionary circuit, he sailed across from Corinth to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19) when on his way to Syria (*ib.* 21, 22): and there is some reason for believing that he once made the same short voyage over the Aegean in the opposite direction at a later period [CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO]. On the third missionary circuit, besides the notice of the journey from Ephesus to Macedonia (xix. 21; xx. 1), we have the coast voyage on the return to Syria given in detail (xx. xxi.), and the geographical relations of this city with the islands and neighbouring parts of the coast minutely indicated (xx. 15–17). To these passages we must add 1 Tim. i. 3, 2 Tim. iv. 12, 20; though it is difficult to say confidently whether the journeys implied there were by land or by water. See likewise Acts xix. 27; xx. 1.

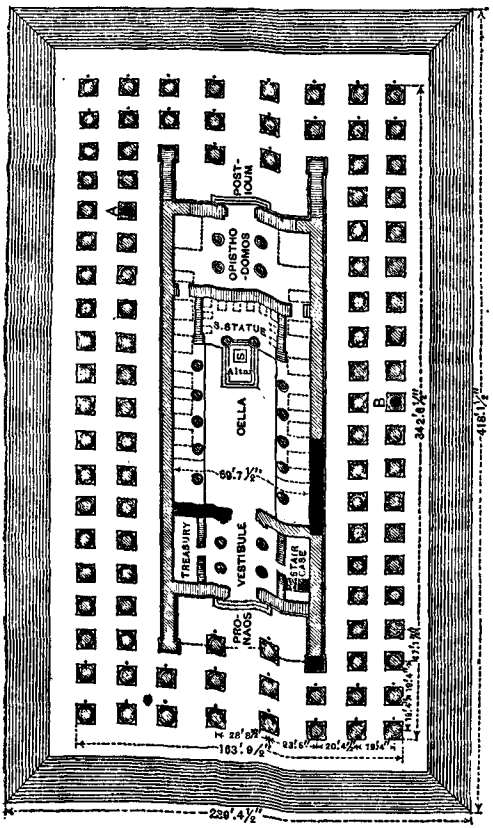
As to the relations of Ephesus to the inland regions of the continent, these also are prominently brought before us in the Apostle's travels. The "upper coasts" (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*, Acts xix. 1) through which he passed, when about to take up his residence in the city, were the Phrygian table-lands of the interior; and it was probably in the same district that on a previous occasion (Acts xvi. 6) he formed the unsuccessful project of preaching the Gospel in the district of Asia. Two great roads at least, in the Roman times, led eastward from Ephesus; one through the passes of Tmolus to Sardis (Rev. iii. 1) and thence to Galatia and the N.E., the other round the extremity of Pactyas to Magnesia, and so up the valley of the Maeander to Laodicea and Colossae, and thence to the east as far as the Euphrates, with cross-roads running south to Iconium, Tarsus, and the Syrian Antioch (Prof. Ramsay, *l. c.* p. 49). There was a Magnesian gate on the E. side of Ephesus (Wood's *Ephesus*, p. 79). There were also roads leading northwards to Smyrna and southwards to Miletus. By the latter of these it is probable that the Ephesian elders travelled, when summoned to meet Paul at the latter city (Acts xx. 17, 18). Part of the pavement of the Sardian road has been noticed by travellers under the cliffs of Mount Gallesus. All these roads, and others, are exhibited on the map in Leake's *Asia Minor*. See also the Index Map in Prof. Ramsay, *l. c.*

2. *Temple and worship of Diana.*—Conspicuous among the buildings of Ephesus was the great temple of Diana or Artemis, the tutelary divinity of the city. The earlier temple, which had been begun by Chersiphron before the Persian war, and afterwards enlarged, or even rebuilt, by Paeonius in the 5th century (Vitruv. vii. *praef.* 16; iii. 2, § 7), constituted an epoch in the history of Greek art; since it was here first that the graceful Ionic order was perfected (Vitruv. iv. 1, 7). This temple was burnt down by Herostratus, B.C. 356, in the night when Alexander the Great was born (Strabo, xiv. 1); and another structure, raised by the enthusiastic co-operation of all the inhabitants of "Asia," took its place (*Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, iii., 1890, Nos. 518, 519, ed. Hicks). This building was raised on immense substructions, in consequence of the swampy nature of the ground (Pliny, xxxvi. § 95). The architect was Dinocrates, a Macedonian, and among the sculptors employed in its decoration was Scopas. Its dimensions as given by Pliny, *l. c.*, were very great. In length it was 425 feet, and in breadth 220. The columns were 127 in number, and each of them was 60 feet high. The magnificence of this sanctuary was a proverb throughout the civilised world (*Ὁ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ναὸς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μόνος ἐστὶ θεῶν οἶκος*, Philo Byz. *Spect. Mund.* 7). All these circumstances give increased force to the architectural allegory in the great Epistle which St. Paul wrote in this place (1 Cor. iii. 9–17), to the passages where imagery of this kind is used in the Epistles addressed to Ephesus (Eph. ii. 19–22; 1 Tim. iii. 15, vi. 19; 2 Tim. ii. 19, 20), and to the words spoken to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 32).

The site of the famous temple remained long unknown. In 1824 Colonel Leake appears to have been the first to make any sensible suggestion as to the place where it should be sought. In 1863, Mr. J. T. Wood excavated the Odeum on the S. side of Mount Prion. In the Odeum he discovered several inscriptions containing mention of Publius Vedius Antoninus, *γραμματεὺς* of the city. One of these is a copy of a letter from Antoninus Pius to the magistrates and council of Ephesus (between 140 and 144 A.D.), dealing with a dispute between Ephesus and Smyrna on matters of titular precedence (*Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, iii., 1890, No. 489, p. 154, ed. Hicks). In 1866–8, Mr. Wood explored the Great Theatre (A) on the western slope of Prion. Among the inscriptions here discovered was a series of decrees, chiefly relating to more than thirty gold and silver images (*ἀνειεικονίσματα*), being figures of Artemis with two stags, and a variety of emblematical objects, weighing from three to seven pounds each, dedicated to Artemis and ordered to be placed in her temple by a wealthy Roman, C. Vibius Salutaris. On May 25, the birthday of the goddess, these images were to be carried from the temple past the Magnesian Gate to the theatre, and thence to the Coressian Gate, before

being taken back to the temple. The date of the decrees, which are now in the British Museum (*ib.* iii. No. 481, pp. 83, 135, 140, 145), is not much later than A.D. 104. They are thus nearly contemporaneous with Pliny's correspondence with Trajan (about 112 A.D.), and may be regarded as marking a reaction against Christianity, which shows no sign of abatement until perhaps half a century later (A.D. 161).[a]

The theatre in which these inscriptions were found is undoubtedly the same as that mentioned in the Acts as the scene of the uproar caused by the manufacturers of silver shrines for the Temple of Artemis (Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, pp. 73–4). Its diameter was 495 feet, and it has been estimated that it was capable of seating 24,500 persons. Some of the columns in St. Sophia at Constantinople, said to have been taken from the temple at Ephesus, possibly came from this theatre.



Plan of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. (From Wood.)

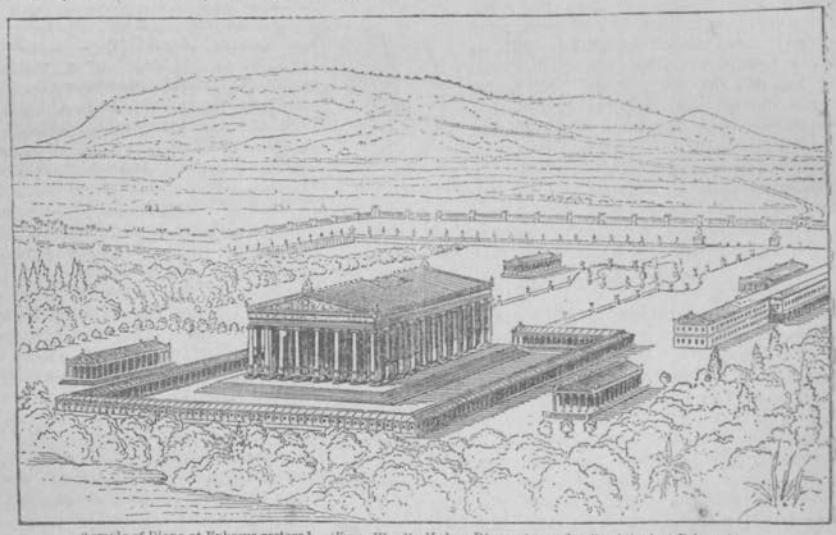
Mr. Wood next ascertained the position of the Magnesian Gate to the S.E. of Prion.[b] In 1869 he came upon a massive wall, proved to have belonged to the precincts of the temple by an inscription stating that they had been rebuilt by Augustus (*Inscr. in Brit. Museum*, iii. No. 522; B.C. 6). This wall was built to restrict the limits of the sacred precinct, which had approached too near the city, and had thus unduly facilitated the escape of criminals who claimed the privilege of sanctuary within the precinct (Strabo, p. 641, and Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 61). Further, in 1870, he lighted on a marble pavement, 19 feet below the alluvial soil, with drums of columns, 6 feet high, one base being still attached to its plinth. The site of the temple was thus reached, and its style was at once seen to have been similar to that of the temple of Athene Polias at Priene, and of Apollo at Branchidae. The largest and best preserved of the drums was found in 1871, and is now in the British Museum. From the figures carved on it, one of which represents Hermes, it may fairly be presumed that it was one of the 36 *columnae caelatae* recorded by Pliny, xxxvi. 95. In the subsequent course of the excavations, Mr. Wood discovered the remains of three distinct temples, the earliest of them being that built 500 B.C., for which the solid foundations described by Pliny and Vitruvius were laid. Between 5 and 6 feet below the pavement, and under the foundations of the walls of the *cella*, he found the layer of charcoal, 3 inches thick, described by Pliny (Wood, *l. c.* p. 259; Vaux, *Greek Cities of Asia Minor*, p. 45). The dimensions of the temple were ascertained to be 163 feet 9½ inches by 342 feet 6½ inches, with eight columns in front and two ranks of columns all round the *cella*. This agrees with the description in Vitruvius. The columns of the peristyle were 100 in number (Wood, *l. c.* pp. 264–5). He also found in massive pieces beneath the site of the *cella* a number of archaic fragments of sculpture and

[a] This is the date of an important inscription which may fairly be interpreted "as an involuntary confession of the subsequent decline of the Artemis-worship under the growing influence of the new faith" (*ib.* No. 482, p. 146). The speech of Demetrius in Acts xix. 27–28 finds a parallel in part of this document, B (1): [ἔδ]οξεν τῆς πρώτης καὶ μ[εγίστης μητρ]ο̣πόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δὶς νεωκ[όρου τῶν Σεβα]στῶν καὶ φιλοσεβάστου Ἐφε[σίων πόλεως τῇ βο]υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· περὶ ὧν εἰσήγ[ηται—Λ]αβέριος Ἀμοινος φιλοσέβαστος, ὁ γραμμ[ατεὺς τοῦ δ]ήμου· ἐπεψήφισαν δὲ οἱ στ[ρ]ατηγοὶ τῆς πόλεως φιλοσέβαστοι· [ἐπειδὴ ἡ π]ροεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεὸς Ἄρτε[μις οὐ μόνον] ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς πατρίδι ἀτιμᾶται, ἣν ἅ[λλων ἁπασῶν πόλεων] ἐνδοξοτέραν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας θειότητ[ος πεποίηκεν, ἀ]λλὰ καὶ παρὰ [Ἕλλησίν τε κ]αὶ [β]αρβάρ[ο]ις, ὥ[στε πολλ]αχοῦ ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτῆς ἱε[ρά τε καὶ τιμάς]· κ.τ.λ. (*ib.* pp. 144, 294).

[b] Mr. Wood placed the Coressian gate on the N.E. of the city near the Stadium, and was thus led to suppose that the hill on the E. was Coressus, and the range on the S., Prion. As regards the names of the two hills, the converse is the view now generally accepted; while the Coressian gate may be identified with a gate leading towards the sea and situated near the western extremity of the range of Coressus (see *Map*, and Weber's monograph in Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς, 1884, pp. 4–11; cp. note by Mr. Hicks on *Gk. Inscr. in British Museum*, iii. p. 140).

architecture which have been identified as remains of the cornice of the archaic temple (A. S. Murray, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, x. 1–10, 1889). One or more canals, formed by diverting the waters of the Cayster, and its tributaries, afforded a water-way to the temple, which thus became accessible from the sea (*Gk. Inscr. in British Museum*, iii. p. 179). An inscription belonging to A.D. 160–1, and partly quoted in note [c] on p. 967, states that "the Ephesian goddess, whose worship had hitherto been universally recognised, was now being set at nought (ἀτιμᾶται) in her own native city" (*ib.* p. 145). The Goths are credited with the partial destruction of the last of the several successive temples, A.D. 262; and some twenty years later its total destruction was accomplished by the early Christians.

The chief points connected with the uproar at Ephesus (Acts xix. 23–41) are mentioned in the article DIANA; but the following details must be added. In consequence of this devotion the city of Ephesus was called νεωκόρος (v. 35), "temple-keeper" (R.V.) or "warden" of Artemis. This was a recognised title applied in such cases, not only to individuals, but to communities. In the instance of Ephesus, the term is frequently found both on coins (*Transactions of the Numismatic Society*, 1841) and on inscriptions (see below). Its *neocorate* was, in fact, as the "town-clerk" (ὁ γραμματεύς) said, proverbial (Guhl's *Ephesiaca*, pp. 114, 115). Another consequence of the celebrity of the worship of Artemis at Ephesus was, that a large manufactory grew up there of small silver shrines (ναοί, v. 24), which strangers purchased and devotees carried with them on journeys or set up in their houses. [See DIANA, p. 782.] Of the manufacturers engaged in this business, perhaps Alexander the "coppersmith" (ὁ χαλκεύς,



Temple of Diana at Ephesus restored. (From Wood's *Modern Discoveries on the site of Ancient Ephesus.*)

In the background the highest point is the Acropolis on *Coressus* (1250 ft.), with part of the city-walls running along the ridge; and, below it, towards the left, the slopes of *Lepre* (about 500 ft.). To the extreme left of the city-wall across the plain is the *Magnesian Gate*. To the right of Lepre and the Acropolis is the summit of *Prion* (about 500 ft.). To the extreme right is a hill (260 ft.), crowned with the "Prison of St. Paul." The precincts of the temple are approached by two routes:—(1) to the left, leaving the wall near the tomb of Androclus; and (2) to the right, leaving it near the Stadium (see *Map*).

2 Tim. iv. 14) was one. The case of Demetrius the "silversmith" (ἀργυροποιὸς in the Acts) is explicit. He was alarmed for his trade, when he saw the Gospel, under the preaching of St. Paul, gaining ground upon idolatry and superstition; and he spread a panic among the craftsmen of various grades, the τεχνῖται (v. 24) or designers, and the ἐργάται (v. 25) or common workmen, if this is the distinction between them. Lastly, as an illustration of the cry "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," we have an inscription in *C. I. G.* 2963, describing her statue outside Ephesus as "the great goddess Artemis."

3. *The Asiarchs.*—Public games were connected with the worship of Artemis at Ephesus. They were held in the month of Ἀρτεμισιών, partly corresponding to our March and April.[c]

[c] See Hicks in *Gk. Inscr. in British Museum*, iii. p. 79.

The uproar mentioned in the Acts possibly took place at this season. St. Paul was certainly at Ephesus about that time of the year (1 Cor. xvi. 8); and Demetrius might well be peculiarly sensitive, if he found his trade failing at the time of greatest concourse. However this may be, the Asiarchs (Ἀσιάρχαι, R. V. "chief officers of Asia") were present (Acts xix. 31). These were wealthy persons appointed as officers, after the manner of the aediles at Rome, to preside over the games which were held in honour of the Caesars in different parts of the province of Asia, just as other provinces had their *Galatarchs*, *Lyciarchs*, &c. Various cities would require the presence of these officers in turn. In the account of Polycarp's martyrdom at Smyrna (chap. 12,—Hefele, *Pat. Apost.* p. 286) an important part is played by the Asiarch Philip (Lightfoot's *Ignatius*, p. 967). It is a remarkable proof of the influence which St. Paul had gained at Ephesus, that the Asiarchs

took his side in the disturbance. See Dr. Wordsworth's note on Acts xix. 31; Conybeare and Howson, chap. xvi., ii. p. 96, ed. 1865; Hicks in *Gk. Inscr. in British Museum*, iii. p. 87; and especially Lightfoot's *Ignatius*, ii. p. 987 sq. [ASIARCHAE.]

4. *Study and practice of magic.*—Not unconnected with the preceding subject was the remarkable prevalence of magical arts at Ephesus. This also comes conspicuously into view in St. Luke's narrative. The peculiar character of St. Paul's miracles (*δυνάμεις οὐ τὰς τυχούσας*, *v.* 11) would seem to have been intended as antagonistic to the prevalent superstition. In illustration of the magical books which were publicly burnt (*v.* 19) under the influence of St. Paul's preaching, it is enough here to refer to the *Ἐφέσια γράμματα* (mentioned in Plutarch's *Symposium*, vii. 5, 4; Athenaeus, p. 548; Clem. Alex. *Str.* i. 73; and elsewhere), which were regarded as a charm when pronounced, and when written down were carried about as amulets. The faith in these mystic syllables continued, more or less, till the 6th century. See Conybeare and Howson, chap. xiv., ii. p. 16; Falkener's *Ephesus*, chap. vi.; and the Life of Alexander of Tralles in the *Dict. of Biog.* There is a terracotta tablet with *Ἐφέσια γράμματα* in the museum at Syracuse. [DIANA, p. 781.]

5. *Provincial and municipal government.*—It is well known that Asia was a proconsular province; and in harmony with this fact we find *ἀνθύπατοι* ("proconsuls," R. V.; "deputies," A. V.) specially mentioned (*v.* 38). Nor is it necessary to inquire here whether the plural in this passage is generic, or whether the governors of other provinces were present in Ephesus at the time. Again we learn from Pliny (*N. H.* v. § 120) that Ephesus was an assize-town (*forum* or *conventus*); and in the sacred narrative (*v.* 38) we find the court-days alluded to as actually being held (*ἀγόραιοι ἄγονται*, R. V. "the courts are open") during the uproar; though perhaps it is not absolutely necessary to give the expression this exact reference as to time (see Wordsworth). Ephesus itself was a "free city," and had its own assemblies and its own magistrates. The *βουλὴ* is mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10, § 25; xvi. 6, §§ 4, 7); and St. Luke, in the narrative before us, speaks of the *δῆμος* (*vv.* 30, 33; A. V. "the people") and of its customary assemblies (*τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, *v.* 39; R. V. "the regular assembly"). That the tumultuary meeting which was gathered on the occasion in question should take place in the theatre (*vv.* 29, 31) was nothing extraordinary. It was at a meeting in the theatre at Caesarea that Agrippa I. received his death-stroke (Acts xii. 23), and in Greek cities this was often the place for large assemblies (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 80; Val. Max. ii. 2). We even find conspicuous mention made of one of the most important municipal officers of Ephesus, the "Town-Clerk" (*γραμματεύς*), or keeper of the records, whom we know from other sources to have been a person of great influence and responsibility.

It is remarkable how all these political and religious characteristics of Ephesus, which appear in the sacred narrative, are illustrated by inscriptions and coins. An *ἀρχεῖον* or state-paper office is mentioned on an inscription in Chishull's *Travels in Turkey*, p. 20. The *γραμματεὺς* frequently appears; so also the *Ἀσίαρχαι* and *ἀνθύπατοι*. Sometimes these words are combined in the same inscription: see for instance Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr.* 2993, 2994. The following is worth quoting at length, as containing also the words *δῆμος* and *νεωκόρος*:—*Ἡ φιλοσέβαστος Ἐφεσίων βουλὴ καὶ ὁ νεωκόρος δῆμος καθιέρωσαν ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Πεδουκαίου Πρεισκείνου ψηφισαμένου Τιβ. Κλ. Ἰταλικοῦ τοῦ γραμμάτεως τοῦ δήμου*, 2966 (about 127 A.D.). See also 2968, 2977, 2972. Among the inscriptions discovered by Mr. Wood we have some early in the 2nd century of our era, including phrases such as *ἡ νεοκόρος Ἐφεσίων πόλις*, and *ὁ νεοκόρος δῆμος*.[a] (For further illustrations, see article by E. L. Hicks in the *Expositor*, June 1890, No. 6.) The coins of Ephesus are full of allusions to the worship of Artemis in various aspects. The word *νεωκόρος* is of frequent occurrence. That which is given above has also the word *ἀνθύπατος*: it exhibits an image of the temple, and, bearing as it does the name and head of Nero, it must have been struck about the time of St. Paul's stay at Ephesus.

Coin of Ephesus, exhibiting the Temple of Diana.

In the inscriptions of Ephesus we find frequent mention of a board of *νεοποιοί* who had charge of the fabric of the temple of Artemis (Hicks, *Gk. Inscr. in British Museum*, iii. p. 80 *b*). In the inscription recording the bequest by Salutaris (*ib.* No. 481) two of the *νεοποιοί* are directed to accompany the procession of images from the *pronaos* of the temple, and to see that they were brought back safely (*ib.* p. 81 *a*). By the side of the civic *βουλὴ* and *δῆμος*, there was founded in the time of Lysimachus, about 300 B.C. (Strabo, p. 640), an important body called the *γερουσία*, which was probably engaged, from the very first, with matters of religion (Hicks, *ib.* pp. 71–78, 105, where it is conjectured that the *γερουσία* of the Roman time was a continuation of the *γερουσία* of Lysimachus).

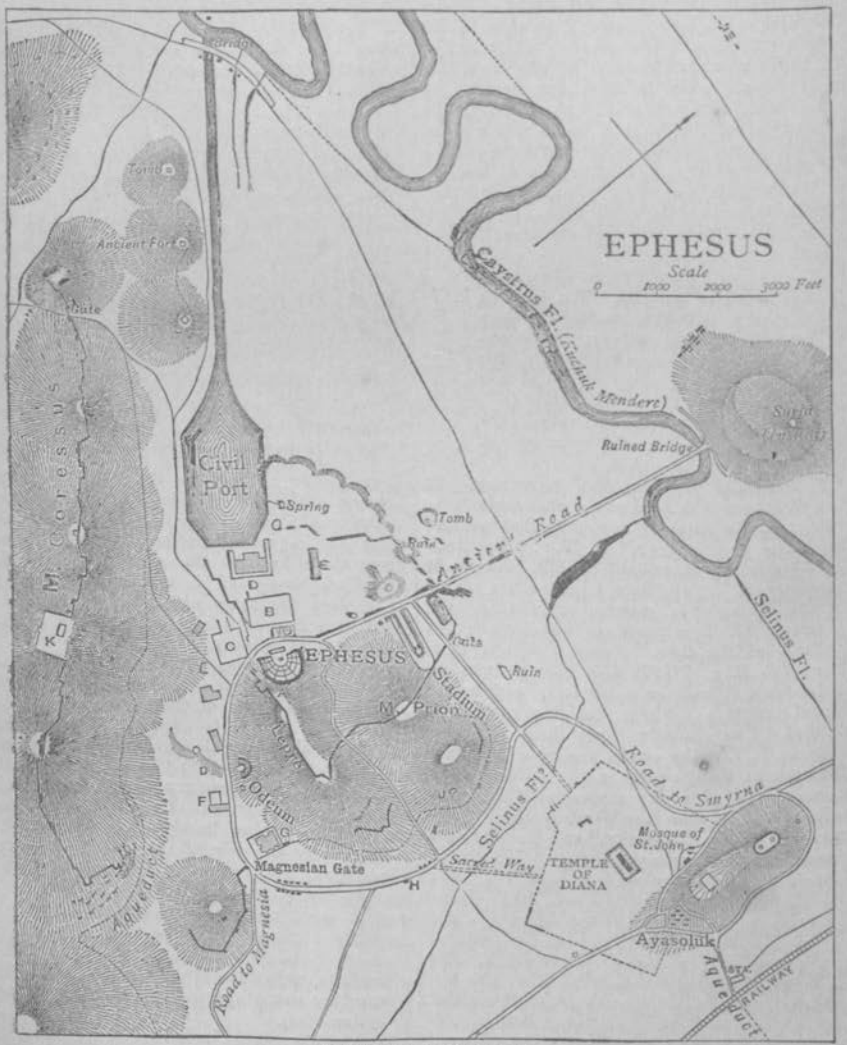
Each of these three bodies had a *γραμματεύς*, and it was the *γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου* that, in Roman times, was the most prominent of the three. "As the real vigour of the *ἐκκλησία* declined in the atmosphere of imperial rule, while at the same time the forms of the free republic were retained, it was more and more left to the *γραμματεὺς* to arrange the business of the public assembly." The importance of this official is proved by the extant inscriptions of Ephesus. "It is therefore one example the more of St. Luke's accuracy in speaking of

[a] *Gk. Inscr. in British Museum*, iii. p. 164.

titles, when in Acts xix. 35 sq. he describes the γραμματεὺς as possessed of great influence with the assembly and keenly sensible of his own responsibility" (ib. p. 82 *a*).

We should enter on doubtful ground if we were to speculate on the Gnostic and other errors which grew up at Ephesus in the later apostolic age, and which are foretold in the address at Miletus, and indicated in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and more distinctly in the Epistles to Timothy. It is more to our purpose if we briefly put down the actual facts recorded in the N. T. as connected with the rise and early progress of Christianity in this city.

That Jews were established there in considerable numbers is known from Josephus (*ll. c.*),



Map of Ephesus. (After G. Weber.)

A. Theatre.
B. Forum.
C. Agora.
D. Great Gymnasium.
E. Double Church.
F. "Tomb of St. Luke."
G. Small Gymnasium.
H. Tomb of Androclus.
J. Church of the Seven Sleepers.
K. Acropolis.
L. "Prison of St. Paul."

and might be inferred from its mercantile eminence; but it is also evident from Acts ii. 9, vi. 9. In harmony with the character of Ephesus as a place of concourse and commerce, it is here, and here only, that we find disciples of John the Baptist explicitly mentioned after the Ascension of Christ (Acts xviii. 25; xix. 3). The case of Apollos (xviii. 24) is an exemplification further of the intercourse between this place and Alexandria. The first seeds of Christian truth were possibly sown at Ephesus immediately after the Great Pentecost (Acts ii.). Whatever previous plans St. Paul may have entertained (xvi. 6), his first visit was on his return from the second missionary circuit (xviii. 19–21); and his stay on that occasion was very short: nor is there any proof that he found any Christians at Ephesus; but he left there Aquila

and Priscilla (*v.* 19), who both then and at a later period (2 Tim. iv. 19) were of signal service. In St. Paul's own stay of more than two years (xix. 8, 10; xx. 31), which formed the most important passage of his third circuit, and during which he laboured, first in the synagogue (xix. 8), and then in the school of Tyrannus (*v.* 9), and also in private houses (xx. 20), and during which he wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we have the period of the chief evangelization of this shore of the Aegean. The direct narrative in Acts xix. receives but little elucidation from the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was written after several years from Rome; but it is supplemented in some important particulars (especially as regards the Apostle's personal habits of self-denial, xx. 34) by the address at Miletus. This address shows that the church at Ephesus was thoroughly organised under its presbyters. At a later period TIMOTHY was set over them, as we learn from the two epistles addressed to him. Among St. Paul's other companions, two, Trophimus and Tychicus, were natives of Asia (xx. 4), and the latter probably (2 Tim. iv. 12), the former certainly (Acts xxi. 29), natives of Ephesus. In the same connexion we ought to mention Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i. 16–18) and his household (iv. 19). On the other hand must be noticed certain specified Ephesian antagonists of the Apostle, the sons of Sceva and his party (Acts xix. 14), Hymenaeus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 14), and Phygelus and Hermogenes (2 Tim. i. 15).

The site of ancient Ephesus has been visited and examined by many travellers during the last 200 years; and descriptions, more or less copious, have been given by Pococke, Tournefort, Spon and Wheler, Chandler, Poujoulat, Prokesch, Beaujour, Schubert, Arundell, Fellows, and Hamilton. The fullest accounts are, among the older travellers, in Chandler, and, among the more recent, in Hamilton. Some views are given in the second volume of the *Ionian Antiquities*, published by the Dilettanti Society. Leake, in his *Asia Minor*, has a discussion on the dimensions and style of the Temple. Falkener published in 1862 an elaborate work on Ephesus, with numerous sketches taken on the spot during a fortnight's visit seventeen years before. Finally, in 1877, appeared Mr. Wood's important volume entitled *Discoveries at Ephesus, including the Site and Remains of the great Temple of Diana;* a popular account of *Modern Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Ephesus* by the same author was published by the Religious Tract Society in 1890. The ruins are of vast extent, both on the hills and on the plain: the map on the opposite page, drawn under the superintendence of Sir Charles Wilson, explains most of the topographical details.

To the works above referred to must be added, Gronov. *Antiq. Graec.* vii. 387–401; Perry, *De rebus Ephesiorum* (Gött. 1837), a slight sketch; Guhl, *Ephesiaca* (Berl. 1843), a very elaborate work; Hemsen's *Paulus* (Gött. 1830), which contains a good chapter on Ephesus; Biscoe *On the Acts* (Oxf. 1829), pp. 274–285; an article by Ampère in the *Rev. des Deux Mondes* for Jan. 1842; Mr. Akerman's paper on the Coins of Ephesus in the *Trans. of the Numismatic Soc.* 1841; Head's *History of the Coinage of Ephesus* (ending with the Christian era), 1880; E. Curtius, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, Abh. der Akademie der Wiss. (Dümmler, 1872), and in *Alterthum und Gegenwart* (1874), ed. 2, 1886, ii. 98–128; and Newton's *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, pp. 210–245; also Zimmermann, *Ephesos im ersten Christlichen Jahrhundert*, 1874; Menadier, *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint inde ab Asia in formam provinciae redacta*, 1880; Bp. Lightfoot's Essay on the Discoveries at Ephesus as illustrative of the narrative in the Acts, reprinted at the end of his collected *Essays on Supernatural Religion;* and *Greek Inscriptions in British Museum*, iii. 1890, with *Prolegomena* to the inscriptions of Ephesus by E. L. Hicks, pp. 67–87, and list of recent authorities on p. 68. G. Weber has published a useful study of Ephesus, with a good map of the city and surroundings (see Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς, Smyrna, 1880–4, περίοδος iv. pp. 1–44).
[J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

EPH'LAL (אֶפְלָל; B. Ἀφαμήλ, B*. -μηδ, A. Ὀφλάδ; *Ophlal*), a descendant of Judah, of the family of Hezron and of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. ii. 37).

EPHOD (אֵפוֹד), a sacred vestment originally appropriate to the high-priest (Ezra xxviii. 4), but afterwards worn by ordinary priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18), and deemed characteristic of the office (1 Sam. ii. 28, xiv. 3; Hos. iii. 4). For a description and illustration of the robe itself, see HIGH-PRIEST. A kind of ephod was worn by Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 18), and by David, when he brought the Ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Ch. xv. 27); it differed from the priestly ephod in material, being made of ordinary linen (*bad*), whereas the other was of fine linen (*shesh*. See DRESS 1); it is noticeable that the LXX. does not give ἐπωμὶς or Ἐφοὺδ in the passages last quoted, but terms of more general import, στολὴ ἑξαλλος, στολὴ βυσσίνη. Attached to the ephod of the high-priest was the breast-plate with the Urim and Thummim: this was *the* ephod κατ' ἐξοχήν, which Abiathar carried off (1 Sam. xxiii. 6) from the Tabernacle at Nob (1 Sam. xxi. 9), and which David consulted (1 Sam. xxiii. 9, xxx. 7). The importance of the ephod as the receptacle of the breast-plate led to its adoption in the idolatrous forms of worship instituted in the time of the Judges (Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 5, xviii. 14 sq.). The amount of gold used by Gideon in making his ephod (Judg. viii. 26) has led Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 135), Bertheau and others, following the Peshitto Version, to give the word the meaning of an idol-image, as though that and not the priest was clothed with the ephod: but there is no evidence that the idol was so invested, nor is the opinion supported by modern critics (see Keil, Riehm, Kleinert, and Budde [1890]). The ephod itself would require a considerable amount of gold (Ex. xxviii. 6 sq., xxxix. 2 sq.), and, with the jewels necessary, may well have required the large sum stated to have been used by Gideon. The meaning and consequences of his act are considered under GIDEON. [W. ℔ B.] [F.]

E'PHOD (אֶפֹד; B. Σουφί, AF. Οὐφίδ; *Ephod*). Hanniel the son of Ephod, as head of

the tribe of Manasseh, was one of the men appointed to assist Joshua and Eleazar in the apportionment of the land of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 23).

EPHRAIM, Heb. EPH-RA'IM (אֶפְרַיִם; Ἐφραίμ; Joseph. Ἐφραίμης: *Ephraim*), the second son of JOSEPH by his wife Asenath. He was born during the seven years of plenteousness, and an allusion to this is possibly latent in the name, though it may also allude to Joseph's increasing family: "The name of the second he called Ephraim (*i.e.* double fruitfulness), for God hath caused me to be fruitful (הִפְרַנִי, *hiphrani*) in the land of my affliction" (Gen. xli. 52; xlvi. 20).[a]

The first indication we have of that ascendency over his elder brother Manasseh, which at a later period the tribe of Ephraim so unmistakably possessed, is in the blessing of the children by Jacob, Gen. xlviii. (see Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[b] in loco). Like his own father, on an occasion not dissimilar, Jacob's eyes were dim so that he could not see (xlviii. 10; cp. xxvii. 1). The intention of Joseph was evidently that the right hand of Jacob should convey its ampler blessing to the head of Manasseh, his first-born, and he had so arranged the young men. But the result was otherwise ordained. Jacob had been himself a younger brother, and his words show plainly that he had not forgotten this, and that his sympathies were still with the younger of his two grandchildren. He recalls the time when he was flying with the birthright from the vengeance of Esau; the day when, still a wanderer, God Almighty had appeared to him at "Luz in the land of Canaan," and blessed him in words which foreshadowed the name of[b] Ephraim; the still later day when the name of Ephrath[c] became bound up with the sorest trial of his life (xlviii. 7; xxxv. 16). And thus, notwithstanding the pre-arrangement and the remonstrance of Joseph, for the second time in that family, the younger brother was made greater than the elder—Ephraim was set before Manasseh (xlviii. 19, 20).

Ephraim would appear at that time to have been about 21 years old. He was born before the beginning of the seven years of famine, towards the latter part of which Jacob had come to Egypt, 17 years before his death (Gen. xlvii. 28). Before Joseph's death Ephraim's family had reached the third generation (Gen. l. 23), and it must have been about this time that the affray mentioned in 1 Ch. vii. 21 occurred, when some of the sons were killed on a plundering expedition along the sea-coast to rob the cattle of the men of Gath, and when Ephraim named a son Beriah, to perpetuate the memory of the disaster which had fallen on his house. [BERIAH.] Obscure as is the interpretation of this fragment, it enables us to catch our last glimpse of the Patriarch, mourning inconsolable in the midst of the circle of his brethren, and at last commemorating his loss in the name of the new child, who, unknown to him, was to be the progenitor of the most illustrious of all his descendants—Jehoshua, or Joshua, the son of Nun (1 Ch. vii. 27; see Ewald, i. 491). To this early period too must probably be referred the circumstance alluded to in Ps. lxxviii. 9, when the "children of Ephraim, carrying slack bows,[d] turned back in the day of battle." Certainly no instance of such behaviour is recorded in the later history.

The numbers of the tribe do not at once fulfil the promise of the blessing of Jacob. At the census in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 32, 33; ii. 19) its numbers were 40,500, placing it at the head of the children of Rachel—Manasseh's number being 32,200 and Benjamin's 35,400. But forty years later, on the eve of the conquest (Num. xxvi. 37), without any apparent cause, while Manasseh had advanced to 52,700 and Benjamin to 45,600, Ephraim had decreased to 32,500, the only smaller number being that of Simeon, 22,200. At this period the families of both the brother tribes are enumerated, and Manasseh has precedence over Ephraim in order of mention. During the march through the wilderness the position of the sons of Joseph and Benjamin was on the west side of the Tabernacle (Num. ii. 18–24), and the prince of Ephraim was Elishama the son of Ammihud (Num. i. 10).

It is at the time of the sending of the spies that we are first introduced to the great hero to whom the tribe owed much of its subsequent greatness. The representative of Ephraim on this occasion was "Oshea the son of Nun," whose name was at the termination of the affair changed by Moses to the more distinguished form in which it is familiar to us. As among the founders of the nation Abram had acquired the name of Abraham, and Jacob of Israel, so Oshea, "help," became Jehoshua or Joshua, "the help of Jehovah" (Ewald, ii. 306).

Under this great leader, and in spite of the smallness of its numbers, the tribe must have taken a high position in the nation, to judge from the tone which the Ephraimites assumed on occasions shortly subsequent to the conquest. These will be referred to in their turn.

According to the present arrangement of the records of the Book of Joshua—the "Domesday book of Palestine"—the two great tribes of Judah and Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) first took their inheritance; and after them, the seven other tribes entered on theirs (Josh. xv., xvi.,

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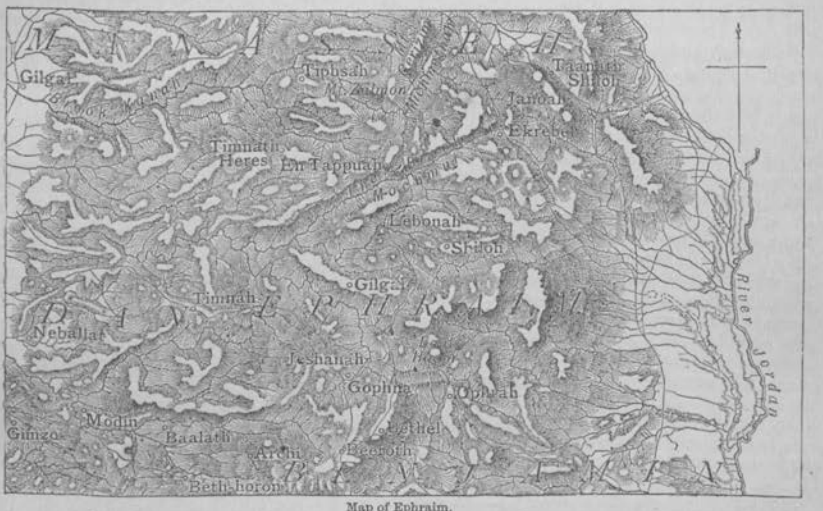
[a] Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 6, § 1) gives the derivation of the name somewhat differently—"restorer, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers;" ἀποδιδούς . . . διὰ τὸ ἀποδοθῆναι κ.τ.λ.

[b] "I will make thee fruitful," מַפְרְךָ (Gen. xlviii. 4); "Be thou fruitful," פְּרֵה (xxxv. 11); both from the same root as the name *Ephraim*.

[c] There seems to have been some connexion between Ephrath, or Bethlehem, and Ephraim, the clue to which is now lost (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 493, *note*). The expression "Ephrathite" is generally applied to a native of Ephrath, *i.e.* Bethlehem; but there are some instances of its meaning an Ephraimite. These are 1 Sam. i. 1 (see Driver in loco), 1 K. xi. 26; in both of which the Heb. word is accurately transferred to A. V., but is rendered Ephraimite in R. V. But in Judg. xii. 5, where the Hebrew word is the same, and with the definite article (הָאֶפְרָתִי), it is incorrectly rendered "an Ephraimite." In the other occurrences of the word "Ephraimite" in *vv.* 4, 5, 6 of the same chapter, and in Josh. xvi. 10, the Hebrew is "Ephraim."

[d] This is the rendering of Ewald.

xvii., xviii. 5). The boundaries of the portion of Ephraim are given in xvi. 1–10. They include the territory that was afterwards allotted to Dan; but the passage (cp. Dillmann[2] in loco) is evidently in some disorder, and in our ignorance of the force of many of the almost technical terms with which these descriptions abound, it is unfortunately impossible to arrive at more than an approximation to the case. The south boundary was coincident for part of its length with the north boundary of Benjamin. It probably left the Jordan at the mouth of *W. Nûeiâmeh*, and, passing N. of Jericho to *'Ain Dûk*, went up through the hill-country to Bethel, *Beitin*, and Luz. It then went down by the border of the Archites, *'Ain Arik;* Ataroth, *Kh. Dârieh*, on the S. side of the Lower Beth-horon, *Beit 'Ûr el-tahta;* and Gezer, *Tell Jezar*, to the Mediterranean. This agrees with the enumeration in 1 Ch. vii. 28, in which Bethel is given as the eastern, and Gezer as the western, limit. The general direction of this line is N.E. by E. The common border of Ephraim and Manasseh is defined in Josh. xvi. 6–8; and partially in xvii. 7–10. From Asher ham Michmethah, E. of Shechem, and probably in the plain of *Mukhna*, it ran, on the one hand, southward to En-tappuah, *Yâsûf*, and thence along the course of the river Kanah, *W. Kânah*, to the sea: and, on the other, eastward to Taanath-Shiloh, *T'ana;* Janoah, *Yanûn;* Ataroth; Naarah, *el-'Aujeh*, to Jericho and Jordan. The boundary between Ephraim and Dan, on the west, is not defined; but its approximate position can be ascertained from the notice of certain towns belonging to Dan, and of others in Mount Ephraim. It appears to have run along the crests of the spurs above the low hills of the Shephelah, or "low-land." Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22) makes the territory of Ephraim extend from the Jordan to Gezer, and from Bethel northwards to the "Great Plain," by which he perhaps means the plain of *Mukhna*, and not Esdraelon, which was the limit of



Map of Ephraim.

Manasseh. It is very possible that at first there was no definite subdivision of the territory assigned to the two brother-tribes. Such is certainly the inference to be drawn from the very old fragment preserved in Josh. xvii. 14–18, in which the two are represented as complaining that only one portion had been allotted to them. The territory allotted to the "house of Joseph" may be roughly estimated at 55 miles from E. to W. by 70 from N. to S., a portion about equal in extent to the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk combined. But though similar in size, nothing can be more different in its nature from those level counties than this broken and hilly tract. Central Palestine consists of an elevated district which rises from the flat ranges of the wilderness on the south of Judah, and terminates on the north with the slopes which descend into the great plain of Esdraelon. On the west a flat strip separates it from the sea, and on the east another flat strip forms the valley of the Jordan. Of this district the northern half was occupied by the great tribe we are now considering. This was the *Har-Ephraim*, the "Mount Ephraim," a district which seems to extend as far south as Ramah and Bethel (1 Sam. i. 1, vii. 17; 2 Ch. xiii. 4, 19, compared with xv. 8), places but a few miles north of Jerusalem, and within the limits of Benjamin. In structure it is limestone—rounded hills separated by valleys of denudation, but much less regular and monotonous than the part more to the south, about and below Jerusalem; with "wide plains in the heart of the mountains, streams of running water, and continuous tracts of vegetation" (Stanley, p. 229). All travellers bear testimony to the "general growing richness" and beauty of the country in going northwards from Jerusalem, the "innumerable fountains" and streamlets, the villages more thickly scattered than anywhere in the south, the continuous cornfields and orchards, the moist, vapoury atmosphere (Martineau, pp. 516, 521; Van de Velde, i. 386–8; Stanley, pp. 234–5). These are the "precious things of the earth, and the fulness thereof," which are invoked on the

"ten thousands of Ephraim" and the "thousands of Manasseh" in the blessing of Moses. These it is which, while Dan, Judah, and Benjamin are personified as lions and wolves, making their lair and tearing their prey among the barren rocks of the south, suggested to the Lawgiver, as they had done to the Patriarch before him, the patient "bullock" and the "bough by the spring, whose branches ran over the wall," as fitter images for Ephraim (Gen. xlix. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 17). And centuries after, when its great disaster had fallen on the kingdom of Israel, the same images recur to the prophets. The "flowers" are still there in the "olive valleys," "faded" though they be (Is. xxviii. 1). The vine is an empty unprofitable vine, whose very abundance is evil (Hos. x. 1); Ephraim is still the "bullock," now "unaccustomed to the yoke," but waiting a restoration to the "pleasant places" of his former "pasture" (Jer. xxxi. 18; Hos. ix. 13, iv. 16)—"the heifer that is taught and loveth to tread out the corn," the heifer with the "beautiful neck" (Hos. x. 11), or the "kine of Bashan on the mountain of Samaria" (Amos iv. 1).

The wealth of their possession had not the same immediately degrading effect on this tribe that it had on some of its northern brethren. [ASHER.] Various causes may have helped to avert this evil. 1. The central situation of Ephraim, in the highway of all communications from one part of the country to another. From north to south, from Jordan to the Sea—from Galilee, or still more distant Damascus, to Philistia and Egypt—these roads all lay more or less through Ephraim, and the constant traffic along them must have always tended to keep the district from sinking into stagnation. 2. The position of Shechem, the original settlement of Jacob, with his well and his "parcel of ground," with the two sacred mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, the scene of the impressive and significant ceremonial of blessing and cursing; and of Shiloh, from whence the division of the land was made, and where the Ark remained from the time of Joshua to that of Eli; and further of the tomb and patrimony of Joshua, the great hero not only of Ephraim but of the nation—the fact that all these localities were deep in the heart of the tribe, must have made it always the resort of large numbers from all parts of the country—of larger numbers than any other place, until the establishment of Jerusalem by David. 3. But there was a spirit about the tribe itself which may have been both a cause and a consequence of these advantages of position. That spirit, though sometimes taking the form of noble remonstrance and reparation (2 Ch. xxviii. 9–15), usually manifests itself in jealous complaint at some enterprise undertaken or advantage gained in which they had not a chief share. To Gideon (Judg. viii. 1), to Jephthah (xii. 1), and to David (2 Sam. xix. 41–43), the cry is still the same in effect—almost the same in words—"Why did ye despise us that our advice should not have been first had?" "Why hast thou served us thus that thou calledst us not?" The unsettled state of the country in general, and of the interior of Ephraim in particular (Judg. ix.), and the continual incursions of foreigners, prevented the power of the tribe from manifesting itself in a more formidable manner than by these murmurs, during the time of the Judges and the first stage of the monarchy. Samuel, though a Levite, was a native of Ramah in Mount Ephraim, and Saul belonged to a tribe closely allied to the family of Joseph, so that during the priesthood of the former and the reign of the latter the supremacy of Ephraim may be said to have been practically maintained. Certainly in neither case had any advantage been gained by their great rival in the south. Again, the brilliant successes of David and his wide influence and religious zeal, kept matters smooth for another period, even in the face of the blow given to both Shechem and Shiloh by the concentration of the civil and ecclesiastical capitals at Jerusalem. When Saul fell on Mount Gilboa, Ephraim, in common with all the tribes except Judah, acknowledged Ishbosheth as king (2 Sam. ii. 9). But after the murder of the latter, 20,800 of the choice warriors of the tribe, "men of name throughout the house of their father," went as far as Hebron to make David king over Israel (1 Ch. xii. 30). Among the officers of his court we find more than one Ephraimite (1 Ch. xxvii. 10, 14), and the attachment of the tribe to his person seems to have been great (2 Sam. xix. 41–43). But this could not last much longer, and the reign of Solomon, splendid in appearance but oppressive to the people, developed both the circumstances of revolt, and the leader who was to turn them to account. Solomon saw through the crisis; and if he could have succeeded in killing Jeroboam as he tried to do (1 K. xi. 40), the disruption might have been postponed for another century. As it was, the outbreak was deferred for a time, but the irritation was not allayed, and the insane folly of his son brought the mischief to a head. Rehoboam probably selected Shechem—the old capital of the country—for his coronation, in the hope that his presence and the ceremonial might make a favourable impression, but in this he failed utterly, and the tumult which followed shows how complete was the breach—"To your tents, O Israel! now see to thine own house, David!" Rehoboam was certainly not the last king of Judah whose chariot went as far north as Shechem, but he was the last who visited it as a part of his own dominion, and he was the last who, having come so far, returned unmolested to his own capital. Jehoshaphat escaped, in a manner little short of miraculous, from the risks of the battle of Ramoth-Gilead, and it was the fate of two of his successors, Ahaziah and Josiah—differing in everything else, and agreeing only in this—that they were both carried dead in their chariots from the plain of Esdraelon to Jerusalem.

Henceforward in two senses the history of Ephraim is the history of the kingdom of Israel, since not only did the tribe become a kingdom, but the kingdom embraced little besides the tribe. This is not surprising, and quite susceptible of explanation. North of Ephraim the country appears never to have been really taken possession of by the Israelites. Whether from want of energy on their part, or great stubbornness of resistance on that of the Canaanites, certain it is that of the list of towns from which the original inhabitants were not expelled, the great majority belong to the northern tribes,

Manasseh, Asher, Issachar, and Naphtali. And in addition to this original defect there is much in the physical formation and circumstances of the upper portion of Palestine to explain why those tribes never took any active part in the kingdom. They were exposed to the inroads and seductions of their surrounding heathen neighbours—on one side the luxurious Phoenicians, on the other the plundering Bedouins of Midian; they were open to the attacks of Syria and Assyria from the north, and Egypt from the south; the great plain of Esdraelon, which communicated more or less with all the northern tribes, was the natural outlet of the no less natural high roads of the maritime plain from Egypt, and the Jordan valley for the tribes of the East, and formed an admirable base of operations for an invading army.

But on the other hand the position of Ephraim was altogether different. It was one of very great richness and great security. Her fertile plains and well-watered valleys could only be reached by a laborious ascent through steep and narrow ravines, all but impassable for an army. There is no record of any attack on the central kingdom, either from the Jordan valley or the maritime plain. On the north side, from the plain of Esdraelon, it was more accessible, and it was from this side that the final invasion appears to have been made. But even on that side the entrance was so difficult and so easily defensible—as we learn from the description in the Book of Judith (iv. 6, 7)—that, had the kingdom of Samaria been less weakened by internal dissensions, the attacks even of the great Shalmaneser might have been resisted, as at a later date were those of Holofernes. How that kingdom originated, how it progressed, and how it fell, will be elsewhere considered. [ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF.] There are few things more mournful in the sacred story than the descent of this haughty and jealous tribe, from the culminating point at which it stood when it entered on the fairest portion of the Land of Promise—the chief sanctuary and the chief settlement of the nation within its limits, its leader the leader of the whole people—through the distrust which marked its intercourse with its fellows while it was a member of the confederacy, and the tumult, dissension, and ungodliness which characterised its independent existence, down to the sudden captivity and total oblivion which closed its career. Judah had her times of revival and of recurring prosperity, but here the course is uniformly downward—a sad picture of opportunities wasted and personal gifts abused. "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. . . . I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I healed them. I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love . . . but the Assyrian shall be their king, because they refused to return. . . . How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim?" (Hos. xi. 1–8.) [G.] [W.]

EPH-RA'IM (אֶפְרַיִם; Ἐφραΐμ; *Ephraim*) In "Baal-hazor which is 'by' Ephraim" was Absalom's sheep-farm, at which took place the murder of Amnon, one of the earliest precursors of the great revolt (2 Sam. xiii. 23). The Hebrew particle עִם, rendered above "by" (R. V. "beside"), always seems to imply actual proximity, and therefore we should conclude that Ephraim was not the tribe of that name, but a town. Ewald conjectures that it is identical with EPHRAIN, EPHRON, and OPHRAH of the O. T., and also with the EPHRAIM which was for a time the residence of our Lord (*Gesch.* iii. 219, note). But with regard to the first three names there is the difficulty that they are spelt with the guttural letter *ain*, which is very rarely exchanged for the *aleph*, which commences the name before us. The only clue to its situation is its proximity to Baal-hazor, which has been identified with *Tell 'Asûr*, 2¼ miles N.W. of *et-Taiyibeh*, Ephraim. The LXX. make the following addition to verse 34:—"And the watchman went and told the king, and said, I have seen men on the road of the Oronen (B. τῆς Ὡρωνῆν, A.vid. τῶν ὀρεωνῆ) by the side of the mountain." Ewald considers this to be a genuine addition, and to refer to Beth-*horon*, N.W. of Jerusalem, off the Nablûs road, but the indication is surely too slight for such an inference. Any force it may have is against the identity of this Ephraim with that in John xi. 54, which was probably in the direction N.E. of Jerusalem. [G.] [W.]

EPH-RA'IM (Ἐφραΐμ; *Ephrem*; Cod. Amiat. *Efrem*), a city (Ε. λεγομένην πόλιν) "in the district near the wilderness" to which our Lord retired with His disciples when threatened with violence by the priests (John xi. 54). By the "wilderness" (ἐρήμου) is probably meant the wild uncultivated hill-country N.E. of Jerusalem, lying between the central towns and the Jordan valley. In this case the conjecture of Dr. Robinson is very admissible that Ophrah and Ephraim are identical, and that their modern representation is *et-Taiyibeh*, a village on a conspicuous conical hill, commanding a view "over the whole eastern slope, the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea" (Rob. i. 444). It is situated 4 miles N.E. of Bethel, and 14 from Jerusalem; a position agreeing tolerably with the indications of Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (*Efraim*, *Efron*), and is too conspicuous to have escaped mention in the Bible. It is probably also the Ephraim mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 9, § 9) as having, with Bethel, been taken by Vespasian; and the place which gave its name to the toparchy of Apharema (1 Macc. xi. 34). Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 45–51, gives a good description of *et-Taiyibeh*, with a summary of the arguments in favour of its identification with Ephraim. [G.] [W.]

EPH-RA'IM, GATE OF (שַׁעַר אֶפְרַיִם; πύλη Ἐφραΐμ; *porta Ephraim*), one of the gates of the city of Jerusalem (2 K. xiv. 13; 2 Ch. xxv. 23; Neh. viii. 16, xii. 39), doubtless, according to the Oriental practice, on the side looking towards the locality from which it derived its name, and therefore at the north, perhaps at or near the position of the present "Damascus gate." [JERUSALEM.] [G.] [W.]

EPH-RA'IM, MOUNT, more correctly, as in R. V., "the hill country of Ephraim." In Jer. iv. 15, xxxi. 6, l. 19, R. V. reads "the hills of

Ephraim." The name by which the territory allotted to the children of Joseph (Josh. xvii. 15) was apparently known. In its widest sense it included part of Benjamin (Judg. iv. 5); and it was also known as the mountain of Israel (Josh. xi. 16, 21), and as the Mount of the Amalekites (Judg. xii. 15). It is frequently mentioned in the O. T. (Judg. iii. 27, vii. 24, xvii. 1, 8, xviii. 2, 13, xix. 1, 16, 18; 1 Sam. ix. 4, xiv. 22; 2 Sam. xx. 21; 2 K. v. 22; 2 Ch. xv. 8, xix. 4): and within its limits were, Timnath-serah, or Timnath-heres, Joshua's inheritance, and the place of his burial (Josh. xix. 50, xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9); Gibeah of Phinehas (Josh. xxiv. 33); Shechem (Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 21; 1 K. xii. 25; 1 Ch. vi. 67); Shamir (Judg. x. 1); Ramathaim-zophim (1 Sam. i. 1); and Mount Zemaraim (2 Ch. xiii. 4). It was one of the twelve districts into which Solomon divided the country for commissariat purposes (1 K. iv. 8); and was very fruitful and in places covered with forest. The general character of the hill-country allotted to Ephraim has already been described. [EPHRAIM.] The highest points are Mount Gerizim, 2848 feet; Mount Ebal, 3076 feet; and *Tell 'Asûr*, 3376 feet. The deeply-cut valleys that descend on the west, to the plain of Sharon, are fertile and cultivated, whilst those that descend on the east to the Jordan Valley are barren and waste. [W.]

EPH-RA'IM, THE WOOD OF (יַעַר אֶפְרַיִם; δρυμὸς Ἐφραΐμ; *saltus Ephraim*), a wood, or rather, as in R. V., a forest (the word *ya'ar* implying dense growth[a]), in which the fatal battle was fought between the armies of David and of Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 6), and the entanglement in which added greatly to the slaughter of the latter (*v.* 8). It would be very tempting to believe that the forest derived its name from the place near which Absalom's sheep-farm was situated (2 Sam. xiii. 23), and which would have been a natural spot for his head-quarters before the battle, especially associated as it was with the murder of Amnon. But the statements of xvii. 24, 26, and also the expression of xviii. 3, "that thou succour us out of the city," *i.e.* Mahanaim, not to speak of the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 1), that Absalom crossed the Jordan and camped not far from Mahanaim, in the country of Gilead, allow no escape from the conclusion that the locality was on the east side of Jordan, though it is impossible to account satisfactorily for the presence of the name of Ephraim (the Luc. Rec. reads here Μααναὰν = מַחֲנַיִם) on that side of the river. The suggestion is due to Grotius that the name was derived from the slaughter of Ephraim at the fords of Jordan by the Gileadites under Jephthah (Judg. xii. 1, 4, 5); and this is in accord with the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 2), that the battle took place in the "Great Plain," or Jordan Valley. But is it not at least equally probable that the forest derived its name from this very battle? The great tribe of Ephraim, though not specially mentioned in the transactions of Absalom's revolt, cannot fail to have taken the most conspicuous part in the affair, and the reverse was a more serious one than had overtaken the tribe for a very long time, and possibly combined with other circumstances to retard materially their rising into an independent kingdom. Ephron, the strong city between Carnaim and Bethshean, is too far distant to admit of any connexion between it and the forest of Ephraim. [G.] [W.]

[a] The low thorny brushwood or scrub which covers many rocky and barren spots in the uplands of the Bible is still called *waar* by the *fellahin* (Gelkie, *Holy Land and the Bible*, i. 49).

EPH-RA'THITE (אֶפְרָתִי; Ἐφραθίτης, A. ἐκ τοῦ Ἐφραθί; *Ephrathaeus*). Of the tribe of Ephraim (Judg. xii. 5), elsewhere called "Ephrathite." [W. A. W.]

EPHRAIN (עֶפְרוֹן, K. עפרן; Ἐφρών; *Ephron*), a city of Israel, which with its dependent hamlets (בְּנֹתֶיהָ = "daughters," A. V. "towns") Abijah and the army of Judah captured from Jeroboam (2 Ch. xiii. 19). Jerome (*Q. Heb.*) on this passage says, *Ephron ipse est Sichem*. So fruitful was Ephrain that it was a proverb not to carry straw to Ephrain (Otho, *Lex.* 172). It is mentioned with Bethel and Jeshanah, *'Ain Sinia*, 3¼ miles north of *Beitin*, and was apparently not far from them. It has been conjectured that this Ephrain or Ephron is identical with the Ephraim by which Absalom's sheep-farm of Baal-hazor was situated; with the city called Ephraim near the wilderness in which our Lord lived for some time (John xi. 54); and with Ophrah (עָפְרָה), a city of Benjamin, apparently not far from Bethel (Josh. xviii. 23; cp. Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 9, § 9), and which has been located by Dr. Robinson (i. 447), with some probability, at the modern village of *et-Taiyibeh*. But nothing more than conjecture can be arrived at on these points (see Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. 219, 466, v. 365; Stanley, p. 214). [EPHRAIM.] [G.] [W.]

EPH-RA'TAH (R. V. EPHRATHAH), or **EPH-RATH** (אֶפְרָתָה, or אֶפְרָת; Ἐφραθά and Ἐφραθ; *Ephratha*, Jerome). **1.** Second wife of Caleb the son of Hezron, mother of Hur, and grandmother of Caleb the spy, according to 1 Ch. ii. 19, 50, and probably *v.* 24, and iv. 4. [CALEB-EPHRATAH.]

2. The ancient name of Bethlehem-Judah, as is manifest from Gen. xxxv. 16, 19, xlviii. 7, both which passages distinctly prove that it was called Ephrath or Ephratah in Jacob's time, and use the regular formula for adding the modern name, הִוא בֵּית־לָחֶם, *which is Bethlehem*, cp. *e.g.* Gen. xxiii. 2, xxxv. 27; Josh. xv. 10. It cannot therefore have derived its name from Ephratah, the mother of Hur, as the author of *Quaest. Hebr. in Paraleip.* says, and as one might otherwise have supposed from the connexion of her descendants, Salma and Hur, with Bethlehem, which is somewhat obscurely intimated in 1 Ch. ii. 50, 51, iv. 4. It seems obvious therefore to infer that, on the contrary, Ephratah the mother of Hur was so called from the town of her birth, and that she probably was the owner of the town and district. In fact, that her name was really gentilitious. But if this be so, it would indicate more communication between the Israelites in Egypt and the Canaanites than is commonly supposed. When, however, we

recollect that the land of Goshen was the border country on the Palestine side; that the Israelites in Goshen were a tribe of sheep- and cattle-drovers (Gen. xlvii. 3); that there was an easy communication between Palestine and Egypt from the earliest times (Gen. xii. 10, xvi. 1, xxi. 21, &c.); that there are indications of communications between the Israelites in Egypt and the Canaanites, caused by their trade as keepers of cattle (1 Ch. vii. 21), and that in the nature of things the owners or keepers of large herds and flocks in Goshen would have dealings with the bound tribes in Palestine, it will perhaps seem not impossible that a son of Hezron may have married a woman having property in Ephratah. Another way of accounting for the connexion between Ephratah's descendants and Bethlehem is to suppose that the elder Caleb was not really the son of Hezron, but merely so reckoned as the head of a Hezronite house. He may in this case have been one of an Edomitish or Horite tribe, an idea which is favoured by the name of his son Hur [CALEB], and have married an Ephrathite. Caleb the spy may have been their grandson. It is singular that "Salma the father of Bethlehem" should have married a Canaanitish woman. Could she have been of the kindred of Caleb in any way? If she were, and if Salma obtained Bethlehem, a portion of Hur's inheritance, in consequence, this would account for both Hur and Salma being called "father of Bethlehem." Another possible explanation is, that *Ephratah* may have been the name given to some daughter of Benjamin to commemorate the circumstance of Rachel his mother having died close to Ephrath. This would receive some support from the son of Rachel's other son Joseph being called *Ephraim*, a word of identical etymology, as appears from the fact that אֶפְרָתִי means indifferently an Ephrathite, i.e. *Bethlemite* (Ruth i. 1, 2), or an *Ephrainite* (1 Sam. i. 1). But it would not account for Ephratah's descendants being settled at Bethlehem. The author of the *Quaest. Hebr. in Paraleip.* derives *Ephrata* from *Ephraim*, "Ephrath, quia de Ephraim fuit." But this is not consistent with the appearance of the name in Genesis. It is perhaps impossible to come to any certainty on the subject. It must suffice therefore to note, that in Gen., and perhaps in Chron., it is called *Ephrath* or *Ephrata;* in Ruth, *Bethlehem-Judah*, but the inhabitants, *Ephrathites;* in Micah (v. 2), *Bethlehem-Ephratah;* in Matt. ii. 6, *Bethlehem in the land of Juda.* Jerome, and after him Kalisch, observe that Ephratah, *fruitful*, has the same meaning as Bethlehem, *house of bread;* a view which is favoured by Stanley's description of the neighbouring corn-fields (*Sinai & Palestine*, p. 164). [BETHLEHEM.]

3. Gesenius thinks that in Ps. cxxxii. 6 *Ephratah* means *Ephraim* (so R. V. marg.).

[A. C. H.]

EPH-RATHITE (אֶפְרָתִי; Ἐφραθαῖος; *Ephruthaeus*). **1.** An inhabitant of Bethlehem (Ruth i. 2). **2.** An Ephraimite (1 Sam. i. 1; Judg. xii. 5, &c.). [A. C. H.]

EPH-RON (עֶפְרוֹן = *vitulinus;* Ἐφρών; *Ephron*), the son of Zochar, a Hittite; the owner of a field which lay facing Mamre or Hebron, and of the cave therein contained, which Abraham bought from him for 400 shekels of silver (Gen. xxiii. 8–17, xxv. 9, xlix. 29, 30, l. 13). By Josephus (*Ant.* i. 14) the name is given as Ephraim; and the purchase-money 40 shekels. On the similarity of the negotiations to those of the present day in Syria and Palestine, see Thomson, *L. and B.* ii. 381–4. [G.] [W.]

EPH-RON (Ἐφρών; *Ephron*), a very strong city (πόλις μεγάλη ὀχυρὰ σφόδρα) on the east of Jordan between Carnaim (Ashteroth-Karnaim) and Bethshean, attacked and demolished by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 46–52; 2 Macc. xii. 27). From the description in the former of these two passages, it appears to have been situated in a defile or valley, and to have completely occupied the pass. (See Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 8, § 5.) Its site has not yet been discovered. [G.] [W.]

EPH-RON, MOUNT (הַר־עֶפְרוֹן; τὸ ὄρος Ἐφρών; *Mons Ephron*). The "cities of Mount Ephron" formed one of the landmarks on the northern boundary of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 9), between the "water of Nephtoah" and Kirjath-jearim. If these latter are identified with *'Ain Lifta* and *Kuryet el-'Enab*, Mount Ephron is probably the range of hills on the west side of the *Wâdy Beit Hannina* (traditional valley of the Terebinth), opposite *Lifta*, which stands on the eastern side. If, on the other hand, they are identified with Etam, *'Ain 'Atân* and *Kh. 'Erma*, Mount Ephron is probably the long ridge or spur down which the road runs from Solomon's Pools, near Bethlehem, to *'Ain Shems*, Bethshemesh. In this case it may possibly be the same place as the Ephrathah or Ephraim of Ps. cxxxii. 6. [G.] [W.]

EPICURE'ANS, THE (Ἐπικουρεῖοι), derived their name from Epicurus (342–271 B.C.), a philosopher of Attic descent, whose "Garden" at Athens rivalled in popularity the "Porch" and the "Academy." The doctrines of Epicurus found wide acceptance in Asia Minor (*Lampsacus, Mitylene, Tarsus*, Diog. L. x. 1, 11 sq.) and Alexandria (Diog. L. *l.* c.), and they gained a brilliant advocate at Rome in Lucretius (95–50 B.C.). The object of Epicurus was to find in philosophy a practical guide to happiness (ἐνέργεια . . . τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον περιποιοῦσα, Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* xi. 169). True pleasure and not absolute truth was the end at which he aimed; experience and not reason the test on which he relied. He necessarily cast aside dialectics as a profitless science (Diog. L. x. 30, 31), and substituted in its place (as τὸ κανονικόν, Diog. L. x. 19) an assertion of the right of the senses, in the widest acceptation of the term, to be considered as the criterion of truth (κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰς προλήψεις [general notions] καὶ τὰ πάθη). He made the study of physics subservient to the uses of life, and especially to the removal of superstitious fears (Lucr. i. 146 sq.); and maintained that ethics are the proper study of man, as leading him to that supreme and lasting pleasure which is the common object of all.

It is obvious that a system thus framed would degenerate by a natural descent into mere materialism; and in this form Epicurism was the popular philosophy at the beginning of the

Christian era (cp. Diog. L. x. 5, 9). When St. Paul addressed "Epicureans and Stoics" (Acts xvii. 18) at Athens, the philosophy of life was practically reduced to the teaching of those two antagonistic schools, which represented in their final separation the distinct and complementary elements which the Gospel reconciled. For it is unjust to regard Epicurism as a mere sensual opposition to religion. It was a necessary step in the development of thought, and prepared the way for the reception of Christianity, not only negatively but positively. It not only weakened the hold which polytheism retained on the mass of men by daring criticism, but it maintained with resolute energy the claims of the body to be considered a necessary part of man's nature co-ordinate with the soul, and affirmed the existence of individual freedom against the Stoic doctrines of pure spiritualism and absolute fate. Yet outwardly Epicurism appears further removed from Christianity than Stoicism, though essentially it is at least as near; and in the address of St. Paul (Acts xvii. 22 sq.) the affirmation of the doctrines of creation (*v.* 24), providence (*v.* 26), inspiration (*v.* 28), resurrection, and judgment (*v.* 31), appears to be directed against the cardinal errors which it involved.

The tendency which produced Greek Epicurism, when carried out to its fullest development, is peculiar to no age or country. Among the Jews it led to Sadduceeism [SADDUCEES], and Josephus appears to have drawn his picture of the sect with a distinct regard to the Greek prototype (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, § 4; *de B. J.* ii. 8, § 14; cp. *Ant.* x. 11, § 7, *de Epicureis*). In modern times the essay of Gassendi (*Syntagma Philosophiae Epicuri*, Hag. Com. 1659) was a significant symptom of the restoration of sensationalism.

The chief original authority for the philosophy of Epicurus is Diogenes Laertius (*lib.* x.), who has preserved some of his letters and a list of his principal writings. The poem of Lucretius must be used with caution, and the notices in Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch are undisguisedly hostile. [B. F. W.]

EPIPH'ANES (1 Macc. i. 10; x. 1). [ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.]

EPI-PHI (Ἐπιφί, 3 Macc. vi. 38), name of the eleventh month of the Egyptian Vague year, and the Alexandrian or Egyptian Julian year: Copt. ϵΠΗΠ; Arab. أبيب. In ancient Egyptian it is called "the third month [of] the season of the waters." [EGYPT.] The name Epiphi is derived from that of the goddess of the month, Apap-t (Lepsius, *Chron. d. Aeg.* i. 141). The supposed derivation of the Hebrew month-name Abib from Epiphi is discussed in other articles. [CHRONOLOGY; MONTHS.] [R. S. P.]

EPISTLE (ἐπιστολή). The Epistles of the N. T. are described under the names of the Apostles by whom, or the Churches to whom, they were addressed. It is proposed in the present article to speak of the epistle or letter as a means of communication. The use of written letters implies, it need hardly be said, a considerable progress in the development of civilised life. There must be a recognised system of notation, phonetic or symbolic; men must be taught to write, and have writing materials at hand. In the early nomadic stages of society accordingly, like those which mark the period of the Patriarchs of the O. T., we find no traces of any but oral communications. Messengers are sent instructed what to say from Jacob to Esau (Gen. xxxii. 3), from Balak to Balaam (Num. xxii. 5, 7, 16), bringing back in like manner a verbal, not a written answer (Num. xxiv. 12). The negotiations between Jephthah and the king of the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 12, 13) are conducted in the same way. It is still the received practice in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 7, 9). The reign of David, bringing the Israelites, as it did, into contact with the higher civilisation of the Phoenicians, witnessed a change in this respect. The first recorded letter (סֵפֶר, LXX. βιβλίον: cp. the use of the same word in Herod. i. 123) in the history of the O. T. was that which "David wrote to Joab, and sent by the hand of Uriah" (2 Sam. xi. 14); and this must obviously, like the letters (סְפָרִים, LXX. βιβλίον) that came into another history of crime (in this case also in traceable connexion with Phoenician influence, 1 K. xxi. 8, 9), have been "sealed with the king's seal," as at once the guarantee of their authority, and a safeguard against their being read by any but the persons to whom they were addressed. The material used for the impression of the seal was probably the "clay" of Job xxxviii. 14. The act of sending such a letter is, however, pre-eminently, if not exclusively, a kingly act, where authority and secrecy were necessary. Joab, *e.g.*, answers the letter which David had sent him after the old plan, and receives a verbal message in return. The demand of Benhadad and Ahab's answer to it are conveyed in the same way (1 K. xx. 2, 5). Written communications, however, become much more frequent in the later history. The king of Syria sends a letter (סֵפֶר) to the king of Israel (2 K. v. 5, 6). A "writing" (מִכְתָּב, LXX. ἐν γραφῇ) comes to Jehoram from Elijah the prophet (2 Ch. xxi. 12). Hezekiah on one occasion makes use of a system of couriers like that afterwards so fully organized under the Persian kings (2 Ch. xxx. 6, 10, אִגְּרוֹת, LXX. ἐπιστολή; cp. Herod. viii. 98, and Esth. iii. 13, viii. 10, 14), and receives from Sennacherib the letter (סְפָרִים, LXX. τὰ βιβλία) which he "spreads before the Lord" (2 K. xix. 14). Jeremiah writes a letter (סֵפֶר, βίβλος) to the exiles in Babylon (Jer. xxix. 1, 3, the prototype of the apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah, placed as Baruch vi. in the A. V.; on which see BARUCH, THE BOOK OF). The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah contain or refer to many such documents (Ezra iv. 6 sq., v. 6, vii. 11; Neh. ii. 7, 9, vi. 5). The influence of Persian, and yet more, perhaps, that of Greek civilisation, led to the more frequent use of letters as a means of intercourse. Whatever doubts may be entertained as to the genuineness of the epistles themselves, their occurrence in 1 Macc. xi. 30, xii. 6, 20, xv. 1, 16; 2 Macc. xi. 16, 34, together with the allusions to them in 1 Macc. v. 10, ix. 60, x. 3, indicates that they were recognised as having mainly (yet not entirely: see 1 Macc. vii. 10, xv. 32) superseded the older plan of messages orally delivered. The two stages of the history of the N. T. present in this respect a

striking contrast. The list of the canonical Books shows how largely epistles were used in the expansion and organization of the Church. Those which have survived may be regarded as the representatives of many others that are lost. The mention of "every epistle" and the warning of 2 Thess. iii. 17 indicate that St. Paul had already written more than the two Epistles to the Thessalonians—the only ones of that early date still preserved. 1 Cor. v. 9, but probably *not* Col. iv. 16 (cp. Lightfoot in loco), alludes to a lost epistle, as does 3 John 9. We are perhaps too much in the habit of forgetting that quite as noticeable is the absence of all mention of written letters from the Gospel history. With the exception of the spurious letter to Abgarus of Edessa (Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13), no epistles have been attributed to Jesus. The explanation of this is to be found partly in the circumstances of one who, known as the "carpenter's son," was training as His disciples those who, like Himself, belonged to the class of labourers and peasants; partly in the fact that it was by personal rather than by written teaching that the work of the prophetic office, which He reproduced and perfected, had to be accomplished. The Epistles of the N. T. in their outward form are such as might be expected from men who were brought into contact with Greek and Roman customs, themselves belonging to a different race, and so reproducing the imported style with only partial accuracy. They fall into two main groups: (1) the "Pauline" Epistles, including the Epistle to the Hebrews, and (2) the "Catholic Epistles," viz. James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude. The title given to this second group is not in strictness of speech applicable to all of those contained in it. 2 Peter and Jude are indeed perfectly general in their address. James, 1 Peter, and 1 John are general in their application, and are not (like St. Paul's Epistles) addressed to the Church in a single city or country. Hence the term was applied to them also; and afterwards, though less accurately, its range was extended so as to include 2 and 3 John as well (cp. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, p. xxviii.). The Epistles in each group begin (the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 John excepted) with the names of the writer and those to whom the Epistle is addressed. Then follows the formula of salutation (analogous to the *εὖ πράττειν* of Greek; the S., S. D., or S. D. M., *salutem, salutem dicit, salutem dicit multam*, of Latin correspondence), generally in some combination of the words *χάρις*, ἔλεος, *εἰρήνη*: occasionally, as in Acts xv. 23, Jas. i. 1, with the closer equivalent *χαίρειν* (cp. Acts xxiii. 26). Then the letter itself commences, in the first person, the singular and plural being used, as in the letters of Cicero, indiscriminately (cp. 1 Cor. ii.; 2 Cor. i. 8, 15; 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2; and *passim*). Then when the substance of the letter has been completed, questions answered, truths enforced, come the individual messages, characteristic, in St. Paul's Epistles especially, of one who never allowed his personal affections to be swallowed up in the greatness of his work. The conclusion in this case was probably modified by the fact that the letters were dictated to an amanuensis. When he had done his work, the Apostle took up the pen or reed, and added in his own large characters (Gal. vi. 11) the authenticating autograph, sometimes with special stress on the fact that this was his writing (1 Cor. xvi. 21; Gal. vi. 11; Col. iv. 18; 2 Thess. iii. 17), always with one of the closing formulae of salutation, "Grace be with thee"—"the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit." In one instance, Rom. xvi. 22, the amanuensis in his own name adds his salutation. In the *ἐρρωσθε* of Acts xv. 29, and *ἔρρωσο* of the received text in xxiii. 30, we have the equivalents of the *valete, vale*, which formed the customary conclusion of Roman letters. It need hardly be said that the fact that St. Paul's Epistles were dictated in this way accounts for many of their most striking peculiarities,—the frequent digressions, the long parentheses, the vehemence and energy as of a man who is speaking strongly as his feelings prompt him rather than writing calmly. For the authorities on which the text of the two groups of Epistles rest, see NEW TESTAMENT.

An allusion in 2 Cor. iii. 1 brings before us another class of letters which must have been in frequent use in the early ages of the Christian Church, the *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί*, by which travellers or teachers were commended by one Church to the good offices of others. Other persons had come to the Church of Corinth relying on these. St. Paul appeals to his converts as the *ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ* (2 Cor. iii. 3), written "not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God." Another instance of this kind of letter is found in Acts xviii. 27; and cp. the mention of Zenas and Apollos in Titus iii. 13. On the later history of *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί*, see Suicer. *Thes.* ii. 1194, and *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, art. "Commendatory Letters."

For other particulars as to the material and implements used for epistles, see WRITING.

[E. H. P.] [E. C. S. G.]

ER (עֵר = *watchful*; Ἦρ; *Her*). **1.** Firstborn of Judah. His mother was Bath-Shuah (daughter of Shuah), a Canaanite. His wife was Tamar, the mother, after his death, of Pharez and Zarah, by Judah. Er "was wicked in the sight of the Lord; and the Lord slew him." It does not appear what the nature of his sin was; but, from his Canaanitish birth on the mother's side, it was probably connected with the abominable idolatries of Canaan (Gen. xxxviii. 3–7; Num. xxvi. 19).

2. Descendant of Shelah the son of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 21).

3. With a final *yod*, ERI, perhaps designating a family, son of Gad (Gen. xlvi. 16; LXX. Ἀηδίς).

4. Son of Jose, and father of Elmodam, in our Lord's genealogy (Luke iii. 28), about contemporary with Uzziah king of Judah.

[A. C. H.]

E'RAN (עֵרָן, but Sam. and Syr. עֵדֶן, Edan; Ἐδέν; *Heran*), son of Shuthelah, eldest son of Ephraim (Num. xxvi. 36). The name does not occur in the genealogies of Ephraim in 1 Ch. vii. 20–29, though a name, EZER (אֵזֶר), is found which may possibly be a corruption of it. Eran was the head of the family of

E'RANITES, THE (הָעֵרָנִי; Sam. הָעֵדְנִי; Ἐδενί; *Heranitae*), Num. xxvi. 36.

ERAS'TUS (Ἔραστος; *Erastus*). 1. One of the attendants or deacons of St. Paul at Ephesus, who with Timothy was sent forward into Macedonia while the Apostle himself remained in Asia (Acts xix. 22). He is probably the same as Erastus who is again mentioned in the salutations to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 20), though not, as Meyer maintains, the same as Erastus the chamberlain of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23).

2. Erastus the chamberlain, or rather the public treasurer (*οἰκονόμος, arcarius*) of Corinth, who was one of the early converts to Christianity (Rom. xvi. 23). According to the traditions of the Greek Church (*Menol. Graecum*, i. p. 179), he was first oeconomus to the Church at Jerusalem, and afterwards Bishop of Paneas. He is probably not the same as Erastus who was with St. Paul at Ephesus, for in this case we should be compelled to assume that he is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans by the title of an office which he had once held and afterwards resigned. [W. A. W.]

E'RECH (אֶרֶךְ; Ὀρέχ; *Arach*) is the second city of the list of four given in Gen. x. 10 as the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom in the land of Shinar; the others being Babel, Accad, and Calneh. This important city, supposed at first to be Edessa or Calirrhoë (*Urfah*) in the N.W. of Mesopotamia (so St. Ephrem, Jerome, and the Targumists), is now known to be the site called by the Arabs Warka, which lies halfway between Hilla and Korna on the left bank of the Euphrates, having on its eastern side the Nile canal. This town was called *Uruk* (or *Arku*) by the Babylonians and Assyrians, whence the Heb. Erech and the Arab. Warka. The original Akkadian name was *Unu, Unug*,[a] or *Unuga*, which is translated in the Bilingual lists by *šubtu*, "seat," "dwelling." Other native (Akkadian) names for the city were *Illag* (or *Illab*); *Namerim*; *Tir-ana*, "the heavenly grove;" *Ara-imina* (or *Uru-imina*) and *Da-imina*, "district seven" (or "the seven districts"), *Gipar-imina*, "enclosure seven" (or "the seven enclosures"); *Ki-ná-ana*, "the heavenly resting-place," &c., &c. As may be supposed from this, the Babylonians thought a great deal of this city, which, in ancient days, must have been a much more delightful place than the present scene of desolation which the ruins present would lead one to suppose. That this was the case is also indicated by the ruins themselves, which show remains of large and elegant buildings with the usual recessed or fluted walls, in some cases decorated with patterns formed with the circular ends of cones imbedded in mortar, and coloured various hues. At the time when the Babylonian empire was at the height of its power, it is probable that the country around the city was well drained, and properly fertilised by the numerous canals. The dwellings of the people seem, at one time, to have extended some three miles beyond the walls of the city, which was itself nearly six miles in circumference.

Erech seems to have been used as a necropolis, large numbers of glazed earthenware coffins and other receptacles, used for the burial of the dead, having been found there. These coffins are mostly of the Parthian period, though the city had probably been used as a burial-place long before then.

That it was a very ancient city is proved by the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. It seems to have been the capital of the semi-mythical hero-king Gilgameš (Gilgamos), in the wonderful legend concerning whom it is constantly mentioned under the name of *Uruk* or *Uruk supuri*, "Erech of the enclosure"[b] (see above). From time to time it was attacked by enemies, and devastated, as the following extract from a hymn of an unknown and probably prehistoric period will show:—

"How long, O my lady, shall the strong enemy hold thy sanctuary?
In thy primeval city, Erech, famine existeth;
In É-ulbar, the house of thine oracle, blood like water floweth;
He hath set fire in all thy lands, and poured it out like date-fruit.
My lady, greatly am I bound up with misfortune.
My lady, thou hast hemmed me in, and entreated me evilly.
The mighty enemy hath smitten me down like a single reed.
I take not counsel, myself I am not wise.
Like the fields, day and night I mourn.
I, thy servant, pray to thee—
Let thy heart take rest; let thy mood be softened."

During the historical period many kings reigned in Erech, and some of them—such as Dungi, Ur-Bau, and Gudea, about 2500 B.C.; Sin-gašid, at a little later date; and Merodach-baladan I., about 1325 B.C.—have left records of their having done so on the many inscribed and stamped bricks which are found in the ruins. In the year 2280 B.C., Kudur-Nanhundi, king of Elam, invaded this part of Babylonia, captured Erech, and carried away the image of the goddess Nanâ, which was restored to its place 1635 years later by Aššur-banî-apli, king of Assyria. Tablets of the reigns of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Darius, and some of the Seleucidae have also been found on the site.

This city contained two great temples, the abodes of the patron divinities of the place. One was called *É-ulbar* ("the house of the oracle:" see the hymn above), and was dedicated to the goddess Ištar (Venus as evening star); the other *É-ana* ("the house of heaven"), dedicated to Nanâ (the goddess whose image was carried off by the Elamite king), and now represented by the *Buwariya* mound. It is argued by Prof. Fried. Delitzsch that in former times the river Euphrates must have flowed much nearer to the city than at present, because, in the legend of Gilgameš, it is related that Gilgameš and Êa-bani, after they had killed, in Erech, the bull sent by the goddess Ištar, washed their hands in the stream. See Loftus, *Travels*, &c.; Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, vol. i.; Smith, *Chaldean Genesis*, p. 194; Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* and *Records of the Past*, vol. i., N.S., pp. 78–85. [T. G. P.]

[a] It is from this form that, by change of *n* into *r*, the Bab.-Assyr. form *Uruk* comes. The Greek form of the name of the city is Ὀρχόη; and the inhabitants are mentioned in Ezra iv. 9 under the name of Archevites (אַרְכְּוָיֵא, קרי: אַרְכְּוָיֵי). Compare the Assyr. *Arkâa*, fem. *Arkâaitu*, "Erechite."

[b] *Supuru* (or *Suburu*) means "ring" (round the moon), "halo," and "fold," "sheep-fold."

ERI (עֵרִי; Αηδὶs in Gen., B. Ἀδδεί, AF. -δι in Num. [*v.* 25]; *Heri*, *Her*), son of Gad (Gen. xlvi. 16; Num. xxvi. 16, LXX. *v.* 25).

ERITES, THE (הָעֵרִי; ὁ Ἀδεί or -δι; *Heritae*). A branch of the tribe of Gad, descended from Eri (Num. xxvi. 16).

ESAIAS [3 syll.] (Westcott and Hort, Ἡσαΐας; *Isaïas*; Cod. Amiat. *Esaias*), Matt. iii. 3, iv. 14, viii. 17, xii. 17, xiii. 14, xv. 7; Mark vii. 6; Luke iii. 4, iv. 17; John i. 23, xii. 38, 39, 41; Acts viii. 28, 30, xxviii. 25; Rom. ix. 27, 29, x. 16, 20, xv. 12. [ISAIAH.]

E'SAR-HAD-DON (אֵסַר־חַדֹּן; Ἀσορδαν; LXX. Σαχερδονός; Ptol. Ἀσαρίδανος; Assyr. *Aššur-âḫa-iddina*, *Aššur-âḫu-iddina*, "Asshur has given a brother"; *Asar-haddon*), the name of one of the greatest and also the mildest of the kings of Assyria. He was the son of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 37), and grandson of Sargon of Assyria, surnamed "the later" [SARGON], who succeeded Shalmaneser IV. Esarhaddon was not the eldest son of Sennacherib; the unfortunate Aššur-nadin-šum, who was made king of Babylon by his father, having been the firstborn. Judging from the meaning of his name, "Asshur has given a brother," he was possibly the second son of Sennacherib. The others were Aššur-munik (or Aššur-mulik) [ADRAMMELECH] and Sharezer (= Šarra-uṣur ?).

Esarhaddon ascended the throne of Assyria on the 18th day of Adar (Feb.–March), in the year 680 B.C., after, as is supposed, he had defeated the army of his brothers in the land of Hanirabbe, near the Upper Euphrates, and his brothers had taken refuge in Armenia. Esarhaddon at once turned his attention to Babylonia, where Nabû-zēr-napišti-lîšir, son of Merodach-baladan, had taken possession of the city of Ur. On the Assyrian army marching against him, he fled to Elam, where, however, the king of the country, Ummanaldas, put him to death. Na'id-Marduk, brother of Nabû-zēr-napišti-lîšir, threw himself on the mercy of Esarhaddon, who restored him to the dominions of his brother on the sea-coast (called *mât Tâmti*[tm]). Esarhaddon now restored those portions of Babylon which had been destroyed by Sennacherib, his father, and returned the images of the gods which had been carried away, thus conciliating the people. He also defeated and put to death the chief of the Chaldean tribe of Dakkuri, Šamaš-ibnî, who had taken possession of the fields of the people of Babylon and Borsippa. Having restored the land to its rightful owners, he placed Nabû-šallim on the throne as king of the tribe of Dakkuri.

Affairs in Babylonia being thus satisfactorily settled, Esarhaddon, in the fourth year of his reign, captured the cities Sidon and Bazza, and executed Abdi-Milkutti, king of Sidon, together with Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sisû. He also built a new town near Sidon, peopling it with the captives from the old city, and placing it under the control of an Assyrian governor. This was apparently an attempt to divert the trade of Sidon to the new settlement, but the commerce lost at the destruction of Sidon went to the sister-city, Tyre. At this time the whole of Palestine and the surrounding district made submission to Esarhaddon, who gives us a list of twelve kings of the mainland (including Baal of Tyre, Manasseh of Judah, and the kings of Edom, Moab, Gaza, Askelon, Ekron, &c.) and ten kings of the island of Cyprus, all of whom sent presents, and were directed by Esarhaddon to supply him with building materials for his new palace at Nineveh.

In his sixth year, Esarhaddon began to turn his attention to Egypt, and seems to have made some slight conquests there. Operations were continued in his seventh year, when there was a battle on the 5th day of Adar; but it was not a vigorous campaign, as a part of the Assyrian army was engaged in Ḫupuskia, against the Cimmerians, who were now beginning to make inroads. Checked in the south, the Cimmerians turned to the west and overran part of Asia Minor. Cilicia and Du'ua, in the neighbourhood of Tubal, were also invaded, and thirty-one cities taken; and Barnaki, "a powerful enemy dwelling in Til-Aššuri" (Tel-Assar—cp. Is. xxxvii. 12), was overrun by the Assyrian army. The Medesa, the Mannâa (Minni or Armeniane), and other tribes on the north and east of Assyria, were next attacked, the result being that three Median chiefs journeyed in person to Nineveh and made submission to Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon's next move was in the direction of Arabia, whither, after having returned to the king, Ḫaza-îlu or Hazael, the images of the gods which Sennacherib had carried away, with his own name written upon them (a common custom with the Assyrian kings), Esarhaddon conducted an expedition to subdue the country. He travelled 900 miles, and reached two districts, called Ḫazû and Bâzu (Hazo and Buz), where he subdued seven kings. An eighth, Laiê, king of Yadi', who had fled, afterwards made submission at Nineveh, when Esarhaddon returned to him the images of his gods, inscribed with "the power of Assur," and conferred upon him the land of Bâzu or Buz. After the death of Ḫaza-îlu, king of Arabia, Esarhaddon placed his son, Ya'-îlu, on the throne. He was unpopular with the tribes, however, and Esarhaddon had to send an army to quell the insurrection which took place. The Assyrians were successful, and Wabu, a pretender, was captured and taken to Nineveh.

In his eighth year Esarhaddon invaded and plundered the land of the Ruriṣâa, the spoils of which were taken to Erech in Babylonia. In this year Esarhaddon lost his queen, who died on the 5th day of Adar (Feb.–March).

In Nisan (March–April) of the tenth year of his reign, Esarhaddon began the conquest of Egypt. Battles were fought there on the 3rd, 16th, and 18th of Tammuz (June–July), resulting in the capture of Memphis on the 22nd. Tirhakah, who was then king of Egypt, fled; but his sons and nephews were captured, and the city spoiled. Esarhaddon now divided Egypt into twenty provinces, placing the majority of them under Egyptian princes, who submitted to his rule. Those not under native government—and these were probably the more important posts—he garrisoned with Assyrian troops under Assyrian governors. A complete list of these provinces, with the names of their governors, has come down to us.

In the eleventh year several of the great

men of Assyria were, for some reason unknown, executed by Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon's last expedition was again against Egypt, but he fell ill on the road, and died on the 10th of Marcheswan, in the twelfth year of his reign, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, and in the thirteenth, according to the Babylonian Canon (667 or 668 B.C.).

Besides setting on foot the campaigns mentioned in his inscriptions, Esarhaddon carried away captive Manasseh, king of Judah, who was seized at Jerusalem by his captains on a charge of rebellion, and taken to Babylon (2 Ch. xxxiii. 11), where Esarhaddon held his court. The Jewish king was, however, afterwards pardoned and restored to his kingdom. As has already been mentioned above, Manasseh is given in his inscriptions as a tributary of Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon rebuilt the walls of Babylon and the temple of Bel in that city, as well as many temples in Assyria and Akkad. He also built a palace at Nineveh, on an old site which he enlarged, and for which twenty-two kings of Hit, the seacoast, and the middle of the sea (Cyprus), furnished the materials. It was adorned with winged bulls and colossi, and decorated with rare and valuable stones. The doors were made of sweetly-smelling wood overlaid with silver and bronze. The south-west palace at Nimroud is the best-preserved of his constructions. This building, which was excavated by Sir A. H. Layard, is remarkable for the peculiarity of its plan as well as for the scale on which it is constructed, and the Rev. G. Rawlinson says that it corresponds in its general design almost exactly with the palace of Solomon (1 K. vii. 1–12), but is of larger dimensions, the great hall being 220 feet long by 100 broad (Layard's *Nin. & Bab.*, p. 634), and the porch or antechamber 160 feet by 60. It had the usual adornments of winged bulls, colossi, and sculptured slabs, but it has suffered so severely from fire, that the stones and alabaster slabs, &c., were all split and calcined. This is all the more to be regretted, as, from what has been said above, there is reason to believe that Hittite, Phoenician, and Cypriote artificers took part in the work. Portions of very fine winged bulls from Esarhaddon's palace at Nineveh are now in the British Museum.

Esarhaddon was probably one of the most energetic of a very energetic race of kings, and carried his conquests farther than any of his predecessors, leaving his kingdom, at his unexpected death, in a very prosperous condition. Although many acts of severity mark his reign, he must nevertheless be regarded as one of the most clement rulers of his time in the East—as witness his treatment of Manasseh, Na'id-Marduk, Haza-îlu of Arabia, and others. On the whole, his was a wise and common-sense reign (as things went at that time in the East), and must have had the effect of reconciling the diverse elements under his sway. At his death, the kingdom was divided between his two sons, Aššurbanîpal (see ASNAPPER) becoming king of Assyria and its dependencies, and Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Saosduchinos) king of Babylon under him. Both princes had probably not yet reached manhood when this took place. Esarhaddon's third son, Aššur-mukîn-palîa, was raised to the priesthood, with the title of *urigallu*, probably at Nineveh; and his fourth and youngest, Aššur-êtil-šamê-îrṣiti-bullit-su, became *urigallu* "before the god Sin" in Harran.

See G. Smith's *History of Assyria*, and T. G. Pinches's "Babylonian Chronicle" in the *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xix., part 4. [T. G. P.]

ESAU, the eldest son of Isaac, and twin-brother of Jacob. The singular appearance of the child at his birth originated the name: "And the first came out *red* (אַדְמוֹנִי, indicative of the colour of the skin), all over like an hairy garment, and they called his name *Esau*" (עֵשָׂו, *i.e.* "hairy," "rough," Gen. xxv. 25; see Delitzsch [1887]). This was not the only remarkable circumstance connected with the birth of the infant. Esau was the first-born; but as he was issuing into life Jacob's hand grasped his heel. The after enmity of two brothers, and the increasing strife of two great nations, were thus foreshadowed (xxv. 23, 26. Cp. Dillmann,[5] p. 310 sq.). Esau's robust frame and "rough" aspect were the types of a wild and daring nature (cp. the Phoenician legends about Ὄβσωρ in Dillmann,[5] p. 7). The peculiarities of his character soon began to develop themselves. Scorning the peaceful and commonplace occupations of the shepherd, he revelled in the excitement of the chase, and in the martial exercises of the Canaanites (xxv. 27). He was, in fact, a thorough *Bedawy*, a "son of the desert," who delighted to roam free as the wind of heaven, and who was impatient of the restraints of civilised or settled life. His old father, by a caprice of affection not uncommon, loved his wilful, vagrant boy; and his keen relish for savoury food being gratified by Esau's venison, he liked him all the better for his skill in hunting (xxv. 28). An event occurred which exhibited the reckless character of Esau on the one hand, and the selfish, grasping nature of his brother on the other. The former returned from the field, exhausted by the exercise of the chase, and faint with hunger. Seeing some pottage of lentiles which Jacob had prepared, he asked for it. Jacob only consented to give the food on Esau's swearing to him that he would in return give up his birthright. There is something revolting in the whole transaction. Jacob takes advantage of his brother's distress to rob him of that which was dear as life itself to an Eastern patriarch. The birthright not only gave him the headship of the tribe, both sacerdotal and temporal, and the possession of the great bulk of the family property, but it carried with it the *covenant blessing* (xxvii. 28, 29, 36; Heb. xii. 16, 17). Then again whilst Esau, under the pressure of temporary suffering, despises his birthright by selling it for a mess of pottage (Gen. xxv. 34), he afterwards attempts to secure that which he had deliberately sold (xxvii. 4, 34, 38; Heb. xii. 17).

It is evident that the whole transaction was public, for it resulted in a new name being given to Esau. He said to Jacob (cp. R. V.), "Feed me with that same *red* (הָאָדֹם) ...; therefore was his name called *Edom*" (אֱדוֹם, Gen. xxv. 30). It is worthy of note, however, that this name is seldom applied to Esau himself, though almost universally given to the country he settled in, and to his posterity. [EDOM; EDOMITES.] The

name "children of Esau" is in a few cases applied to the Edomites (Deut. ii. 4; Jer. xlix. 8; Obad. *v.* 18); but it is rather a poetical expression.

Esau married at the age of forty, and contrary to the wish of his parents. His wives were both Canaanites; and they "were bitterness of spirit unto Isaac and to Rebekah" (Gen. xxvi. 34, 35).*

The next episode in the history of Esau and Jacob is still more painful than the former, as it brings out fully those bitter family rivalries and divisions which were all but universal in ancient times, and which are still a disgrace to Eastern society. Isaac, conceiving himself near death, wished to bless Esau before he died; but Jacob, co-operating with the craft of his mother, is again successful, and secures irrevocably the covenant blessing. Esau vows vengeance. But fearing his aged father's patriarchal authority, he secretly congratulates himself: "The days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob" (Gen. xxvii. 41). Thus he imagined that by one bloody deed he would regain all that had been taken from him by artifice. But he knew not a mother's watchful care. Not a sinister glance of his eyes, not a hasty expression of his tongue, escaped Rebekah. She felt that the life of her darling son, whose gentle nature and domestic habits had won her heart's affections, was now in imminent peril; and she advised him to flee for a time to her relations in Mesopotamia. The sins of both mother and child were visited upon them by a long and painful separation, and all the attendant anxieties and dangers. By a characteristic piece of domestic policy Rebekah succeeded both in exciting Isaac's anger against Esau, and obtaining his consent to Jacob's departure—"and Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth; if Jacob take a wife such as these, what good shall my life do me?" Her object was attained at once. The blessing was renewed to Jacob, and he received his father's commands to go to Padan-aram (Gen. xxvii. 46; xxviii. 1–5).

When Esau heard that his father had commanded Jacob to take a wife of the daughters of his kinsman Laban, he also resolved to try whether by a new alliance he could propitiate his parents. He accordingly married his cousin Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael (xxviii. 8, 9). This marriage appears to have brought him into connexion with the Ishmaelitish tribes beyond the valley of Arabah. He soon afterwards established himself in Mount Seir, still retaining, however, some interest in his father's property in Southern Palestine. It is probable that his own habits, and the idolatrous practices of his wives and rising family, continued to excite and even increase the anger of his parents; and that he, consequently, considered it more prudent to remove his household to a distance. He was residing in Mount Seir when Jacob returned from Padan-aram, and had then become so rich and powerful that the impressions of his brother's early offences seem to have been almost completely effaced. His reception of Jacob was cordial and honest; though doubts and fears still lurked in the mind of the latter, and betrayed him into something of his old duplicity; for while he promises to go to Seir, he carefully declines his brother's escort, and, immediately after his departure, turns westward across the Jordan (Gen. xxxii. 7, 8, 11; xxxiii. 4, 12, 17).

It does not appear that the brothers again met until the death of their father, about twenty years afterwards. Mutual interests and mutual fear seem to have constrained them to act honestly, and even generously, towards each other at this solemn interview. They united in laying Isaac's body in the cave of Machpelah. Then "Esau took all his cattle, and all his substance, which he had got in the land of Canaan"—such, doubtless, as his father with Jacob's consent had assigned to him—"and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob" (xxxv. 29; xxxvi. 6). He now saw clearly that the covenant blessing was *Jacob's*; that God had inalienably allotted the land of Canaan to Jacob's posterity; and that it would be folly to strive against the Divine will. He knew also that as Canaan was given to Jacob, Mount Seir was given to himself (cp. xxvii. 39, xxxii. 3; and Deut. ii. 5); and he was, therefore, desirous with his increased wealth and power to enter into full possession of his country, and drive out its old inhabitants (Deut. ii. 12). Another circumstance may have influenced him in leaving Canaan. He "lived by his sword" (Gen. xxvii. 40); and he felt that the rocky fastnesses of Edom would be a safer and more suitable abode for such as by their habits provoked the hostilities of neighbouring tribes, than the open plains of Southern Palestine.

There is a difficulty connected with the names of Esau's wives, which is discussed under AHOLIBAMAH and BASHEMATH. Of his subsequent history nothing is known; for that of his descendants, see EDOM and EDOMITES. [J. L. P.]

E'SAU (Ἠσαύ; *Sel*), 1 Esd. v. 29. [ZIBA.]

ESA'Y (Ἠσαΐας; *Isaia, Isaias*), Ecclus. xlviii. 20, 22; 2 Esd. ii. 18. [ISAIAH.]

ESCHATOLOGY. Eschatology, or the Doctrine of the Last Things, is the name which of late has become common for doctrine concerning both the future state of the individual and the consummation of the present dispensation, or end of the world, with its accompanying events; and a complete view cannot be obtained of the way in which either of these reached its final form, apart from a consideration of the other. The present article will necessarily be confined to a review of Biblical Eschatology. An attempt will be made to trace the progress of thought and Revelation on the Last Things in the Old and New Testaments, though this also can be done only in bare outline, while other articles will be referred to for information on particular points. (1) It will be convenient to speak first of belief in the future of the individual. As regards actual knowledge and clear ideas on this subject, the Israelites, during the greater part of that period to which the Old Testament refers and belongs, are not in advance of other nations. Indeed, their very superiority consists in part in the severe restraint under

* The opinion that this *mésalliance* was the original tradition round which the other Biblical events connected with Esau were made to centre is too hypothetical and unsupported to secure acceptance. Not less imaginative is the opinion that Esau and Edom are but names of gods transferred to men who have human biographies accorded to them.—[F.]

which their thoughts are kept in this region, where they have no sure light to guide them. They have no mythology in regard to it, and give but little the reins to imagination. The bareness of their conceptions necessarily makes their words few, and may explain how it has been possible to doubt whether they believed in any continued existence of the soul after death at all.

Such passages as Job xxxiv. 14, 15, and Eccles. xii. 7, with which also Pss. civ. 29 and cxlvi. 4 may be compared, might possibly, taken by themselves, be supposed to imply a pantheistic conception: the spirit in man, which animates his frame, seems to be regarded as an effluence from an original Divine Source, with which it is to be reunited at death. But the strong sense of man's personality and relationship of responsibility and love to a personal God which distinguishes the Old Testament, negatives this idea.

Expressions like those in Pss. xxxix. 13, cxv. 17, cxlvi. 4; Is. xxxviii. 18, 19, depict the loss of all the interests and hopes and joys, the warmth and light, of this present scene. They do not necessarily exclude the notion of continued existence of the soul in another world. Indeed such an expression as "*going down into* silence" (Ps. cxv. 17) seems to imply it. Among such slight indications of belief in a continuance of existence may be reckoned the phrase "gathered unto his people" or "to his fathers," which clearly, from some passages in which it is used, cannot mean "buried in the family burying-place." See, for example, Gen. xxv. 8 (of Abraham, far away from his ancestral home), xlix. 33 (where it is used not of Jacob's burial, but of his death); Num. xx. 24 (of Aaron's death on Mount Hor); Judg. ii. 10 (of the passing away of a whole generation). As showing a similar view of death, compare David's language, 2 Sam. i. 23. A still clearer proof of belief in existence after death is the practice of necromancy (Deut. xviii. 11; Is. viii. 19; 1 Sam. xxviii. 9 sq.). Is. xiv. 9 sq. and Ezek. xxxii. 31 give fuller pictures of the realms of the dead. In all this, however—and the same holds of the language of the Old Testament generally, with but few exceptions—the state after death is contemplated as one of gloom, sadness, enervation; while no clear distinction is made between the condition of the righteous and the wicked, and no doctrine of retribution is associated with it. Compare especially the Book of Job, chaps. vii. and xiv. To the same effect is the name by which the dead are in some places described, the Rephaim, translated by the Revisers "the Shades," which gives well the general sense of the word, though not agreeing strictly with its derivation. (On Rephaim, see art. GIANTS, § 3. On Sheol, the common name for the Under-world, see HELL, and note also the name Abaddon, "destruction.")

These mournful forebodings were the utterance of human misgiving and doubt, natural even for the righteous when so little clear knowledge of the future life had as yet been vouchsafed. They are preserved in Holy Scripture, because it is a faithful record of human experience, apart from which it would be impossible to understand the actual history of the progress of Revelation. The prospect of gloomy death made the sorrows and injustices of life harder to bear. The triumph of faith was as yet most commonly seen in the confidence that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, God's righteousness would be vindicated even in this life. The broad lesson of the Providential ordering of this world had to be mastered before men were allowed to dwell on recompense in a life to come. Even such words as those of Balaam (Num. xxiii. 10), which seem to us so naturally to speak of the hope of future bliss, must, on the ground of the prevailing tenor and usage of Old Testament language, be understood to refer to the long life and peaceful end which were regarded as the fitting and appointed reward of godliness.

But now and again, especially while viewing the incompleteness of the manifestation of Divine justice here, the soul is permitted to attain to a confidence that even in and through death it must be well with it, if it is reposing in trust upon God (see Pss. xvi. 10, 11; xvii. 14, 15; xlix. 14, 15; lxxiii. 24–26). Some interpreters hold that no hope of immortality is expressed even in these passages. But in Ps. xlix. it seems clear that the reference must be to the joy of the righteous after death, from the fact that the contrast drawn is between their lot and the lot of the ungodly who are prosperous even to the end of life. Such is also the most natural sense, and, supported by Ps. xlix., we may say is almost certainly the sense, of Ps. xvii. In Pss. xvi. and lxxiii. again no interpretation which does not see in the language the expression of the hope of eternal communion with God seems adequate. But it is particularly to be noted that this confident hope of living enjoyment of God hereafter springs from the intense realisation of communion with God here. These psalmists are sure that Death cannot have power to triumph over such a fellowship. "The communion instituted by Revelation between the living God and man imparts to human personality an eternal importance" (Oehler). Compare our Lord's argument with the Sadducees, especially as recorded by St. Luke (xx. 37, 38). Another well-known passage (Job xix. 25 sq.) seems to hold out hope of satisfaction after death for the righteous, while moving more than those last considered in the plane of Old Testament ideas. The exact rendering of this passage does not favour the view that it refers to a resurrection. And even if the rendering of the A. V. were right, the words would, in the absence of all other intimations of belief in a resurrection in the Book, have to be understood of a vindication of the sufferer even in this life. But the thought seems rather to be that over his dust God would stand as his vindicator, and that even in Sheol he would be permitted to derive comfort from the proof given of his innocence and of God's favour.

The further development, however, of the doctrine of immortality was not after the manner of ordinary Theism. It did not consist in attributing fuller life to the spirit apart from the body, but in the growing expectation of a resurrection. In the case both of Is. xxvi. 19 and Ezek. xxxvii. 1–14, it is difficult to decide whether a literal resurrection of the dead, or a figurative representation of national revival, is to be understood. There is most to

be said for the former view in Is. xxvi. 19, where, as a much earlier passage, we should least expect it. But at all events, in Dan. xii. 2, a resurrection which, though not universal, should comprise both godly and ungodly, is plainly foretold. Cp. also v. 13. The doctrine of the resurrection of the righteous is still more clearly insisted on in 2 Macc. vii. 9, 11, 14, 23, 29; xii. 43, 44. The oppressions to which the faithful among the Jews were subjected under Antiochus Epiphanes were peculiarly suited to bring such a hope into prominence. It formed, as we know, a definite article of the creed of the Pharisees, and is fully recognised in the Jewish Apocalyptic literature. The work of Christ with respect to this doctrine was (1) to refine and spiritualise it (Matt. xxii. 23–30, and parallels: cp. also St. Paul's teaching concerning the "spiritual body," 1 Cor. xv. 35–end); (2) to place it upon a sure foundation through His revealing word and His own resurrection as the "first-fruits" (1 Cor. xv. 20), the "first-born from the dead" (Col. i. 18; Rev. i. 5).

2. But there is another hope more clearly apprehended and largely dwelt upon in the Old Testament than that of personal immortality; it is that of the Redemption of Zion, the complete peace, righteousness, and happiness of Israel under their promised God-given King. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, when at length it arose, linked the hopes of the individual to those of the nation. The righteous would rise again in order to share in that triumph of the Divine love and righteousness in which, notwithstanding all seeming evidence to the contrary, they had believed. The faith in this glorious future for the nation had its foundation in the knowledge of God's covenant with Israel, to which He must prove faithful, and the sense in every age that the ideal of their condition as the People of God had not as yet been attained, either as regards their inward state or their surroundings. It rose ever clearer and fuller in and through every period of adversity.

This is not the place in which to discuss the justness of the language of the Seventh of the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church. But the passing remark may be permitted, that whatever may be thought of its fitness when we are reviewing the uncertain hold upon the hope of bliss hereafter for the individual in the Old Testament, yet at least when we turn to the hope for Israel, as God's people, we see the inadequacy of the theory that "the Old Fathers did look only for transitory promises." Though the future bliss is no doubt conceived under earthly forms and as taking place upon this earth, yet the whole drift of Old Testament hope sets towards a *final* and *complete* establishment of the Kingdom of God.

The germ of the later Jewish and the Christian conceptions of the Last Things is to be found in the imagery of the Prophets of the Old Testament concerning the Redemption of Zion. Jehovah's final judgment on the enemies of Israel passed into the loftier conception of the Day of Universal Judgment, and the picture of restored Jerusalem furnished the image of the heavenly, eternal city. From the same imagery the doctrine of a Millennium, preceded and closed by specially fierce onslaughts of the enemies of God, was also drawn. While, again, the valley near Jerusalem where the enemies were to be slaughtered gave the name of the place of torment in another world (see the arts. HELL and GEHENNA).

Foremost among the conceptions prepared under the Old Testament which in Christian faith were to be associated with the future coming of Christ as the Judge and heavenly King, we have the expression "day of the Lord" (*i.e.* of Jehovah), for a time of Divine judgment. We find it used of times of Divine visitation generally (Amos v. 18; Is. ii. 12, xiii. 6, 9; Lam. ii. 22; Ezek. xiii. 5); but it had also a special application to a final judgment upon the enemies of Zion, and of the ungodly in the midst of her, closely connected with her redemption (Is. xxxiv. 8; Obad. *v.* 15; Joel iii. 14; Mal. iv. 5). The idea of such a "day" does not seem to have been originally taken from a judge holding court, but from a terrible triumphant conqueror executing vengeance in a day of battle and slaughter (cp. Is. xiii. 4. Zeph. i. 8, 16; Ezek. xiii. 5, xxx. 3, 4; and Joel ii. may also be compared). Touches are also added to the descriptions, drawn from the terrors of nature (Is. xiii. 10; Zeph. i. 15). The Lord's judgments were sometimes literally executed through the sword of human warriors. But in the visions of that last great judgment the vengeance upon the heathen and the sinners in Zion seems to be the work of powers of Nature, or powers supernatural. In Joel iii. 12, an addition is made to the conception which was of the greatest moment in the history of the doctrine of judgment. The image of a great slaughter is still employed in that passage, but Jehovah is represented as sitting to judge while it is taking place. The valley in the mind of the Prophet here, when he speaks of "the valley of decision," is most probably that same valley of Hinnom where were seen in the vision of Isaiah lxvi. the carcases of those who had been slain in the great Divine visitation, and which furnished the name Gehenna to after-times. This term came eventually to be loosely used of the place of punishment to which the wicked go at death, as well as of that connected with the Messianic judgment; but originally it belonged to the latter only.

After the destruction of the enemies of Zion, and of the rebellious sinners among her own people, there would follow a time of overflowing prosperity and peace. All nations would acknowledge the God of Israel and pay reverence to His people. Nature herself would be rendered newly propitious to man. All that is harsh and cruel in her would be altered, and the fruitfulness of the earth would be multiplied manyfold. So great would the change be that it might be described as a renewal of heaven and earth (Hos. ii. 18–23; Is. ii. 2–4, xi., lxv. 17, &c.). Similar descriptions, based upon these in the Prophets, are found in the Jewish Sibylline fragments, the pre-Christian portions of the Book of Enoch, and the Psalms of Solomon, the figures being sometimes grotesquely exaggerated (*Sib. Or.* iii. 702–794; Enoch v. 6–9, x. 16—xi. 2; Pss. of Sol. xvii. 23 sq.). We have not here, it is to be observed, the doctrine of the Millennium in its definite and ultimate form: for no indication is given of a limit to this period of bliss, and of another world to follow it. The first

trace of such a conception which we meet with is in Enoch xci. 12–17. It comes out with far greater distinctness in 4 Esdras vii. 26–31, and in the Apocalypse of Baruch (lxxiii.–lxxxiv. 2), writings which most probably belong to the last thirty years or so of the 1st century A.D. It may be noted in passing that the duration of this Messianic time according to 4 Esdras is 400 years, and that very various lengths are assigned to it in Rabbinic writings. Into Jerusalem or around it all the faithful were to be gathered, and the difficulties attending such an arrangement are quaintly dealt with. (For Rabbinic doctrine on the subject, see Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*, pt. ii. c. 10.)

For the conception of the Universal Judgment as well as for that of a Millennium, properly so called, we have to go beyond the Old Testament. The doctrine, indeed, of man's personal responsibility to God pervades the Old Testament; but we do not find there the representation of one great future assize to which shall be brought fallen spirits and all men living and dead. For the earliest instances of this we must pass to the portions of the Book of Enoch which are generally admitted to be pre-Christian and to belong to the last century or century and a half before Christ (see chs. xvi. 1; xxii. 4, &c.). It is unnecessary to give particular references to later books,—4 Esdras, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Book of Jubilees. Isaiah xxiv. 21, 22, has been thought by some to refer to a future judgment on spiritual beings and on departed kings. But at any rate a universal judgment is not there described.

There are differences in the representations of the things of the end in different portions of the New Testament. Language resembling that of the Jewish Apocalypses is chiefly to be found in the Synoptic Gospels, the Apocalypse of St. John, the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, and the Epistles to the Thessalonians. Deeper and more comprehensive teaching, more divested of such imagery, is set before us in the remaining writings of St. Paul and St. John. But besides this broad distinction there are differences of imagery even in the former group, corresponding in a measure to varieties in Jewish ideas. It will be most convenient to follow the order of events in the Apocalypse and to compare other descriptions by the way. The succession of calamities in the gradually unfolding visions of the Apocalypse may be compared with the briefer and more general description of the signs of the end in our Lord's Apocalyptic discourse in Matt. xxiv. (Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.). Then after the fall of the city mystically called Babylon, He Whose Name is "The Word of God" is seen going forth to war followed by the armies of heaven; and the enemies of God assemble to make war with Him and are overthrown (Rev. xix. 11–21). Then follows a reign of the Saints (xx. 1–7) for a thousand years. This passage does not enter into details, and it is not clear that what is ordinarily meant by the Millennium is intended. Such a belief, known as Chiliasm or Millenarianism, was, indeed, very prevalent in the Christian Church of the 2nd century, and they so interpreted this passage of the Apocalypse. But their ideas on the subject were evidently chiefly drawn from Jewish sources (Justin M. *Dial. cum Tryph.*, 51, 80, 81; Irenaeus, v. 33–36). If all ages of the Church and schools of interpreters be taken into account, it has been more commonly held that this portion of the imagery of the Apocalypse has been fulfilled in the victory, partial as it is, which Christ and His Church have already won. Elsewhere in the New Testament there is no clear indication of a finite period before the Judgment, like that of the reign of the Messiah in the later Jewish writings. In the Synoptic Gospels figures of earthly felicity are drawn from the Old Testament and from current Jewish language to describe the triumph of the kingdom of God, such as that of the great banquet (Matt. viii. 11, &c.), and of abundant possessions, including the reign of the Apostles with Christ (Matt. xix. 28, 29, &c.). But if the language be considered as a whole, it will be seen that it agrees rather with those earlier and simpler ideas described above, according to which the Messianic times and the world to come were not distinguished from one another. According to 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17, the resurrection of those that "sleep in Jesus" is to be a first incident of His appearing, so that they will share in all its joy and glory. Thus far this passage accords with Rev. xx. 7; but no room seems to be left for a reign on earth.

To return to the Apocalypse. After the thousand years a renewed activity is permitted to spiritual wickedness; and the powers of this world, under the names of Gog and Magog (cp. Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.), are again gathered together. The result is that they are destroyed, and the Devil, who deceived them, cast into the lake of fire. According to the older type of prophetic imagery, the judgment upon the ungodly was, as we have seen, conceived not as a formal process of judgment, but as a great slaughter. This view seems to be followed in 2 Thess. i. 7–10; but it is to be supernaturally inflicted by the Christ Himself. In the more fully developed ideas of the things of the end, room was found for this ancient representation of the judgment by placing an overthrow of enemies (or even two, one at the beginning and one at the close of the Messianic times) before the final, universal forensic judgment upon quick and dead. This more developed conception is presented to us in the Apocalypse.

We are thus brought to the Last Judgment, and here we meet with the most significant point of contrast between Christian and Jewish teaching. It is that in the New Testament the Christ appears as the Judge in the Universal Judgment (Matt. xxv. 31 sq.; 2 Cor. v. 10, and other allusions in St. Paul's Epistles; James v. 7–9; 1 John ii. 28, with iv. 17; and perhaps also 1 Pet. iv. 5). This point does not appear quite so clearly in the Apocalypse; it may, however, be inferred. The dead stand "before the Throne" (right reading, xx. 12), and this Throne is that "of God and of the Lamb" (xxii. 1). Compare also xxi. 27 with xx. 12; and see ii. 23 and xxii. 12.

Just before the Judgment the Devil is cast into the lake of fire (xx. 10) to which the Beast and the False Prophet have also been consigned (xix. 20). Death and Hades, after they have given up their dead, are also cast there (xx. 13, 14). The binding of Satan during the thousand years

and his final consignment to the lake of fire should be compared with the story in the Book of Enoch and other Jewish Apocalypses of the imprisonment, from the time of their fall, of the angels who fell by lust just before the Flood, and their removal at the Judgment Day to a still worse place of torture (Enoch x. 4–6, 12, 13; Apoc. of Baruch lvi. 10–13; Book of Jubilees, ch. v.). But Satan and his angels are not identical with the latter, though there must evidently be some connexion between the ideas about them both.

Wicked men are cast into the same lake of fire (xx. 15, xxi. 8; cp. the other comparatively speaking full description of the Judgment in Matt. xxv. 31–46). In the Book of Enoch, on the other hand, the place of punishment to which the wicked angels are to be sent is distinct from, though similar to, that for wicked men. Other passages suggesting conscious suffering, without end, or of which no end is indicated, are Matt. v. 30, xiii. 49, 50, xviii. 8, 9 (Mark ix. 43, 45, 47, 48), xii. 32 (Mark iii. 29). More vague is the image of the "outer darkness," outside the lighted banqueting-hall, where the Feast is held, which represents the Joy of the triumphant kingdom of God (Matt. viii. 12, xxii. 13, xxiv. 51, xxv. 30; Luke xiii. 28). On the other hand, we have language which recalls rather the image of the destruction of God's enemies, and suggests annihilation. This is true especially of 2 Thess. i. 7–10; but with this view the following passages seem also best to agree: Matt. iii. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 17, 18; 2 Pet. iii. 7; Jude 14, 15. Cp. also Heb. x. 27. Of the four following it is difficult to say under which of the preceding heads they should be classed: Matt. x. 28, xvi. 25; Luke xiii. 5, xx. 18. On the other hand, Luke xii. 47, 48, 59, speaks of punishment limited in duration as well as in severity; for an unending hell, however modified, could not be described as "few stripes." Even the "many stripes" are scarcely consistent with such a thought. An end seems also suggested in Matt. v 25, 26, stern as the purpose of the passage is. Again, the very saying of our Lord, which speaks of a sin that hath "never forgiveness, either in this world or in the world to come," suggests that there are others which have (Matt. xii. 32; Mark iii. 28, 29). Again, the phrase "to every man according to his deeds," and similar expressions, regarding the Judgment (Matt. xvi. 27; 2 Cor. v. 10; Rev. xx. 12), seem to imply a greater variety of award than simply the division into two great classes of the saved and the damned. Moreover, these passages all plainly refer not to the intermediate state, but to the Judgment Day. Cp. also 1 Cor. iii. 13, 15. The doctrine of Purgatory, when presented in a spiritual form, seems to commend itself to the reason, but it must be allowed that it has no basis in Holy Scripture.

All this language has its correspondences with Jewish descriptions of future judgment and punishment. Yet there is in the New Testament a greater simplicity and dignity; details are less dwelt upon; the moral and spiritual lessons count for much more, while a curious imagination is less gratified. In that other group of New Testament writings to which reference has been made, glimpses are afforded into deeper underlying truths. All judgment has been committed to the Son of Man (John v. 22–27). When He was on earth, the judgment of men of all classes, and of the Evil One himself, was proceeding, and it is proceeding still (John xii. 31; xvi. 8, 11). The word "eternal" is applied to a state of life and death on earth, where we should rather use the word "spiritual." In no mere metaphorical sense there is a resurrection now, as well as hereafter (John iii. 36, v. 24, xi. 25, xvii. 3; 1 John iii. 14, v. 12, 13; Rom. vi. 1 sq.). But this does not destroy the sense of the need of future resurrection and judgment (John v. 25, 29; 1 John iii. 2 sq.; Rom. viii. 16 sq.). Here and there also a more sublime close seems to be indicated than that of the Judgment Day itself, a time when at last every rational will shall be brought into obedience to Christ, and complete harmony and happiness shall be established through every realm of being (1 Cor. xv. 23–27; Col. i. 20; Ephes. i. 20; Acts iii. 21; Rom. xi. 32; Philip. ii. 10, 11). It is too much overlooked how much of the most distinctive teaching of the Christian Revelation is contained in its eschatology; in other words, in the new view which it gives of God's ultimate purposes with regard to mankind and His kingdom. For instance, the real gist of St. Paul's great argument in the Epistle to the Romans is to be found not less in chs. viii.–xi. than in chs. ii.–vii.

We have attempted thus far to bring out clearly the facts in regard to the language of Holy Scripture on future judgment and punishment. Any adequate consideration of the conclusions to be drawn in view of the modern controversies on the subject would be impossible here. We must confine ourselves to one or two remarks: (*a*) The descriptions are figurative, and the figures are not matter of Revelation. They are neither derived, except in germ, from the Old Testament, nor newly given by Christ, but are taken from prevailing Jewish language, for the purpose of enforcing certain great truths. There are, moreover, variations in the imagery employed which show that the precise form of the representations is of small account. It is, for example, impossible to fit together the picture of the servants beaten with few or many stripes with that of the two classes of the righteous and the wicked in the parable of the sheep and the goats.

(*b*) We have as little right to explain away the passages which speak of the final restitution of all things as we have to destroy the force of those which describe the doom of the wicked. It may be that no thoroughly satisfactory way of reconciling them will present itself. If so, the apparently conflicting teaching should bring home to us our own ignorance and the weakness of our thought.

3. The subject of the Intermediate State is treated—at least as regards the righteous—in the article on PARADISE. It must suffice here to note its connexion with the topics which have been discussed in the present article. It would seem probable that the effort to combine the ideas respecting the Under-world to which the soul would go at death, spoken of in 1, when brought into comparison with those concerning the great consummation referred to in 2, must have helped to render definite the conception of an *intermediate* state. The holy dead must, it was felt, share in the future glory of Zion, and

a term was thus set to their present state of existence. The imagery on this subject also underwent a development after the close of the Old Testament Canon, as appears from the same Apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature to which reference has already been made. The most distinct use of such imagery in the New Testament is in the picture of separate abodes for the righteous and wicked in Hades in the parable of Lazarus and Dives in Hades (Luke xvi. 22 sq.).

It is always to be remembered that we can know nothing concerning either the future of the individual soul or the end of the world, except in figurative language. But the figures which we have noticed, albeit not first promulgated in Holy Scripture, have received its sanction; and, taken in general outline, they shadow forth truth to which our own minds and hearts give a response. In spite of the part taken by the body in all our thinking and acting, ineradicable instincts of the human heart and conscience protest against the materialism which supposes that there is no continued existence of the human personality after death. At the same time we see that an organism, such as that of the resurrection-body, is necessary to the spirit for the fulness of life; while all that we have learnt and are learning concerning the manifold ties that bind us together reconciles us to the thought that the individual must wait for perfect consummation and bliss in the final regeneration.

Jewish Eschatology and its relation to Christian Faith is discussed, from various standpoints, in many modern German works which deal with the subject of Messianic doctrine. On the doctrine of Future Life in the Old Testament, Oehler's *Theology of the Old Testament* may be consulted with advantage. Information respecting Jewish doctrine later than the Old Testament, and the critical questions connected with the Jewish documents of the last one or two centuries B.C., and the 1st century A.D., may be obtained in *The Jewish Messiah*, by J. Drummond, or both on these points and their relation to Christian doctrine in *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, by V. H. Stanton. A good succinct account of Jewish belief in regard to the things of the end will be found in Schürer, *The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, Div. ii. vol. ii. § 29, pp. 154–187, Eng. trans. F. Weber's *Altsynagogale Palästinische Theologie*, pp. 322–382, is also to be mentioned as specially useful for the Rabbinic doctrine on the subject. [V. H. S.]

ESCHEW (Job i. 1, 8, ii. 3; 1 Pet. iii. 11) = to flee from or shun. The word occurs in the collect for the Third Sunday after Easter, and is retained by the R. V. in the above O. T. passages, but replaced by "turn away" in 1 Pet. [F.]

ESDRAE'LON ('Εσδρηλών, B. 'Εσδραήλων, Judith iii. 9; B. 'Εσρηλών, A. 'Εσερηχών, Judith iv. 6; 'Εσδρηλώμ, BN. -λών, Judith vii. 3; 'Εσδρηλώμ, N. -λών, B. 'Εσρήμ, A. 'Εσδρήμ, Judith i. 8; *Esdrelon*). This name is merely the Greek form of the Hebrew word JEZREEL. It occurs in this exact shape only twice in the A. V. (Judith iii. 9, iv. 6). In Judith vii. 3, it is ESDRAELOM (*Esdraelon*, ed. 1611); and in i. 8, ESDRELOM (*Esdrelon*, ed. 1611), with the addition of "the great plain." The name is derived from the old royal city of JEZREEL, which occupied a commanding site at the eastern extremity of the plain.

The "great plain of Esdraelon" is called in the O. T. "the valley of Megiddo" (2 Ch. xxxv. 22), the "valley of Megeddon" (Zech. xii. 11), and "Jezreel" only in 2 Sam. ii. 9; in the Apocrypha, "the plain of Megiddo" (1 Esd. i. 29) and "the great plain" (1 Macc. xii. 49); by Josephus, "the great plain," τὸ πεδίον μέγα (*Ant.* xii. 8, § 5; *B. J.* iii. 3, § 1, &c.); and by Eusebius and Jerome, "the plain of Legio," πεδίον τῆς Λεγεώνος, *Campus Legionis*, from the Roman town Legio on its S. side. It separates the hills of Samaria on the S. from those of Galilee on the N.; and is not only the largest and most fertile plain in Palestine, but one of the most remarkable features of the country. "A glance at its situation will show that to a certain extent, though not in an equal degree, it formed the same kind of separation between the mass of Central Palestine and the tribes of the extreme north, as the valley of the Jordan effected between that same mass and the trans-Jordanic tribes on the east" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 337). At its eastern extremity stood Jezreel, *Zerîn*, the royal residence of the kings of Israel, whence the broad, open "valley of Jezreel" (Josh. xvii. 16; Judg. vi. 33; Hos. i. 5) slopes gradually down to the Jordan valley; and at its western end was JOKNEAM of Carmel, *Tell Keimûn*. Its length from *Zerîn* to *Tell Keimûn* is 15 miles, and its greatest breadth from *Jenîn* to *Junjâr* is 14 miles. On the N.E. the plain extends 3½ miles further, to the foot of Mount Tabor; and on the S.E. it stretches, eastward from *Jenîn*, for 3½ miles between Mount Gilboa and the hills to the S. On the N. the mountains of Galilee rise boldly from the plain, and the "Mount of the Precipitation" (1285 ft.), below Nazareth, is conspicuous; whilst on the S. low olive-clad hills slope gently upwards to the heights of Mount Ephraim. On the N.E. are the ridge of *J. Dûhy* (1690 ft.) and the isolated hill of Tabor (1843 ft.), and on the N.W. the Kishon runs out through a narrow gorge, between Carmel and the Galilean hills, to the plain of Acre and the sea.

The wide undulating plain, now called *Merj ibn 'Amîr*, is dotted with grey *tells*, and seamed in every direction with small watercourses, which convey the drainage of the surrounding hills to the Kishon. The fall is slight; the water parting near *Jenîn* is only 260 ft. above the sea, and during winter the central portion of the plain becomes an impassable morass. The Kishon at the same time becomes a deep, turbid stream, and after heavy rain it rolls down in flood as it did on the day when it swept away the host of Sisera (Judg. v. 21). In summer the rich, crumbling volcanic soil cracks, and numerous fissures make riding off the beaten tracks difficult. Wherever it is tilled the plain yields abundant crops of wheat, cotton, tobacco, sesame, and millet, and everywhere flowers and rank weeds attest the fertility of the soil. To this richness there are allusions in Hos. ii. 21, 22; Gen. xlix. 14, 15; 1 Ch. xii. 40; and in the modern name of the district, *Belâd Hâritheh*, the "country of the ploughed land." The plain is now fully cultivated, but thirty years

ago it was the favourite resort of the Bedawîn, who, like the nomad Midianites and Amalekites, —those "children of the east" who were "as locusts for multitude," whose "camels were without number as sand by the seaside,"— devoured its rich pasture. Trees are rare except round villages; but where there is an abundance of water, as at *Jenîn*, they grow with great luxuriance. The whole plain is watered by the numerous springs on the N.E. and W. Between *Tell Keimûn* and *Tell Abu Kudeis* there are from fifty to sixty springs, all fresh and good, and some of them feeding running streams. The three most remarkable groups are those of *Lejjûn*, *W. ed-Dufieh*, and *Kîreh*, from which even in the dry season considerable streams run down. No important town was ever situated in the plain itself, but on its borders were places of high historic and sacred interest. Such were Jokneam of Carmel, commanding roads through the gorge of the Kishon to Accho, and over the ridge to the plain of Sharon; Megiddo, at the northern end of the easiest pass through the hills that separate Esdraelon from the Maritime Plain; Taanach; En-gannim, the Ginaia of Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 4), which marked the boundary of Samaria; Jezreel, the royal city, commanding the great road down the Valley of Jezreel to Bethshean and the country east of Jordan; Shunem, Nain, and Endor, on the slopes of *J. Dûhy*; Daberath; Chesulloth, the Xaloth of Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1); Gaba "of the Horsemen" (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1); and Harosheth of the Gentiles.

The principal roads which cross the plain are: (1) the main road from *Nâblus* to *Jenîn* and Nazareth; (2) the great trade route from *'Akka* and *Haifa* to *Zerîn*, *Beisân*, and the *Haurân*, and to Tiberias and Damascus; (3) the main road from Lydda to *Bâka*, and across the ridge of Carmel to Jokneam (*Tell Keimûn*), *Haifa*, and *'Akka*; (4) the road which runs from the Maritime Plain up the broad *W. 'Arah*, and, crossing the ridge at *'Ain Ibrahîm*, descends to Megiddo (*Lejjûn*), whence it branches off to Nazareth, and *Zerîn*,—this line is one of the easiest across the country, and must always have been of great importance; (5) the road from *Jenîn*, that passes along the plain of *'Arrâbeh*, N. of Dothan, and descends by *W. el-Ghamîk* to the Plain of Sharon: this, which is also an easy road, is probably the one that was followed by the Midianite and Amalekite merchants who carried Joseph down with them to Egypt. Over these roads the caravans of merchants and the armies of contending nations must always have passed on their way from E. to W., or from N. to S.; and the fact that the great plain was such a common thoroughfare must have made it in peaceful times the most available and eligible possession of Palestine. "It was the frontier of Zebulun — 'Rejoice, O Zebulun, in thy goings out.' But it was the special portion of Issachar; and in its condition, thus exposed to the good and evil fate of the beaten highway of Palestine, we read the fortunes of the tribe which, for the sake of this possession, consented to sink into the half-nomadic state of the Bedouins who wandered over it,—into the condition of tributaries to the Canaanite tribes, whose iron chariots drove victoriously through it. 'Rejoice, O Issachar, in thy *tents* . . . they shall suck of the abundance of the seas [from Acre], and of the [glassy] treasures hid in the sands [of the torrent Belus] . . . Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two 'troughs': and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant to tribute.'" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 348.)

The plain was the scene of two of the greatest victories, and of two of the saddest defeats, in

Plain of Esdraelon.

the history of the Jews. On the banks of the Kishon, in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo, the Lord delivered Sisera and his host into the hands of Barak (Judg. iv. v.); and, in the Valley of Jezreel, Gideon broke the "rod of the oppressor" (Judg. vii.). On the "high places" of Gilboa, Saul and Jonathan perished miserably (1 Sam. xxxi.; 2 Sam. i. 17–27); and in the Valley of Megiddo, Josiah was sore wounded by an arrow when attempting to stop the passage of Necho's army northwards from the Maritime Plain (2 Ch. xxxv. 20–27). To these battles the plain probably owes its celebrity as the

battle-field of the world, "the place which is called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon;" that is, "the city or mountain of Megiddo." It was across one portion of the plain, towards *Jenin*, that Ahaziah fled from Jehu, and it was to Megiddo that he was brought to die when sore wounded at the ascent of Gur (2 K. ix. 27). Here too, spreading themselves out from Bethulia to Cyamon, *Tell Keimûn*, Holofernes and his soldiers were encamped during the siege of the former place (Judith vii. 3). At a later period during the Jewish war the plain was the scene of frequent skirmishes, and at the foot of Mount Tabor the Jews were sharply defeated by Placidus (*B. J.* iv. 1, § 8). Here Crusaders and Saracens met in conflict, and in 1799, at *Fûleh*, the Turks were conquered, by Bonaparte and Kleber, at the battle of Mount Tabor. A graphic sketch of Esdraelon is given in Stanley's *S. & P.* pp. 335 sq. See also *PEF. Mem.* ii. 36, 39, 50; Robinson, ii. 315–30, iii. 139 sq.; Conder, *Tent Work*, i. 111 sq.; *Hbk. for S. & P.* pp. 351 sq. [W.]

ESDRAS (Ἔσδρας; *Esdras*), 1 Esd. viii. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 19, 23, 25, 91, 92, 96; ix. 1, 7, 16, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 49; 2 Esd. i. 1; ii. 10, 33, 42; vi. 10; vii. 2, 25; viii. 2, 19; xiv. 1, 38. [EZRA.]

ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF.—I. *Title.* This is the first in order of the apocryphal books in the English Bible, which follows Luther and the German Bibles in separating the apocryphal from the Canonical Books, instead of binding them up together according to historical order (Walton's *Prolegom. de vers. Graec.* § 9). The classification of the four books which have been named after Ezra is particularly complicated. In the Vatican (B) edition of the LXX., our 1st Esd. is called "Esdras A." or the *first* Book of Esdras, in relation to the canonical Book of Ezra which follows it and is called "Esdras B." (*i.e.* our Ezra and Nehemiah) or the *second* Esdras, the reason for this order being probably due to the fact that the events related in it precede in point of time, at least partly, those related in the other two (see Lupton, p. 5, n. 3). But in the Vulgate, 1st Esd. means the canonical Book of Ezra, and 2nd Esd. means *Nehemiah*, according to the primitive Hebrew arrangement, mentioned by Jerome, in which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* made up two parts of the one Book of Ezra; and 3rd and 4th Esd.—placed after the N. T.—are what we now call 1 and 2 Esdras. These last, with the Prayer of Manasses, are the only apocryphal books admitted *eo nomine* into the Romish Bibles, the other apocrypha being declared canonical by the Council of Trent (1546). The reason of the exclusion of 3rd Esdras from the Canon seems to be either that the Tridentine fathers in 1546 were content to follow the estimate passed upon the book by Jerome (§ II. below), or that they were not aware, or did not remember, that it then existed in Greek. For, though it is not in the Complutensian edition (1515), nor in the Biblia Regia, yet it is found in the Aldine edition (1518), in the Strasburg edition (1526), and in the Basle edition (1545. See Lupton, p. 4). Vatablus (about 1540) had, it would seem, never seen a Greek copy, and, in the preface to the apocryphal books, speaks of it as only existing in some MSS. and printed *Latin* Bibles.[a] For reasons now unknown, it was excluded from the Canon, though it has certainly quite as good a title to be admitted as Tobit, Judith, &c. It has indeed been stated (Bp. Marsh, *Comp. View*, ap. Soames, *Hist. of Ref.* ii. 608) that the Council of Trent in excluding the two books of Esdras followed Augustine's Canon. But this is not so. Augustine (*de Doctr. Christ.* lib. ii. 13) distinctly mentions among the libri Canonici, *Esdrae duo*;[b] and that one of these was our 1st Esdras is manifest from the quotation from it given below from *De Civit. Dei.* Hence it is also sure that it was included among those pronounced as Canonical by the 3rd Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), where the same title is given, *Esdrae libri duo.* In all the earlier editions of the English Bible the books of Esdras are numbered as in the Vulgate. In the 6th Article of the Church of England (first introduced in 1571) the first and second books denote Ezra and Nehemiah, and the 3rd and 4th, among the Apocrypha, are our present 1st and 2nd. In the list of revisers or translators of the *Bishops'* Bible, sent by Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil, with the portion revised by each, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and the apocryphal books of Esdras seem to be all comprised under the one title of ESDRAS. Barlow, bishop of Chichester, was the translator, as also of the books of Judith, Tobias, and Sapientia (*Corresp. of Archbp. Parker*, p. 335, Parker Soc. See Westcott, *Hist. of the Engl. Bible*, p. 115). The Geneva Bible first adopted the classification used in our present Bibles, in which EZRA and NEHEMIAH give their names to the two Canonical Books, and the two apocryphal become 1 and 2 Esdras; where the Greek form of the name indicates that these books do not exist in Hebrew or Chaldee.

II. *Reception of the book.*—As regards the antiquity of this book and the rank assigned to it in the early Church, it may suffice to mention that Josephus quotes largely from it, and follows its authority, even in contradiction to the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, by which he has been led into hopeless historical blunders and anachronisms. It is quoted also by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i.); and the famous sentence "Veritas manet, et invalescit in aeternum, et vivit et obtinet in saecula saeculorum" (iv. 38) is cited by Cyprian as from Esdras, and prefaced by *ut scriptum est* (*Epist.* lxxiv.). Augustine also refers to the same passage (*de Civit. Dei*, xviii. 36), and suggests that it may be prophetical of Christ, Who is the truth. He includes under the name of Esdras our 1 Esd. and the canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. 1 Esd. is also cited by Athanasius and other fathers (see Pohl-

[a] "Oratio Manassae, necnon libri duo qui sub libri tertii et quarti Esdrae nomine circumferuntur, hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem canonicorum librorum, quos sancta Tridentina synodus suscepit, et pro canonicis suscipiendos decrevit, sepositi sunt, ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui à nonnullis sanctis Patribus interdum citantur, et in aliquibus Bibliis Latinis, tàm manuscriptis quam impressis, reperiuntur."

[b] Jerome, in his preface to his Latin Version of Ezra and Nehemiah, says, "UNUS à nobis liber editus est," &c.; though he implies that they were sometimes called 1 and 2 Esdras.

mann in *Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschr.* p. 263 sq., 1859); and perhaps there is no sentence that has been more widely divulged than that of iv. 41, "Magna est veritas et praevalet." It is rightly included by us among the Apocrypha, not only on the ground of its historical inaccuracy, and contradiction of the true Ezra, but also on the external evidence of the early Church. That it was never known to exist in Hebrew, and formed no part of the Hebrew Canon, is admitted by all (see Bissell, § 4). Jerome, in his preface to Ezra and Neh., speaks contemptuously of the dreams (*somnia*) of the 3rd and 4th Esdras, and says that they are to be utterly rejected. In his *Prologus Galeatus* he clearly defines the number of Books in the Canon, xxii., corresponding to the xxii. letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and says that all others are apocryphal. This of course excludes 1 Esdras. Melito, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary of Poitiers, Cyril of Jerusalem, the Council of Laodicea, and many other fathers, expressly follow the same Canon, counting as apocryphal whatever is not comprehended in it.

III. *Contents.*—As regards the contents of the book, the first chapter is a transcript of the last two chapters of 2 Ch., for the most part *verbatim*, and only in one or two parts slightly abridged and paraphrased, and showing some corruptions of the text, the use of a different Greek Version, and some various readings. Chapters iii., iv., and v., to the end of *v.* 6, are the *original* portions of the book, containing the legend of the three young Jews at the court of Darius; and the rest is a transcript more or less exact of the Book of Ezra, with the chapters transposed and quite otherwise arranged, and of a portion of Nehemiah (cp. Lupton, Schürer, and Zöckler). The central subject of the book, now very commonly accepted, is that originated by the heading of the Old Latin Version, "De restitutione Templi:" but other and collateral designs are apparent on the part of the compiler, such as his wish to stimulate his countrymen to a more zealous observance of the Law, and win the favour of a Ptolemaic or other heathen power; or his desire to introduce and give Scriptural sanction to the legend about Zerubbabel, which may or may not have an historical base, and may have existed as a separate work; or to explain the great obscurities of the Book of Ezra, and to present the narrative, as the author understood it, in historical order. In this latter point, however, he has signally failed. For, not to advert to innumerable other contradictions, the introducing the opposition of the heathen, as offered to Zerubbabel *after* he had been sent to Jerusalem in such triumph by Darius, and the describing that opposition as lasting "until the reign of Darius" (v. 73), and as put down by an appeal to the decree of Cyrus, is such a palpable inconsistency, *as is* alone quite sufficient to discredit the authority of the book. It even induces the suspicion that it is a farrago made up of scraps by several different hands. At all events, attempts to reconcile the different portions with each other, or with Scripture, is lost labour (see Lupton, § iii.). The compiler himself is unknown.

V. *Time and place.*—As regards the time when and place where the compilation was made, the *original* portion (iii. 1–v. 6)—original, that is, in the sense that there is nothing to answer to it in the Canonical Books—does not afford much clue. It may have come from a current Persian court anecdote or from a Jewish tradition. The conjecture (Fritzsche and Reuss) that not Zerubbabel but his son Joachim is the hero of this episode, and the deduction of date from this change, is unsatisfactory, and does not remove other difficulties (see Lupton and Zöckler). The writer was conversant with Hebrew, though he did not write the book in that language. He was well acquainted with the Books of Esther and Daniel (1 Esd. iii. 1, 2 sq.), and other Books of Scripture (ib. *vv.* 20, 21, 39, 41, &c., and *v.* 45 compared with Ps. cxxxvii. 7); but that he did not live under the Persian kings, and was not contemporary with the events narrated, appears by the undiscriminating way in which he uses promiscuously the phrase *Medes and Persians*, or *Persians and Medes*, according as he happened to be imitating the language of Daniel or of the Book of Esther. The allusion in iv. 23 to "sailing upon the sea and upon the rivers," for the purpose of "robbing and stealing," seems to indicate residence in Egypt, and acquaintance with the lawlessness of Greek pirates there acquired. The phraseology of v. 73 (of disputed meaning) savours also strongly of Greek rather than Hebrew. If, however, as seems very probable, the legend of Zerubbabel appeared first as a separate piece, and was afterwards incorporated into the narrative made up from the Book of Ezra, this Greek sentence from ch. v. would not prove anything as to the language in which the original legend was written. The expressions in iv. 40, "She is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty of all ages," is very like the doxology found in some copies of the Lord's Prayer, and retained by us, "thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory for ever;" but Lightfoot says that the Jews in the Temple-service, instead of saying Amen, used this antiphon, "Blessed be the Name of the Glory of His Kingdom for ever and ever" (vi. 427). So that the resemblance may be accounted for by their being both taken from a common source. Indications, though faint ones, seem to place the origin of the work in the 1st, or at the latter end of the 2nd, century B.C. Ewald finds traces of the story of chs. iii. iv. in the earliest of the Sibylline books (B.C. 181–143), and affirms that the "history" of Aristeas (on the LXX.; 1st century) must have been known to the compiler. Lupton argues that the building of a temple, or restoration and adaptation of an Egyptian temple, for Jewish worship, such as is connected with Onias in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, suggested the production of 1 Esdras, and furnishes other reasons for agreeing with Herzfeld in assigning the work to a period preceding the Maccabaean wars. The point cannot be said to be conclusively settled.

For a further account of the history of the times embraced in this book, see EZRA; 2 ESDRAS; Joseph. *Antig. Jud.* xi.; Hervey's *Genealogy of our Lord Jesus Christ*, ch. xi.; Bp. Cosin on the *Canon of Scr.*; Fulke's *Defence of Transl. of Bible*, p. 18 sq., Parker Soc.; Kitto, *Bibl. Cyclop.*, "Esdras." The works of Fritzsche (*Handb. z. d. Apokryphen*, i. 11 sq.), Bissell

(*Lange's Comm.* on the Apocrypha), Lupton (*Speaker's Comm.* on the Apocrypha), and Zöckler ('Die Apokryphen' in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*) will supply the reader with references to modern works. [A. C. H.] [F.]

ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF, in the English Version of the Apocrypha, and so called by the author (2 Esd. i. 1), is more commonly known, according to the reckoning of the Latin Version, as the *fourth* Book of Ezra [see above, 1 ESDRAS]; but the arrangement in the Latin MSS. is not uniform (see that of the Codex Sangermanensis quoted in Lupton, § i.), and in the Arabic and Aethiopic Versions the book is called the first of Ezra. The original title, Ἀποκάλυψις Ἔσδρα (or προφητεία Ἔσδρα), "the *Revelation* of Ezra," which is preserved in some old catalogues of the canonical and apocryphal books (Nicephorus, *ap.* Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V. T.*, ii. 176; Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coislin.* p. 194), is far more appropriate, and it were to be wished that it could have been restored, had it been possible to do so without confusion with a later and inferior work, bearing this title, and published by Tischendorf in 1866 (cp. Lupton, § i.)

I. *Language and Versions.*—The original language of the book was Greek (cp. Van der Vlis, *Disputatio critica de Ezrae libro Apocrypho*, &c., pp. 10–14, 1839), but for a long time it was known only by an Old Latin Version, which is preserved in some MSS. of the Vulgate. This Version (3rd cent., Fritzsche) was used by Ambrose (see the parallels in Lupton, § ii.), and, like the other parts of the *Vetus Latina*, is probably older than the time of Tertullian. The Arabic text was discovered by Mr. Gregory about the middle of the 17th century in two Bodleian MSS., and an English Version made from this by Simon Ockley was inserted by Whiston in the last volume of his *Primitive Christianity* (London, 1711). Fabricius added the various readings of the Arabic text to his edition of the Latin in 1723 (*Cod. Pseud. V. T.*, ii. 174 sq.). The Aethiopic text was published in 1820 by [Archbp.] Laurence with English and Latin translations, likewise from a Bodleian MS. which had remained wholly disregarded, though quoted by Ludolf in his *Dictionary* ("Primi Esrae libri, versio Aethiopica...Latine Angliceque reddita;" Oxon. 1820). The emendations made by Van der Vlis (p. 77), the readings from other MSS. collected by Dillmann (printed at the end of Ewald's edition of the Arabic text), and those subsequently made by Praetorius, are necessary for the study of a text of great value. The Latin translation has been reprinted by Gfrörer, with the various readings of the Latin and Arabic (*Praef. Pseud.*, Stuttg. 1840, p. 66 sq.); and the Bodleian Arabic text has been published by Ewald (1863), who dates it A.D. 1354, and another version of it, also of the 14th cent., by Gildemeister (1877). The Armenian Version, published in 1666, and translated in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judaeorum*, diverges very widely from the rest.

Of the five existing Versions, four (the Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Latin) are thought to have been made from a Greek text; the Armenian Version was not. This is certainly the case with regard to the Latin, the oldest and most important of all, which bears everywhere traces of Greek idiom (Lücke, *Versuch einer vollst. Einleitung*, i. 144), and the Aethiopic (Van der Vlis, p. 75 sq.), but is less certain with regard to the two versions of the Arabic (Fritzsche thinks the first text of the Arabic to be taken from the Syriac). A clear witness to the Greek text is Clement of Alexandria, who expressly quotes the book as the work of "the prophet Ezra" (*Strom.* iii. 16; cp. Ambrose, *de bon. mortis*, ch. xii.). A question, however, has been raised whether the Greek text was not itself a translation from the Hebrew (Bretschneider in Henke's *Mus.* iii. 478 sq.; *ap.* Lücke, *l. c.*); but the arguments from language by which the hypothesis of a Hebrew (Aramaic) original is supported, are wholly unsatisfactory; and in default of direct evidence to the contrary, it must be supposed that the book was composed in Greek. This conclusion is further strengthened by its internal character, which points to Egypt as the place of its composition.

The Latin text, for many years that of the Codex Sangermanensis (A.D. 822), compared with that of the Codex Turinensis (13th cent.) and of the Codex Dresdensis (15th cent.), can now be improved by a Complutensian MS. of the 8th cent. discovered by Prof. Palmer in 1826, and by the Amiens MS. of the 9th cent. discovered by Mr. Bensley in 1874 (cp. Lupton, § iii.). Followed by the English Version, it contains two important interpolations (chs. i. ii.; xv. xvi.) which are not found in the four Oriental Versions, and are separated from the genuine Apocalypse in the best Latin MSS. Both of these passages are evidently of Christian origin: they contain traces of the use of the Christian Scriptures (*e.g.* i. 30, 33, 37; ii. 13, 26, 45 sq.; xv. 8, 35; xvi. 54), and still more they are pervaded by an anti-Jewish spirit. Thus, in the opening chapter, Ezra is commanded to reprove the people of Israel for their continual rebellions (i. 1–23), in consequence of which God threatens to cast them off (i. 24–34) and to "give their houses to a people that shall come." But in spite of their desertion, God offers once more to receive them (ii. 1–32). The offer is rejected (ii. 33), and the heathen are called. Then Ezra sees "the Son of God" standing in the midst of a great multitude "wearing crowns and bearing palms in their hands," in token of their victorious confession of the truth. The last two chapters (xv., xvi.) are different in character. They contain a stern prophecy of the woes which shall come upon Egypt, Babylon, Asia, and Syria, and upon the whole earth, with an exhortation to the chosen to guard their faith in the midst of all the trials with which they shall be visited (? the Decian persecution. Cp. Lücke, p. 186, &c.). Another smaller interpolation occurs in the Latin Version in vii. 28, where *filius meus Jesus* answers to "My Messiah" in the Aethiopic, and to "My Son Messiah" in the Arabic (cp. Lücke, p. 170 n. &c.; *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). The passage in the Oriental Versions after vii. 35, now also restored to the Latin, was probably omitted from dogmatic causes. The chapter contains a strange description of the intermediate state of souls, and ends with a peremptory denial of the efficacy of human interces-

sion after death. Vigilantius appealed to the passage in support of his views, and called down upon himself by this the severe reproof of Jerome (*Lib. c. Vigil.* c. 7). This circumstance, combined with the Jewish complexion of the narrative, may have led to its rejection in later times (cp. Lücke, p. 155 sq.).

II. *Contents.*—The original Apocalypse (iii.–xiv.) consists of a series of angelic revelations and visions in which Ezra, musing in the outskirts of Babylon, is instructed in some of the great mysteries of the moral world, and assured of the final triumph of the righteous. The *first revelation* (iii.–v. 15, according to the E. V.) is given by the Angel Uriel to Ezra, in "the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city" (*i.e.* some ninety years too early!), in answer to his complaints (ch. iii.) that Israel was neglected by God while the heathen were lords over them; and the chief subject is the unsearchableness of God's purposes, and the signs of the last age. The *second revelation* (v. 20–vi. 34) carries out this teaching yet further, and lays open the gradual progress of the plan of Providence, and the nearness of the visitation before which evil must attain its most terrible climax. The *third revelation* (vi. 35–ix. 25) answers the objections which arise from the apparent narrowness of the limits within which the hope of blessedness is confined, and describes the coming of Messiah and the last scene of Judgment. After this follow three visions. The *first vision* (ix. 26–x. 59) is of a woman (Sion) in deep sorrow, lamenting the death, upon his bridal day, of her only son (the city built by Solomon), who had been born to her after she had had no child for thirty years. But while Ezra looked, her face "upon a sudden shined exceedingly," and "the woman appeared no more, but there was a city builded." The *second vision* (chs. xi., xii.), in a dream, is of an eagle (Rome) which "came up from the sea" and "spread her wings over all the earth." As Ezra looked, the eagle suffered strange transformations, so that at one time "three heads and six little wings" remained; and at last only one head was left, when suddenly a lion (Messiah) came forth, and with the voice of a man rebuked the eagle, and it was burnt up. The *third vision* (ch. xiii.), in a dream, is of a man (Messiah) "flying with the clouds of heaven," against whom the nations of the earth are gathered, till He destroys them with the blast of His mouth, and gathers together the lost tribes of Israel and offers Sion, "prepared and builded," to His people. The last chapter (xiv.) recounts an appearance to Ezra of the Lord Who showed Himself to Moses in the bush, at Whose command he receives again the Law which had been burnt, and with the help of scribes writes down ninety-four books (the twenty-four canonical Books of the O. T. and seventy books of secret mysteries), and thus the people are prepared for their last trial, guided by the recovered Law.[a]

III. *Date.*—The date of the book (chs. iii.–xiv.) is much disputed (see the three main conclusions in Schürer[2]), though the limits within which opinions vary are narrower than in the case of the book of Enoch. Lücke (*Versuch einer vollst. Einl.*[2] i. 209) places it in the time of Caesar; Van der Vlis, shortly after the death of Caesar. Laurence (*l. c.*) brings it down somewhat lower, to 28–25 B.C., and Hilgenfeld (*Jud. Apok.* p. 221; *Messias Judaeorum*, p. lxi.) agrees with this conclusion, though he arrives at it by very different reasoning. On the other hand, Gfrörer (*Jahrh. d. Heils*, i. 69 sq.) assigns the book to the time of Domitian (A.D. 81–96), and in this he is followed by most authorities, Wieseler, Reuss, Fritzsche, Dillmann, Schürer,[2] &c. The interpretation of the details of the vision of the eagle furnishes the chief data for determining the time of its composition (cp. Fabricius, *Cod. Pscud.* ii. p. 189 sq.; and Lücke, p. 187, n. &c., for a summary of the earlier opinions on the composition of the book).

The chief characteristics of the "three-headed eagle," which refer apparently to historic details,[b] are "twelve feathered wings" (*duodecim alae pennarum*), "eight counter-feathers" (*contrariae pennae*), and "three heads;" but though the writer expressly interprets these of kings (xii. 14, 20) and "kingdoms" (xii. 23), he is, perhaps intentionally, so obscure in his allusions, that the interpretation only increases the difficulties of the vision itself. One point only may be considered certain,—the eagle can typify no other empire than Rome. Notwithstanding the identification of the eagle with the fourth empire of Daniel (cp. Barn. *Ep.* 4; DANIEL, BOOK OF), it is impossible to suppose that it represents the Greek kingdom (Hilgenfeld; cp. Volkmar, *Die vierte Buch Esra*, p. 36 sq., Zürich, 1858). The power of the Ptolemies could scarcely have been described in language which may be rightly applied to Rome (xi. 2, 6, 40); and the succession of kings quoted by Hilgenfeld to represent "the twelve wings" preserves only a faint resemblance to the imagery of the vision. Seeking then the interpretation of the vision in the history of Rome, the second wing (*i.e.* king), which rules twice as long as the other (xi. 17), is found in Augustus, who reigned some fifty-six years. The "three heads" are taken to represent the three Flavii (Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian), and "the twelve" to be the nine Caesars (Jul. Caesar to Vitellius) and the three pretenders Piso, Vindex, and Nymphidius (Gfrörer). Volkmar's interpretation—by which the twelve wings represent six Caesars (Caesar to Nero); the eight "counter-feathers," four usurping emperors, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Nerva; and the three heads the three Flavii—offers many striking coincidences with the text, but is directly opposed to the form of interpretation given by Ezra (xii. 14, 18), and for other

[a] For other arrangements of the revelations and visions (*e.g.* sevenfold) see Schürer, Zöckler, and Lupton, § iv., who also gives a fuller analysis of the contents. The arbitrary views of Iselin, who considers the work a fiction, composed by a Syrian Christian against Mahommedanism, and of Rabisch, who finds in ch. xiv. not less than five minor Apocalypses worked up in the time of Hadrian (A.D. 120), may be seen in Zöckler, p. 447.—[F.]

[b] The description of the duration of the world as "divided into twelve (ten *Aeth.*) parts, of which ten parts are gone already, and half of a tenth part" (xiv. 11), is so uncertain in its reckoning, that no argument (*e.g.* that of Hilgenfeld) can be based upon it.

reasons is extremely improbable. Van der Vlis and Lücke[2] regard the twelve kings as only generally symbolic of the Roman power; and while they identify the three heads with the Triumvirs, seek no explanation of the other details. The clearer light now thrown upon Jewish thought and history during the critical period 100 B.C.–100 A.D. makes Gfrörer's hypothesis, with modifications, the most probable (see Schürer[2]).

The book—apocalyptic in cast and markedly distinct from the historically framed books which also bear the name of Ezra — is a genuine product of Jewish thought. Weisse (*Evangelienfrage*, p. 222) alone dissents on this point from the unanimous judgment of recent scholars (Hilgenfeld, p. 190, &c.); and the contrast between the tone and style of the Christian interpolations and the remainder of the book is in itself sufficient to prove the fact. This apocalypse was written in Alexandria more probably than in Palestine; the opening and closing chapters certainly were; while their author is now considered to have been a Christian. The date of chs. xv., xvi. is placed between 260–270 A.D.; that of chs. i., ii. is not fixed so unanimously.

IV. *Character.*—In tone and character the apocalypse of Ezra offers a striking contrast to that of Enoch [BOOK OF ENOCH]. Triumphant anticipations are overshadowed by gloomy forebodings over the destiny of the world. The idea of victory is lost in that of revenge. Future blessedness is reserved only for "a very few" (vii. 70; viii. 1, 3, 52–55; ix. 1–13). The great question is "not how the ungodly shall be punished, but how the righteous shall be saved, for whom the world is created" (ix. 13). The "woes of Messiah" are described with a terrible minuteness, which approaches the despairing traditions of the Talmud (v., xiv. 10 sq., ix. 3 sq.); and after a reign of 400 years (vii. 28–35; the clause is wanting in Aeth. v. 29), "Christ," it is said, "My Son, shall die (Arab. omits), and all men that have breath; and the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days, like as in the first beginning, and no man shall remain" (vii. 29). Then shall follow the resurrection and the judgment, "the end of this time and the beginning of immortality" (vii. 43). In other points the doctrine of the book offers curious approximations to that of St. Paul, as the imagery does to that of the Apocalypse (*e.g.* 2 Esd. xiii. 43 sq.; v. 4).* The relation of "the first Adam" to his sinful posterity, and the operation of the Law (iii. 20 sq., vii. 48, ix. 36); the transitoriness of the world (iv. 26); the eternal counsels of God (vi. sq.); His Providence (vii. 11) and long-suffering (vii. 64); His sanctification of His people "from the beginning" (ix. 8) and their peculiar and lasting privileges (vi. 59), are plainly stated; and on the other hand the efficacy of good works (viii. 33) in conjunction with faith (ix. 7) is no less clearly affirmed.

One tradition which the book contains obtained a wide reception in early times, and served as a pendant to the legend of the origin of the LXX. Ezra, it is said, in answer to his prayer that he might be inspired to write again all the Law which was burnt, received a command to take with him tablets and five men, and retire for forty days. In this retirement a cup was given him to drink, and forthwith his understanding was quickened and his memory strengthened; and for forty days and forty nights he dictated to his scribes, who wrote ninety-four books (Latin, 204), of which twenty-four were delivered to the people in place of the books which were lost (xiv. 20–48). This strange story was repeated in various forms by Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* iii. 21, 2), Tertullian (*de cult. foem.* i. 3, "omne instrumentum Judaicae literaturae per Esdram constat restauratum"), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 22, p. 410, P.; cp. p. 392), Jerome (*adv. Helv.* 7, cp. Pseudo-Augustine, *de Mirab. S. Scr.* ii. 32), and many others; and probably owed its origin to the tradition which regarded Ezra as the representative of the men of "the Great Synagogue," to whom the final revision of the Canonical Books was universally assigned in early times. [CANON.]

V. *Reception.*—Though the book was assigned to the "prophet" Ezra by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 16) and quoted with respect by Irenaeus (*l. c.*) and Ambrose, who adopts or paraphrases many passages in it (Lupton, § ii.), it did not maintain its ecclesiastical position in the Church.[d] Jerome speaks of it with contempt (*adv. Vigilant.* See quotation in *Speaker's Comm.* on vii. 102 *), and it is rarely found in MSS. of the Latin Bible. Archbishop Laurence examined 180 MSS., and the book was contained only in thirteen, and in these it was arranged very differently. It is found, however, in the printed copies of the Vulgate older than the Council of Trent, by which it was excluded from the Canon; and quotations from it still occur in the Roman services (Basnage, *ap.* Fabr. *Cod. Pseud.* ii. 191. The words of ii. 34, 35 are embodied in the "Missa pro defunctis" of the Sarum use). On the other hand, though this book is included among those which are "read for examples of life" by the English Church, no use of it is now made in public worship, though formerly ii. 36, 37 was used as an Introit for Whitsun Tuesday. Luther and the Reformed Church rejected the book entirely; but it was held in high estimation by numerous mystics (Fabric. *l. c.* p. 178 sq.), for whom its contents naturally had great attractions.

VI. *Literature.*—The literature of the subject is very large. Some works have been already noted. Schürer (*Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*,[2] p. 661) and Zöckler ('Die Apokryphen d. A. T.'s nebst einem Anhang über die Pseudepigraphen,' p. 448 in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm. in d. heil. Schriften A. u. N. T.'s*) give a full list. The English reader will find help from Bissell, "The Apocrypha," Appendix i. (Lange's *Comm. on the Holy Scriptures*); Eddrup, Introduction to 1 and 2 Esdras in S.P.C.K. *Comm. on the Apocrypha*; Churton's *The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*; and above all from Lupton in

* A complete list of parallel passages between 2 Esd. and the N. T. may be seen in Lee, 'Ἀποκεκρύμενα, pp. 112–25, 1752.

[d] The references and allusions once found in Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Tertullian, and Cyprian are now generally given up (cp. Lupton, § ii.).

the *Speaker's Comm.* on 2 Esdras. The essay of Van der Vlis is the most important contribution to the study of the text, of which a critical edition is still needed, though the Latin materials for its construction are abundant. [B. F. W.] [F.]

ESDRE'LOM, ESDRE'LON. [ESDRAELON.]

ES'EBON, THEY OF (τοὺς Ἐσεβωνίτας, A. τοὺς Ἐσεβών; *Hesebon*), Judith v. 15. [HESHBON.]

ES'EBRIAS (Ἐσερεβίας; *Sedebias*), 1 Esd. viii. 54. [SHEREBIAH.]

E'SEK (עֵשֶׂק = *strife*; Ἀδικία; *Calumnia*), a well (בְּאֵר) containing a spring of water; which the herdsmen of Isaac dug in the valley of Gerar, and which received its name of Esek, or "strife," because the herdsmen of Gerar "strove" (הִתְעַשְּׂקוּ) with him for the possession of it* (Gen. xxvi. 20). Josephus (*Ant.* i. 18, § 2) gives the name as Ἔσκον. [G.] [W.]

ESH-BAAL (אֶשְׁבַּעַל = *Baal's man* [אִישׁ as in Phoenician = אִישׁ]; *Esbaal*), the fourth son of Saul, according to the genealogy of 1 Ch. viii. 33 (B. Ἀσαβάλ, A. Ἰεβάλ) and ix. 39 (B. Ἰεβάλ, א. Ἰσβάλ, A. Βάλ). He is doubtless the same person as ISH-BOSHETH, since it was the practice to change the obnoxious name of Baal into Bosheth, as in the case of Jerubbesheth for Jerub-baal, and (in this very genealogy) of Merib-baal for Mephibosheth: cp. also Hos. ix. 10, where Bosheth (A. V. and R. V. marg. "shame") appears to be used as a synonym for Baal. Which of the two names is the earlier it is not possible to decide. [G.] [W.]

ESH'BAN (אֶשְׁבָּן; Ἀσβάν [Gen.], B. Ἀσεβάν, A. Ἐσεβάν [1 Ch.]; *Eseban*), a Horite; one of the four sons of DISHAN (so the Hebrew in Gen.; but A. V. has Dishon), the son of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 26; 1 Ch. i. 41). No trace of the name appears to have been discovered among the modern tribes of Idumaea. [G.] [W.]

ESH'COL (אֶשְׁכֹּל; Ἐσχώλ; Joseph. Ἐσχωλής; *Eschol*), brother of Mamre the Amorite, and of Aner; and one of Abraham's companions in his pursuit of the four kings who had carried off Lot (Gen. xiv. 13, 24). According to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10, § 2) he was the foremost of the three brothers, but the Bible narrative leaves this quite uncertain (cp. *v.* 13 with *v.* 24). Their residence was at Hebron (xiii. 18), and possibly the name of Eshcol remained attached to one of the fruitful valleys in that district till the arrival of the Israelites, who then interpreted the appellation as significant of the gigantic "cluster" (in Heb. *Eshcol*) which they obtained there. [G.] [W.]

ESH'COL, THE VALLEY, OR THE BROOK, OF (נַחַל-אֶשְׁכֹּל, or אֶשְׁכֹּל; φάραγξ βότρυος: *Torrens botri*; *Nehelescol, id est torrens botri*; *Vallis botri*), a wâdy in the neighbourhood of Hebron, explored by the spies who were sent by Moses from Kadesh-barnea. From the terms of two of the notices of this transaction (Num. xxxii. 9; Deut. i. 24), and from the speech of Caleb (Josh. xiv. 7–12), it might be gathered that Eshcol was the furthest point to which the spies penetrated. But this would be to contradict the express statement of Num. xiii. 21, that they went as far as Rehob. From this fruitful valley they brought back a huge cluster of grapes; an incident which, according to the narrative, obtained for the place its appellation of the "valley of the cluster" (Num. xiii. 23, 24). It is true that in Hebrew *Eshcol* signifies a cluster or bunch, but the name had existed in this neighbourhood centuries before, when Abraham lived there with the chiefs Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, not Hebrews but Amorites; and this was possibly the Hebrew way of appropriating the ancient name derived from that hero into the language of the conquerors, consistently with the paronomastic turns so much in favour at that time, and with a practice of which traces appear elsewhere.

In the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius the φάραγξ βότρυος is placed, with some hesitation, at Gophna, 15 miles north of Jerusalem, on the Neapolis road (*OS.*[2] p. 288, 92). By Jerome it is given as north of Hebron, on the road to Bethsur (*Epitaph. Paulae*). The Jewish traveller Ha-Parchi speaks of it as north of the mountain on which the (ancient) city of Hebron stood (Benjamin of Tudela, *Asher*, ii. 437). A short distance N.W. of Hebron is a fine spring called *'Ain Keshkaleh*, which in ordinary conversation is pronounced *'Ain Ashkali*. It is mentioned under the name *'Ain Eskali* by Van de Velde (ii. 64), De Saulcy (*Voy. en Terre Sainte*, i. 155), Sepp (*Jerus. u. d. heil. Land*, i. 593), and identified with Eshcol. On the other hand, Dr. Rosen (*ZDMG.*, 1858, pp. 481–2), Guérin (*Judée*, iii. 215), and Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 306) give the form *Keshkaleh*, which may represent Eshcol, though the corruption would be unusual. The Jews of Hebron identify it with *W. Tuffûh*, up which runs the road from Hebron to *Tuffûh* and *Beit Jibrin*. The vineyards in this valley are very fine, and produce the largest and best grapes in the country, especially a large seedless grape which is much sought after (Robinson, *Phys. Geog. of H. Land*, p. 110; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 393). Geikie (*Holy Land and the Bible*, i. 318) places Eshcol near Beersheba, but there are many objections to this. [G.] [W.]

ESH'EAN, R. V. ESH'AN (אֶשְׁתָּן; B. Σομά, A. (?) Ἐσάν; *Esaan*), one of the cities of Judah, in the mountainous district, and in the same group with Arab, *er-Rabiyeh*, and Dumah, *ed-Dômeh* (Josh. xv. 52). It is possibly *es-Simia*, 2½ m. E. of *Dômeh* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 313, 378). [G.] [W.]

E'SHEK (עֵשֶׁק = *oppression*; B. Ἀσηλ, A. Ἐσελέκ; *Esec*), a Benjamite, one of the late descendants of Saul; the founder of a large and

* The word rendered "strive" (רִיב) in the former part of *v.* 20 and in *vv.* 21 and 22 is not the same as that from which *Esek* derived its name, and has therefore been translated by R. V. by a different English word, "contended." Such points, though small, are anything but unimportant in connexion with these ancient and peculiar records.

noted family of archers, lit. "treaders of the bow" (1 Ch. viii. 39). The name is omitted in the parallel list of 1 Ch. ix. [G.]

ESHKALO'NITES, THE (accurately "the Eshkelonite," הָאַשְׁקְלֹנִי, in the singular number; τῷ Ἀσκαλωνίτῃ; *Ascalonitas*), Josh. xiii. 3. [ASHKELON.] [G.]

ESHTA'OL (אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל and אֶשְׁתְּאֹל, (?) = *request*, Ges.; B. Ἀσταώλ and Ἀσά, A. Ἐσθαόλ; *Esthaol, Estaol, Asthaol*), a town in the low country—the *Shefelah*—of Judah. It is the first of the first group of cities in that district (Josh. xv. 33) enumerated with Zoreah (Heb. *Zareah*), in company with which it is commonly mentioned. Zorah (R. V.) and Eshtaol were two of the towns allotted to the tribe of Dan out of Judah (Josh. xix. 41). Between them, and behind Kirjath-jearim, was situated Mahaneh-Dan, the camp or stronghold which formed the head-quarters of that little community during their constant encounters with the Philistines. Here, among the old warriors of the tribe, Samson spent his boyhood, and experienced the first impulses of the Spirit of Jehovah; and hither after his last exploit his body was brought, up the long slopes of the western hills, to its last rest in the burying-place of Manoah his father (Judg. xiii. 25; xvi. 31; xviii. 2, 8, 11, 12). [DAN.] In the genealogical records of 1 Chron. the relationship between Eshtaol, Zareah, and Kirjath-jearim is still maintained. [ESHTAÜLITES.]

In the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome it is mentioned as Esthaol (Ἐσθαόλ) of Dan, 10 miles N. of Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis (*OS.*[2] p. 261, 87; p. 153, 32). It is now the small village of *Eshû'a*, 13 English miles N. of *Beit Jibrin*, Eleutheropolis, and not far from *Sur'ah*, Zorah, which is also placed by the *Onomasticon* 10 miles N. of Eleutheropolis (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 25). Guérin (*Judée*, ii. 12) also identifies the village, which he calls *Achou'a*, with Eshtaol. He connects a *Wely Sheikh Gherîb* with the tomb of Samson (ii. 382, but see *PEF. Mem.* iii. 164). A description of the locality is given by Geikie (*Holy Land and the Bible*, ii. 147). [G.] [W.]

ESHTAÜLITES, THE (הָאֶשְׁתָּאלִי, accur. "the Eshtaulite," in sing. number; B. *vîoì* Ἐσθάμ, A. *oἱ* Ἐσθαωλαῖοι; *Esthaolitae*), with the Zareathites, were among the families of Kirjath-jearim (1 Ch. ii. 53). [ESHTAOL.] [G.]

ESHTEMO'A, and in shorter form, without the final guttural, **ESHTEMOH'** (אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ and אֶשְׁתְּמֹה; the latter occurs in Josh. xv. only: in Josh. xv., B. corruptly Ἐσκαιμάν, A. Ἐσθεμώ; in Josh. xxi., B. corruptly Τέμα, A. Ἐσθεμώ; in 1 Sam., B. Ἐσθεΐε, A. Ἐσθεμά: *Istemo, Estemo, Esthamo, Esthemo*), a town of Judah, in the mountains; one of the group containing DEBIR (Josh. xv. 50). With its "suburbs" Eshtemoa was allotted to the priests (xxi. 14; 1 Ch. vi. 57). It was one of the places frequented by David and his followers during the long period of their wanderings; and to his friends there he sent presents of the spoil of the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 28, cp. *v.* 31). The place was known in the time of Eusebius and Jerome, who describe it as a κώμη μεγίστη in Daroma (*OS.*[2] p. 254, 70, Ἐσθεμά). There is little doubt that it was discovered by Dr. Robinson at *es-Semû'a*, a village 7 miles south of Hebron, on the great road from *el-Milh*, and in the neighbourhood of other villages still bearing the names of its companions in the list of Josh. xv.; Anab, Socoh, Jattir, &c. The village is full of ancient remains; there are some interesting tombs, and boundary stones which appear to mark the ancient limits of the city (see Robinson, i. 494, ii. 204–5; Schwarz, p. 105; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 403, 412; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 173–75).

In the lists—half genealogical, half topographical—of the descendants of Judah in 1 Ch., Eshtemoa occurs as derived from Ishbah, "the father of Eshtemoa" (1 Ch. iv. 17); Gedor, Socoh, and Zanoah, all towns in the same locality, being named in the following verse. Eshtemoa appears to have been founded by the descendants of the Egyptian wife of a certain Mered, the three other towns by those of his Jewish wife. See the explanations of Bertheau (*Chronik*, ad loc.). [G.] [W.]

ESHTEMO'A (B. Ἐσθαιμών, A. Ἰεσθεμώη; *Esthamo*), in 1 Ch. iv. 19, appears to be the name of an actual person, "Eshtemoa the Maachathite." [MAACHATHITE.]

ESH'TON (אֶשְׁתּוֹן; Ἀσσαθών; *Esthon*), a name which occurs in the genealogies of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 11, 12). Mehir was "the father of Eshton," and amongst the names of his four children are two—Beth-rapha and Ir-nahash—which have the appearance of being names, not of persons, but of places. [G.] [W.]

ESLI (Rec. T. Ἐσλί, B. Ἐσλεί, probably = אֶצְלִיהוּ, AZALIAH; *Esli*, Cod. Amiat. *Hesli*), son of Nagge or Naggai, and father of Naum, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 25). See Hervey, *Genealogies*, &c., p. 136. [G.]

ESO'RA (Αἰσωρά; Vulg. omits: the Peshitto Syriac reads *Bethchorn*), a place fortified by the Jews on the approach of the Assyrian army under Holofernes (Judith iv. 4). The name may be the representative of the Hebrew word Hazor, or Zorah (Simonis, *Onom. N. T.* p. 19), but no identification has yet been arrived at. The Syriac reading suggests Beth-horon, which is not impossible (see *Speaker's Comm.*). [G.]

ESPOUSAL. [MARRIAGE.]

ES'RIL (Ἐσρίλ, A. Ἐζρίλ; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [AZAREEL, or SHARAI.] [G.]

ES'ROM (Rec. T. Ἐσρώμ; in Luke, Lachm. with B, Ἐσρών; *Esrom*), Matt. i. 3; Luke iii. 33. [HEZRON.] [G.]

ESSE'NES. 1. In describing the different sects which existed among the Jews in his own time, Josephus dwells at great length and with especial emphasis on the faith and practice of the *Essenes*, the third in his category; the Pharisees and the Sadducees being the other two. They appear in his description to combine the ascetic virtues of the Pythagoreans and Stoics with a spiritual knowledge of the Divine Law. An analogous sect, marked, however, by charac-

teristic differences, used, at one time, to be found in the Egyptian Therapeutae; and from the detailed notices of Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 8; *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 9, xv. 10, § 4 sq., xviii. 1, § 2 sq. [see § 12]) and Philo (*Quod omn. prob. liber.* § 12 sq. [see p. 628, note [b]]; *Fragm.* ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev. de vita contemplativa*), and the casual remarks of Pliny (*H. N.* v. 17), later writers have frequently discussed the relation which these Jewish mystics occupied towards the popular religion of the time, and more particularly towards the doctrines of Christianity. For it is a most remarkable fact that the existence of such sects appears to be unrecognised both in the Apostolic writings and in early Hebrew literature.

2. The name *Essene* (Ἐσσηνοί, Joseph.; *Esseni*, Plin.) or *Essaean* (Ἐσσαῖοι, Philo; Jos. *B. J.* i. 3, 5, &c.) is itself full of difficulty. Various derivations have been proposed for it, and all are more or less open to objection (see the list in Lightfoot,[2] p. 349 sq.). The derivation preferred by Schürer and Ginsburg is that from חָסִידָא = "the pious ones"; Lightfoot would give the preference to חֲשָׁאִים = "the silent ones."

3. The obscurity of the Essenes as a distinct body arises from the fact that they represented originally a tendency rather than an organisation. The communities which were formed out of them were a result of their practice, and not a necessary part of it. As a sect they were distinguished by an aspiration after ideal purity rather than by any special code of doctrines; and, like the Chasîdim of earlier times [ASSIDEANS], they were confounded in the popular estimation with the great body of the zealous observers of the Law (Pharisees). The growth of Essenism was a natural result of the religious feeling which was called out by the circumstances of the Greek dominion; and it is easy to trace the process by which it was matured. From the Maccabaean age there was a continuous effort among the stricter Jews to attain an absolute standard of holiness. Each class of devotees was looked upon as practically impure by their successors, who carried the laws of purity still further; and the Essenes stand at the extreme limit of the mystic asceticism which was thus gradually reduced to shape. The associations of the "Scribes and Pharisees" (חֲבֵרִים, "*the companions, the wise*") gave place to others bound by a more rigid rule; and the rule of the Essenes was made gradually stricter. Judas, the earliest Essene who is mentioned (c. 110 B.C.), appears living in ordinary society (Jos. *B. J.* i. 3, § 5). Menahem, according to tradition a colleague of Hillel, was a friend of Herod, and secured for his sect the favour of the king (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 5). But by a natural impulse the Essenes withdrew from the dangers and distractions of business. From the cities they retired to the wilderness to realize the conceptions of religion which they formed, while they remained on the whole true to their ancient faith. To the Pharisees they stood nearly in the same relation as that in which the Pharisees themselves stood with regard to the mass of the people. The differences lay mainly in rigour of practice, and not in articles of belief. While the Pharisees and Sadducees represented political-religious parties, the Essenes came to resemble a monastic order (Schürer,[2] p. 468).

4. The traces of the existence of Essenes in common society are not wanting nor confined to individual cases. Not only was a gate at Jerusalem named from them (Jos. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2, Ἐσσηνῶν πύλη), but a later tradition mentions the existence of a congregation there which devoted "one-third of the day to study, one-third to prayer, and one-third to labour" (Frankel, *Zeitschrift*, 1846, p. 458). Those, again, whom Josephus speaks of (*B. J.* ii. 8, § 13) as allowing marriage may be supposed to have belonged to such bodies as had not yet withdrawn from intercourse with their fellow-men. But the practices of the extreme section—which included non-marriage, absence from the Temple, &c.—were afterwards regarded as characteristic of the whole class, and the isolated communities of Essenes furnished the type which is preserved in the popular descriptions. These were regulated by strict rules (see them at length in Ginsburg), analogous to those of the monastic institutions of a later date. The candidate for admission first passed through a year's noviciate, in which he received, as symbolic gifts, an axe, an apron, and a white robe, and gave proof of his temperance by observing the ascetic rules of the order (τὴν αὐτὴν δίαιταν). At the close of this probation, his character (τὸ ἦθος) was submitted to a fresh trial of two years, and meanwhile he shared in the lustral rites of the initiated, but not in their meals. The full membership was imparted at the end of this second period, when the novice bound himself "by awful oaths"—though oaths were absolutely forbidden at all other times—to observe piety, justice, obedience, honesty, and secrecy, "preserving alike the books of their sect, and *the names of the Angels*" (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8, § 7).

5. The order itself was regulated by an internal jurisdiction. Excommunication, unless revoked after due repentance, would be equivalent to a slow death, since an Essene could not take food prepared by strangers for fear of pollution. All things were held in common, without distinction of property or house; and special provision was made for the relief of the poor. Self-denial, temperance, and labour—especially agriculture—were the marks of the outward life of the Essenes; purity and divine communion the objects of their aspiration. Slavery, war, and commerce were alike forbidden (Philo, *Quod om. prob. l.* § 12, p. 877 M.); and, according to Philo, their conduct generally was directed by three rules, "the love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man" (Philo, *l. c.*).

6. In doctrine they did not differ essentially from strict Pharisees. Moses was honoured by them next to God (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8, 9). They observed the Sabbath with singular strictness; and though they were unable to offer sacrifices at Jerusalem, chiefly from regard to purity (διαφορότητι ἁγνειῶν), but partly also from their conception of sacrifices as of inferior value (Lightfoot, pp. 371–3; Ginsburg, p. 205), they sent gifts thither (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2, § 5). At the same time, like most ascetics, they turned their attention specially to the mysteries of the spiritual world, and looked upon the body as a mere prison of the soul, though this, it would seem, is not to be understood as denying the resurrection of the body (see Ginsburg, p. 207). They studied and practised with signal success,

according to Josephus, the art of prophecy (see the instances in Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8: cp. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 5; *B. J.* i. 3, § 5), though Lightfoot considers them prophets in the sense only of fortune-tellers or soothsayers (p. 418); and familiar intercourse with nature gave them an unusual knowledge of physical truths. They asserted with peculiar boldness the absolute power and foreknowledge of God (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 9; xviii. 1, § 5), and disparaged the various forms of mental philosophy as useless or beyond the range of man (Philo, *l. c.* p. 877).

7. The number of the Essenes is roughly estimated by Philo at 4,000 (Philo, *l. c.*; followed by Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 2, § 5: cp. *B. J.* ii. 8; Schürer,[2] p. 470, n. 12). Their best-known settlements were on the N.W. shore of the Dead Sea (Philo; Plin. *ll. cc.*), but others lived in scattered communities throughout Palestine, and in other cities besides Jerusalem (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 8, § 4. Cp. [Hippol.] *Philos.* ix. 20; Schürer,[2] p. 471).

8. In the Talmudic writings there is, as has been already said, no direct mention of the Essenes, but their existence is recognised by the notice of peculiar points of practice and teaching. Under the titles of "the pious," "the weakly" (*i.e.* with study), "the retiring," their maxims are quoted with respect, and many of the traits preserved in Josephus find parallels in the notices of the Talmud (Z. Frankel, *Zeitschrift*, Dec. 1846, p. 451 sq.; *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 37 sq.). The four stages of purity which are distinguished by the doctors (*Chagigah*, 18 a, *ap.* Frankel, *op. cit.* p. 451) correspond in a singular manner with the four classes into which the Essenes are said to have been divided (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8, § 10); and the periods of probation observed in the two cases offer similar coincidences.[a]

9. But the best among the Jews felt the peril of Essenism as a system, and combined to discourage it. They shrank with an instinctive dread from the danger of connecting asceticism with spiritual power, and cherished the great truth which lay in the saying "Doctrine is not in heaven." The miraculous energy which was attributed to mystics was regarded by them as rather a matter of suspicion than of respect; and theosophic speculations were condemned with emphatic distinctness (Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1853, pp. 62 sq., 68, 71).

10. The character of Essenism limited its spread. Out of Palestine, Levitical purity was impossible, for the very land was impure; and thus there is no trace of the sect in Babylonia. The case was different in Egypt, where Judaism assumed a new shape from its intimate connexion with Greece. Here the original form in which it was moulded was represented not by direct copies, but by analogous forms; and the tendency which gave birth to the Essenes has been sometimes thought to have found a fresh development in the pure speculation of the Therapeutae. These (according to Philo) were Alexandrine mystics who abjured the practical labours which rightly belonged to the Essenes, and gave themselves up to the study of the inner meaning of the Scriptures. The "whole day, from sunrise to sunset, was spent in mental discipline." Bodily wants were often forgotten in the absorbing pursuit of wisdom, and "meat and drink" were at all times held to be unworthy of the light (Philo, *De vit. contempl.*, § 4). But Philo's treatise is now (see Schürer,[2] p. 863) generally considered unauthentic. The Therapeutae were probably only Christian monks.

11. From the nature of the case Essenism in its extreme form could exercise very little influence on Christianity.[b] In all its practical bearings it was diametrically opposed to the Apostolic teaching. The dangers which it involved were far more clear to the eye of the Christian than they were to the Jewish doctors. The only real similarity between Essenism and Christianity lay in the common element of true Judaism. Nationally, the Essenes occupy the same position as that to which John the Baptist was personally called. They mark the close of the old, the longing for the new, but in this case without the promise. In place of the message of the coming "kingdom" they could proclaim only individual purity and isolation. At a later time traces of Essenism appear in the Clementines (cp. Lightfoot,[2] p. 372), and the strange account which Epiphanius gives of the *Osseni* (Ὀσσηνοί) appears to point to some combination of Essene and pseudo-Christian doctrines (*Haer.* xix.). After the Jewish war the Essenes disappear from history. The character of Judaism was changed, and ascetic Pharisaism became almost impossible.

12. The original sources for the history of the Essenes have been already noticed. Of modern essays, the most original and important are those of Frankel in his *Zeitschrift*, 1846, pp. 441–461, and *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 30 sq.; cp. the wider view of Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* i. 207 sq. See also Hilgenfeld (*Die Ketzergeschichte d. Urchristenthums*, p. 84 sq.); Gfrörer (*Philo*, ii. 299 sq.); Dähne (*Jüd.-Alex. Relig.-Philos.* i. 467 sq.); Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* iv. 420 sq.); Lightfoot (*Epp. to the Colossians and Philemon*,[2] p. 349 sq.); Ginsburg ("Essenes" in *Dict. of Christian Biography*); Schürer (*Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*,[2] ii. p. 467 sq.); Morrison (*The Jews under Roman Rule*, ch. xiv.). The rejection by Ohle (*Die Essener*, in *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* xiv. [1888]; *Die Pseudophilon-Essäer u.s.w.*, in *Beiträge z. Kirchengeschichte* [1888]) of the statements of Josephus as spurious is not accepted by the best modern critics. Lucius (*Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältniss z. Judenthum* [1881]) is less radical and peremptory. [B. F. W.] [F.]

ESTHER (אֶסְתֵּר = *the planet Venus*; Ἐσθήρ), the Persian name of HADASSAH, daughter of Abihail the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite [MORDECAI], and cousin of Mordecai. The explanation of her old name Hadassah, by the addition of her new name, by which she was better known, with the formula הִוא אֶסְתֵּר

[a] This § 8 is left unaltered. Ginsburg (p. 204) supports Frankel's views. Lightfoot[2] (p. 356 sq.) is thoroughly opposed to them. The difference between these two scholars is extremely interesting, and mainly arises from regarding the matter from a different point of view. Schürer[2] (p. 470, n. 11) agrees with Lightfoot.

[b] On this point again Lightfoot[2] (p. 397 sq.) is radically opposed to Ginsburg (p. 201 sq.), whose ruling idea is that "Jesus...belonged to (the Essene) portion of His religious brethren."

"that is, Esther" (Esth. ii. 7), is exactly analogous to the usual addition of the modern names of towns to explain the use of the old obsolete ones (Gen. xxxv. 19, 27; Josh. xv. 10, &c.). Esther was a beautiful Jewish maiden, whose ancestor Kish had been among the captives led away from Jerusalem (part of which was in the tribe of Benjamin) by Nebuchadnezzar when Jehoiachin was taken captive. She was an orphan without father or mother, and had been brought up by her cousin Mordecai, who had an office in the household of Ahasuerus king of Persia, and dwelt at "Shushan the palace." When Vashti was dismissed from being queen, and all the fairest virgins of the kingdom had been collected at Shushan for the king to make choice of a successor to her from among them, the choice fell upon Esther, and she was crowned queen in the room of Vashti with much pomp and rejoicing. The king was not aware, however, of her race and parentage; and so, with the careless profusion of a sensual despot, on the representation of Haman the Agagite, his prime minister, that the Jews scattered through his empire were a pernicious race, he gave him full power and authority to kill them all, young and old, women and children, and take possession of all their property. The means taken by Esther to avert this great calamity from her people and her kindred, at the risk of her own life, and to turn upon Haman the destruction he had plotted against the Jews, and the success of her scheme, by which she changed their mourning, fasting, weeping, and wailing, into light and gladness and joy and honour, and became for ever especially honoured amongst her countrymen, are fully related in the Book of Esther. The feast of Purim, *i.e.* of *Lots* (?), was appointed by Esther and Mordecai to be kept on the 14th and 15th of the month Adar (February and March) in commemoration of this great deliverance. [PURIM.] The decree of Esther to this effect is the last thing recorded of her (ix. 32). The continuous celebration of this feast by the Jews to the present day is thought to be a strong evidence of the historical truth of the Book. [ESTHER, BOOK OF.]

The questions which arise in attempting to give Esther her place in profane history are—

I. Who is Ahasuerus? This question is answered under AHASUERUS, and the reasons there given lead to the conclusion that he was Xerxes the son of Darius Hystaspis (cp. Sayce, *Introd. to Ezra, . . . Esther*, p. 96 sq.).

II. The second inquiry is, Who then was Esther? Artissona, Atossa, and others are indeed excluded by the above decision; but are we to conclude with Scaliger, that because Ahasuerus is Xerxes, therefore Esther is Amestris? Surely not. None of the historical particulars related by Herodotus concerning Amestris make it possible to identify her with Esther. Amestris was the daughter of Otanes (Onophas in Ctesias), one of Xerxes' generals, and brother to his father Darius (Herod. vii. 61, 82). Esther's father and mother had been Jews. Amestris was wife to Xerxes before the Greek expedition (Herod. vii. 61), and her sons accompanied Xerxes to Greece (Herod. vii. 39), and had all three come to man's estate at the death of Xerxes in the 20th year of his reign. Darius, the eldest, had married immediately after the return from Greece. Esther did not enter the king's palace till his 7th year, just the time of Darius's marriage. These objections are conclusive, without adding the difference of character of the two queens. The truth is that history is wholly silent both about Vashti and Esther. Herodotus only happens to mention one of Xerxes' wives; Scripture only mentions two, if indeed either of them were wives at all. But since we know that it was the custom of the Persian kings before Xerxes to have several wives, besides their concubines; that Cyrus had several (Herod. iii. 3); that Cambyses had four whose names are mentioned, and others besides (iii. 31, 32, 68); that Smerdis had several (ib. 68, 69); and that Darius had *six* wives, whose names are mentioned (ib. *passim*), *it is* most improbable that Xerxes should have been content with one wife. Another strong objection to the idea of Esther being his one legitimate wife, and perhaps to her being strictly his wife at all, is that the Persian kings selected their *wives* not from the harem, but, if not foreign princesses, from the noblest Persian families, either their own nearest relatives, or from one of the seven great Persian houses. It seems therefore natural to conclude that Esther, a captive and one of the harem, was not of the highest rank of wives, but that a special honour, with the name of queen, may have been given to her, as to Vashti before her, as the favourite concubine or inferior wife, whose offspring, however, if she had any, would not have succeeded to the Persian throne. This view, which seems to be strictly in accordance with what we know of the manners of the Persian court, removes all difficulty in reconciling the history of Esther with the scanty accounts left us by profane authors of the reign of Xerxes.

It only remains to remark on the character of Esther as given in the Bible. She appears there as a woman of deep piety, faith, courage, patriotism, and caution, combined with resolution; a dutiful daughter to her adoptive father, docile and obedient to his counsels, and anxious to share the king's favour with him for the good of the Jewish people. That she was a virtuous woman, and, as far as her situation made it possible, a good wife to the king, her continued influence over him for so long a time warrants us to infer. And there must have been a singular grace and charm in her aspect and manners, since she "obtained favour in the sight of all that looked upon her" (ii. 15). That she was raised up as an instrument in the hands of God to avert the destruction of the Jewish people, and to afford them protection, and forward their wealth and peace in their captivity, is also manifest from the Scripture account. But to impute to her the sentiments put into her mouth by the apocryphal author of ch. xiv., or to accuse her of cruelty because of the death of Haman and his sons, and the second day's slaughter of the Jews' enemies at Shushan, is utterly to ignore the manners and feelings of her age and nation, and to judge her by the standard of Christian morality in our own age and country instead. In fact the simplicity and truth to nature of the Scriptural narrative afford a striking contrast, both with the forced and florid amplifications of the apo-

cryphal additions (see e.g. *Speaker's Comm.* on the Apocrypha, i. 402), and with the sentiments of some later commentators. It may be convenient to add that the third year of Xerxes was B.C. 483, his seventh 479, and his twelfth 474 (Clinton, *F.H.*), and that the simultaneous battles of Plataea and Mycale, which frightened Xerxes from Sardis (Diod. Sic. xi. § 36) to Susa, happened, according to Prideaux and Clinton, in September of his seventh year. For a fuller discussion of the identity of Esther, and different views of the subject, see Prideaux's *Connexion*, i. 236, 243, 297 sqq., and Petav. *de doctr. Temp.* xii. 27, 28, who make Esther wife of Artaxerxes Longimanus, following Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 6, as he followed the LXX. and the apocryphal Esther; J. Scaliger (*de emend. Temp.* vi. 591; *Animadv. Euseb.* 100) makes Ahasuerus, Xerxes; Ussher (*Annal. Vet. Test.*) makes him Darius Hystaspis; Loftus, *Chaldaea*, &c. Eusebius (*Canon. Chron.* 338, ed. Mediol.) rejects the hypothesis of Artaxerxes Longimanus, on the score of the silence of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and adopts that of Artaxerxes Mnemon, following the Jews, who make Darius Codomanus to be the same as Darius Hystaspis, and the son of Artaxerxes by Esther! It is observable that *all* Petavius's and Prideaux's arguments against Scaliger's view apply solely to the now obsolete opinion that Esther is Amestris. [A. C. H.]

ESTHER, BOOK OF. 1. *Title and authorship.* The Book is one of the latest of the Canonical Books of Scripture, having been written late in the reign of Xerxes, or early in that of his son Artaxerxes Longimanus. The author is not known, but some think that he may possibly have been Mordecai himself. The minute details given of the great banquet, of the names of the chamberlains and eunuchs and Haman's wife and sons, and of the customs and regulations of the palace, betoken that the author lived at Shushan, and probably at court, while his no less intimate acquaintance with the most private affairs both of Esther and Mordecai are thought to suit the hypothesis of the latter being himself the writer. It is also not in itself improbable that as Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, who held high offices under the Persian kings, wrote an account of the affairs of their nation, in which they took a leading part, so Mordecai should have also recorded the transactions of the Book of Esther. The termination of the Book with the mention of Mordecai's elevation and government agrees with this view, which has the sanction of Ibn Ezra, most of the Jews, Vatablus, Carpzovius, and others, though not accepted by modern commentators. The Book is included by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 8) in the twenty-two Books of the Canon, and probably as the last of those δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα. Those who ascribe it to Ezra, or to the men of the great Synagogue (*Baba Bathra*, f. 14), may have merely meant that Ezra edited and added it to the Canon of Scripture, which he probably did, bringing it, and perhaps the Book of Daniel, with him from Babylon to Jerusalem.

2. *Date and place.*—The earliest reference to the Book is in 2 Macc. xv. 36, but the apocryphal additions of the LXX. and Josephus carry the evidence for it further back than the date of that work (*c.* 2nd cent. B.C.). The closing words of the LXX. Version (see § 3, *b*) do not advance the matter. The language (see § 3, *a*), but above all the evident familiarity of the writer with Persia, go to show that the author lived in Persia, if after the reign of Xerxes; and the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 425) is accepted by many commentators as the date of composition (Eichhorn, Keil, Rawlinson, Sayce, &c.). It must, however, be admitted that the same premisses lead others (Ewald, Stähelin, Bertheau, and Orelli) to prefer a later Persian period or the beginning of the Greek period (*c.* B.C. 332), while another class of critics refuse to the Book any historical value, and carry it down to much more modern times (see Oettli, § 6).

3. *Text.*—The Book of Esther appears in a form in the LXX.,[a] and in the translations from that Version, different from that in which it is found in the Hebrew Bible. In speaking of it we shall first speak of (*a*) the Canonical Book found in Hebrew, and next (*b*) of the Greek Book with its apocryphal additions. (*a*) The Canonical ESTHER then is placed among the hagiographa or כְּתוּבִים by the Jews, and in that first portion of them which they call the five volumes, חֲמֵשׁ מְגִלּוֹת. It is sometimes emphatically called *Megillah*, without other distinction, and was held in such high repute by the Jews that it is a saying of Maimonides that in the days of Messiah the prophetic and hagiographical Books will pass away, except the Book of Esther, which will remain with the Pentateuch. This Book is read through by the Jews in their synagogues at the feast of Purim, when it was once the custom—since abandoned at least by British Jews—at the mention of Haman's name to hiss, and stamp, and clench the fist, and cry, "Let his name be blotted out; may the name of the wicked rot." It is said also that the names of Haman's ten sons are read in one breath, to signify that they all expired at the same instant of time. Even in writing the names of Haman's sons in the 7th, 8th, and 9th verses of Esth. ix., the Jewish scribes have contrived to express their abhorrence of the race of Haman. For these ten names are written in three perpendicular columns of 3, 3, 4, as if they were hanging upon three parallel cords, three upon each cord, one above another, to represent the hanging of Haman's sons (Stehelin's *Rabbin. Literat.* ii. 349; *Speaker's Commentary* on the Apocrypha, "The rest of Esther," pp. 362, col. 2, n. 1, 402 (*d*)). The Targum of Esth. ix., in Walton's Polyglott,[b] inserts a very minute account of the exact position occupied by Haman and his sons on the gallows, the height from the ground, and the interval between each; according to which they all hung in one line, Haman at the top, and his ten sons at intervals of half a cubit under him. It is added that Zeresh and Haman's seventy surviving sons fled, and begged their bread from door to door, in

[a] The term LXX. is used here to indicate the whole Greek volume as we now have it.

[b] There are two Targums to Esther, both of late date. See Wolf's *Bibl. Hebr.* Pars II, 1171–81; *Speaker's Comm.* on the Apocrypha, i. 363.

evident allusion to Ps. cix. 9, 10. It has often been remarked as a peculiarity of this Book that the name of God does not once occur in it. Some of the ancient Jewish teachers were somewhat staggered at this, but others accounted for it by saying that it was a transcript, under Divine inspiration, from the Chronicles of the Medes and Persians; and that, being meant to be read by heathen, the sacred Name was wisely omitted. Baxter (*Saint's Rest*, iv. ch. iii.) speaks of the Jewish practice of casting to the ground the Book of Esther, because the Name of God was not in it; but Wolf (*B. H.* ii. 90) denies this, and says that if any such custom prevailed among the Oriental Jews, to whom it is ascribed by Sandys, it must have been rather to express their hatred of Haman. This peculiarity of the Book must not be pressed too far. Certain it is that this Book was always reckoned in the Jewish Canon, and is named or implied in almost every enumeration of the Books composing it, from Josephus downwards. Jerome mentions it by name in the *Prolog. Gal.*, in his Epistle to Paulinus, and in the preface to Esther; as does Augustine, *de Civit. Dei* and *de Doctr. Christ.*, and Origen, as cited by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25), and many others. Some modern commentators, both English and German, have objected to the contents of the Book as improbable and not strictly historical; but if it be true, as Diodorus Siculus relates, that Xerxes put the Medians foremost at Thermopylae on purpose that they might be all killed, because he thought they were not thoroughly reconciled to the loss of their national supremacy, it is surely not incredible that he should have given permission to Haman to destroy a few thousand strange people like the Jews, who were represented to be injurious to his empire, and disobedient to his laws. Nor again, when we remember what Herodotus relates of Xerxes in respect to promises made at banquets, can we deem it incredible that he should perform his promise to Esther to reverse the decree in the only way that seemed practicable. It is likely too that the secret friends and adherents of Haman would be the persons to attack the Jews, which would be a reason why Ahasuerus would rather rejoice at their destruction.[c] In so many respects the writer shows such accurate acquaintance with Persian manners, and is so true to history and chronology, as to afford the strongest internal evidences to the truth of the Book. The casual way in which the author of 2 Macc. xv. 36 alludes to the feast of Purim, under the name of "Mardochaeus's day," as kept by the Jews in the time of Nicanor (B.C. 161), is another strong testimony in its favour; and indeed justifies the expression of Dr. Lee (quoted in Whiston's Josephus, xi. ch. vi.), that "the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day."[d]

The style of writing is remarkably chaste and simple. Xerxes, Haman, Mordecai, and Esther are personages full of life and individuality; and the narrative of the struggle in Esther's mind between fear and the desire to save her people, and of the final resolve made in the strength of that help, which was to be sought in prayer and fasting, is very touching and beautiful, and without any exaggeration. It does not in the least savour of romance. The Hebrew is very like that of Ezra and parts of the Chronicles (*cf.* like that of Ecclesiastes); generally pure, but mixed with words of Persian origin (Sayce, p. 93), and of Chaldaic affinity, which do not occur in older Hebrew.

In short it is just what one would expect to find in a work of the age to which the Book of Esther pretends to belong. The student has indeed only to compare the Hebrew Esther with the Greek Esther now to be noticed in order to see the difference between what may be called genuine history and what is certainly not.

(*b*) As regards the LXX. Version of the Book (of which there are two texts, called by Dr. Fritzsche, A and B), it consists of the Canonical Esther with various interpolations prefixed, interspersed,[e] and added at the close. Read in Greek, it makes a complete and continuous history, except that here and there, as *e.g.* in the repetition of Mordecai's pedigree, the patchwork betrays itself. The chief additions are:—A preface containing Mordecai's pedigree, his dream, and his appointment to sit in the king's gate, in the second year of Artaxerxes. In the third chapter, a pretended copy of Artaxerxes's decree for the destruction of the Jews is added, written in thorough Greek style; a prayer of Mordecai is inserted in the fourth chapter; followed by a prayer of Esther, in which she excuses herself for being wife to the uncircumcised king, and denies having eaten anything or drunk wine at the table of Haman; an amplification of v. 1–3; a pretended copy of Artaxerxes's letter for reversing the previous decree (also of manifestly Greek origin in ch. viii.), in which Haman is called a Macedonian, and is accused of having plotted to transfer the empire from the Persians to the Macedonians, a palpable proof of this portion having been composed after the overthrow of the Persian empire by the Greeks; and lastly an addition to the tenth chapter, in which Mordecai shows how his dream was fulfilled in the events that had happened, gives glory to God, and prescribes the observation of the feast of the 14th and 15th Adar. The whole book is closed with the following entry:—"In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemaeus and

[c] The arguments of those who deny strict historical accuracy to the Book are summarised in Oettli, § 5, "Geschichtlichkeit." See Driver, *LOT.* p. 452 sq. Cp. on the other side, Sayce, p. 98 sq.—[F.]

[d] Dr. W. Lee also has some remarks on the proof of the *historical* character of the Book derived from the feast of Purim, as well as on other points (*Inspir. of H. S.* 430 sq.). See also Sayce, p. 101; Oettli, p. 233. The etymological derivation from the Persian and the identification of Purim with a Persian festival which the later Jews metamorphosed into that connected with the Book of Esther has been, in various forms, advocated by Hitzig, Zunz, Lagarde, Reuss (see Oettli, p. 233). The result is not philologically successful (see Halévy, *REJ.* xv. 289, as against Lagarde's *Purim*), neither is it historically defensible.—[F.]

[e] The Targum to Esther contains other copious embellishments and amplifications. On the whole subject of the apocryphal "Additions to Esther," see *Speaker's Comm.* on "The rest of Esther." Jacob, 'Das Buch Esther bei den LXX.' in *ZATW.* x. 290, considers the LXX. Version to have been made in Egypt about B.C. 30.

Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemy his son, brought this epistle of Phurim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemy, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it." This entry was apparently intended to give authority to this Greek Version of ESTHER, by pretending that it was a certified translation from the Hebrew original. Ptolemy Philometor, who is here meant,[f] began to reign B.C. 181. Though, however, the interpolations of the Greek copy are thus manifest, they make a consistent and intelligible story. But the apocryphal additions as they are inserted in some editions of the Latin Vulgate, and in the English Bible, are incomprehensible; the history of which is this:—When Jerome translated the Book of Esther, he first gave the Version of the Hebrew only as being alone authentic. He then added at the end a Version in Latin of those several passages which he found in the LXX., and which were not in the Hebrew, stating where each passage came in, and marking them all with an obelus. The first passage so given is that which forms the continuation of chapter x. (which of course immediately precedes it), ending with the above entry about Dositheus. Having annexed this conclusion, he then gives the *Prooemium*, which he says forms the beginning of the Greek Vulgate, beginning with what is now *v.* 2 of ch. xi.; and so proceeds with the other passages. But in subsequent editions all Jerome's explanatory matter has been swept away, and the disjointed portions have been printed as chapters xi., xii., xiii., xiv., xv., xvi., as if they formed a narrative in continuance of the Canonical Book. The extreme absurdity of this arrangement is nowhere more apparent than in chapter xi., where the verse (1) which closes the whole Book in the Greek copies, and in St. Jerome's Latin translation, is actually made immediately to precede that (*v.* 2) which is the very first verse of the Prooemium. As regards the place assigned to Esther in the LXX., in the Vatican edition, and most others, it comes between Judith and Job. Its place before Job is a remnant of the Hebrew order, Esther there closing the historical, and Job beginning the metrical *Megilloth*. Tobit and Judith have been placed between it and Nehemiah, doubtless for chronological reasons. But in the very ancient Codex published by Tischendorf, and called *C. Friderico-Augustanus* (now ℵ), Esther immediately follows Nehemiah (included under Esdras B), and precedes Tobit. This Codex, which contains the apocryphal additions to Esther, was copied from one written by the martyr Pamphilus with his own hand, as far as to the end of Esther, and is ascribed by the editor to the 4th century.

As regards the motive which led to these additions, one seems evidently to have been to supply what was thought an omission in the Hebrew Book, by introducing copious mention of the name of God. It is further evident from the other apocryphal books, and additions to canonical Scripture, which appear in the LXX., such as Bel and the Dragon, Susanna, the Song of the Three Children, &c., that the Alexandrian Jews loved to dwell upon the events of the Babylonish Captivity, and especially upon the Divine interpositions in their behalf, probably as being the latest manifestations of God's special care for Israel. Traditional stories would be likely to be current among them, and these would be sure sooner or later to be committed to writing, with additions according to the fancy of the writers. The most popular among them, or those which had most of an historical basis, or which were written by men of most weight, or whose origin was lost in the most remote antiquity, or which most gratified the national feelings, would acquire something of sacred authority (especially in the absence of real inspiration dictating fresh Scriptures), and get admitted into the volume of Scripture, less rigidly fenced by the Hellenistic than by the Hebrew Jews. No subject would be more likely to engage the thoughts and exercise the pens of such writers, than the deliverance of the Jews from utter destruction by the intervention of Esther and Mordecai, and the overthrow of their enemies in their stead. Those who made the additions to the Hebrew narrative according to the religious taste and feeling of their own times, probably acted in the same spirit as others have often done, who have added florid architectural ornaments to temples which were too plain for their own corrupted taste. The account which Josephus follows seems to have contained yet further particulars, as *e.g.* the name of the Eunuch's servant, a Jew, who betrayed the conspiracy to Mordecai; other passages from the Persian Chronicles read to Ahasuerus, besides that relating to Mordecai, and amplifications of the king's speech to Haman, &c. It is of this LXX. Version that Athanasius (*Fest. Epist.* 39, Oxf. transl.) spoke when he ascribed the Book of Esther to the non-canonical books; and this also is perhaps the reason why in some of the lists of the canonical Books Esther is not named, as *e.g.* in those of Melito of Sardis and Gregory Nazianzen, unless in these it is included under some other book, as Ruth, or Esdras[g] (see Whitaker, *Disput. on H. Scr.*, pp. 57, 58 [Park. Soc.]; Cosins on the *Canon of Scr.* pp. 49, 50 [ditto]). Origen, singularly enough, takes a different line in his *Ep. to Africanus* (Oper. i. 14). He defends the canonicity of these Greek additions, though he admits they are not in the Hebrew. His sole argument, unworthy of a great scholar, is the use of the LXX. in the Churches, an argument which embraces equally all the apocryphal books. Africanus, in his Ep. to Origen, had made the being in the Hebrew essential to canonicity, as Jerome did later. The Council of Trent (1546) pronounced the whole Book of Esther to be canonical (see the R. C. commentators in Kaulen, *Einleit. in die heil. Schriften A. T.* § 270 sq.), and

[f] He is the same as is frequently mentioned in 1 Macc.; *e.g.* x. 57, xi. 12; cp. Joseph. *A. J.* xiii. 4, § 1, 5, and Clinton, *F. H.* iii. 393. This identification with Philometor, if not positively certain, cannot be said to be seriously refuted by Jacob, p. 274 sq. Dositheus seems to be a Greek version of Mattathiah; Ptolemy was also a common name for Jews at that time. See *Speaker's Comm.* on the Apocrypha, i. 364–6.

[g] "This Book of Esther, or sixth of Esdras, as it is placed in some of the most ancient copies of the Vulgate." (Lee's *Dissert. on 2nd Esdras*, p. 25.)

Vatablus says that prior to that decision it was doubtful whether or no Esther was to be included in the Canon, some authors affirming and some denying it. He afterwards qualifies the statement by saying that at all events the last seven chapters were doubtful. Sixtus Senensis, in spite of the decision of the Council, speaks of these additions, after the example of Jerome, as "lacinias hinc inde quorumdam Scriptorum temeritate insertas," and thinks that they are chiefly derived from Josephus, but this last opinion is without probability. The manner and the order in which Josephus cites them (*Ant.* xi. 6) show that they had already in his days obtained currency among the Hellenistic Jews as portions of the Book of Esther; as we know from the way in which he cites other apocryphal books that they were current likewise; with others which are now lost. For it was probably from such that Josephus derived his stories about Moses, about Sanballat, and the temple on Mount Gerizim, and the meeting of the high-priest and Alexander the Great. But these, not having happened to be bound up with the LXX., perished. However, the marvellous purity with which the Hebrew Canon has been preserved, under the providence of God, is brought out into very strong light, by the contrast of the Greek volume. Nor is it uninteresting to observe how the relaxation of the peculiarity of their national character, by the Alexandrian Jews, implied in the adoption of the Greek language and Greek names, seems to have been accompanied with a less jealous, and consequently a less trustworthy guardianship of their great national treasure, "the oracles of God."

See further, Bishop Cosins, on the *Canon of H. S.*; Wolf's *Bibl. Hebr.* 11, 88, and *passim*; Hotting. *Thesaur.* p. 494; Walton, *Proleg.* ix. § 13; Whitaker, *Disput. of Script.* ch. viii.; Dr. O. F. Fritzsche, *Zusätze zum Buche Esther*; Baumgarten, *de Fide Lib. Esther*, &c. More modern German literature on the Book of Esther is enumerated by Oettli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm. z. d. heil. Schriften A. u. N. Ttes.* "Einl. z. Esther," § 7. Cp. Driver, *LOT.* p. 449 sq. [A. C. H.] [F.]

E'TAM (עֵיטָם; Αἰτάν; *Etam*). **1.** A village (חצר) of the tribe of Simeon, specified only in the list in 1 Ch. iv. 32 (cp. Josh. xix. 7); but that it is intentionally introduced appears from the fact that the number of places is summed as five, though in the parallel list as four. The cities of Simeon appear all to have been in the extreme south of the country (see Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, § 22). Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 261) proposes to identify it with *Kh.* '*Aitûn*, between 8 and 9 miles S. of *Beit Jibrîn*, Eleutheropolis.

2. B. Αἰτάν, A. Αἰτάμ (in Josh. xv. 59 a). A place in Judah, fortified and garrisoned by Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 6, B. Ἀτάν, B^{ab}. Αἰτάμ, A. Αἰταν). From its position in this list we may conclude that it was near Bethlehem and Tekoah; and in accordance with this is the mention of the name among the ten cities which the LXX. (ed. Swete) inserts in the text of Josh. xv. 59 a, "Thecoa and Ephratha which is Bethlehem, and Phagor and Aitan (Ethan)." Reasons are shown below for believing it possible that this may have been the scene of Samson's residence, the cliff Etam being one of the numerous bold eminences which abound in this part of the country; and the spring of En-hak-kore one of those abundant fountains which have procured for Etam its chief fame. For here, according to the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, § 3) and the Talmudists, were the sources of the water from which Solomon's gardens and pleasure-grounds were fed, and Bethlehem and the Temple supplied (see Lightfoot on John v.). The name is retained in that of '*Ain* '*Atân*, a fine spring, close to "Solomon's Pools," near *Urtâs*, the waters of which were formerly conveyed to the Temple by an aqueduct (see Dillmann[2] on Josh. *l. c.*).

3. B. Αἰτάν, A. Αἰτάμ. A name occurring in the lists of Judah's descendants (1 Ch. iv. 3), but probably referring to the place named above (2), Bethlehem being mentioned in the following verse. [G.]

E'TAM, THE ROCK (סֶלַע עֵיטָם; ἡ πέτρα Ἠτάμ, for A. see below; Joseph. Αἰτάν; *Petra*, and *silex*, *Etam*), a cliff or lofty rock (such seems to be the special force of *Sela'*) into a cleft or chasm (סְעִיף; A. V. "top," R. V. "cleft") of which Samson retired after his slaughter of the Philistines, in revenge for their burning the Timnite woman who was to have been his wife (Judg. xv. 8, 11[a]). The general tenor of the narrative seems to indicate that this natural stronghold (πέτρα δ' ἐστὶν ὀχυρά, Jos. *Ant.* v. 8, § 8) was in Judah, and that the Philistines had advanced into the heart of the territory of that tribe (*vv.* 9, 10) in their search for Samson. At Lehi in Judah they were defeated, and the victory was so complete that it raised Samson to be Judge, and secured peace for 20 years (*v.* 20). It is evident that the place Lehi, in which was the spring En-hak-kore (*v.* 19), was above, or at a higher altitude than the country of the Philistines (*v.* 9) and the rock Etam (*vv.* 11, 13). There is no further indication of position (the names have vanished), but it may be inferred that "the rock" was not far from a town of the same name.

The identifications that have been proposed are:—(1) A cliff, or "crag," in the extremely uneven and broken ground in the *Wâdy* (χειμαῤῥος: see note [a]) *Urtâs*, below '*Ain* '*Atân* [ETAM, 2]. Here is a fitting scene for the adventure of Samson. It was sufficiently distant from Timnah to have seemed a safe refuge from the wrath of the Philistines, while on the other hand it was not too far for them to advance in search of him; and it may be remarked that one of the easiest and most direct routes from Philistia to the heart of Judah, now marked by a Roman road, was that which passes '*Ain Shems*, and goes up by *Beit* '*Atâb* and *el-Khudr* to "Solomon's Pools," Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. This road was frequently followed at a later date by the Philistines, who, even in the reign of David, had a garrison at Bethlehem near its head. This position is apparently at variance with the statement, in *v.* 8, that Samson went *down*

[a] There is some uncertainty about the text of this passage, the Alex. MS. of the LXX. inserting in *v.* 8 the words παρὰ τῷ χειμαῤῥῷ, "by the torrent," before the mention of the rock. Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 264, 83–84) has ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ Ἠτὰμ παρὰ τῷ χειμάῤῥῳ. In *v.* 11 the reading agrees with the Hebrew.

to the rock Etam after the slaughter of the Philistines; but it is possible that an allusion to the ascent which preceded the descent has been omitted. In 1 Ch. xiii. 6 David is said to have gone up to Kirjath-jearim (from Hebron) to bring up from thence the Ark of God (to Jerusalem), no mention being made of the previous descent. The view that the cliff Etam, Ramath Lehi, and En-hak-kore must be looked for in the abundant springs and numerous eminences in the district round *'Ain 'Atân* and *Urtâs*, is supported by Stanley, *Lect. on Jewish Ch.* i. 371; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 118; Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.*; Winer, *RWB.*; Bertheau[2]; Birch, *PEFQy. Stat.* 1881, p. 323. (2) Major Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 22, 23, and *Tent Work*, i. 275–77) has proposed *Beit 'Atâb*, "a small village, standing on a remarkable knoll of rock which rises some 60 ft. to 100 ft. above the surrounding hilly ridge." "A remarkable cavern," which might have been used as a hiding-place by Samson, runs beneath the houses. This place is in Judah, on the direct road to Bethlehem, mentioned above, and not far from Samson's home. But there is nothing at *Beit 'Atâb* to which the term Sela, "cliff," used in connexion with such places as Petra and the gorge at Michmash, could be applied; and there is also the difficulty that the Philistines, in advancing to the higher ground of Lehi, would have left "the rock" behind them, and would consequently have been between Samson and the men of Judah. Major Conder's identification has been accepted by Tristram, *Bib. Places*, p. 48; and Geikie, *H. Land and the Bible*, ii. 142. (3) Van de Velde (ii. 141) would identify the rock Etam with the Etam of 1 Ch. iv. 32 near 'Ain Rimmon, *Kh. Umm er-Rumâmîn*, and Lehi with *Lekiyeh*, a short distance N. of Beersheba, but these places are too far to the south, and must have been within the territory of Simeon, while it is clear from the narrative that the scene of Samson's exploit was in Judah. This view has the support of Riehm, *HWB.* (s. v.); Keil, *Comm. zu Richter*, xv. 8, p. 316; Boettger, *Lex. Joseph.* s. v. Aita. [G.] [W.]

E'THAM. [EXODUS, THE.]

E'THAN (אֵיתָן = *strong*; Γαιθάν [1 K.], Αἰθάν [Ps. BN.]; *Ethan*). The name of several persons. **1.** ETHAN THE EZRAHITE, one of the four sons of Mahol, whose wisdom was excelled by Solomon (1 K. iv. 31; LXX. *v.* 27). His name is in the title of Ps. lxxxix. There is little doubt that this is the same person who in 1 Ch. ii. 6 (B. Αἰθάμ, A. *-αν*) is mentioned—with the same brothers as before—as a son of Zerah, the son of Judah. [DARDA; EZRAHITE.] But being a son of Judah, he must have been a different person from

2. B. Αἰθάμ, A. *-αν*. Son of Kishi or Kushaiah, a Merarite Levite, head of that family in the time of King David (1 Ch. vi. 44, Heb. *v.* 29), and spoken of as a "singer." With Heman and Asaph, the heads of the two other families of Levites, Ethan was appointed to sound with cymbals (xv. 17, 19). From the fact that in other passages of these Books the three names are given as Asaph, Heman, and JEDUTHUN, it has been conjectured that the two names both belonged to the one man, or are identical; but there is no direct evidence of this, nor is there anything to show that Ethan the singer was the same person as Ethan the Ezrahite, whose name stands at the head of Ps. lxxxix., though it is a curious coincidence that there should be two persons named Heman and Ethan so closely connected in two different tribes and walks of life.

3. B. Αἰθάν, A. Οὐρί. A Gershonite Levite, one of the ancestors of Asaph the singer (1 Ch. vi. 42, Heb. *v.* 27). In the reversed genealogy of the Gershonites (*v.* 21 of this chap.) Joah stands in the place of Ethan as the son of Zimmah. [G.]

ETHANIM. [MONTHS.]

ETHBA'AL (אֶתְבַּעַל; Ἐθβάλ; Joseph. Ἰεζάβηλος; *Ethbaal*), king of Sidon and father of Jezebel, wife of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 31). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, § 1) represents him as king of the Tyrians as well as of the Sidonians. We may thus identify him with Eithobalus (Εἰθώβαλος), noticed by Menander (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 18), a priest of Astarte, who, after having assassinated Pheles, usurped the throne of Tyre for 32 years. As 50 years elapsed between the deaths of Hiram and Pheles, the date of Ethbaal's reign may be given as about B.C. 940–908. The variation in the name is easily explained; Ethbaal = *with Baal*; Ithobalus (אִתּוֹבַעַל) = *Baal with him*, which is preferable in point of sense to the other. The position which Ethbaal held explains, to a certain extent, the idolatrous zeal which Jezebel displayed. [W. L. B.] [A. H. S.]

E'THER (עֶתֶר; *Ether*, *Athar*), one of the cities of Judah in the low country, the *Shefelah* (Josh. xv. 42; B. Ἴθαν, A. Ἀθέρ), allotted to Simeon (xix. 7; B. Ἰέθερ, A. Βεθέρ). In the parallel list of the towns of Simeon in 1 Ch. iv. 32, TOCHEN is substituted for Ether. In his *Onomasticon* Eusebius mentions it (*OS.*[2] p. 261, 78–79) as being in his time a considerable place (κώμη μεγίστη), called Jethira (Ἰεθειρά), near Malatha in the interior of the district of Daroma. But he evidently confounds it with JATTIR, now *Kh. 'Attîr*, to the S.W. of *es-Semû'a*, Eshtemoa. Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 261, 279) and Mühlau (in Riehm's *HWB.*) identify it with *Kh. el-'Atr*, a short distance N.W. of *Beit Jibrîn*, but this seems too far N. for a town belonging to Simeon. The identification of the place is still uncertain. It was probably situated nearer Beersheba. [G.] [W.]

ETHIO'PIA (כּוּשׁ; Αἰθιοπία; *Aethiopia*). The country which the Greeks and Romans described as "Aethiopia" and the Hebrews as "Cush" lay to the south of Egypt, and embraced, in its most extended sense, the modern *Nubia*, *Sennaar*, *Kordofan*, and Northern *Abyssinia*, and in its more definite sense the kingdom of Meroë, from the junction of the Blue and White branches of the Nile to the border of Egypt. The only direction in which a clear boundary can be fixed is in the north, where Syene marked the division between Ethiopia and Egypt (Ezek. xxix. 10): in other directions the boundaries can be only generally described as the Red Sea on the east, the Libyan desert on

the west, and the Abyssinian highlands on the south. The name "Ethiopia" is probably an adaptation of the native Egyptian name "Ethaush," which bears a tolerably close resemblance to the gentile form "Aethiops;" the Greeks themselves regarded it as expressive of a dark complexion (from αἴθω, "to burn," and ὤψ, "a countenance"). The Hebrew and Assyrian Cush was borrowed from the Egyptian Kesh, which designated the district of which Napata, the modern Gebel Barkal, was afterwards the capital. The Hebrews do not appear to have had much practical acquaintance with Ethiopia itself, though the Ethiopians were well known to them through their intercourse with Egypt. They were, however, perfectly aware of its position (Ezek. xxix. 10); and they describe it as a well-watered country "beyond" the waters of Cush (Is. xviii. 1; Zeph. iii. 10), being traversed by the two branches of the Nile, and by the Astaboras or *Tacazze*. The Nile descends with a rapid stream in this part of its course, forming a series of cataracts: its branches are referred to in the words of Is. xviii. 2, "whose land the rivers divide." The papyrus boats ("vessels of bulrushes," Is. xviii. 2), which were peculiarly adapted to the navigation of the Upper Nile, admitting of being carried on men's backs when necessary, were regarded as a characteristic feature of the country. The Hebrews carried on commercial intercourse with Ethiopia, its "merchandise" (Is. xlv. 14) consisting of ebony, ivory, frankincense, and gold (Herod. iii. 97, 114), and precious stones (Job xxviii. 19; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, § 5). The country is for the most part mountainous, the ranges gradually increasing in altitude towards the south, until they attain an elevation of about 8000 feet in *Abyssinia*.

The inhabitants of Ethiopia were a Hamitic race (Gen. x. 6), and are described in the Bible as a dark-complexioned (Jer. xiii. 23) and stalwart race (Is. xlv. 14, "men of stature;" xviii. 2, for "scattered," substitute "tall," R. V.). Their stature is noticed by Herodotus (iii. 20, 114), as well as their handsomeness. Not improbably the latter quality is intended by the term in Is. xviii. 2, which is rendered "peeled" (A. V.) or "smooth" (R. V.), but which rather means "fine-looking." Their appearance led to their being selected as attendants in royal households (Jer. xxxviii. 7). The Ethiopians are on one occasion coupled with the Arabians, as occupying the opposite shores of the Red Sea (2 Ch. xxi. 16); but elsewhere they are connected with African nations, particularly Egypt (Ps. lxviii. 31; Is. xx. 3, 4, xliii. 3, xlv. 14), Phut (Jer. xlvi. 9), Lub and Lud (Ezek. xxx. 5), and the Sukkiims (2 Ch. xii. 3). They were divided into various tribes, of which the Sabaeans were the most powerful. [SEBA; SUKKIIM.]

The history of Ethiopia is closely interwoven with that of Egypt. The two countries were not unfrequently united under the rule of the same sovereign. Pepi I. of the 6th dynasty overran that part of Cush or Ethiopia—the To-Kens of the Egyptian monuments—which lay between the First and Second Cataracts, but its complete conquest was reserved for the kings of the 12th dynasty. Amen-em-hat I. subdued the Wawai, who extended from the First Cataract to Korosko; his son Usirtesen I. subjugated the negro tribes who spread southward to Wadi Helfa, and Usirtesen III. fixed the frontier of Egypt at Semneh, where he built a fortress on either side of the river. Nubia was at this time well-watered and fertile, the present First Cataract not having as yet been formed, and the break in the navigation of the Nile being apparently at Silsileh. The negro tribes extended much further north than subsequently; the area occupied by the Nubians being comparatively limited. During the period of the Hyksos, Ethiopia was lost to Egypt, but Ahmes, the founder of the 18th dynasty, who had married a Nubian queen, set about the work of reconquering it. His successor, Amenophis I., completed the work: Ethiopia became an Egyptian province as far south as Sennaar; colonies of fellahin were planted in different parts of it, and the eldest son of the Egyptian monarch took from henceforth the title of "the prince of Cush." In the time of Ramses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks (of the 19th dynasty), the great temple of Abu-Simbel was excavated in the rock; and though from time to time expeditions were required against the restless tribes of the Soudan, the country remained in the possession of Egypt until after the fall of the 20th dynasty, when one of the high-priests of Amun of Thebes established an independent kingdom at Napata. For some centuries this kingdom remained in all respects Egyptian, language, names, and customs being alike those of Egypt; and it was only gradually that the foreign culture was replaced by one of native growth. More than once the kings of Napata overran Egypt, and finally under Sabako, the So of 2 K. xvii. 4, they made themselves masters of the whole country and founded the 25th dynasty. Taharka or Tirhakah (2 K. xix. 9) was driven back into Ethiopia by the Assyrian forces of Esar-haddon, B.C. 672; and though he made more than one attempt to recover Egypt during the Assyrian occupation of it, his efforts were unsuccessful. After the reign of his successor, Nut Mi-Amun, Ethiopia was divided into two kingdoms—that of To-Kens, with its capital at Kipkip; and that of Napata, which at one time included Berua or Meroë, and the country of Alo, which extended from the White and Blue Nile to the plain of Sennaar. Ethiopia now disappears from history, and is hardly heard of again until the campaign of Cambyses; but the Persian rule did not take any root there, nor did the influence of the Ptolemies generally extend beyond Northern Ethiopia. Shortly before our Saviour's birth, a native dynasty of females, holding the official title of Candace (Plin. vi. 35), held sway in Ethiopia, and even resisted the advance of the Roman arms. One of these is the queen noticed in Acts viii. 27. [CANDACE.] [A. H. S.]

ETHIOPIAN (כּוּשִׁי; Αἰθίοψ; *Aethiops*). Properly "Cushite" (Jer. xiii. 23); used of Zerah (2 Ch. xiv. 9 [8]), and Ebedmelech (Jer. xxxviii. 7, 10, 12; xxxix. 16). [W. A. W.]

ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH. Acts viii. 26 sq. gives the history of the baptism by Philip the Evangelist of the Ethiopian chamberlain of Candace. He had gone as a proselyte to Jerusalem to attend the great Feast; he had heard

probably while at Jerusalem of the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ, of the claims put forth in His Name, and of those who were known as His followers. When Philip overtook him he was reading the Messianic passage, Is. liii., and possibly debating with himself how far the Prophet's words might be said to have found their fulfilment in Christ. The explanation was given which induced him to embrace the Gospel. Eusebius does not hesitate to attribute to this Ethiopian—whom he calls Indich—the first preaching of the Gospel to his own people, and the founding of Christianity among them (*see Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, s. v. "Ethiopian Church"). [F.]

ETHIOPIAN WOMAN (כֻּשִׁית; Αἰθιοπίσσα; *Aethiopissa*). Zipporah, the wife of Moses, is so described in Num. xii. 1. She is elsewhere said to have been the daughter of a Midianite, and in consequence of this Ewald and others have supposed that the allusion is to another wife whom Moses married after the death of Zipporah. [W. A. W.]

ETHIOPIANS (כּוּשׁ, Is. xx. 4; Jer. xlvi. 9, כּוּשִׁי; Αἰθίοπες; *Aethiopia, Aethiopes*). Properly "Cush" or "Ethiopia" in two passages (Is. xx. 4; Jer. xlvi. 9). Elsewhere "Cushites," or inhabitants of Ethiopia (2 Ch. xii. 3, xiv. 12 [11], 13 [12], xvi. 8, xxi. 16; Dan. xi. 43; Amos ix. 7; Zeph. ii. 12; Acts viii. 27). [ETHIOPIA.] [W. A. W.]

ETH'MA (B. Ὀομά, A. Νομά; *Nobei*), 1 Esd. ix. 35 (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). It occupies the place of NEBO in the parallel list of Ezra x. 43.

ETH'NAN (אֶתְנָן, (?) = *gift*; B. Σεννάν, A. Ἐνθαδί; *Ethnan*), a descendant of Judah; one of the sons of Helah the wife of Ashur, "the father of Tekoa" (1 Ch. iv. 7).

ETHNARCH (2 Cor. xi. 32). [GOVERNOR, No. 11.]

ETH'NI (אֶתְנִי; (?) = *munificent*; Ἀθανεί; *Athanai*), a Gershonite Levite, one of the forefathers of Asaph the singer (1 Ch. vi. 41; Heb. *v.* 26).

EUBU'LUS (Εὔβουλος), a Christian at Rome mentioned by St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 21).

EUER'GETES (Εὐεργέτης, *a benefactor; Ptolemaeus Euergetes*), a common surname and title of honour (cp. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 506 C, and Stallbaum in loco) in Greek states, conferred at Athens by a public vote (Dem. p. 475), and so notorious as to pass into a proverb (Luke xxii. 5). The title was borne by two of the Ptolemies: Ptol. III., Euergetes I., B.C. 247–222, and Ptol. VII., Euergetes II., B.C. 146–117. The Euergetes mentioned in the prologue to Ecclesiasticus has been identified with each of these, according to the different views taken of the history of the book. [ECCLESIASTICUS; JESUS SON OF SIRACH.] [B. F. W.]

EU'MENES II. (Εὐμένης), king of Pergamus, succeeded his father Attalus I., B.C. 197, from whom he inherited the favour and alliance of the Romans. In the war with Antiochus the Great he rendered the most important services to the growing republic; and at the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190) commanded his contingent in person (Just. xxxi. 8, 5; App. *Syr.* 34). After peace was made (B.C. 189) he repaired to Rome to claim the reward of his loyalty; and the Senate conferred on him the provinces of Mysia, Lydia, Ionia (with some exceptions), Phrygia, Lycaonia, and the Thracian Chersonese (App. *Syr.* 44; Polyb. xxii. 7; Liv. xxxviii. 56). His influence at Rome continued uninterrupted till the war with Perseus, with whom he is said to have entertained treasonable correspondence (Liv. xxiv. 24, 25); and after the defeat of Perseus (B.C. 167) he was looked upon with suspicion, which he vainly endeavoured to remove. The exact date of his death is not mentioned, but it must have taken place in B.C. 159.

The large accession of territory which was granted to Eumenes from the former dominions of Antiochus is mentioned 1 Macc. viii. 8, but the present reading of the Greek and Latin texts offers insuperable difficulties. "The Romans gave him," it is said, "the *country of India and Media*, and Lydia and parts of his (Antiochus') fairest countries (ἀπὸ τῶν καλλ. χωρῶν αὐτοῦ)." Various conjectures have been proposed to remove these obvious errors; but though it may be reasonably allowed that *Mysia* may have stood originally for Media (מסי for מדי, Michaelis), it is not equally easy to explain the origin of χώραν τὴν Ἰνδικήν. It is barely possible that Ἰνδικὴν may have been substituted for Ἰωνικὴν after Μηδίαν was already established in the text. Other explanations are given by Grimm (*Exeg. Handb.*) and Wernsdorf (*De fide Libr. Macc.* p. 50 sq.), but they have little plausibility (see *Speaker's Comm.*, Bissell, and Zöckler, in loco). [B. F. W.] [F.]

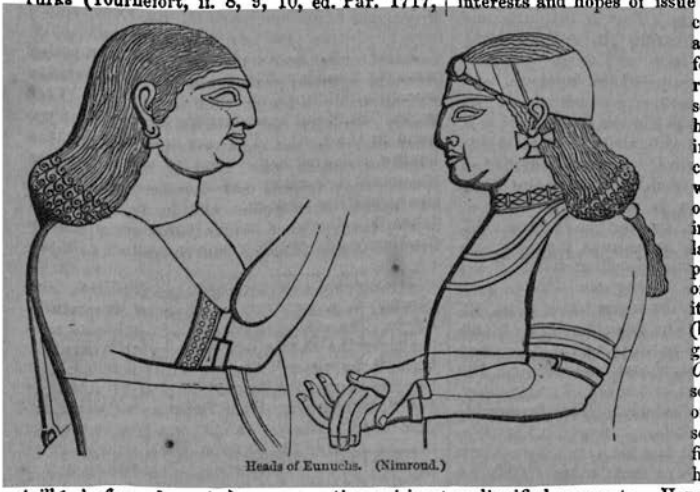
EUNA'TAN (B. Ἐναατάν, A. Ἐλναθάν; *Ennagam*), 1 Esd. viii. 44, possibly a misprint for Ennatan, the reading of the Genevan Version and of the Bishops' Bible (see *D. B.* Amer. ed.). [ELNATHAN.] [F.]

EUNI'CE (Εὐνίκη; *Eunice*), mother of Timothy (2 Tim. i. 5), a woman of unfeigned faith, and, as we learn from Acts xvi. 1, a Jewess and a Christian (πιστή). That her husband was a Greek is probably mentioned to explain why Timothy had not been circumcised (see TIMOTHY). The influence of the tradition of her widowhood appears in the addition of χήρας (widow) in one cursive MS. [E. R. B.]

EUNUCH (סָרִיס; εὐνοῦχος, θλαδίας; *spado*; variously rendered in the A. V. "eunuch," "officer," and "chamberlain," apparently as though the word intended a class of attendants who were not always mutilated).* The original Hebrew word (root Arab. عسرس, *impotens esse ad venerem*, Gesen. *s. v.*) clearly implies the incapacity which mutilation involves, and perhaps includes all the classes mentioned in Matt. xix. 12, not signifying, as the Greek εὐνοῦχος, an office merely. The law, Deut. xxiii. 1 (cp. Lev. xxii. 24), is repugnant to thus treating any Israelite; and Samuel, when describing the arbitrary power of the future king (1 Sam. viii.

* So Whiston, Joseph. *Ant.* x. 10, § 2, note.

15, marg.), mentions "his eunuchs," but does not say that he would make "their sons" such. This, if we compare 2 K. xx. 18, Is. xxxix. 7, possibly implies that these persons would be foreigners; cp. Jer. xxxviii. 7. It was a barbarous custom of the East thus to treat captives (Herod. iii. 49, vi. 32), not only of tender age (when a non-development of beard and feminine mould of limbs and modulation of voice ensued), but, it should seem, when past puberty, which there occurs at an early age. Physiological considerations lead to the supposition that in the latter case a remnant of animal feeling is left; which may explain Ecclus. xx. 4, xxx. 20 (cp. Juv. vi. 366, and Mart. vi. 67; Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* i. 37; Ter. *Eun.* iv. 3, 24), where a sexual function, though fruitless, is implied. Busbequius (*Ep.* iii. 122, Ox. 1660) seems to ascribe the absence or presence of this to the total or partial character of the mutilation; but modern surgery would rather assign the earlier or later period of the operation as the real explanation. It is total among modern Turks (Tournefort, ii. 8, 9, 10, ed. Par. 1717,



Heads of Eunuchs. (Nimroud.)

taillés à fleur de ventre); a precaution arising from mixed ignorance and jealousy. The "officer" Potiphar (Gen. xxxvii. 36; xxxix. 1, marg. *eunuch*, and LXX. σπάδοντι, εὐνοῦχος) was an Egyptian, was married, and was the "captain of the guard"; and in the Assyrian monuments an eunuch often appears, sometimes armed and in a warlike capacity, or as a scribe, noting the number of heads and amount of spoil, as receiving the prisoners, and even as officiating in religious ceremonies (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 324–6, 334). A bloated beardless face and double chin is there their conventional type. Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, ii. 283, ed. Amsterd. 1711) speaks of eunuchs having a harem of their own. If Potiphar had become such by operation for disease, by accident, or even by malice, such a marriage seems, therefore, according to Eastern notions, supposable[b] (see Grotius on Deut. xxiii. 1; cp. Burckhardt, *Trav. in Arab.* i. 290). Nor is it wholly repugnant to that barbarous social standard to think that the prospect of rank, honour, and royal confidence might even induce parents to thus treat their children at a later age, if they showed an aptness for such preferment. The characteristics as regards beard, voice, &c., might then perhaps be modified, or might gradually follow. The Poti-pherah of Gen. xli. 50, whose daughter Joseph married, was "priest of On," and no doubt a different person.

The origination of the practice is ascribed to Semiramis (Amm. Marcell. xiv. 6), and is no doubt as early, or nearly so, as Eastern despotism itself. Their incapacity, as in the case of mutes, is the ground of reliance upon them (Clarke's *Travels*, part ii. § 1, 13; Busbeq. *Ep.* i. p. 33). By reason of the mysterious distance at which the sovereign sought to keep his subjects (Herod. i. 99; cp. Esth. iv. 11), and of the malignant jealousy fostered by the debased relation of the sexes, such wretches, detached from social interests and hopes of issue (especially when, as commonly, and as amongst the Jews, foreigners), the natural slaves of either sex (Esth. iv. 5), and having no prospect in rebellion save the change of masters, were the fittest props of a government resting on a servile relation, the most complete ὄργανα ἔμψυχα of its despotism or its lust, the surest (but see Esth. ii. 21) guardians (Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, § 60 sq.; Herod. viii. 105) of the monarch's person, and the sole confidential witnesses of his unguarded or undignified moments. Hence they have in all ages frequently risen to high offices of trust. Thus the "chief"[c] of the cup-bearers and of the cooks of Pharaoh were eunuchs, as being near his person, though their inferior agents need not have been so (Gen. xl. 1, 7, LXX.). The complete assimilation of the kingdom of Israel, and latterly[d] of Judah, to the neighbouring models of despotism, is traceable in the rank and prominence of eunuchs (2 K. viii. 6,

[b] The Jewish tradition is that Joseph was made a eunuch on his first introduction to Egypt; and yet the accusation of Potiphar's wife, his marriage and the birth of his children, are related subsequently without any explanation. See Targum Pseudojon. on Gen. xxxix. 1, xli. 50, and the details given in xxxix. 13.

[c] Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. 61) denies the use of eunuchs in Egypt. Herodotus, indeed (ii. 92), confirms his statement as regards Egyptian monogamy; but if this as a rule applied to the kings, they seemed at any rate to have allowed themselves concubines (*ib.* 181). From the general beardless character of Egyptian heads it is not easy to pronounce whether any eunuchs appear in the sculptures or not.

[d] 1 Ch. xxviii. 1 (LXX.) is remarkable as ascribing eunuchs to the period of David, nor can it be doubted that Solomon's polygamy made them a necessary consequence; but in this state they do not seem to have played an important part at this period.

ix. 32, xxiii. 11, xxv. 19; Is. lvi. 3, 4; Jer. xxix. 2, xxxiv. 19, xxxviii. 7, xli. 16, lii. 25). They mostly appear in one of two relations, either military as "set over the men of war," greater trustworthiness possibly counterbalancing inferior courage and military vigour, or associated, as we mostly recognise them, with women and children. It is possible but uncertain that Daniel and his companions were thus treated, in fulfilment of 2 K. xx. 17, 18; Is. xxxix. 7; cp. Dan. i. 3, 7. The court of Herod of course had its eunuchs (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 8, § 1; xv. 7, § 4), as had also that of Queen Candace (Acts viii. 27). We find the Assyrian Rab-Saris, or chief eunuch (2 K. xviii. 17), employed together with other high officials as ambassador. Similarly, in the details of the travels of an embassy sent by the Duke of Holstein (p. 136), we find an eunuch mentioned as sent on occasion of a state-marriage to negotiate, and of another (p. 273) who was the *Meheter*, or chamberlain of Shah Abbas, who was always near his person, and had his ear (cp. Chardin, iii. 37), and of another, originally a Georgian prisoner, who officiated as supreme judge. Fryer (*Travels in India and Persia*, 1698) and Chardin (ii. 283) describe them as being the base and ready tools of licentiousness, as tyrannical in humour, and pertinacious in the authority which they exercise; Clarke (*Travels in Europe*, &c., part ii. § 1, p. 22), as eluded and ridiculed by those whom it is their office to guard. A great number of them accompany the Shah and his ladies when hunting, and no one is allowed, on pain of death, to come within two leagues of the field, unless the king sends an eunuch for him. So eunuchs ran before the closed arabahs of the sultanas when abroad, crying out to all to keep at a distance. This illustrates Esth. i. 10, 12, 15, 16; ii. 3, 8, 14. The moral tendency of this sad condition is well known to be the repression of courage, gentleness, shame, and remorse, the development of malice, and often of melancholy, and a disposition to suicide. The favourable description of them in Xenophon (*l. c.*) is overcharged, or at least is not confirmed by modern observation. They are not more liable to disease than others, unless of such as often follows the foul vices of which they are the tools. Michaelis (ii. 180) regards them as the proper consequences of the gross polygamy of the East, although his further remark that they tend to balance the sexual disparity which such monopoly of women causes is less just, since the countries despoiled of their women for the one purpose are not commonly those which furnish male children for the other.

In the three classes mentioned in Matt. xix. 12 the first is to be ranked with other examples of defective organization; the last, if taken literally, as it is said to have been personally exemplified in Origen (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* vi. 8), is an instance of human ways and means of ascetic devotion being valued by the Jews above revealed precept (see Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* i. 159). But a figurative sense of *εὐνοῦχος* (cp. 1 Cor. vii. 32, 34) is also possible.

The operation itself, especially in infancy, is not more dangerous than an ordinary amputation. Chardin (ii. 285) indeed says that only one in four survives; and Clot Bey, chief physician of the Pasha, states that two-thirds die; but Burckhardt affirms (*Nub.* p. 329) that the operation is only fatal in about two out of a hundred cases.

In the A. V. of Esther the word "chamberlain" (marg. *eunuch*) is the constant rendering of סָרִיס; and as the word also occurs in Acts xii. 20 and Rom. xvi. 23, where the original expressions are very different, some caution is required. In Acts xii. 20 *τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως* may mean a "chamberlain" merely. Such were persons of public influence, as we learn from a Greek inscription, preserved in Walpole's *Turkey* (ii. 559), in honour of P. Aelius Alcibiades, "chamberlain of the emperor" (*ἐπὶ κοιτῶνος Σεβ.*), the epithets in which exactly suggest the kind of patronage expressed. In Rom. xvi. 23 the word *ἐπίτροπος* is the one commonly rendered "steward" (*e.g.* Matt. xx. 8; Luke viii. 3), and means the one to whom the care of the city was committed. See Salden, *Otia Theol. de Eunuchis*; Keim, *HWB.* s. n. 'Verschnittene.' [H. H.]

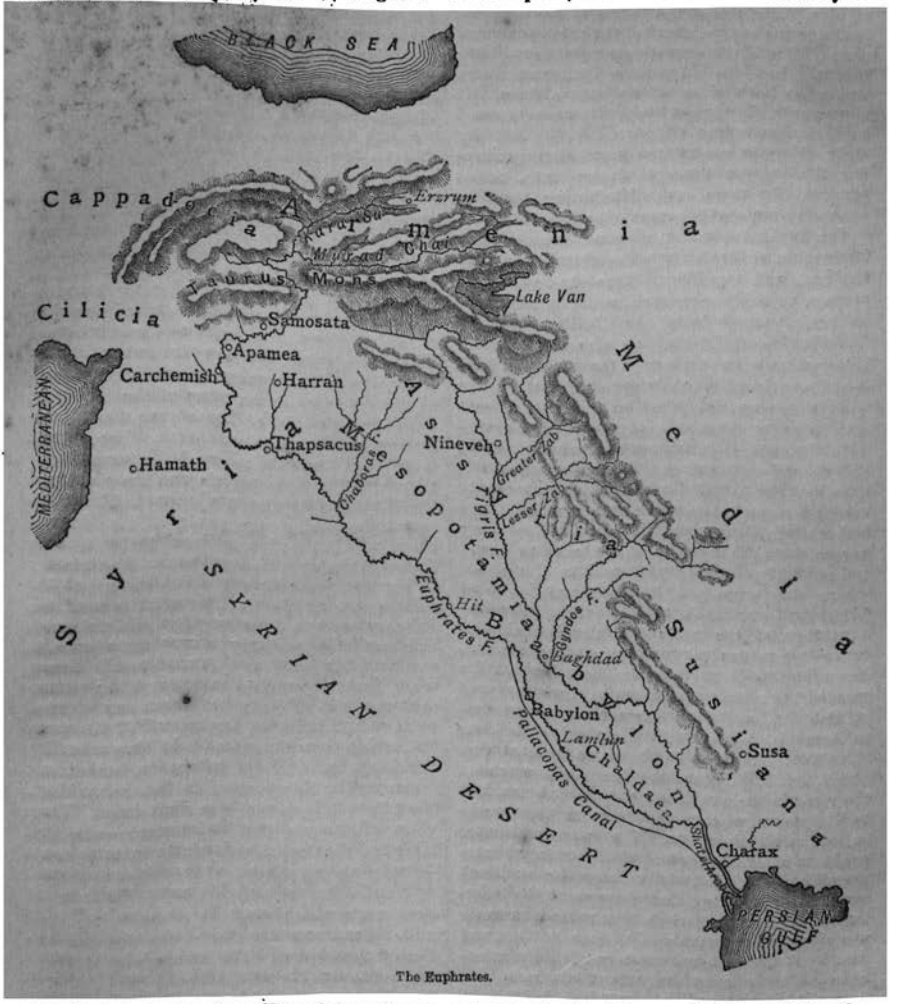
EUNUCH, ETHIOPIAN. [ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.]

EUO'DIA, R. V. (*Εὐοδία*; *textus receptus*, wrongly *Εὐωδία*; *Evhodia*, Amiat.), a Christian woman of Philippi, named with Syntyche (Phil. iv. 2). St. Paul beseeches the two to be of one mind in the Lord. They are described (v. 3) as having laboured with Paul in the Gospel, an important testimony to the work of women in the primitive Church. The A. V. erroneously takes *Εὐοδίαν* as a man's name from a nom. *Εὐοδίας* (see Lightfoot's note in loco). [E. R. B.]

EUPHRA'TES (פְּרָת; *Εὐφράτης*; *Euphrates*) is a word of Accadian or pre-Semitic origin. The early inhabitants of Chaldaea called the river the Pura-nunu, "the great water," or Pura, "the water," simply. From this, the later Semitic population formed Purátu by attaching the Semitic suffix of the feminine to the Accadian word. The Greek *Euphratês* is a popular modification of the Persian Ufrátu, where the first syllable represents the adventitious vowel produced by the omission of the first vowel of the original name, and the consequent coalescence of two initial consonants. In the Babylonian inscriptions, the Euphrates is often called "the river of Sippara." It was also termed "Sakhan," for which the Semitic equivalent seems to have been Gikhinnu or Gihon. It is most frequently denoted in the Bible by the term הַנָּהָר, *hannahar*, i.e. "the river," *the* river of Asia, in grand contrast to the short-lived torrents of Palestine (see a list of the occurrences of this term in Stanley, *S. and P.*, App. § 34).

The Euphrates is the largest, the longest, and by far the most important of the rivers of Western Asia. It rises from two chief sources in the Armenian mountains, one of them at *Domli*, 25 miles N.E. of Erzeroum, and little more than a degree from the Black Sea; the other on the northern slope of the mountain range called *Ala-Taqh*, near the village of *Diyadin*, and not far from Mount Ararat. The former, or Northern Euphrates, has the name *Frát* from the first, but is known also as the *Kara-Su* (Black River); the latter, or Southern Euphrates, is not called the *Frát* but the *Murad*

Chai, yet it is in reality the main river. Both branches flow at first towards the west or south-west, passing through the wildest mountain-districts of Armenia; they meet at *Kebban-Maden*, nearly in long. 39° E. from Greenwich, having run respectively 400 and 270 miles. Here the stream formed by their combined waters is 120 yards wide, rapid, and very deep; it now flows nearly southward, but in a tortuous course, forcing a way through the ranges of Taurus and anti-Taurus, and still seeming as if it would empty itself into the Mediterranean; but prevented from so doing by the longitudinal ranges of Amanus and Lebanon, which here run parallel to the Syrian coast, and at no great distance from it, the river at last desists from its endeavour, and in about lat. 36° turns towards the south-east, and proceeds in this direction for above 1,000 miles to its embouchure in the Persian Gulf. The last part of its course, from *Hit* downwards, is through a low, flat, and alluvial plain, over which it has a tendency to



The Euphrates.

spread and stagnate; above *Hit*, and from thence to *Sumeïsat* (Samosata), the country along its banks is for the most part open but hilly; north of *Sumeïsat*, the stream runs in a narrow valley among high mountains, and is interrupted by numerous rapids. The entire course is calculated at 1780 miles, nearly 650 more than that of the Tigris, and only 200 short of that of the Indus; and of this distance more than two-thirds (1200 miles) is navigable for boats, and even, as the expedition of Col. Chesney proved, for small steamers. The width of the river is greatest at the distance of 700 or 800 miles from its mouth—that is to say, from its junction with the *Khabour* to the village of *Werai*. It there averages 400 yards, while lower down, from *Werdi* to *Lamlun*, it continually decreases, until at the last-named place its width is not more than 120 yards, its depth having at the same time diminished from an average of 18 to one of 12 feet. The causes of this singular phenomenon are the entire lack of tributaries below the *Khabour*, and the employment of the water in irrigation. The river has also in this

part of its course the tendency already noted, to run off and waste itself in vast marshes, which every year more and more cover the alluvial tract west and south of the stream. From this cause its lower course is continually varying, and it is doubted whether at present, except in the season of the inundation, any portion of the Euphrates water is poured into the *Shat-el-Arab*.

The annual inundation of the Euphrates is caused by the melting of the snows in the Armenian highlands. It occurs in the month of May. The rise of the Tigris is earlier, since it drains the *southern* flank of the great Armenian chain. The Tigris scarcely ever overflows [HIDDEKEL], but the Euphrates inundates large tracts on both sides of its course from Hît downwards. The great hydraulic works ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar (Abyden. *Fr.* 8) had for their object to control the inundation by turning the waters through sluices into canals prepared for them, and distributing them in channels over a wide extent of country.

The Euphrates has at all times been of some importance as furnishing a line of traffic between the East and the West. Herodotus speaks of persons, probably merchants, using it regularly on their passage from the Mediterranean to Babylon (Herod. i. 185). He also describes the boats which were in use upon the stream (i. 194) —and mentions that their principal freight was wine, which was furnished by Armenia. Boats such as he describes, of wicker-work and coated with bitumen, or sometimes covered with skins, still abound on the river. Alexander appears to have brought to Babylon by the Euphrates route vessels of some considerable size, which he had had made in Cyprus and Phoenicia. They were so constructed that they could be taken to pieces, and were thus carried piecemeal to Thapsacus, where they were put together and launched (Aristobul. *ap.* Strab. xvi. 1, § 11). The disadvantage of the route was the difficulty of conveying return cargoes against the current. According to Herodotus, the boats which descended the river were broken to pieces and sold at Babylon, and the owners returned on foot to Armenia, taking with them only the skins (i. 194). Aristobulus however related (*ap.* Strab. xvi. 3, § 3) that the Gerrhaeans ascended the river in their rafts not only to Babylon, but to Thapsacus, whence they carried their wares on foot in all directions. The spices and other products of Arabia formed their principal merchandise. On the whole there are sufficient grounds for believing that throughout the Babylonian and Persian periods this route was made use of by the merchants of various nations, and that by it the east and west continually interchanged their most important products (see Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 536–37).

The Euphrates is first mentioned in Scripture as one of the four rivers of Eden (Gen. ii. 14). Its celebrity is there sufficiently indicated by the absence of any explanatory phrase, such as accompanies the names of the other streams. We next hear of it in the covenant made with Abraham (Gen. xv. 18), where the whole country from "the great river, the river Euphrates," to the river of Egypt, is promised to the chosen race. In Deuteronomy and Joshua we find that this promise was borne in mind at the time of the settlement in Canaan (Deut. i. 7, xi. 24; Josh. i. 4); and from an important passage in the First Book of Chronicles it appears that the tribe of Reuben did actually extend itself to the Euphrates in the times anterior to Saul (1 Ch. v. 9). Here they came in contact with the Hagarites, who appear upon the middle Euphrates in the Assyrian inscriptions of the later empire. It is David, however, who seems for the first time to have entered on the full enjoyment of the promise, by the victories which he gained over Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and his allies, the Syrians of Damascus (2 Sam. viii. 3–8; 1 Ch. xviii. 3). The object of his expedition was "to recover his border," and "to stablish his dominion by the river Euphrates;" and in this object he appears to have been altogether successful; insomuch that Solomon, his son, who was not a man of war, but only inherited his father's dominions, is said to have "reigned over all kingdoms from the river (*i.e.* the Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt" (1 K. iv. 31; cp. 2 Ch. ix. 26). Thus during the reigns of David and Solomon the dominion of Israel actually attained to the full extent both ways of the original promise, the Euphrates forming the boundary of their empire to the north-east, and the river of Egypt (*torrens Aegypti*) to the south-west. This wide-spread dominion was lost before the disruption of the empire under Rehoboam; and no more is heard in Scripture of the Euphrates until the expedition of Necho against the Babylonians in the reign of Josiah. The "great river" had meanwhile served for some time as a boundary between Assyria and the country of the Hittites [see ASSYRIA], but had been repeatedly crossed by the armies of the Ninevite kings, who gradually established their sway over the countries upon its right bank. The crossing of the river was always difficult; and at the point where certain natural facilities fixed the ordinary passage, the strong fort of Carchemish had been built, probably in very early times, to command the position. [CARCHEMISH.] Hence, when Necho determined to attempt the permanent conquest of Syria, his march was directed upon "Carchemish by Euphrates" (2 Ch. xxxv. 20), which he captured and held, thus extending the dominion of Egypt to the Euphrates, and renewing the old glories of the Ramesside kings. His triumph, however, was short-lived. Three years afterwards the Babylonians—who had inherited the Assyrian dominion in these parts —made an expedition under Nebuchadnezzar against Necho, defeated his army, "which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish" (Jer. xlvi. 2), and recovered all Syria and Palestine. Then "the king of Egypt came no more out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt" (2 K. xxiv. 7).

These are the chief events which Scripture distinctly connects with the "great river." It is probably included among the "rivers of Babylon," by the side of which the Jewish captives "remembered Zion" and "wept" (Ps. cxxxvii. 1); and no doubt is glanced at in the threats of Jeremiah against the Chaldaean "waters" and "springs," upon which there is to be a "drought," that shall "dry them up" (Jer. l. 38; li. 26). The fulfilment of these

prophecies has been noticed under the head of CHALDAEA. The river still brings down as much water as of old, but the precious element is wasted by the neglect of man; the various watercourses along which it was in former times conveyed are dry; the same channel had shrunk; and the water stagnates in unwholesome marshes.

In ancient times the Euphrates fell into the sea without first joining the Tigris, as is now the case. When Sennacherib pursued the subjects of Merodach-Baladan to the mouth of the Eulaeus, he had, after sailing out of the Euphrates, quite a long voyage by sea. According to Pliny (*N. H.* vi. 31), the city of Charax, the present Mohammerah, which was built by Alexander the Great, was originally 10 stades distant from the sea; in the age of Juba II. 50 miles, and in his own time 120 miles. Loftus (*Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 282) states that the delta at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris has increased since the beginning of the Christian era, at the rate of a mile in about seventy years. The ancient city of Eridu, now Abu-Shahrein, when first founded stood upon the coast. Between the actual mouth of the Euphrates and the sea, however, lay extensive "salt-marshes," called Marratim in Babylonian, the Merathaim of Jer. l. 21. It was in these marshes that Bit-Yagina, the ancestral capital of Merodach-Baladan, was situated, and it was here that we first hear of his subjects, the Kaldâ or Chaldaeans.

See, for a general account of the Euphrates, Sir G. Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i.; and for the lower course of the stream, cp. Loftus's *Chaldaea and Susiana*. See also Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. Essay ix., and Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, chs. xxi. and xxii. [A. H. S.]

EU-POLEMUS (Εὐπόλεμος), the "son of John, the son of Accos" (Ἀκκώς; cp. Neh. iii. 4, 21, &c.), one of the envoys sent to Rome by Judas Maccabaeus, *c.* B.C. 161 (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. iv. 11; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 6). He has been identified with the historian of the same name (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 17 sq.); but it is by no means clear that the historian was of Jewish descent (Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 23; yet cp. Hieron. *de Vir. Illustr.* p. 38). [B. F. W.]

EURO-CLYDON; R. V. EUR-AQUILO (Εὐροκλύδων; ℵA. Εὐρακύλων; *Euro-aquilo*), the name given (Acts xxvii. 14) to the gale of wind which off the south coast of Crete seized the ship in which St. Paul was ultimately wrecked on the coast of Malta. The circumstances of this gale are described with much particularity; and they admit of abundant illustration from the experience of modern seamen in the Levant. In the first place it came down from the island (κατ' αὐτῆς), and therefore must have blown, more or less, from the northward, since the ship was sailing along the south coast, not far from Mount Ida, and on the way from FAIR HAVENS toward PHOENICE. So Captain Spratt, R.N., after leaving Fair Havens with a light southerly, wind, fell in with "a strong northerly breeze, blowing direct from Mount Ida" (Smith, *Voy. and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1856, pp. 97, 245). Next, the wind is described as being like a typhoon or whirlwind (τυφωνικός, A. V. and R. V. "tempestuous"); and the same authority speaks of such gales in the Levant as being generally "accompanied by terrific gusts and squalls from those high mountains" (Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 1856, ii. 401). It is also observable that the change of wind in the voyage before us (xxvii. 13, 14) is exactly what might have been expected; for Captain J. Stewart, R.N., observes, in his remarks on the Archipelago, that "it is always safe to anchor under the lee of an island with a northerly wind, as it dies away gradually, but it would be extremely dangerous with southerly winds, as they almost invariably shift to a violent northerly wind" (Purdy's *Sailing Directory*, pt. ii. p. 61). The long duration of the gale ("the fourteenth night," *v.* 27), the over-clouded state of the sky ("neither sun nor stars appearing," *v.* 20), and even the heavy rain which concluded the storm (τὸν ὑετόν, xxviii. 2), could easily be matched with parallel instances in modern times (see *Voy. and Shipwreck*, p. 144; *Life and Epp.* ii. 412). We have seen that the wind was more or less northerly. The context gives us full materials for determining its direction with great exactitude. The vessel was driven from the coast of Crete to CLAUDA (xxvii. 16), and apprehension was felt that she would be driven into the African Syrtis (*v.* 17). Combining these two circumstances with the fact that she was less than half-way from Fair Havens to Phoenice when the storm began (*v.* 14), we come to the conclusion that it came from the N.E. or E.N.E. This is quite in harmony with the natural sense of Εὐρακύλων (*Euro-aquilo*, Vulg.), which is found in some of the best MSS., and has been adopted in R. V.; but we are disposed to adhere to the Received Text, more especially as it is the more difficult reading, and the phrase used by St. Luke (ὁ καλούμενος Εὐροκλύδων) seems to point to some peculiar word in use among the sailors. Dean Alford thinks that the true name of the wind was εὐρακύλων, but that the Greek sailors, not understanding the Latin termination, corrupted the word into εὐροκλύδων, and that so St. Luke wrote it. [WINDS.] [J. S. H.] [W.]

EU'TYCHUS (Εὔτυχος; *Eutychus*; Acts xx. 9–11). Sitting in the window of the upper room where St. Paul was preaching, he was overcome by sleep and fell to the ground. He was taken up dead. But after St. Paul had embraced him (like Elisha, 2 K. iv. 34) he said (R. V.), "Make ye no ado; for his life is in him." St. Paul then returned to the upper room, and the story closes with the words, "they brought the lad alive." St. Paul's words, "his life is in him," appear to imply that he had not really expired. But if we accept literally the distinct statement that he was taken up dead, we must suppose that St. Paul means "his life is now in him," as a consequence of what had been done, without implying that it had continued to be in him throughout. It is difficult to interpret the apparent contradiction without unduly straining one of the two phrases. It is clear, however, that the author intends to relate a notable miracle, either of healing or of raising from the dead, otherwise the whole story would be without point. [E. R. B.]

EVANGELIST (εὐαγγελιστής; *evangelista*: Acts xxi. 8; Eph. iv. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 5). The constitution of the apostolic Church included a body of men known as Evangelists. The absence of any detailed account of the organization and practical working of the Church in the 1st century leaves us in some uncertainty as to their functions and position. The meaning of the name, "the publishers of glad tidings," seems common to the work of the Christian ministry generally, yet in Ephes. iv. 11 the εὐαγγελισταί appear on the one hand after the ἀπόστολοι and προφῆται, and on the other before the ποίμενες and διδάσκαλοι. Assuming that the Apostles here, whether limited to the twelve or not, are those who were looked upon as the special delegates and representatives of Christ, and therefore higher than all others in their authority, and that the Prophets were men speaking under the immediate impulse of the Spirit words that were mighty in their effects on men's hearts and consciences, it would follow that the Evangelists had a function subordinate to theirs; yet more conspicuous and so far higher than that of the pastors who watched over a Church that had been founded, and of the teachers who carried on the work of systematic instruction. This passage would accordingly lead us to think of them as standing between the two other groups—sent forth as missionary preachers of the Gospel by the first, and as such preparing the way for the labours of the second. The same inference would seem to follow from the occurrence of the word as applied to Philip in Acts xxi. 8. He had been one of those who had gone everywhere, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον (Acts viii. 4), now in one city, now in another (viii. 40); but he has not the power and authority of an Apostle (see the whole narrative in ch. viii.), he does not speak as a prophet himself, though the gift of prophecy belongs to his four daughters (xxi. 9), and exercises apparently no pastoral superintendence over any portion of the flock. The omission of Evangelists in the text of 1 Cor. xii. may be explained on the hypothesis that the nature of St. Paul's argument led him there to speak of the settled organization of a given local church, which of course presupposed the work of the missionary preacher as already accomplished, while the train of thought in Ephes. iv. 11 brought before his mind all who were in any way instrumental in building up the Church universal. It follows from what has been said that the calling of the Evangelist is expressed by the word κηρύσσειν rather than διδάσκειν, or παρακαλεῖν: it is the proclamation of the glad tidings to those who have not known them, rather than the instruction and pastoral care of those who have believed and have been baptized. And this is also what we gather from 2 Tim. iv. 2–5. Timothy is to "preach the word;" in doing this he is to "do the work of an evangelist." It follows also that the name denotes a *work* rather than an *order*. And hence there are no references to the existence of an *order* bearing this title in any later writers. The word εὐαγγελιστής does not occur in the Apostolic Fathers, nor even in the Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, which recognises a distinction between two kinds of ministers, *missionary* (ἀπόστολοι καὶ προφῆται) and *stationary* (ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι). The Evangelist might or might not be a Bishop-elder or a deacon. The Apostles, so far as they evangelized (Acts viii. 25, xiv. 7; 1 Cor. i. 17), might claim the title, though there were many Evangelists who were not Apostles. "Omnis apostolus evangelista, non omnis evangelista apostolus" (Pelagius). The "brother whose praise was in the Gospel" (2 Cor. viii. 18) may be looked upon as one of St. Paul's companions in this work, and known probably by the same name. In this as in other points connected with the organization of the Church in the apostolic age, but little information is to be gained from later writers. The name was no longer explained by the presence of those to whom it had been specially applied, and came to be variously interpreted. Theodoret (on Ephes. iv. 11) describes the Evangelists—as they have been described above—as travelling missionaries, who περίοντες ἐκήρυττον: Chrysostom, as men who preached the Gospel μὴ περίοντες πανταχοῦ. The two expressions, when taken together, give us the idea of the office very fairly. They were distinguished from the Apostles, to whom they acted as subordinates: "missionary assistants of the Apostles" (Meyer). The account given by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 37), though somewhat rhetorical and vague, gives prominence to the idea of itinerant missionary preaching. Men "do the work of Evangelists, leaving their homes to proclaim Christ, and deliver the written Gospels to those who were ignorant of the faith." The last clause of this description indicates a change in the work which before long affected the meaning of the name. If the Gospel was a written book, and the office of the Evangelist was to read or distribute it, then the writers were κατ' ἐξοχήν THE Evangelists. It is thus accordingly that Eusebius (*l. c.*) speaks of them, though the old meaning of the word (as in *H. E.* v. 10, where he applies it to Pantaenus) is not forgotten by him. Soon this meaning so overshadowed the old that Oecumenius (Estius on Ephes. iv. 11) has no other notion of the Evangelists than as those who have written a Gospel (cp. Harless on Ephes. iv. 11). Augustine, though commonly using the word in this sense, at times remembers its earlier signification (Serm. xciv. and cclxvi.). Ambrosianus (Estius *l. c.*) identifies them with deacons. In later liturgical language the word was applied to the reader of the Gospel for the day (cp. Neander, *Pflanz. u. Leit.*, iii. 5; Hooker, *E. P.* v. ch. lxxviii.; Meyer on Acts xxi. 8: and for the symbolic representations of the Evangelists in the Church, see *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. "Evangelists").

[E. H. P.] [E. C. S. G.]

EVE (חַוָּה, i.e. *Chavvah*, LXX. in Gen. iii. 20, Ζωή, elsewhere Εὔα; *Heva*), the name given in Scripture to the first woman. It is simply a feminine form of the adjective חַי, *living, alive*, which more commonly makes חַיָּה; or it may be regarded as a variation of the noun חַיָּה, which *means life*. The account of Eve's creation is found in Gen. ii. 21, 22. Upon the failure of a companion suitable for Adam among the creatures which were brought to him to be named, the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and took one of his ribs from

him, which he fashioned into a woman, and brought her to the man. Various explanations of this narrative have been offered. Perhaps that which we are chiefly intended to learn from it is the foundation upon which the union between man and wife is built, viz. identity of nature and oneness of origin.

Through the subtlety of the serpent, Eve was beguiled into a violation of the one commandment which had been imposed upon her and Adam. She took of the fruit of the forbidden tree and gave it her husband (cp. 2 Cor. xi. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14). [ADAM.] The different aspects under which Eve regarded her mission as a mother are seen in the names of her sons. At the birth of the first she said, "I have gotten a man from the Lord," or perhaps, "I have gotten a man, *even* the Lord," mistaking him for the Redeemer. When the second was born, finding her hopes frustrated, she named him Abel, or *vanity*. When his brother had slain him, and she again bare a son, she called his name Seth, and the joy of a mother seemed to outweigh the sense of the vanity of life: "For God," said she, "hath appointed ME another seed instead of Abel, for Cain slew him." The Scripture account of Eve closes with the birth of Seth. [S. L.]

EVI (אֵוִי; Εὐί; *Evi, Hevaeus*), one of the five kings or princes of Midian, slain by the Israelites in the war after the matter of Baal-peor, and whose lands were afterwards allotted to Reuben (Num. xxxi. 8; Josh. xiii. 21). [MIDIAN.] [E. S. P.]

EVIDENCE. The term used by the A. V. to describe the document of purchase which Jeremiah (xxxii. 10 *sq.*) signed and sealed upon buying a field at a time when, humanly speaking, such purchase seemed an act of folly. He relied on God's promise (*v.* 15). The R. V. renders "deed." [F.]

EVIL-MERO'DACH (אֱוִיל מְרֹדַךְ; B. Εὐειλμαρωδέκ [2 K.] א. Οὐλαιμαραδάχ; Abyden. Ἀμιλμαρούδοκος; Beros. Εὐειλμαράδουχος; *Evil-merodach*; Bab. *Âmel-Marduk* [= *Âwel-Marduk, -Maruduk*], "Man of Merodach") was, according to Berosus, Abydenus, &c., the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, and came to the throne of Babylonia about 562 B.C. The Second Book of Kings (xxv. 27) and the Book of Jeremiah (lii. 31) relate that in the accession year, or first year of his reign, this king had compassion upon Jehoiachin, king of Judah (whom Nebuchadnezzar had cast into prison thirty-seven years before), released him from his confinement, "spake kindly to him," honoured him above all the vassal-kings at Babylon, and gave him a portion of his table for the rest of his life. As Evil-Merodach only reigned for two years (Abydenus, *Fr.* 9; Berosus, *Fr.* 14), or two years and a few months, according to the tablets dated in his reign, this must have been done by means of a deed drawn up in legal form, such as the words of the passages of Scripture imply, and as was usual in Babylonia at the time, though it is not impossible that Jehoiachin died before his royal master. Evil-Merodach was killed in a rebellion led by his sister's husband, a Babylonian noble named Neriglissar [NERGAL-SHAREZER], who then seized the Babylonian crown. According to Berosus, Evil-Merodach rendered himself odious by his debaucheries and other extravagances, and it is to this that his untimely end was really due. He was a good-natured, though unwarlike and unwise ruler. [T. G. P.]

EVIL SPIRIT. [DEMON.]

EXCELLENCY OF CARMEL, Is. xxxv. 2. The wonderful profusion of flowering shrubs is to Tristram "the grand characteristic of the excellency of Carmel." [CARMEL.] [F.]

EXCELLENT, as applied by A. V. to Theophilus (Luke i. 3) and to Felix (Acts xxiii. 26) in the phrase "most excellent" (ὁ κράτιστος), is usually considered a title or office (cp. "your Excellency"). The R. V. preserves the same English word for the same Greek word when speaking of Felix (Acts xxiv. 3) and Festus (Acts xxvi. 25), where the A. V. uses "noble." [F.]

EXCOMMUNICATION (Ἀφορισμός; *Excommunicatio*). Excommunication is a power founded upon a right inherent in all religious societies, and is analogous to the powers of capital punishment, banishment, and exclusion from membership, which are exercised by political and municipal bodies. If Christianity is merely a philosophical idea thrown into the world to do battle with other theories, and to be valued according as it maintains its ground or not in the conflict of opinions, excommunication, ecclesiastical punishments, and penitential discipline are unreasonable. If a society has been instituted for maintaining any body of doctrine, and any code of morals, they are necessary to the existence of that society. That the Christian Church is an organised polity, a spiritual "Kingdom of God" on earth, is the declaration of the Bible [CHURCH]; and that the Jewish Church was at once a spiritual and a temporal organization is clear.

I. *Jewish Excommunication.* — The Jewish system of excommunication was threefold. For a first offence a delinquent was subjected to the penalty of נִדּוּי (*Niddui*). Maimonides (quoted by Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae*, on 1 Cor. v. 5), Morinus (*de Poenitentia*, iv. 27), and Buxtorf (*Lexicon*, s. v. נִדּוּי) enumerate the twenty-four offences for which it was inflicted. They are various, and range in heinousness from the offence of keeping a fierce dog to that of taking God's name in vain. Elsewhere (*Bab. Moed Katon*, fol. 16, 1) the causes of its infliction are reduced to two, termed money and epicurism, by which is meant debt and wanton insolence. The offender was first cited to appear in court, and if he refused to appear or to make amends, his sentence was pronounced—"Let M, or N, be under excommunication." The excommunicated person was prohibited the use of the bath, or of the razor, or of the convivial table; and all who had to do with him were commanded to keep him at four cubits' distance. He was allowed to go to the Temple, but not to make the circuit in the ordinary manner. The term of this punishment was thirty days; and it was extended to a second, and to a third thirty days when necessary. If at the end of that time the

offender was still contumacious, he was subjected to the second excommunication, termed חֵרֶם (*cherem*), a word meaning something devoted to God (Lev. xxvii. 21, 28; Ex. xxii. 20; Num. xviii. 14). Severer penalties were now attached. The offender was not allowed to teach or to be taught in company with others, to hire or to be hired, nor to perform any commercial transactions beyond purchasing the necessaries of life. The sentence was delivered by a court of ten, and was accompanied by a solemn malediction, for which authority was supposed to be found in the "Curse ye Meroz" of Judg. v. 23. Lastly followed שַׁמָּתָא (*Shammâthâ*), which was an entire cutting off from the congregation. It has been supposed by some that these two latter forms of excommunication were undistinguishable from each other.*

The punishment of excommunication is not appointed by the Law of Moses. It is founded on the natural right of self-protection which all societies enjoy. The case of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Num. xvi.), the curse denounced on Meroz (Judg. v. 23), the commission and proclamation of Ezra (vii. 26, x. 8), and the reformation of Nehemiah (xiii. 25), are appealed to by the Talmudists as precedents by which their proceedings are regulated. In respect to the principle involved, the "cutting off from the people" commanded for certain sins (Ex. xxx. 33, 38, xxxi. 14; Lev. xvii. 4), and the exclusion from the camp denounced on the leprous (Lev. xiii. 46; Num. xii. 14), are more apposite.

In the New Testament, Jewish excommunication is brought prominently before us in the case of the man that was born blind and restored to sight (John ix.). "The Jews had agreed already that if any man did confess that Jesus was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue. Therefore said his parents, He is of age, ask him" (*vv.* 22, 23). "And they cast him out. Jesus heard that they had cast him out" (*vv.* 34, 35). The expressions here used, *ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται—ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω*, appear to refer to the first form of excommunication or *Niddui*. Our Lord warns His disciples that they will have to suffer excommunication at the hands of their countrymen (John xvi. 2); and the fear of it is described as sufficient to prevent persons in a respectable position from acknowledging their belief in Christ (John xii. 42). In Luke vi. 22, it has been thought that our Lord referred specifically to the three forms of Jewish excommunication—"Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company [*ἀφορίσωσιν*], and shall reproach you [*ὀνειδίσωσιν*], and cast out your name as evil [*ἐκβάλωσιν*], for the Son of Man's sake." The three words very accurately express the simple separation, the additional malediction, and the final exclusion of *niddui*, *cherem*, and *shammâthâ*. This verse makes it probable that the three stages were already formally distinguished from each other, though, no doubt, the words appropriate to each are occasionally used inexactly.

* A slightly different view of the three forms of excommunication will be found on p. 128, col. 1. Cp. also Hamburger, *R.E.* s.v. "Bann."—[F.]

II. *Christian Excommunication.*—Excommunication, as exercised by the Christian Church, is founded not merely on the natural right possessed by all societies, not merely on the example of the Jewish Church and nation. It was instituted by our Lord (Matt. xviii. 15, 18), and it was practised by and commanded by St. Paul (1 Tim. i. 20; 1 Cor. v. 11; Tit. iii. 10).

Its Institution.—The passage in St. Matthew has led to much controversy, into which we do not enter. It runs as follows:—"If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Our Lord here recognises and appoints a way in which a member of His Church is to become to his brethren as a heathen man and a publican—*i.e.* be reduced to a state analogous to that of the Jew suffering the penalty of the third form of excommunication. It is to follow on his contempt of the censure of the Church passed on him for a trespass which he has committed. The final excision is to be preceded, as in the case of the Jew, by two warnings.

Apostolic Example.—In the Epistles we find St. Paul frequently claiming the right to exercise discipline over his converts (cp. 2 Cor. i. 23; xiii. 10). In two cases we find him exercising this authority to the extent of cutting off offenders from the Church. One of these is the case of the incestuous Corinthian: "Ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you. For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. v. 2–5). The other case is that of Hymenaeus and Alexander: "Holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck: of whom is Hymenaeus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. i. 19, 20). It seems certain that these persons were excommunicated, the first for immorality, the others for heresy. What is the full meaning of the expression, "deliver unto Satan," is doubtful. All agree that excommunication is contained in it, but whether it implies any further punishment, inflicted by the extraordinary powers committed specially to the Apostles, has been questioned. The strongest argument for the phrase meaning no more than excommunication may be drawn from a comparison of Col. i. 13. Addressing himself to the "saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colosse," St. Paul exhorts

them to "give thanks unto the Father Which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light: Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son: in Whom we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins." The conception of the Apostle here is of men lying in the realm of darkness, and transported from thence into the kingdom of the Son of God, which is the inheritance of the saints in light, by admission into the Church. What he means by the power of darkness is abundantly clear from many other passages in his writings, of which it will be sufficient to quote Ephes. vi. 12: "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Introduction into the Church is therefore, in St. Paul's mind, a translation from the kingdom and power of Satan to the kingdom and government of Christ. This being so, he could hardly more naturally describe the effect of excluding a man from the Church than by the words, "deliver him unto Satan," the idea being, that the man ceasing to be a subject of Christ's kingdom of light, was at once transported back to the kingdom of darkness, and delivered therefore into the power of its ruler, Satan. This interpretation is strongly confirmed by the terms in which St. Paul describes the commission which he received from the Lord Jesus Christ, when he was sent to the Gentiles: "To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Me" (Acts xxvi. 18). Here again the act of being placed in Christ's kingdom, the Church, is pronounced to be a translation from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God. Conversely, to be cast out of the Church would be to be removed from light to darkness, to be withdrawn from God's government, and delivered into the power of Satan (so Balsamon and Zonaras, *in Basil. Can.* 7; Estius, *in* 1 *Cor.* v.; Beveridge, *in Can. Apost.* x.). If, however, the expression means more than excommunication, it would imply the additional exercise of a special apostolical power, similar to that exerted on Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 1), Simon Magus (viii. 20), and Elymas (xiii. 10: so Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Hammond, Grotius, and the elder Lightfoot).

Apostolic Precept.—In addition to the claim to exercise discipline, and its actual exercise in the form of excommunication, by the Apostles, we find apostolic precept directing that discipline should be exercised by the rulers of the Church, and that in some cases excommunication should be resorted to: "If any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed. Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother," writes St. Paul to the Thessalonians (2 Thess. iii. 14). To the Romans: "Mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have heard, and avoid them" (Rom. xvi. 17). To the Galatians: "I would they were even cut off that trouble you" (Gal. v. 12). To Timothy: "If any man teach otherwise, . . . from such withdraw thyself" (1 Tim. vi. 3). To Titus he uses a still stronger expression: "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject" (Tit. iii. 10). St. John instructs the lady to whom he addresses his Second Epistle, not to receive into her house nor bid God speed to any who did not believe in Christ (2 John *v.* 10); and we read that in the case of Cerinthus he acted himself on the precept that he had given (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28). In his Third Epistle he describes Diotrephes, apparently a Judaizing presbyter, "who loved to have the pre-eminence," as "casting out of the Church," *i.e.* refusing Church communion to the stranger brethren who were travelling about preaching to the Gentiles (3 John *v.* 10). In the addresses to the Seven Churches, the angels or rulers of the Church of Pergamos and of Thyatira are rebuked for "suffering" the Nicolaitans and Balaamites "to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols" (Rev. ii. 20). There are two passages still more important to our subject. In the Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul denounces, "Though we, or an Angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed (*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*). As I said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed" (*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*, Gal. i. 8, 9). And in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran-atha" (1 Cor. xvi. 22). It has been supposed that these two expressions, "let him be Anathema," "let him be Anathema Maran-atha," refer respectively to the two later stages of Jewish excommunication—the *cherem* and the *sham-mâthâ*. This requires consideration.

The words *ἀνάθεμα* and *ἀνάθημα* have evidently the same derivation, and originally they bore the same meaning. They express a person or thing set apart, laid up, or devoted. But whereas a thing may be set apart by way of honour or for destruction, the words, like the Latin *sacer* and the English "devoted," came to have opposite senses—*τὸ ἀπηλλοτριωμένον Θεοῦ*, and *τὸ ἀφωρισμένον Θεῷ*. The LXX. and several ecclesiastical writers use the two words almost indiscriminately, but in general the form *ἀνάθημα* is applied to the votive offering (see 2 Macc. ix. 16; Luke xxi. 5; and Chrys. *Hom.* xvi. *in Ep. ad Rom.*), and the form *ἀνάθεμα* to that which is devoted to evil (see Deut. vii. 26; Josh. vi. 17, vii. 13). Thus St. Paul declares that he could wish himself an *ἀνάθεμα* from Christ, if he could thereby save the Jews (Rom. ix. 3). His meaning is that he would be willing to be set apart as a vile thing, to be cast aside and destroyed, if only it could bring about the salvation of his brethren. Hence we see the force of *ἀνάθεμα ἔστω* in Gal. i. 8. "Have nothing to do with him," would be the Apostle's injunction, "but let him be set apart as an evil thing, for God to deal with as he thinks fit." Hammond (*in loc.*) paraphrases it as follows:—"You are to disclaim and renounce all communion with him,

to look on him as on an excommunicated person, under the second degree of excommunication, that none is to have any commerce with in sacred things." Hence it is that *ἀνάθεμα ἔστω* came to be the common expression employed by Councils at the termination of each canon which they enacted, meaning that whoever was disobedient to the canon was to be separated from the communion of the Church and its privileges, and from the favour of God, until he repented (see Bingham, *Ant.* xvi. 2, 16).

The expression '*Ανάθεμα μαραναθά*, as it stands by itself without explanation in 1 Cor. xvi. 22, is so peculiar, that it has tempted a number of ingenious expositions. Parkhurst hesitatingly derives it from קְחֻרָם אַתָּה, "Cursed be thou." But this derivation is not tenable. Buxtorf, Morinus, Hammond, Bingham, and others identify it with the Jewish *shammâthâ*. They do so by translating *shammâthâ*, "The Lord comes." But *shammâthâ* cannot be made to mean "The Lord comes" (see Lightfoot in loco). Several fanciful derivations of it are given by Rabbinical writers, as "There is death," "There is desolation"; but there is no mention by them of such a signification as "The Lord comes." Lightfoot derives it from שָׁמָה, and it probably means a thing excluded or shut out. Maranatha, however peculiar its use in the text may seem to us, is an Aramaic expression, signifying "Our Lord is come" (Chrysostom, Jerome, Estius, Lightfoot), or "Our Lord cometh." If we take the former meaning, we may regard it as giving the reason why the offender was to be anathematized; if the latter, it would either imply that the separation was to be in perpetuity, "donec Dominus redeat" (Augustine), or, more properly, it would be a form of solemn appeal to the day on which the judgment should be ratified by the Lord (cp. Jude, *v.* 14). In any case, it is a strengthened form of the simple *ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*. And thus it may be regarded as holding towards it a similar relation to that which existed between the *shammâthâ* and the *cherem*, but not on any supposed ground of etymological identity between the two words *shammâthâ* and *maran-atha*. Perhaps we ought to interpunctuate more strongly between *ἀνάθεμα* and *μαραναθά*, and read *ἤτω ἀνάθεμα· μαραναθά*, *i.e.* "Let him be anathema. The Lord will come" (cp. R. V. "let him be anathema. Maranatha"—explained as meaning "our Lord cometh"). The *anathema* and the *cherem* answer very exactly to each other (see Lev. xxvii. 28; Num. xxi. 3; Is. xliii. 28).

Restoration to Communion.—Two cases of excommunication are related in Holy Scripture; and in one of them the restitution of the offender is specially recounted. The incestuous Corinthian had been excommunicated by the authority of St. Paul, who had issued his sentence from a distance without any consultation with the Corinthians. He had required them publicly to promulgate it and to act upon it. They had done so. The offender had been brought to repentance, and was overwhelmed with grief. Hereupon St. Paul, still absent as before, forbids the further infliction of the punishment, pronounces the forgiveness of the penitent, and exhorts the Corinthians to receive him back to communion, and to confirm their love towards him.

The Nature of Excommunication is made more evident by these acts of St. Paul than by any investigation of Jewish practice or of the etymology of words. We thus find, (1) that it is a spiritual penalty, involving no temporal punishment, except accidentally; (2) that it consists in separation from the communion of the Church; (3) that its object is the good of the sufferer (1 Cor. v. 5), and the protection of the sound members of the Church (2 Tim. iii. 17); (4) that its subjects are those who are guilty of heresy (1 Tim. i. 20), or gross immorality (1 Cor. v. 1); (5) that it is inflicted by the authority of the Church at large (Matt. xviii. 18), wielded by the highest ecclesiastical officer (1 Cor. v. 3; Tit. iii. 10); (6) that this officer's sentence is promulgated by the congregation to which the offender belongs (1 Cor. v. 4), in deference to his superior judgment and command (2 Cor. ii. 9), and in spite of any opposition on the part of a minority (*v.* 6); (7) that the exclusion may be of indefinite duration, or for a period; (8) that its duration may be abridged at the discretion and by the indulgence of the person who has imposed the penalty (*v.* 8); (9) that penitence is the condition on which restoration to communion is granted (*v.* 7); (10) that the sentence is to be publicly reversed as it was publicly promulgated (*v.* 10).

Practice of Excommunication in the Post-Apostolic Church.—The first step was an admonition to the offender, repeated once, or even more than once, in accordance with St. Paul's precept (Tit. iii. 10. See *Apostol. Constitutions*, ii. 37–39; S. Ambr. *De Offic.* ii. 27; Prosper, *De Vit. Contempl.* ii. 7; Synesius, *Ep.* lviii.). If this did not reclaim him, it was succeeded by the Lesser Excommunication (*ἀφορισμός*), by which he was excluded from the participation of the Eucharist, and was shut out from the Communion-service, although admitted to what was called the Service of the Catechumens (see Theodoret, *Ep.* lxxvii. *ad Eulal.*). Thirdly followed the Greater Excommunication or Anathema (*παντελὴς ἀφορισμός*, *ἀνάθεμα*), by which the offender was debarred, not only from the Eucharist, but from taking part in all religious acts in any assembly of the Church, and from the company of the faithful in the ordinary concerns of life. In case of submission, offenders were received back to communion by going through the four stages of public penance, in which they were termed, (1) *προσκλαίοντες*, *flentes*, or weepers; (2) *ἀκροώμενοι*, *audientes*, or hearers; (3) *ὑποπίπτοντες*, *substrati*, or kneelers; (4) *συνεστῶτες*, *consistentes*, or co-standers; after which they were restored to communion by absolution, accompanied by imposition of hands. To trace out this branch of the subject more minutely would carry us beyond our legitimate sphere. Reference may be made to Suicer's *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, s. vv. *πρόσκλαυσις*, *ἀκρόασις*, *ὑπόπτωσις*, *σύστασις*.

References.—Tertullian, *De Poenitentia*, Op. i. 139, Lutet. 1634; S. Ambrose, *De Poenitentia*, Paris, 1686; Morinus, *De Poenitentia*, Antv. 1682; Hammond, *Power of the Keys*, Works, i. 406, Lond. 1684; Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium*, iii. 4, 2, Lond. 1852; Selden, *De jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Hebraeorum*, Lips. 1695; Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae*, *On* 1 *Cor.* v. 5, Works, ii. 746, Lond. 1634; Bingham,

Antiquities of the Christian Church, Books xvi. xviii., Lond. 1875; Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, Ven. 1789; Marshall, *Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church*, Oxf. 1844; Thorndike, *The Church's Power of Excommunication, as found in Scripture*, Works, vi. 21 (see also i. 55, ii. 157), Oxf. 1856; Waterland, *No Communion with Impugners of Fundamentals*, Works, iii. 456, Oxf. 1843; Augusti, *Denkwurdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, Leipz. 1817; Hey, *Lectures in Divinity, On Art. XXXIII.*, Camb. 1822; Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, ii. 224, Lond. 1842; Harold Browne, *Exposition of the Articles, On Art. XXXIII.*, Lond. 1863. [F. M.]

EXECUTIONER (טַבָּח); *σπεκουλάτωρ*). The Hebrew *tabbach* describes in the first instance the general office of one of the body-guard of a monarch; and, in the second place, the special office of an executioner as belonging to that guard (cp. Delitzsch, *Genesis* [1887], in loco). Thus Potiphar was "captain of the executioners" (Gen. xxxvii. 36; see margin), and had his official residence at the public gaol (Gen. xl. 3). Nebuzaradan (2 K. xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9) and Arioch (Dan. ii. 14) held the same office. That the "captain of the guard" himself occasionally performed the duty of an executioner appears from 1 K. ii. 25, 34. The post was one of high dignity, and something beyond the present position of the *zâbit* of modern Egypt (cp. Lane, i. 163), with which Wilkinson (ii. 45 [1878]) compares it. It is still not unusual for officers of high rank to inflict corporal punishment with their own hands (Wilkinson, ii. 43). The LXX. takes the word in its original sense (cp. 1 Sam. ix. 23), and terms Potiphar *chief-cook*, *ἀρχιμάγειρος*.

The Greek *σπεκουλάτωρ* (Mark vi. 27) is borrowed from the Latin *speculator*; originally a military spy or scout, but under the emperors transferred to the *body-guard*, from the vigilance which their office demanded (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11; Suet. *Claud.* 35). [W. L. B.] [F.]

EXILE. [Captivity; Dispersion.]

EX'ODUS (Ἔξοδος: called by the Jews, from its opening words, וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, or more briefly שְׁמוֹת, its usual name), the Second Book of the Pentateuch, carrying on the narrative of the history and antiquities of the Israelitish nation [see Genesis] from the death of Joseph to the beginning of the second year after the Exodus from Egypt (xl. 1, 17).

I. *Contents.*

§ 1. (i.) Chs. i.–xii. Events leading to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, viz.: *a.* The increase of Jacob's posterity in Egypt, and their oppression under a new king, who paid no heed to the memory of Joseph (ch. i.); *b.* The birth and education of Moses, and his flight from Egypt into the land of Midian (ch. ii.); *c.* The call and commission of Moses to be the deliverer of his people (iii. 1–iv. 26), and preliminary negotiations with the Israelites and Pharaoh (iv. 27–vii. 7); *d.* The series of signs and wonders by means of which the deliverance from Egypt was at length effected, and the institution of the Passover (vii. 8–xii. 51).

(ii.) Chs. xiii. 1–xix. 2. The journey of the Israelites from Rameses to Sinai: *a.* The march to the Red Sea, the passage through it, and Moses' song of triumph on the occasion (xii. 37–xv. 21); *b.* The journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, with particulars of the bitter waters of Marah (xv. 23–6), the giving of quails and manna, and the observance of the Sabbath (ch. xvi.), the miraculous supply of water at Rephidim, and the conflict with Amalek at the same time (ch. xvii.), the meeting with Jethro and the advice given by him to Moses (ch. xviii.).

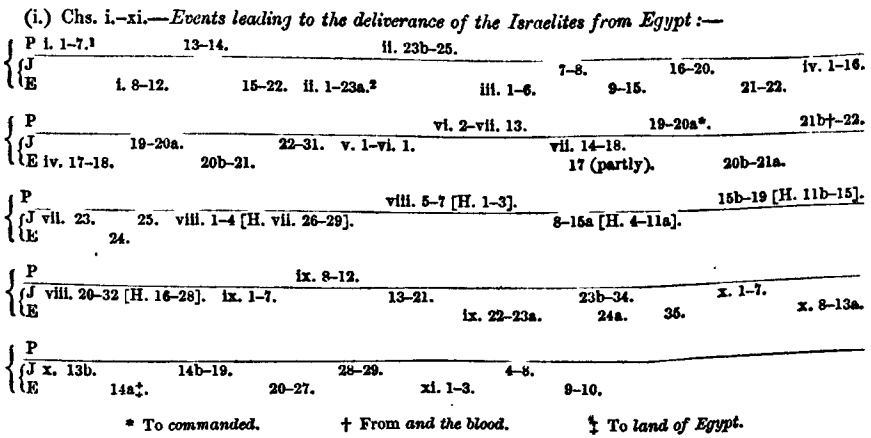
(iii.) Chs. xix. 3–xl. 38. Events during the first part of the sojourn at Sinai, viz.: *a.* The solemn establishment of the Theocracy (see xix. 5–8, xxiv. 3–8), on the basis (*α*) of the Ten Commandments (xx. 1–17); (*β*) of a code of laws (xx. 23–xxiii. 33), regulating the social life and religious observances of the people (xix. 3–xxiv. 11); *b.* The giving of instructions to Moses on Mount Sinai, for the construction of the Tabernacle, with the vessels and furniture belonging to it, for the consecration of Aaron and his sons as priests, the selection of Bezaleel and Oholiab to execute the skilled work that was necessary, and the delivery to Moses of the two tables of the Law (xxiv. 12–xxxi. 18); *c.* The incident of the golden calf, Moses' intercession for the people, and the renewal of the covenant (xxxii.–xxxiv.); *d.* The construction of the Tabernacle, in its various parts, in accordance with the directions prescribed in chs. xxv.–xxxi., and its erection (xl. 17) on the first day of the second year of the Exodus (xxxv.–xl.): the consecration of the priests in accordance with the injunctions laid down in ch. xxix. is not related till Lev. viii.; some other omissions in xxxv.–xl., as compared with xxv.–xxxi., will be noticed in § 14. In the course of the history, it will be observed, different legislative enactments are interspersed (see, besides the passages that have been specified, chs. xii., xiii., and xxxi. 12–17): the relation of these to one another, and to the narratives with which they are connected, will appear subsequently.

II. *Structure and Authorship.*

§ 2. The Book of Exodus is a continuation of the narrative of Genesis, and presents the same structural peculiarities. The same two contrasted narratives, the priestly (P) and the prophetical (JE), appear still side by side, each displaying the same phraseological criteria, and each marked by the same differences of representation and style. Referring to the article Genesis[a] for an account of the main characteristics of these sources, we proceed to analyse the narrative of Exodus upon the same principles. The interest of P, it will be observed, lies chiefly in the ceremonial institutions of the theocracy, which are described by him at length (xxv.–xxxi., xxxv.–xl.): the parts contributed by him in Exodus, prior to ch. xxv., form an introductory sketch of the main features of the history, constructed upon a similar scale and plan to that adopted in Genesis, and explained in the article on that Book.

[a] And especially to § 12 on the analysis of JE. It is not the intention of the following Tables to represent this in every detail as final.

(i.) Chs. i.–xi.—*Events leading to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt*:—



* To *commanded*. † From *and the blood*. ‡ To *land of Egypt*.

[1] Here, i. 1–5 repeats the substance of Gen. xlvi. 8–27, as is sometimes done by P at the beginning of a new stage of the narrative (cp. Gen. i. 27 sq. with v. 1 sq.; v. 32 with vi. 10; xi. 27 with xi. 26; Num. iii. 2–4 with Ex. vi. 23, Lev. x. 1 sq.

[2] So Jülicher [see § 16]. Dillmann gives *vv.* 15–23a to J, arguing chiefly from the name *Reuel*, for which in ch. xviii. 2 (E) we have *Jethro*. But, as Jül. remarks, the name Reuel may be here a later insertion: had it originally stood in the narrative, it would have appeared naturally in *v.* 16, rather than in *v.* 18.

§ 3. The grounds of the preceding analysis are particularly evident in the account of the negotiations of Moses with Pharaoh, and in the narrative of the Plagues. Both are marked, namely, by a series of *systematic* differences, pervading the narrative from beginning to end. Thus in the former, the section vi. 2–vii. 13, as seems clear, is not in reality the *sequel* of iii. 1–vi. 1, but is *parallel to it*. Chs. iii. 1–vi. 1 (disregarding, for the present, iv. 17, 18, 20b–21) describe the call and commission of Moses, the appointment of Aaron to be his representative *with the people* (iii. 16; iv. 1, 16), and three signs given to him for the satisfaction of the people: Moses and Aaron have satisfied the people (iv. 31), but the application to Pharaoh has been unsuccessful, and something further is threatened. The continuation of vi. 1, however, is vii. 14; with vi. 2 there begins evidently another account of Moses' call, in which, *unlike* iv. 31, the people refuse to listen to the promises conveyed to them (vi. 9), and in which, Moses protesting his inability to plead* with *Pharaoh* (not, as before, with *the people*), Aaron is appointed to be his spokesman *with him* (vi. 11, 12, 29, 30; vii. 1, 2). The case of Pharaoh's requiring a guarantee is provided for: Aaron's rod is to be thrown down that it may become a reptile (תנין, not נחש, *a serpent*, as iv. 4), vii. 8 f. Pharaoh's heart, however, is hardened, and the narrative at vii. 13 reaches just the same point as vi. 1. Thus vi. 2–8 is parallel to iii. 6–9, 14, 15; vi. 12b=30 to iv. 10; vii. 1 to iv. 16; vii. 4 f. to iii. 19 f., vi. 1. Corresponding to these material differences, others of expression and style mark each narrative throughout.

§ 4. The principal differences between the two narratives of the Plagues may be arranged as follows: each, it will be noticed, while differing from the other, exhibits several traits connecting it *with the corresponding narrative* in chs. iii.–vii. 9. In one narrative (P) Aaron *co-operates* with Moses, and the command is *Say unto Aaron* . . . . (vii. 19, viii. 5 [Heb. 1], 16 [Heb. 12]; so before, vii. 9: even ix. 8, where Moses acts, both are expressly addressed): no demand is ever made of Pharaoh; the sequel is told briefly, usually within the compass of one or two verses; the success or failure of the Egyptian magicians is noted: the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is expressed by חזק (*was strong*, or *made strong*, R. V. marg.), vii. 22, viii. 19 (Heb. 15), ix. 12 (so vii. 13), and the concluding formula is *And he hearkened not unto them as the* LORD *had spoken* (vii. 22, viii. 15b [Heb. 11b], 19 [Heb. 15], ix. 12; so vii. 13).

In the other narrative (JE), on the contrary, Moses alone, without Aaron, is commissioned to go to Pharaoh: he addresses Pharaoh himself (in agreement with iv. 10–16, where Aaron is appointed to be his spokesman *with the people*): a formal demand is regularly made, *Let my people go that they may serve me* (vii. 16, viii. 1 [Heb. vii. 26], ix. 1, 13; x. 3; so before, in the same narrative, iv. 23, v. 1); upon Pharaoh's refusing, the plague is announced, and takes effect without further human intervention (viii. 24 [Heb. 20], ix. 6), or at a signal given by Moses, not by Aaron (vii. 20, ix. 22 sq., x. 12 sq., 22); the interview with Pharaoh is prolonged, and described in some detail; and the term used to express the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is not חזק, but כבד, הכביד, *to be* or *to make heavy* (vii. 14, viii. 15 [Heb. 11], 32 [Heb. 28], ix. 7, 34, x. 1; see R. V. marg.). The style of the narrative generally is more picturesque and varied than that of P; it is marked by recurring phrases, which are, however, different from those of P, as *Thus saith the Lord*, said regularly to Pharaoh; *Behold*, with the participle, in the announcement of the plague, *Thou, thy people, and thy servants*; the expression *God of the*

* If Pharaoh, as in the present narrative (ch. v), had already refused to hear Moses, the different, *à priori* ground alleged in vi. 12 for his hesitation (a ground, moreover, inconsistent with iv. 31) is difficult to understand.

Hebrews (vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3, as before, iii. 18, v. 3), and several others which the careful reader will note for himself.

§ 5. Examining JE more particularly, we observe that the main narrative is J, with traces of E.

The reasons for supposing it to be not entirely homogeneous may be stated briefly thus. (i.) The verses iv. 17, 20b–21 stand in no relation to their context; iv. 17 speaks of "*the signs*" to be performed with the rod, whereas only *one* sign to be so performed has been described in *vv.* 1–9: iv. 21 mentions similarly wonders to be done before *Pharaoh*, whereas *vv.* 1–9 speak only of credentials for the satisfaction of the *people*. The verses read, in fact, like fragments from another narrative, which once of course contained the explanations which are now missing, and to which either *v.* 18 or *v.* 19 doubtless also belonged (for in the existing narrative *both* are not required, or, at least, *v.* 19 should *precede v.* 18). (ii.) It is observed that in some of the plagues the effect is not brought about immediately by God (as *e.g.* ix. 6), but Moses, as here directed, *uses his rod* (vii. 17, 20b; ix. 23; x. 13). It is difficult now not to connect these passages with iv. 17, 20b–21, and to suppose them to have been derived by the compiler from the same source. Many critics are of opinion that other traits in the narrative, especially some which when viewed carefully seem to be redundant, are derived likewise from E. One or two examples (ix. 24a, 35; x. 14a) have been introduced into the Table; but the criteria are slight, and may not be decisive. It is wiser, therefore, to adopt this opinion, if at all, with reserve.

§ 6. (ii.) Chs. xii.–xix. 2.—*Departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and Journey to Sinai*:—

P	xii. 1–20.			28.				37a.			40–51.	xiii. 1–2.	
J			xii. 29–30.[1]										
		xii. 21–27.											
E							xii. 31–36.[2]			37b–39.			
P				20.		xiv.[4] 1–4.			8–9.			15–18.	
J	xiii. 3–16.[3]				21–22.			5–7.		10–14.			19–20.
E			17–19.										
P	xiv. 21a.*		21c,* 22–23.			26–27a.†		28–29.				(xv. 19.)	
J		21b.			24–25.		27b.		30–31.				
E										xv. 1–18.[5]			20–21.
P		xvi.[6] 1–3.		6–24.		31–36. xvii. 1a‡.						xix. 1–2a.§	
J			4–5.		25–30.			xvii. 1b–2.		7.			
E	xv. 22–27.								3–6.	8–16.	xviii.[7]		xix. 2b.

* The words: "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the waters were divided."
† To *over the sea*. ‡ To *Rephidim*. § To *wilderness*.

[1] Cp. xi. 6, 8 (J).

[2] With *v.* 31b cp. iii. 12, x. 8, 11; with *v.* 32, x. 9, 24 (E).

[3] This section, as it stands, is generally considered to be the work of the compiler of JE, earlier material, however, being incorporated by him, e.g. *vv.* 6, 7, 12, 13.

[4] The analysis of ch. xiv. is that of Nöldeke, Dillmann (except in one or two clauses), and Kuenen, which appears to the writer to be more probable than that of Wellh., who assigns to E part of what is here attributed to P. The parts ascribed to P, if examined carefully, will be found to presuppose one another, and to be connected together by many similarities of expression, in some cases agreeing with those elsewhere belonging to P (*e.g.* חזק, *to harden*, of the heart). The parts assigned to J exhibit possible traces of the use of E (e.g. *vv.* 7, 10b [cp. Josh. xxiv. 7, E], 16, "Lift up thy *rod*," 19a [cp. Gen. xxi. 17; xxxi. 11]); but the two sources, if both have been employed, are here so fused, that nothing more definite can be affirmed with confidence.

[5] The *Song* is of course incorporated by the narrator from an earlier source, perhaps from a collection of national poems. Its general style is antique; and in the main it is, no doubt, Mosaic: but it appears towards the end to have undergone some expansion or modification of form at a later age; for *v.* 13 ("Thou *hast guided them* to Thy holy habitation") clearly describes a past event, and *v.* 17b points to some *fixed* abode of the ark, such as the temple at Shiloh (1 Sam. i. 9). *V.* 19 appears to be a redactional addition, reverting, in terms borrowed from P (see xiv. 23, 26, 29), to the occasion of the Song.

[6] In ch. xvi. *vv.* 4 and 5, on material even more than phraseological grounds, must have their source in a different current of narrative from *v.* 6 sq.; for in *vv.* 6, 7 (*evening* and *morning*, in agreement with *vv.* 8, 12, *flesh* at evening, and *bread* at morning) the communication made to the people differs in its terms from that stated in *vv.* 4, 5 (*bread* alone) to have been given to Moses; and *vv.* 25–30 agree with *vv.* 4, 5. In the text of P, it is remarkable that the instructions to Moses to convey the promise of food to the people (*vv.* 11, 12) *follow* the account of the actual delivery of the message, *vv.* 6–8: if it might be assumed that a transposition had taken place, and that the original order was *vv.* 1–3, 9–12, 6–8, 13, &c., the consecution of the narrative would be improved. *Man* in *v.* 15 is strange: in the sense of "What?" *man* is a secondary, contracted form, confined to particular *Aramaic* dialects (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 68; Wright, *Compar. Gramm. of the Semitic Languages*, p. 125).

[7] An historically interesting chapter (see *vv.* 15 sq., 19 sq.), universally assigned to E.

§ 7. In chs. xii. and xiii. the double treatment is discernible without difficulty. Notice in P, xii. 1–13[b] (Passover); 14–20 (Unleavened Cakes); 28, 37a, 40–42, 51 (narrative); 43–50 (Passover—supplemental); xiii. 1 sq. (Firstborn),[c] 20: in JE, xii. 21–7 (Passover); 29–36, 37b, 38 (narrative—continuation of xi. 4–8); 39; xiii. 3–10 (Unleavened Cakes); 11–16 (Firstborn). The connexion between the different parts of each narrative is observable, not merely in technical details, but also in general style and tone. The Passover was *followed* by the Feast of *Mazzoth*; but the two are in their origin distinct, and are treated accordingly, especially in JE. The *Passover* commemorates the sparing

[b] In xii. 14 "this day" is the first day of *Mazzoth* (Unleavened Cakes), not the Passover: cp. Lev. xxiii. 6.

[c] In P this injunction is here isolated: the full explanation is first given in Num. iii. 12 sq.; viii. 16–19.

of the Israelites (xii. 13, 27), the *Feast of Mazzoth* the morning of the Exodus (xiii. 3–10; so xii. 17, xxiii. 15), being brought into connexion with the circumstance that through the haste with which the Hebrews left Egypt they were obliged to bake for themselves unleavened cakes on the morrow (xii. 34, 39); the *dedication of the Firstborn* (xiii. 11–16) is made a memorial of the slaughter of the firstborn of the Egyptians (xii. 29 sq.).

Ch. xii. 21–27 cannot be the original sequel to *vv.* 1–13. The verses do not describe the *execution* of the commands enjoined, *vv.* 1–13: Moses does not repeat to the people, even in an abridged form, the injunctions that he has received; on the contrary, several important points (*e.g.* the character of the lamb, and the manner in which it was to be eaten) are omitted; and *fresh* points (the hyssop, the basin, none to leave the house) are mentioned respecting which the instructions just given to him are silent. It seems clear that *vv.* 21–27 are really part of a *different* account of the institution of the Passover, which "stands to xii. 3–13 in the same relation that the *Mazzoth*-ordinance in xiii. 3–10 stands to that in xii. 14–20" (Dillm. p. 100). *Vv.* 25–27 resemble strongly xiii. 3–16 (see *vv.* 5, 8, 10, 14 sq.), and are no doubt to be referred to the same source, *i.e.* either J (Dillm.), or the compiler of JE expanding materials derived from J (so Wellh., at least for xiii. 3–16).

If the different laws respecting these feasts be compared, the simplest will be seen to be those in Ex. xxiii. 15, 18; then come those of JE in chs. xii., xiii., and xxxiv. 18–20, 23–25; then Deut. xvi.; lastly, the injunctions of P in Ex. xii. In chs. xii. and xiii. it may be noticed: (1) Passover and Mazzoth are more clearly distinguished in JE than in P; (2) in JE greater stress is laid on their relation with the history and commemorative import; (3) the provisions in P are far more definite and strict than in JE (*e.g.* xii. 15b, 16, 18, 19b, and the whole of *vv.* 43–49). It is remarked by Delitzsch that the greater specialization of the ordinances in P creates a strong presumption that they were codified later (*Studien*, vii. pp. 340, 342).

§ 8. (iii.) Chs. xix. 3–xl.—*Israel at Sinai*:—

P			xx. 22–xxiii. 33.	
J	xix. 20–25.			
E	xix. 3–19.[1]	xx. 1–21.		xxiv. (1–2).
P		xxiv. 15–18a.*	xxv. 1–xxxi. 18a.†	
J	xxiv. 3–8.			
E	(9–11). 12–14.	18b.		xxxi. 18b. xxxii. 1–8.
P				xxxiv. 29–35. xxxv.–xl.
J	xxxii. 9–14.		xxxiii. 12–xxxiv. 28.	
E	15–29, 30–xxxiii. 6 (in the main), 7–11.			

* To *cloud*. † To *testimony*.

[1] So Wellh., Dillm.; but admitting that *vv.* 3–8, the "classical expression in the O. T. of the nature and scope of the theocratic covenant," has been amplified by the compiler of JE, perhaps (Dillm.) with elements derived from J. The sequence of the chapter is in many places imperfect, an indication that it has been formed by a combination of different sources. Thus the natural sequel of *v.* 3, *went up*, would be not *v.* 7, *came*, but *v.* 14, *went down*: *v.* 9b is superfluous after *v.* 8b (if, indeed, it be more than a repetition of it, introduced by a clerical error); *v.* 13b is obscure, and not explained by anything which follows [the "trumpet" of *vv.* 16, 19 is not the "ram's-horn" of this verse]. In the latter part of the chapter, *vv.* 20–25 manifestly interrupt the connexion: *v.* 20 is a repetition of *v.* 18a ("descended"), and *v.* 21 of *v.* 12; *v.* 25, "and *said* [וַיֹּאמֶר] *unto* them" (not, "and *told* them") should be followed by the words reported, and is entirely disconnected with xx. 1: on the other hand, xx. 1 is the natural continuation of xix. 19. Clearly, *two* parallel narratives of the theophany on Sinai have been combined together: though it is no longer possible to determine throughout the precise limits of each (see the attempt of Jülicher, pp. 306 sq.). Ch. xix. 20–25 is generally assigned to J: Kuenen regards these verses, together with *v.* 13b, xxiv. 1–2, 9–11 (which similarly interrupt the connexion in ch. xxiv.), as standing by themselves, and forming part of a *third* independent narrative of the occurrences at Sinai.

[2] Chs. xxv. 1–xxxi. 18a contain P's account of the instructions given for the construction of the Tabernacle, &c., the sequel following in chs. xxxv.–xl., which describe how these instructions were carried out. On some questions arising out of these sections of P, see below, §§ 13, 14.

§ 9. In chs. xix. 2b–xxiv. (after separating xxiv. 15–18a, which belongs to P, and is the introduction to ch. xxv.) there are *two* narratives of the occurrences at Sinai, one attached to the *Decalogue*, the other to the "*Book of the Covenant*" (i.e. the laws xx. 22–xxiii. 33; see xxiv. 7). The Decalogue, with the narratives attached to it, is generally allowed to belong to E: the Book of the Covenant is considered by Wellhausen (*Comp.* p. 90) to have formed part of J; but Kuenen (§ 8. 12, 18), Dillmann (p. 220), Jülicher (p. 305), assign it to E, though it is doubtful whether the grounds alleged are decisive. The principal grounds for the separation in ch. xix. have been stated in § 8, note [1]. In xx. 1, 19, 20, 21, notice *God* (not *Jehovah*), as in xix. 3, 17, 19. The sequel to the "Book of the Covenant" is evidently xxiv. 3–8. Ch. xxiv. 12–14, 18b, on the contrary, form a natural continuation of xx. 18–21: the "elders" in *v.* 14 cannot well be the seventy mentioned in *v.* 9 (among whom disputes are not likely to have arisen during Moses' absence), but the elders of the people generally, named as the people's representatives: Moses goes up into the mountain to receive, not merely the tables of stone, but also instruction of a more general kind ("the law and the commandment"), enabling him to speak to the people instead of God, and in accordance with the request, xx. 19 (cp. Deut. v. 27–31). The intermediate verses (xxiv. 1, 2, 9–11) are of uncertain origin. Possibly they are to be regarded as *introductory* to *v.* 12 sq., and assigned to E; possibly they form, with xix. 13b, 20–25 (see § 8, note [1]), part of an independent narrative, of which only fragments have been preserved.

§ 10. The Decalogue, it need hardly be said,

is not the *composition* of E, but is merely incorporated by him in his narrative. It is repeated, as is well known, in Deut. v. 6–21, where, though it is introduced formally (*vv.* 5, 22) as a verbal quotation, it presents in fact considerable differences, especially in the fourth, fifth, and tenth commandments, from the text of Exodus. The variations are manifestly due to the author of Deuteronomy, whose style and characteristic thought they mostly exhibit.[d] It is the opinion, however, of many critics,[e] based in part upon the fact of this varying text, that the primitive form of the Decalogue was not that in which it appears now even in Exodus; but that originally it consisted merely of the Commandments themselves, all expressed with the same terseness exhibited still by the first, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, and that the explanatory comments appended in the case of the others were only added subsequently (probably by the compiler of JE). These comments, in the case of Ex. xx. 10b, 12, bear a singular resemblance to the style of Deuteronomy; so that, unless (as has been supposed) they can have been introduced here from Deuteronomy itself, they must be regarded as belonging to the class of passages in Exodus indicated in DEUTERONOMY, § 34, as being the source of *some* of the expressions which in their entirety give to Deuteronomy its peculiar and distinctive colouring (*ib.* § 36). The case of Ex. xx. 11, however (which is not found in Deuteronomy), is somewhat different. Not only does this verse form no model for the style of Deuteronomy, but it is alien in style to JE; while on the other hand it resembles closely two passages of P, Ex. xxxi. 17b, Gen. ii. 2b: hence, as it is not perhaps very probable that it would have been *omitted* when the Decalogue was incorporated in Deuteronomy, had it already formed part of it, the conjecture is not an unreasonable one that it was introduced into the text of Exodus, after Deuteronomy was written, on the basis of the two passages of P just referred to.

§ 11. The laws contained in the "Book of the Covenant" (xx. 22–xxiii. 33) comprise two elements (xxiv. 3), the "words" (or commands) and the "judgments:" the latter, expressed all hypothetically, occupy xxi. 1–xxii. 17 (Heb. 16), 25a (24a), 26 (25), xxiii. 4 sq.; the former occupy the rest of the section to xxiii. 19: what follows, xxiii. 20 sq., annexing a *promise* in case of obedience, imparts, as Wellh. observes, to the preceeding law-book the character of a "covenant" (cp. xxiv. 7). The laws themselves are taken naturally from a pre-existing source, in most cases (as it seems) without alteration of form, though most critics are of opinion that here and there slight parenetic additions have been made by the compiler: for instance, xxii. 21b–22 (observe in *v.* 23 [Heb. 22] *him, he, his* in the Hebrew, pointing back to the *sing.* "sojourner" in *v.* 21); perhaps also in xxiii. 23–25a. The verses xxiii. 4 sq. will hardly be in their original position, for the context (on both sides) relates to a different matter, viz. just judgment.

The laws are designed to regulate the life of a community living under simple conditions of society, and devoted chiefly to *agriculture*. After some introductory directions respecting the erection of altars xx. 24–26, there follow the משפטים (xxi. 1), embodying in its main principles the civil and criminal law of the ancient Hebrews, and (xxiii. 14 sq.) certain *elementary* religious observances. Slavery, murder and manslaughter, manstealing, injuries to life or limb, injuries caused by culpable neglect (as by permitting an unruly animal to be at large, or opening a pit negligently), theft, burglary, damage caused by straying animals or fire to a neighbour's field, neglect in the care of deposits and loans, seduction, witchcraft, idolatry (xxii. 20), usury and pledges, veracity in matters affecting a neighbour's character, and impartiality in judgment (xxiii. 1–3, 6–9) are, in outline, the subjects dealt with in the code: intermixed (xxii. 21, 22–24, 29–31; xxiii. 4, 5) or appended (xxiii. 9, 10–12, 14–19) are precepts touching various religious and moral duties (as oppression of strangers or of others unable to protect themselves, the offering of firstlings and first-fruits, the prohibition to eat טרפה; the injunction xxiii. 4 sq. not to refuse help to an *enemy* in his need, the sacred seasons —viz. the Sabbatical year and the Sabbath [of both of which the scope, as here defined, is a *philanthropic* one], the three annual pilgrimages). The character of the society for the use of which the code is designed, is evident from the conditions of life which it presupposes, and the cases which it contemplates as likely to arise: notice, for instance, the frequency with which the ox, the sheep, and the ass are mentioned—they form even the typical example of the "deposit," xxii. 9, 10—and the allusions to agricultural life in xxi. 33 sq., xxii. 5, 6, xxiii. 10 sq., 16. The only forms of punishment prescribed are retaliation and pecuniary compensation. Definite rights are secured to the slave. Women do not enjoy the same social equality with men. The *Gêr*, or sojourner, living under the protection of a family or the community, has no legal status, but he must not be oppressed.[f] It is interesting to compare the Laws of the Twelve Tables, or the Laws of Solon (preserved in Plutarch, *Vit. Solonis*), which in many respects presuppose a similar condition of society. In what way this code (with additions not of course to be neglected) is made the basis of the later legislation of Deuteronomy (chs. xii.–xxvi.) has been shown in the article on that Book.

§ 12. The sequel of JE's narrative in chs. xix.–xxiv. is xxxi. 18b–xxxiv. 28, comprising the

[d] Thus with "observé," Deut. v. 12 (for "remember"), cp. Deut. xvi. 1; with "as the LORD thy God commanded thee," *vv.* 12, 16, xx. 17, xxiv. 8, xxvi. 18; with *v.* 14b, xiv. 29, xv. 10; with the motive of gratitude in *v.* 15 (which takes the place of the reference in Exodus to the Creation), xv. 15, xvi. 11, 12, xxiv. 18, 22; with the addition in *v.* 16b, v. 29 [Heb. 26], vi. 18, xii. 25, 28, xxii. 7.

[e] Ewald, *History*, ii. 159; *Speaker's Comm.* i. p. 336; Dillm. p. 201.

[f] Cp. W. R. Smith, *O. T. J. C.*, p. 336 sq. Notice in xxi. 6, xxii. 8 sq. [Heb. 7 sq.], the archaic conception of God being the direct source of law: cp. xviii. 16b (where Moses' judicial decisions on points submitted to him are termed "the statutes and laws of God"), and 1 Sam. ii. 25, with the writer's note *ad loc.*

narrative of the Golden Calf and incidents arising out of it. Ch. xxxii. as a whole may be assigned plausibly to E, only *vv.* 11–13 being somewhat unlike E's usual style and manner, and having been perhaps expanded by the compiler of JE (cp. Gen. xxii. 16–18, to which in *v.* 13 allusion is made). Chs. xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 1–6 exhibit traces of a double narrative—in *v.* 5b, for instance, the people are commanded to do what they have already done (*v.* 4b)—which confirms the *primâ facie* view that *vv.* 5a, 6 are doublets of *vv.* 3b, 4b. The complication is recognised by critics,[g] but no generally accepted analysis of the entire passage has been effected.

Ch. xxxiii. 7–11 is an interesting passage, which, as the *tenses* in the original show,[h] describes throughout Moses' *habitual* practice (*v.* 7, "used to take and pitch," &c.). In its original connexion it is not improbable that it was preceded by an account of the construction of the "Tent of Meeting," and of the Ark,[i] of which the Tent was to be the depository, which, it may be conjectured, was the purpose for which the ornaments, *vv.* 4–6, were employed: when the narrative was combined with that of P, this part of it was probably omitted on the ground that it was no longer needed by the side of the fuller description in chs. xxv., xxxv.,[j] &c.

Chs. xxxiii. 12–xxxiv. 9 form a continuous whole; as it is difficult to determine whether it belongs definitely to J or to the compiler of JE, it is printed in the Table in the line *between* the J and the E lines. Ch. xxxiv. 10–26[k] introduces the terms of the covenant, *v.* 27: it agrees substantially, often even verbally, with the theocratic section of the "Book of the Covenant" (xxiii. 10 sq.), the essential conditions of which appear to be repeated here, with some enlargement (especially in the warning against idolatry, *vv.* 12–17), as the terms on which the *renewal* of the covenant is granted.

The structure of JE's narrative in chs. xix.–xxiv., xxxii.–xxxiv. is complicated. The narrative appears indeed to exhibit unambiguous marks of composition; but when the attempt is made to distribute it in detail between the different narrators, the criteria are frequently indecisive; and it is possible to frame more than one hypothesis which will account, at least apparently, for the facts. Similarly the relation of the Code xxxiv. 10 sq. to the very similar Code in xxiii. 10 sq. is not perfectly evident, and may be differently explained. Wellhausen, Dillmann, Jülicher, and Kuenen have displayed in their treatment of the subject surprising ability and acuteness: but beyond a certain point their conclusions diverge; and even the most plausible cannot claim to be more than a *possible* interpretation of the facts. The writer has accordingly made no attempt to do more than indicate the broad and patent lines of demarcation which occur in the narrative. In all probability it reached its present form by a series of stages, which can no longer be wholly disengaged with certainty.[l]

§ 13. We may now revert to chs. xxv.–xxxi. 18a, which contain P's account of the instructions given to Moses respecting the Tabernacle and the priesthood. The instructions fall into two parts, chs. xxv.–xxix and chs. xxx.–xxxi. The contents of chs. xxv.–xxix. relate to (1) the vessels of the Sanctuary (ch. xxv.); (2) the Tabernacle, its curtains, boards, Veil, and Screen at the entrance (ch. xxvi.); (3) the Court round the Tabernacle, containing the Altar of Burnt-offering (ch. xxvii.); (4) the vestments (ch. xxviii.) and rite of consecration (xxix. 1–37) of the priests; (5) the daily Burnt-offering, the maintenance of which is a primary duty of the priesthood (xxix. 38–42), followed by what appears to be the close of the entire body of instructions (xxix. 43–46), in which Jehovah promises to bless the sanctuary thus established with His abiding presence. Chs. xxx.–xxxi. relate to (1) the Altar of Incense (xxx. 1–10); (2) the maintenance of public service (xxx. 11–16); (3) the Brazen Laver (xxx. 17–21); (4) the holy Anointing Oil (xxx. 22–33); (5) the Incense (xxx. 34–38); (6) the nomination of Bezaleel and Oholiab (xxxi. 1–11); (7) the observance of the Sabbath (xxxi. 12–17).

A critical question of some difficulty here arises in connexion with the relation of chs. xxx.–xxxi. to chs. xxv.–xxix. It is surprising to find the *Altar of Incense*, which from its importance might have seemed to demand a place in ch. xxv. (among the other vessels of the Tabernacle), mentioned for the first time in xxx. 1–10, where the directions respecting the essential parts of the Tabernacle are seemingly complete (ch. xxix. 44–46): even in xxvi. 34 sq. (where the position of the vessels of the Sanctuary is defined) it is not named. Moreover, whereas in Ex. xxx. 10 an annual rite to be observed in connexion with it is enjoined, in the ceremony for the day of atonement, described in detail in Lev. xvi., no notice of such a rite is to be found, and only one altar, the Altar of Burnt-offering, is mentioned throughout the chapter. Further, a number of passages occur in which the Altar of Burnt-offering is described as "*the* altar," implying, apparently, that there was no other (*e.g.* chs. xxvii.–xxix.; Lev. i.–iii., v.–vi., viii., ix., xvi.). It is argued,[m] on these grounds, that the original legislation of P mentioned no Altar of Incense (incense being only offered on *censers*, Lev. xvi. 12, &c.), and that both this and other passages in which it is spoken of (xxx. 27, xxxi. 8, xxxv. 15, xxxvii. 25, xxxix. 38, xl. 5, 26; Lev. iv. 7, 18; Num. iv. 11), or which term "*the* Altar" of xxvii. 1, &c., as though for distinction, "the Altar of Burnt-offering" (as xxx. 28, xxxi. 9, xxxv. 16, xxxviii. 1, xl. 6, 10, 29; Lev. iv.), or "the Brazen Altar" (xxxviii. 30, xxxix. 39), belong to a secondary and posterior stratum of P. The other subjects treated in chs. xxx.–xxxi. (above, 2–7) are either such as would naturally find

[g] *E.g.* Kuenen, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1881, p. 210.

[h] Imperfects, interchanging with perfects and the *waw* consecutive. See the writer's *Hebrew Tenses*, §§ 120, 121, or Ges.-Kautzsch,[28] § 112, 3, a (a).

[i] See Deut. x. 1, the terms of which presuppose the omission of something in the existing text of Exodus (cp. DEUTERONOMY, § 10).

[k] Sometimes called, in contradistinction to chs. xxi.–xxiii., the "Little Book of the Covenant," or the "Words (see *v.* 27) of the Covenant."

[l] See further on this subject Wellh. *Comp.* pp. 83 sq., 327 sq.; Dillm. *Comm.* pp. 189 sq., 331 sq.; Jülicher, *JPTh.* 1882, pp. 295 sq.; C. G. Montefiore, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1891, pp. 276–291.

[m] Wellh. *Comp.* pp. 137 sq.; Kuenen, *Hex.* § 6. 13.

place in an Appendix, or (remarkably enough) occasion difficulties similar to those arising out of the mention of the Altar of Incense. Thus in xxix. 7, Lev. viii. 12, the ceremony of anointing is confined to the chief priest (Aaron); in xxx. 30 it is extended to the ordinary priests (his "sons"). The same extension recurs in xxviii. 41, xl. 15; Lev. vii. 36, x. 7; Num. iii. 3. That the ceremony was limited originally to Aaron seems, however, to be confirmed by the title "the *Anointed* Priest" applied to the chief priest (Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, vi. 22 [Heb. 15]: cp. Ex. xxix. 29 sq.; Lev. xvi. 32, xxi. 10, 12; Num. xxxv. 25), which, if the priests generally were anointed, would be destitute of any distinctive significance.

These arguments are undoubtedly forcible. It is true, the use of the term "the Altar" for the Altar of Burnt-offering might in itself be explained by the supposition that it was so styled *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, in passages where there was no danger of confusion with any other altar; but in order to be properly estimated, the usage must of course be viewed in connexion with the other circumstances referred to. In considering the argument based on the silence of Lev. xvi., Delitzsch (*Studien*, iii. p. 117) admits that "were Lev. xvi. silent as to the Altar of Incense, the distinction drawn by Wellhausen between two strata of P would be established:" he contends, however, that this altar is alluded to in *v.* 18. Dillmann, on the contrary (with Oehler, Keil, &c.), considers—as it seems, justly—that the *order* of the ceremonial in Lev. xvi. 16b–18 supports the view that the Altar of Burnt-offering (outside the Tabernacle) is referred to in *v.* 18: admitting thus that the Altar of Incense is not alluded to, he is obliged to own that at least Ex. xxx. 10 is an addition to the original law, designed for the purpose of supplementing Lev. xvi. 16b. But, even with this concession, it remains that, whatever be the explanation,[n] in the body of instructions contained in Ex. xxv.–xxxi. the Altar of Incense *holds a secondary place*.

The extension of the ceremony of anointing to the ordinary priests is allowed by Dillmann (pp. 463 sq.) to be evidence that the passages so mentioning it are of secondary origin, unless, with Kurtz, it could be assumed that the rite alluded to is the sprinkling with oil and blood noticed in Ex. xxix. 21, Lev. viii. 30, which, however, is not termed "anointing," and is subsequent to the anointing proper (Ex. xxix. 7; Lev. viii. 12). It is doubtful, therefore, whether this explanation is admissible; and in his final discussion of the sources of the Pent. (*NDJ.* p. 635), Dillmann himself implicitly rejects it, for he remarks there that the entire section xxx. 17–38 (together with xxxi. 7–11) appears to be a later insertion. The section on the *Sabbath* (xxxi. 12–17), as has been frequently remarked (*e.g.* by Delitzsch, *Studien*, xii. p. 622), has in *vv.* 13–14a affinities with the Code (the "Law of Holiness") of which extracts have been preserved in Lev. xvii.–xxvi.; and the inference is probably a just one, that that Code is the ultimate source of the verses referred to.[o]

§ 14. Chs. xxxv.–xl. form the sequel to chs. xxv.–xxxi., narrating the execution of the instructions there communicated to Moses. Much is repeated *verbatim*, with the simple change of future tenses into past: there are, however, a few cases of omission or abridgment, and the *order* is different. The change of order is in most cases intelligible. The injunction respecting the Sabbath, which stands last in the instructions, occupies here the first place (xxxv. 1–3). Next follow the presentation of offerings by the people, and the appointment of Bezaleel and Oholiab to superintend the work (xxxv. 4–xxxvi. 7). In the account of the execution of the work, the Tabernacle stands first (xxxvi. 8–38); then follow the sacred vessels to be placed in it (ch. xxxvii.), the Altar and Laver with the Court surrounding them (xxxviii. 1–20), and particulars of the amount of metal employed (xxxviii. 21–31). The Sanctuary being thus completed, the dress of the Priests is prepared (xxxix. 1–31), and the entire work delivered to Moses (xxxix. 32–43.) Finally, ch. xl. narrates how the Tabernacle was erected, and its various vessels arranged in order. The Altar of Incense and the Brazen Laver, it will be noticed, which appear in the *Appendix* to chs. xxv.–xxix (viz. in ch. xxx.), are here mentioned in accordance with the place which they properly hold (viz. xxxvii. 25–28; xxxviii. 8). A few unimportant verses (as xxv. 15, 22, 40) are not repeated at all; some other notices (as xxv. 16, 21, 30, 37b), chiefly relating to the *position* of the various vessels named, are not repeated in their corresponding place, but transferred (in substance) to xl. 17–33; the only material omissions are the notices of the Urim and Thummim (xxviii. 30), the Consecration of Priests (xxix. 1–37), which is deferred till Lev. viii., the oil for the lamps (xxvii. 20 sq.), and the Daily Burnt-offering (xxix. 38–42), for the repetition of which there would scarcely be occasion. The principal instance of abridgment is xxxvii. 29, where the sections dealing with the Anointing Oil and the Incense (xxx. 22–33, 34–38) are merely referred to briefly. In ch. xxxix., as compared with ch. xxxvi., some other cases may also be noticed.

These chapters, like ch. xxx. sq., are treated by Wellhausen and Kuenen as belonging to a secondary stratum of P. If the secondary nature of ch. xxx. sq. be admitted, this conclusion will indeed follow of necessity: in chs. xxxv.–xxxix. the notices referring to ch. xxxi. sq. are introduced *in their proper order*, and ch. xl. alludes to the Altar of Incense: chs. xxxv.–xl. thus presuppose chs. xxx.–xxxi. as well as chs. xxv.–xxix. There are also other grounds, peculiar to these chapters, thought to point in the same direction, for which it must suffice to refer to Kuenen's carefully written note (*Hex.* § 6. 15).[p]

[n] Dillmann suggests that it may have been partly due to the writer's historic consciousness that the Altar of Incense did not form part of the original idea of a Tabernacle, as the Table, Candlestick, and Altar of Burnt-offering did: Del. supposes that the Divine idea of the Tabernacle took shape gradually in the legislator's mind, and that the need of an Incense-Altar was only realised by him after the plan of the Tabernacle as a whole (chs. xxv.–xxix) had been completed.

[o] See LEVITICUS; or the writer's *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.* (1891), pp. 43 sq., 54.

[p] *E.g.*, ch. xxxviii. 24–28, besides presupposing (in the figure 603,550) the census of Num. i., appears to imply a misunderstanding of xxx. 11–16, as though the contribution imposed there for the *maintenance* of the service of the Sanctuary were designed to meet the cost of its construction.

Dillmann, though in *EL.* p. 354 sq. he had expressed himself in a different sense, in his final review of the contents of P (*NDJ.* p. 635) adopts virtually the same opinion, supposing the original nucleus of the six chapters to have been limited to xxxv. 1–3, 4–5, 20 sq.; xxxvi. 2–6; xl. 1 sq., 34–38, and considering the rest (which presupposes chs. xxv.–xxxi. in its present form) to be of later origin.

As soon as the Priest's Code is examined with sufficient minuteness, the question of its *stratification*—i.e. the question whether all its parts are perfectly consistent, and belong to the same stage of Hebrew legislation—forces itself upon the reader's attention; though the problem which thus arises can hardly be said to have been as yet adequately grappled with.

§ 15. The *text* of Exodus, with but few exceptions, appears to be free from corruptions. The question of the origin and probable date of the sources of which it is composed will be considered under the article PENTATEUCH, where also their most characteristic literary features will be noticed. The "Egyptianisms," it perhaps need hardly be remarked, which Canon Cook affects to discover in the Book,[q] and which Canon Rawlinson accepts as well-established fact,[r] are purely imaginary: the language is as genuinely Hebrew as the language of Samuel or Isaiah; and the few words of foreign origin which it exhibits (except, of course, certain proper names) are simply such as were naturalized in Hebrew, just as words like *paradise* or *palanquin* are naturalized among ourselves.

§ 16. LITERATURE.—The Commentaries of Dillmann and Keil on the Pentateuch, mentioned under GENESIS, and of M. M. Kalisch (London, 1855); the critical works of Nöldeke (*Untersuchungen*), Wellhausen (*Die Comp. des Hex.*; especially pp. 63–100, 136–151, 323–333), Kuenen, and Kittel, mentioned *ib.*

Special Monographs.—Julius Popper, *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte* [on chs. xxv.–xxxi.; xxxv.–xl.], 1862; A. Kuenen, "Bijdragen tot de critiek van Pent. en Josua," in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1880, pp. 281–302 [on ch. xvi.; cp. Wellhausen's criticisms in the *Nachträge* to *Die Compos. des Hex. u.s.w.* (1889), pp. 323–27], 1881, pp. 164–223 [an endeavour to solve the problem presented by chs. xix.–xxiv., xxxii.–xxxiv.; cp. Wellh. *ib.*, pp. 327 sq.];—F. Delitzsch, in the *Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1880, pp. 113 sq. (the Incense-altar), pp. 337 sq. (the Passover); 1882, pp. 281 sq. (the Decalogue);—Lemme, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Dekalogs*, Breslau, 1880;—Ad. Jülicher, *Die Quellen von Exodus* i.–vii. 7, Halis Saxonum, 1880; and *Die Quellen von Exodus* vii. 8–xxiv. 11, in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1882, pp. 79–127, 272–315;—C. A. Briggs, "The Little Book of the Covenant" [Ex. xxxiv. 11–26], in the *Hebrew Student* (Chicago), May 1883, pp. 264–72; "The Greater Book of the Covenant" [Ex. xx. 22–xxiii.], *ib.*, June 1883, pp. 289–303];—W. H. Green, *The Hebrew Feasts*, London, 1886, especially pp. 83 sq. [on ch. xii.]; and in *Hebraica* (Chicago), 1886, pp. 1–12;—W. R. Harper, *ib.*, 1889, pp. 25 sq.; 1890, pp. 241 sq.;—W. H. Green, *ib.*, 1891, p. 104 sq.; B. W. Bacon, "JE in the Middle Books of the Pent." in *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* 1890, pp. 161–200. [S. R. D.]

EXODUS, THE. The object of this article is to describe the Exodus chiefly in its geographical aspect, and to give the results arrived at in the latest researches on this great event. The chronology and history will be only shortly referred to, having been treated more fully in other articles.

1. *Date.*—The date of the Exodus is discussed under CHRONOLOGY. Most Egyptologists consider that this great event took place under Menephthah, the son of Rameses II., and that it was facilitated by the troubles which beset the beginning of Menephthah's reign, especially by the invasion of Mediterranean nations which threatened his throne. Lepsius puts the Exodus in the year 1314 B.C. The date most commonly adopted is 1312; but it varies according to the views taken of Egyptian chronology. Lately, Dr. Mahler of Vienna, explaining the plague of darkness as a solar eclipse, has fixed the 27th of March, 1335 B.C., as the day and year of the Exodus. It would thus fall, not in the reign of Menephthah, but under Rameses II., whose reign the Viennese astronomer has calculated to have lasted from 1347 to 1280 B.C. If we adopt Dr. Mahler's calculation as to the Exodus, it raises a considerable historical difficulty, for it is hardly possible to admit that the Hebrews should have left Egypt at the beginning of the reign of Rameses II., when the king was at the pinnacle of his might and power (cp. *PSBA.* xii. 167 sq., xiii. 439 sq.).

2. *History.*—The Exodus is a great turning-point in Biblical history. With it the Patriarchal dispensation ends and the Law begins, and with it the Israelites cease to be a family and become a nation. It is therefore important to observe how the previous history led up to this event. The advancement of Joseph, and the placing of his kinsmen in what was to a pastoral people "the best of the land," favoured the multiplying of the Israelites, and the preservation of their nationality. The subsequent persecution bound them more firmly together, and at the same time loosened the hold that Egypt had gained upon them. It was thus that the Israelites were ready when Moses declared his mission to go forth as one man from the land of their bondage.

The history of the Exodus itself commences with the close of that of the Ten Plagues. [PLAGUES OF EGYPT.] In the night in which, at midnight, the firstborn were slain (Ex. xii. 29), Pharaoh urged the departure of the Israelites (*vv.* 31, 32). They at once set forth from Rameses (*vv.* 37, 39), apparently during the night (*v.* 42), but towards morning, on the 15th day of the first month (Num. xxxiii. 3). They made three journeys and encamped by the Red Sea. Here the vanguard of Pharaoh's army, his chariots and horses, overtook them, and the great miracle occurred by which they were saved.

3. *Geography.*—The determination of the route taken by the Israelites when they left Egypt is a difficult and much discussed question, on which, however, recent excavations have thrown some light. The Hebrews were settled in the land of Goshen, which originally was the region

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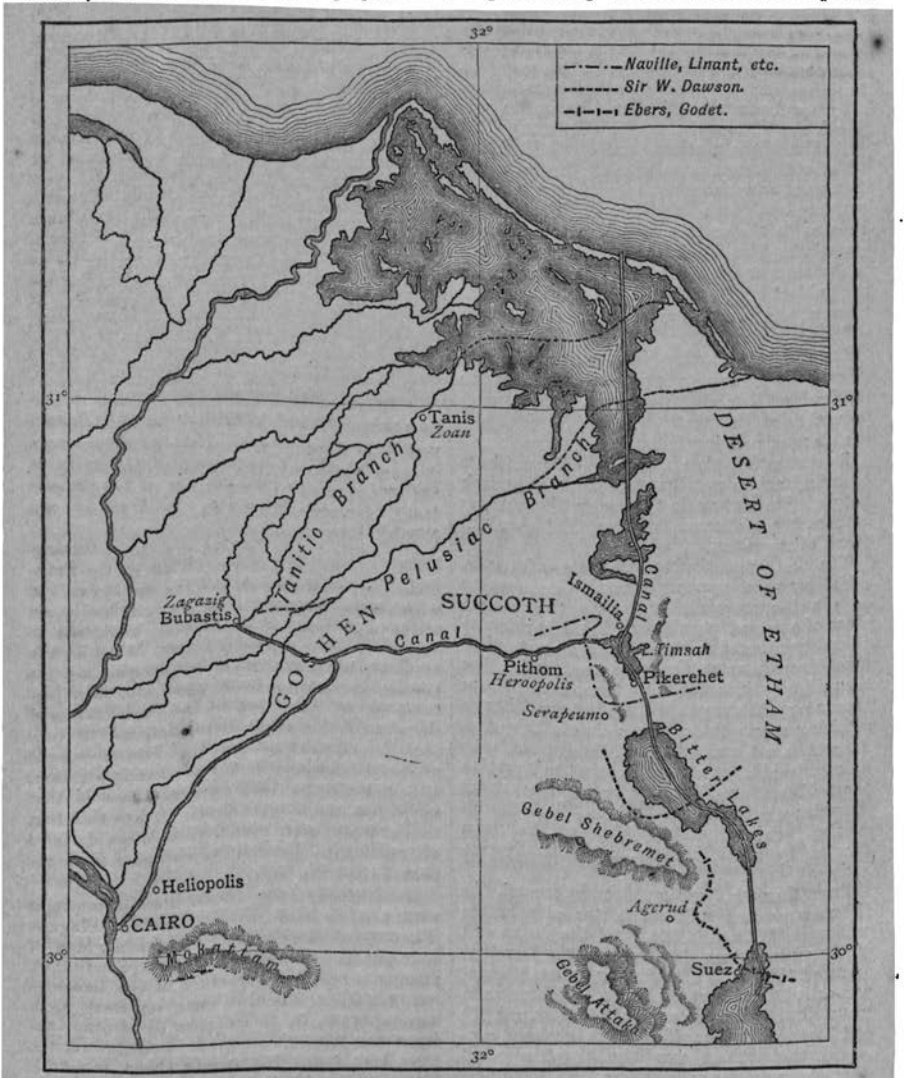
q *Speaker's Comm.* i. pp. 244, 488 sq. (where there are, besides, many inaccuracies and misstatements).

r *O. T. Commentary*, edited by Bishop Ellicott, i. p. 139 b.

between the present towns of Belbeis, Zagazig, and the site called Tell el-Kebir, and belonged to the nome of Heliopolis. When the people increased in number, they extended north towards Tanis (Zoan), south towards Heliopolis, and east in the Wâdy Tumeilât [GOSHEN]. They carried with them the name "land of Goshen," which applied to all the territory in which they were settled; but the centre, Goshen proper, was the region originally assigned to them, also called "land of Rameses." It contained the city of Rameses, the site of which has not yet been identified. It is from there that they started; there, between Tell el-Kebir and Zagazig, was their place of meeting, to which flocked the people scattered north and south towards Tanis and Heliopolis. We do not know where the king was living when those events took place;



Map to illustrate the Exodus.

it has generally been admitted that it was at Tanis, but it may have been at Bubastis, a much nearer locality, which was then a city of great importance, and a favourite residence of the Pharaohs.

In going to the land of Canaan they had the choice between two roads. One went through Tanis and crossed the Pelusiac branch of the Nile at the place now called Kantarah; soon afterwards it reached the coast of the Mediterranean, and from there the frontiers of the Philistines. This road is called in Scripture (Ex. xiii. 17) "the way of the land of the Philistines," which the Hebrews were to avoid, for they would have had to conquer or to march round important strongholds and cities occupied by large garrisons which would have imperilled considerably their journey. This statement,

"God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near" (Ex. xiii. 17), would alone be sufficient to refute the opinion of Schleiden (*Die Landenge von Suês*), who considers the יָם סוּף, *Yam Suph*, as being not the Red Sea, but Lake Serbonis, on the coast of the Mediterranean; and who makes the Hebrews follow a track of sand between the lake and the sea.

The other route, through which Moses led the people, followed the valley now called Wâdy Tumeilât, and reached the desert near the present town of Ismailia. It was on this way that Jacob had arrived several hundred years before, since we know that the place where he met Joseph was Pithom-Heroopolis. [PITHOM.] This road skirted the northern end of the Red Sea, which at that time extended much further north than now, comprising not only the Bitter Lakes, but very likely also Lake Timsah. The opinions differ as to the exact spot where the Hebrews crossed the Yam Suph, the "sea of reeds;" but the scholars and travellers who have dealt with the subject lately, agree on one point, that the place of the crossing must be looked for north of Suez.

Rameses, the starting-place, must not be considered the name of a city, but as referring to the land of Rameses. [RAMESES.] It is more natural to suppose that the camping-ground and the place of meeting for a large multitude was a district rather than a city, which could have contained only a small portion of the departing people. From there to the border of the desert of Etham the distance to be travelled over was about thirty miles.

The first station after Rameses was Succoth, a Hebrew word meaning "tents." It seems to be a well-appropriated name for the resting-place of a nomad population; but as it refers to a locality situated in Egypt, it is more natural to take Succoth as an Egyptian word which has been slightly distorted in its form, so as to have a meaning in the language of the Hebrews, though retaining nearly the same sound as in Egyptian. Succoth is not a city, it is a district, and may be considered as an altered form of the Egyptian name *Thuket* or *Thukut*, a region the capital of which was the city of Pithom. This identification, proposed first by Brugsch, has been adopted by Ebers, Lieblein, and other Egyptologists.

From Succoth, pushing straightforward, the Hebrews reached "Etham in the edge of the wilderness" (Ex. xiii. 20). All the desert east of the present Suez Canal, where the Israelites marched three days after having crossed the sea, was called the desert of Etham. This name is transcribed by the Septuagint Ὀθώμ (Ex. xiii. 20) and Βουθάν (Num. xxxiii. 6). It has been suggested that Etham was the Egyptian word *χetem*, meaning "an enclosure," "a fort," and that it referred either to the fortified wall which the Pharaohs raised in the isthmus in order to be protected against invasions of the Asiatic nomads (Ebers, *Gosen*, p. 522), or to some stronghold of which we cannot fix exactly the site (Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 646; Knobel-Dillmann on Exod. xiv. 2). This etymology seems doubtful, for the reason that the Hebrew language has also the root חָתַם, with the same sense; and it is not easy to understand why the Hebrews should have modified the word as if it had been strange to them, while they had it in their own language in the same form, and with the same meaning. Etham can also be compared to the region of *Atuma* or *Atima*, mentioned several times in the papyri as bordering on Egypt, and inhabited by nomad shepherds (Naville, *Pithom*, p. 28).

Following the Wâdy Tumeilât, along the canal dug by Rameses II., parallel in its direction to the present Freshwater Canal, the Hebrews had reached the wilderness, with the intention of taking a desert route, the entrance of which is still to be recognised, when they received a command which at first sight seemed to throw them entirely out of their way (Ex. xiv. 2, R. V.): "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn back and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-zephon: over against it shall ye encamp by the sea."

By this command they were compelled, after having perhaps retraced their steps for a short way, to make a right angle, and to march south, so as to put the sea between themselves and the desert. The place where they were to camp is pointed out minutely, the neighbouring localities being indicated as landmarks; but the sites can only be determined by conjecture, and the identifications proposed differ considerably. For the expression לִפְנֵי פִּיהַחִירֹת, "before Pi-hahiroth," the Septuagint have the following translations: *ἀπέναντι τῆς ἐπαύλεως* (Ex. xiv. 2, 9), *ἐπὶ στόμα Εἰρώθ* (Num. xxxiii. 7; see Swete's text), *ἀπέναντι Εἰρώθ* (*v.* 8). Here again several interpretations have been suggested. Jablonski proposes the Coptic ⲡⲓ ⲁϫⲓ ⲣⲱⲧ, "the place where sedge grows," which would correspond to the localities called at present Ghuweybet-el-boos, "the bed of reeds." This etymology has been adopted by Ebers, while Brugsch has advocated another translation derived from Semitic roots: "the entrance of the caverns or of the pits," *βάραθρα* (*Dict. Géog.* p. 97). It is also possible that Pi-hahiroth should only be a modified form of *Pi kerehet, the house of the serpent*, the name of a sanctuary of Osiris belonging to the nome of Pithom, and nearer the sea. [PI-HAHIROTH.]

We know with certainty that there was a city of Migdol, Μάγδωλον (Jer. xliv. 1, xlvi. 14; Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6), on the north-eastern frontier of the land, the present Tell es Semut, twelve miles from Pelusium according to the Itinerary of Antoninus; but the name mentioned here clearly refers to another place. The word *maktar* or *maktal* exists also in the Egyptian language, with a fortified wall as determinative, and it means, as in Hebrew, "a tower." We know of a "tower of Seti I.;" and there must have been many watch-towers in Egypt, especially on the border, just as in Italy there are a great number of "Torre." Baal-zephon is a place where the Semitic god Baal was worshipped. The name is formed like Baal-Gad, Baal-Hamon. According to Philo, Zaphon was the Phoenician name for the North wind. Baal-zephon, mentioned in a papyrus as *Baal Zapuna*, would thus be Baal of the North, or the North wind, and might be located, according to Tischendorf and Ebers, on one of the heights overhanging the Red Sea. The name being Semitic, it is natural

to look for the site on the eastern side of the sea, opposite the camp,—ἐξεναντίας, according to the Septuagint.

From the scanty information we possess of these localities, different roads have been proposed for the crossing of the sea. Ebers makes the Israelites change their course near the present city of Ismailia, and march south along the Bitter Lakes nearly as far as Suez. Pi-hahiroth is for him the ruined castle of Agerud, about ten miles north-west of Suez. Migdol is near the present Shaloof el Terraba, on the east side of the present canal; and Baal-zephon the summit of Mount Atakah, south of Suez, towering over the Red Sea, and visible from a great distance. The Hebrews would have crossed in the lagoons which are immediately north of Suez. It is the most southern route proposed, and advocated also by Professor Godet (*Bibl. annotée*, p. 415). An objection to which it is open, is the very long march which the Hebrews would have had to make when they turned round at Etham, in order to reach their new camp at Pi-hahiroth.

Sir W. Dawson, who explored the place in 1883, has come to the following conclusion (*Modern Science in Bible Lands*, p. 389):—"After somewhat careful examination of the country, I believe that only one place can be found to satisfy the conditions of the Mosaic narrative; namely, the south part of the Bitter Lake, between station Fayid on the railway and station Geneffeh. Near this place are some inconsiderable ancient ruins, and flats covered with *Arundo* and *Scirpus*, which may represent Pi-hahiroth. On the west is the very conspicuous peak known as Jebel Shebremet, more than 500 feet high (Migdol), commanding a very wide prospect, and forming a most conspicuous object to the traveller approaching from the north. Opposite, in the Arabian desert, rises the prominent northern point of the Jebel er-Rabah, marked on the maps as Jebel Maksheih, and which may have been the Baal-zephon of Moses. Here there is also a basin-like plain, suitable for an encampment, and at its north side the foot of Jebel Shebremet juts out so as to form a narrow pass, easy of defence. Here also the Bitter Lake narrows, and its shallower part begins, and a north-east wind, combined with a low tide, would produce the greatest possible effect in lowering the water."

The route which is advocated by the author of this article, and which seems to him to agree with the results of the excavations in the Delta, as well as with the Biblical narrative, is the more northern one, between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah. The Israelites, arriving near the present city of Ismailia, receive the order to turn to the south and to march along the sea as far as a place where the sea was narrow, the water shallow, and where there was a watch-tower (Migdol), which is supposed to have been on the hill where many centuries afterwards Darius erected a stele, and which has been called by the French engineers the Serapeum. Pi-hahiroth would be the Egyptian city of Pikerehet, a sanctuary of Osiris, which is represented now by the ruins situate at the place where the canal issues out of Lake Timsah, at the foot of Gebel Miriam. Baal-zephon would be a sanctuary on a hill, on the other side of the sea, an isolated place of worship, like the so-called *sheikhs* of the present day. This view, which is that of Linant, who derives it chiefly from geological arguments, has been adopted by Lieblein, Poole, and by the author of the Suez Canal, Lesseps.

The route of the Exodus has called forth a great number of books and papers, the latest of which are: Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinaï*, 2nd ed.; Linant, *Mémoire sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique exécutés en Égypte*, p. 137 sq.; Lieblein, *Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere;* Sir W. Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, p. 43 sq.; *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, p. 382 sq.; Naville, *The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, 3rd ed. [Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund]. [E. N.]

EXORCIST (ἐξορκιστής; *exorcista*). The word exorcist occurs only once in the Bible (Acts xix. 13), and is then employed as a designation of persons who professed to cast out evil spirits by exorcising them, *i.e.* by adjuring them by some potent name or spell, to come out of those whom they possessed (ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, Acts, *l. c.*; cp. ἐξορκώσεις, ὁρκόω; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, § 5). The cognate verb (ἐξορκίζω) is found once in the N. T. and once in the LXX. Version of the O. T.; but in both of these places it is used in its classical sense of administering an oath to a person, or charging him with an oath, and as a synonym of the simple verb (ὁρκίζω) in the same sense (cp. Matt. xxvi. 63, with Mark v. 7; Gen. xxiv. 3, Heb. אַשְׁבִּיעֲךָ, "I will make thee swear," with *v.* 37; Demosth. 1265–6. See also 1 Thess. v. 27, where ἐνορκίζω is the generally accepted reading).

The use of the word "exorcists" in the passage from the Acts, as a recognised description of certain "strolling Jews," confirms what we know from other sources as to the practice of exorcism among the Jews. The only example of anything at all resembling the practice in the O. T., though as regards the means employed it is not properly an exorcism, is the familiar instance of David playing on his harp before Saul, when "an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him" (1 Sam. xvi. 14). The effect of David's playing is said to have been that "Saul was refreshed and was well, *and the evil spirit departed from him*" (*v.* 23). The way in which both the malady and its cure are spoken of by the servants of Saul (*v.* 16) shows that the idea of demoniacal possession and of deliverance from it was familiar to the Jews of that day. Passing to the N. T., we find our Lord Himself recognising not only the prevalence, but in some cases at least the efficacy, of exorcism among the Jews of His own day. When the nature of the charge brought against Him by the Pharisees, and the circumstances under which it was brought, are taken into account, it is impossible to regard His question to them, "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your disciples (*υἱοί*) cast them out?" (Matt. xii. 27) as anything short of an admission, that there were instances in which exorcism was successfully practised by the disciples of the Pharisees. The only alternative is to degrade Him, morally and intellectually, to the level of His adversaries, and to suppose, that in order to silence or conciliate them, He credited them

with a power which He and they alike knew to be simulated. The remark of the people on another occasion, when our Lord had cast out a devil, "It was never so seen in Israel," and the wonder they evinced, may have been called forth, as Alford suggests, by the manner rather than by the fact of the cure (Matt. ix. 33; cp. Mark ii. 12). Justin Martyr has an interesting suggestion as to the possibility of a Jew of his day successfully exorcising a devil, by employing the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἴσως ὑποταγήσεται [τὸ δαιμόνιον], *Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 85, p. 311, C. See also *Apol.* ii. c. 6, p. 45, B, where he claims for Christianity superior but not necessarily exclusive power in this respect. Compare the statements of Iren. *adv. Haeres.* ii. 5, and the authorities quoted by Grotius on Matt. xii. 27). But Justin goes on to say that the Jewish exorcists, as a class, had sunk down to the superstitious rites and usages of the heathen (Ἤδη μέντοι οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπορκισταὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, χρώμενοι ἐξορκίζουσι καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταδέσμοις χρόνται, εἶπον). It accords with experience, that the decay of a religious system should be marked by the profane and spurious imitation of spiritual powers which were once really, though it may be exceptionally, possessed by its adherents. "Non habebant quidem Judaei exorcistas ex Legis prescripto: verum scimus Deum, ut in foederis sui fide puroque cultu illos retineret, suam inter eos praesentiam variis miraculis subinde testatum esse. Ita fieri potuit ut invocato Dei nomine daemones fugarent. Populus vero talem Dei virtutem expertus, ordinarium sibi munus temere instituit" (Calvin on Matt. xii. 27). The driving away of an evil spirit by fumigation, as described in the Book of Tobit (viii. 2, 3), though not strictly an exorcism, is an example of such perversion. Josephus, after asserting of Solomon, τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς ἐνδόμενα τὰ δαιμόνια ὥς μηκετ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώκουσι, says that he himself had seen one Eleazar, a Jew, releasing people from the power of demons by the method of Solomon, in the presence of Vespasian and his sons and soldiers (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 5). In another place (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, § 3) he has a wild story of exorcism by the use of a root, called Baaras, from the name of the place where it grows. It was the profane use by strolling impostors of the name of Jesus, as a charm or spell to dispossess evil spirits, that issued in the disastrous failure recorded in the Book of the Acts (xix. 13 sq.).

The Christian miracle of casting out devils, whether as performed by Christ or by His apostles and followers, is never called by the name of *exorcism* in the N. T.; nor does it appear that adjuration was used in performing it. The simple word of command, coming as it did from His lips "with authority and power" (Luke iv. 36, cp. Mark i. 27), was enough in the case of our Lord to ensure the result, though, in some instances at least, that word rose, it should seem, to special dignity and solemnity, and was not obeyed without marked tokens of resistance. The word most commonly used by the Evangelists to describe our Lord's action is ἐπετίμησε. It is used of the miracle in the synagogue at Capernaum by the only two of them who record it, with the addition of the actual terms (φιμώθητι, καὶ ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ) in which the rebuke was conveyed (Mark i. 25; Luke iv. 35). All three of the Synoptists use it in describing the miracle on the possessed child, immediately after the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 18; Mark ix. 25; Luke ix. 42); St. Mark alone giving the solemn form of address (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄλαλον καὶ κωφόν, ἐγώ σοι ἐπιτάσσω, ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηκέτι εἰσέλθῃς εἰς αὐτόν), called forth perhaps by the peculiar malignity of the spirit and his reluctance to desert his prey (*v.* 26). In the miracle in the country of the Gadarenes, St. Mark's ἔξελθε (v. 8) becomes in St. Luke παρήγγειλε ἐξελθεῖν (viii. 29; or παρήγγελλε). The daughter of the Syro-Phoenician woman was set free by His mere volition, without personal contact at all (Mark vii. 29, 30). Authority (ἐξουσία) to cast out devils was bestowed by Christ while on earth upon the Apostles and the seventy disciples (Matt. x. 1; Luke x. 19: cp. Luke iv. 36; Mark i. 27), and a like power was promised by Him to believers after His Ascension (Mark xvi. 17). But though this power was to be exercised by them "in His Name" (Luke x. 17; Mark xvi. 17: cp. Matt. vii. 22; Mark ix. 38), the virtue of that Name, as simply uttered in faith, appears to have sufficed, without any formula of adjuration such as would properly constitute an exorcism (παραγγέλλω σοι ἐν τ. ὀνομ. Ἰησ. Χρ., Acts xvi. 18, the only case in which the words used are given. See v. 16; viii. 7). In one case, which however is specially mentioned as exceptional, "handkerchiefs or aprons," carried away to them from the body of St. Paul, had power to deliver the possessed from the evil spirits who tormented them (Acts xix. 12).

The reality of exorcism, or of the expulsion of evil spirits which is commonly understood by that name, must of course depend upon the reality of possession. If there be no such thing as demoniacal possession, there can be no need and no room for deliverance from it. But if, by a careful consideration of those passages of the N. T. which bear upon the subject, we are led to the conclusion that "there are evil spirits, subjects of the Evil One, who, in the days of the Lord Himself and His Apostles especially, were permitted by God to exercise a direct influence over the souls and bodies of certain men" [DEMONIACS]; then it is only reasonable to suppose that He Who "for this cause was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil" (1 John iii. 8; cp. Acts x. 38), should grapple with and overcome that influence. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the argument is strong, when taken in the reverse order. From the reality of expulsion we may reasonably infer the reality of possession. No theory of accommodation can satisfactorily account for the language used by Christ in casting out devils. As well might we affirm, "if a physician were solemnly to address the moon, bidding it to abstain from harming his patient" (Trench, *Notes on the Miracles*), that he was only employing the popular language which speaks of madness as *lunacy*, as to affirm that —when our Lord says to one brought to Him as

possessed, "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him" (Mark ix. 25)—it is an honest and truthful accommodation to the views and prejudices of His hearers on the subject of possession. If possession were not real, He Who is "the Truth" could not so have spoken. If so He spoke and was obeyed, then possession and His victory over it are undoubted facts. [T. T. P.]

EXPIATION. [SACRIFICE.]

EYE-SERVICE. It has been pointed out (*B. D.*, Amer. ed.) that we are indebted to the translators of the Bishops' Bible for this rendering of ὀφθαλμοδουλεία (Ephes. vi. 6; Col. iii. 22). It describes that service which, duly performed only when the master's eye is upon it, is for that reason reluctant and mercenary. [F.]

EZAR, 1 Ch. i. 38. [EZER.]

EZ'BAI (אֶזְבַּי; B. Αζωβαί, א. -βε, A. Αζβί; *Asbai*), father of Naari, who was one of David's thirty mighty men (1 Ch. xi. 37). In the parallel list (2 Sam. xxiii. 35) the names are given "Paarai the Arbite," which Kennicott decides to be a corruption of the reading in Chronicles (*Dissertation*, &c. p. 209). It is to be noted that some twenty MSS. of the text in Samuel read Οὐρὰ υἱὸς τοῦ Ασβί (Driver in loco). [F.]

EZ'BON (אֶצְבֹן; Θασοβάν; *Esebon*). **1.** Son of Gad, and founder of one of the Gadite families (Gen. xlvi. 16; Num. xxvi. 16). In the latter passage the name is written אֶזְנִי (A. V. Ozni), probably by a corruption of the text of very early date (or, by tradition, Delitzsch [1887], *Gen.* in loco), since the LXX. (v. 25) have B. Αζενεί (B^{ab}. Αζανεί, AF. Αζαινί). The process may have been the accidental omission of the ב in the first instance (as in אֲבִיעֶזֶר, Abiezer [Josh. xvii. 2], which in Num. xxvi. is written אִיעֶזֶר, Jeezer), and then, when אֶצְנִי was no longer a Hebrew form, the changing it into אֶזְנִי.

2. Ασεβών. Son of Bela, the son of Benjamin, according to 1 Ch. vii. 7. It is singular, however, that while Ezbon is nowhere else mentioned among the sons of Bela, or Benjamin, he appears here in company with עִירִי, Iri, which is not a Benjamite family either, according to the other lists, but which is found in company with Ezbon among the Gadite families, both in Gen. xlvi. 16 (Eri, עֶרִי) and Num. xxvi. 16. Were these two Gadite families incorporated into Benjamin after the slaughter mentioned in Judg. xx.? Possibly they were from Jabesh-Gilead (cp. xxi. 12–14). [BECHER.] 1 Ch. vii. 2 seems to fix the date of the census as in king David's time. [A. C. H.]

EZECHI'AS (B. Εζείας, A. Εζεκίας; *Ozias, Ezechias*). **1.** 1 Esd. ix. 14. Son of Theocanus, one of those who took up the matter of "strange" marriage with "strange wives;" put for JAHAZIAH (R. V. Jahzeiah), son of Tikvah, in Ezra x. 15 (B. Δαζειά, א^{c}. -ας, A. Ιαζίας). **2.** 2 Esd. vii. 40. [HEZEKIAH.]

EZECI'AS (Εζεκίας; *Ezechias*), 1 Esd. ix. 43, one of those who stood on the right hand of Ezra when he read the Book of the Law; for HILKIAH in the parallel passage, Neh. viii. 4.

EZEKI'AS (Εζεκίας, and so Westcott and Hort in N. T.; *Ezechias*), Ecclus. xlviii. 17, 22, xlix. 4; 2 Macc. xv. 22; Matt. i. 9, 10. [HEZEKIAH.]

EZE'KIEL (יְחֶזְקֵאל). The name is derived from יְחַזֵּק אֵל, *God will strengthen* (Gesen. *Thes.* i. 464), or from יְחֶזֶק אֵל, *God will prevail* (Simonis *Onomast. V. T.* p. 499). The name has been strangely misrepresented. The LXX. calls the Prophet Ἰεζεκιήλ (so too Ecclus. xlix. 8); Josephus, Ἰεζεκίηλος; Vulg. *Ezechiel*; Luther, *Hesechiel*. The same Hebrew name occurs in 1 Ch. xxiv. 16 as that of the head of the twentieth of the twenty-four priestly courses, and there the A. V. represents it by *Jehezekel*. Jewish writers give it under the nearer and more correct form of *Jechezk-el*. Abarbanel (*Praef. in Ezech.*) gives a direct significance to the name, as that of "one who narrated the might of God to be displayed in the future." Villalpandus (*Praef. in Ezech.* x.) sees a reference by the Prophet to his own name in the word חֲזָקִים (on the one hand "impudent," on the other "strong" or "firm") in Ezek. iii. 7–9; and at last we get the wholly groundless conjecture that it was a title applied to the Prophet descriptively after the commencement of his career (Sanctius, *Prolegom. in Ezech.* p. 2; Carpzov, *Introd.* ii. pt. ii. ch. v.).

The Prophet Ezekiel was, as he himself informs us, "the son of *Buzi the priest*" (i. 3). In the A. V. and R. V. the clause is rendered "*Ezekiel the priest*, the son of Buzi," and this translation is defended by Hengstenberg, who takes it to mean that Ezekiel was priest of the exiles among whom he lived. The Hebrew accent however points to the other rendering, which is generally adopted by Jewish writers. The word Buz (בּוּז) means *contempt*, and it might seem strange that such a name should be conferred on any child, yet this was also the name of the second son of Milcah and Nahor. The *Rabbis*, however, have built a theory upon the name. They have a rule that, whenever a prophet names his father, the father must also have been a prophet, and Rabbi David Qimchi in his commentary mentions a conjecture that Ezekiel was the son of Jeremiah, who was called Buzi because he was rejected and despised. It need hardly be said that the conjecture is impossible, as also is the tradition mentioned by St. Gregory of Nazianzus that Ezekiel was *a servant* of Jeremiah. Of the real relations which subsisted between the two Prophets we shall speak further on; all that we know of Buzi is that he was a priest of Jerusalem. Ezekiel thus belonged to the highest aristocracy of his nation, and it is obvious that he received from his father a careful and learned education.

The date of his birth depends on the interpretation given to Ezek. i. 1, where he mentions his call "in the thirtieth year," and "in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity." The latter expression gives us, according to the Hebrew way of reckoning, the date B.C. 594;

and as, in all other places, Ezekiel dates from the year of Jehoiachin's captivity (viii. 1; xxiv. 1; xxix. 17; xxx. 20; xl. 1), we are fairly acquainted with the chronology of his prophecies. The expression "in the thirtieth year" has been variously explained. Many commentators refer it to the thirtieth year from the new era of Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, who began to reign B.C. 625 (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. 508). It has been supposed that Ezekiel thus furnished a Chaldaean as well as a Jewish date, and similar dates are found in Dan. ii. 1, vii. 1; Ezra vii. 7; Neh. ii. 1, v. 14 (Rosenmüller, *Schol. ad loc.*; Scaliger, *de emend. Temp. Prolegom.* p. xii.). On the other hand, Ezekiel nowhere else alludes to this epoch, and it does not seem to be certain that the accession of Nabopolassar was observed as an era in Babylon. Setting aside the conjecture of some early commentators mentioned by Jerome (*Comment. in Ezech.*), and followed by R. Qimchi and Hitzig, that the expression refers to the thirtieth year from the year of jubilee, we may observe that the Targum of Jonathan has "thirty years after Hilkiah the high-priest had found the Book of the Law in the vestibule under the porch at midnight, after the setting of the moon, in the days of Josiah, &c., in the month of Thammuz, in the fifth day of the month" (cp. 2 K. xxii. 8–xxiii. 26). This view is adopted by Jerome, Grotius, Ussher, Hävernick, &c. The Book was discovered in the eighteenth year of Josiah, and the date thus furnished coincides with the reference to the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity. But there is no trace, either in Ezekiel or elsewhere, that the finding of the Book of the Law was ever used to mark an era, and there can now be little doubt that by the expression "in the thirtieth year"[a] Ezekiel was referring to his own age. This is the more likely because he is speaking of a strictly personal incident, and because at the age of thirty a priest assumed his full functions (Num. iv. 23–30). To one who writes more than any of the earlier Prophets in a priestly spirit, and was so deeply saturated with priestly traditions, it was natural to refer to a date which added new solemnity to the commencement of his prophetic mission, because it connected that mission with the hereditary duties of his office.

It is however a fact of profound significance that the birth of the Prophet happened at the period in which Josiah, startled by the revelation which he found in the Book of the Law, began his great reform of worship. The effects of that reform must have been deeply felt in the education of a boy whose father was a priest, and who lived under the very shadow of the Temple. Whether Ezekiel during his earlier years travelled among the neighbouring nations, and so acquired those vivid conceptions of their circumstances which he afterwards embodied in his prophecies, we cannot tell; but he was brought up amid the influences of a reformation, during which the Temple and its ritual occupied no small part of the thoughts of his people. Jeremiah, who had attained to manhood before the great religious movement which marked the days of Josiah, was less profoundly affected by it. He earnestly enforced the truth that offerings and services were in themselves far from sufficient; and when he witnessed that utter ruin of his nation and of its Temple which he had prophesied, he became the herald of a new covenant, and found comfort in the thought of days when there should indeed be no Ark and no Temple, yet all should know the Lord their God, and have the Law written in their hearts (Jer. iii. 15–18; xxxi. 31–34). The work to which Ezekiel was called was different. The day for the New Covenant of which Jeremiah prophesied had not yet dawned, and the younger Prophet was commissioned, while teaching to his nation many spiritual truths of the deepest importance, to keep alive in their hearts that faithfulness to the old ordinances which inspired them with hope and patriotism during the centuries which were yet to elapse before the Desire of all nations came suddenly to that Second Temple which the returning exiles raised from the ruins of the First (Hag. ii. 7; Mal. iii. 1).

King Josiah, at the early age of thirty-nine, fell in the great battle of Megiddo (B.C. 608), after receiving a crushing defeat at the hands of Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt. The disastrous end of so good a king was a sore trial to the faith of the pious Israelites. But worse trials were to follow. Pharaoh placed Jehoiakim, the eldest son of Josiah, as his vassal on the throne of Judah, but in B.C. 605 was himself defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar. The conqueror allowed Jehoiakim to retain his throne, but in spite of this Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar three years later, and was slain in the eleventh year of a bad reign (2 K. xxiii. 37; 2 Ch. xxxvi. 8). His son and successor, Jehoiachin, reigned but three months and ten days, at the close of which Nebuchadnezzar carried him away captive to Babylon with his family, his treasure, and ten thousand prisoners (2 K. xxiv. 14, 16),[b] among whom were the flower of the aristocracy and of the male population of Jerusalem. This took place in the year 597 B.C.

Among these prisoners was Ezekiel, who must accordingly have been about twenty-five years old. Josephus, indeed, whose account of this period is both untrustworthy and marked by positive errors, says that he was carried away to Babylon while he was yet a boy (Jos. *Antt.* x. 7, § 3). But this statement is inherently improbable. Ezekiel's last prophecy is dated in the twenty-seventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin (xxix. 17), and it is unlikely that he long survived that date. If then he was only a boy at the beginning of the exile, he must have died at an early age, and must have begun his prophetic work as a very young man; a fact which would almost certainly have been mentioned by tradition. Besides this, it is hardly probable that Ezekiel would have received so deep an

[a] The Hebrew expression means literally "in thirty years." It may be compared with "*after forty years*," to indicate the age of Absalom in 2 Sam. xv. 7; unless, with the Peshitto, Vulgate, and many MSS., we here read "four" (see Driver in loco).

[b] According to Jer. lii. 28, the number of prisoners was 3023. For the confusion of dates and numbers in the accounts of the various deportations, see Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 736.

impress from the Temple services, or have presented so vigorous and mature a type of the priestly character, as that which is manifested in his Book, if he had been taken from Jerusalem before his habits and convictions were fully formed. There seems to be little ground for Theodoret's supposition that Ezekiel was a Nazarite.

Nebuchadnezzar was not one of the mere rough soldiers who founded some of the ancient monarchies. He resembled Alexander the Great in his powers of organisation and in the breadth of his designs, and, like Cyrus and Darius, he is always spoken of with respect by the Hebrew Prophets (Ezek. xxvi. 7; Dan. v. 18, &c.). The captivity which he inflicted on the Jewish exiles took the form of a deportation or transmigration, and their lot was not aggravated by needless cruelties. Ezekiel was placed with a little colony of his companions at Tel Abib ("Hill of grassland") on the river Chebar (iii. 15). Of Tel Abib nothing is known, nor has the site been identified.[c] The Vulgate renders it "*acervus novarum frugum;*" and the LXX., stumbling over it, represents it by *μετέωρος*. It is not certain whether the river Chebar was the *Nahr Malka*, the "Royal canal" (Cellarius, *Geogr.* c. 22; Bochart, *Phaleg.* i. 8), or the river *Khabour* (the ancient 'Αβόρρας), which flows into the Euphrates 200 miles north of Babylon. There can be little doubt that Ezekiel's place of exile was in Chaldaea proper (i. 3), and therefore that the Chebar cannot be (as Bleek conjectured, *Einleit.* § 221. See Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 47 sq.) the river Habor in Gozan (2 K. xvii. 6), which is an affluent of the Tigris. The nominal tomb of Ezekiel is shown at a place called *Kefil*, south of Babylon (Menasse ben Israel, *de Resur. Mort.* p. 23; see Ps. Epiphan. *de Vit. et Mort. Prophet.* ix.). It is mentioned by Pietro de la Valle, and fully described in the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela (*Itiner.* p. 66; Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.* II. i. 3; *Cippi Hebraici*, p. 82; Carpzov, *Apparat. Crit.* pp. 203, 204).

It was on the banks of the Chebar, "in the land of the Chaldeans," that God's message first reached Ezekiel, and "the heavens were opened" to him in the thirtieth year of his age, as to Christ in the river Jordan (Origen). In the passage describing his call (Ezek. i. 3) the Targum interpolates the words "in the land [*of Israel, and again a second time He spake to him in the land*] of the Chaldeans." The interpolation may partly have been suggested by the structure of some of Ezekiel's early prophecies, in which he imagines himself an ideal spectator of scenes in Jerusalem (viii. 7, &c.); but it also probably sprang from the Jewish notion that the Shekinah could not overshadow a Prophet out of the Holy Land. For this reason Rashi supposes that ch. xvii. was Ezekiel's first prophecy, and was uttered before he went into captivity, a view which he supports by the Hebrew idiom הָיוֹ הָיָה (A. V. and R. V. "came expressly") in i. 3. R. Qimchi, however, admits of exceptions to the Rabbinic rule in case the prophecy was inspired in some pure and quiet spot like a river's bank.

Unlike his predecessor in the prophetic office, who gives us the amplest details of his personal history, Ezekiel rarely alludes to the facts of his own life, and we have to complete the imperfect picture by the colours of late and dubious tradition. We only learn from an incidental allusion that he was married, and had a house (viii. 1) in his place of exile, and lost his wife by a sudden and unforeseen stroke. The way in which he bore this deep affliction was due to that absorbing recognition of his high calling which enabled him to face every duty which was laid upon him, and even to submit to the ceremonial pollution from which he shrank with characteristic loathing (iv. 14). It is only in one expression that the feelings of the man burst through the self-devotion of the Prophet. His obedience was unwavering, but the deep pathos of his brief allusion to his wife's death (xxiv. 15–18) shows what well-springs of the tenderest emotion were concealed under his uncompromising opposition to every form of sin.[d]

He lived in the highest consideration among his companions in exile, and their elders consulted him on all occasions (viii. 1, xi. 25, xiv. 1, xx. 1, &c.), because in his united offices of priest and Prophet he was a living witness to "them of the captivity" that God had not abandoned them. Vitringa even says (*de Synag. Vet.* p. 332) that "in aedibus suis ut in scholâ quâdam publicâ conventus instituebat, ibique coram frequenti concione divinam interpretabatur voluntatem oratione facundâ" (quoted by Hävernick). Jewish writers regard these meetings as the first beginnings of the future synagogues, and to this they refer Ezek. xi. 16, "Although I have scattered them among the countries, yet will I be to them *as a little sanctuary* in the countries where they be." On this passage the Targum distinctly says that the synagogues are next in holiness to the Temple (see *Megilla*, f. 29, 1; Jer. *Berakhoth*, 5, 1; Hamburger, *RE.* ii. s. v. *Synagoge*).

The last date mentioned by the Prophet is the twenty-seventh year of the Captivity (xxix. 17), so that his mission extended over twenty-two years, during part of which period Daniel was probably living, and already famous (Ezek. xiv. 14, xxviii. 3). Tradition ascribes various miracles to him, as, for instance, escaping from his enemies by walking dry-shod across the Chebar; feeding the famished people with a miraculous draught of fishes, &c. He is said to have been murdered in Babylon by some Jewish prince (? *ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λάου*, called in the Roman martyrology for vi. Id. Apr. "judex populi." Carpzov, *Introd.* l. c.), whom he had convicted of idolatry; and to have been buried in a *σπηλαῖον διπλοῦν*, the tomb of Shem and Arphaxad, on the banks of the Euphrates. A curious conjecture, discredited by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i. c. xv. § 70), but considered not impossible by Selden (*Syntagm. de*

[c] *Tel*, "mound," is a common element in the names of places: cp. Ezra ii. 59; Josh. xi. 13, where "in their strength" should be rendered "upon their own mound" (cp. R. V.). The name Abib in this instance seems to have been appropriate, for Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 3) says, "Arborae amnis herbidae ripae."

[d] There does not seem to be any ground for regarding the death of Ezekiel's wife as an unreal event—a mere imaginary symbol—as Reuss and others do.

Diis Syr. ii. p. 120), Meyer and others, identifies him with "Nazaratus the Assyrian," the teacher of Pythagoras. We need hardly mention the foolish suppositions that he is identical with Zoroaster, or with the Alexandrian Ἐζεκίηλος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν τραγῳδίων ποιητής (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. § 155; Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 28, 29) who wrote a play on the Exodus, called Ἐξαγωγή (Fabricius, *Bibl. Grec.* ii. 19). This Ezekiel seems to have lived about B.C. 140 (see Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jud.* iii. pp. 42, 440).

But by the side of the scattered data of his external life, those of his internal life appear so much the richer. We have already noticed his stern and inflexible energy of will and character; and we also observe a devoted adherence to the rites and ceremonies of his national religion. Ezekiel is no cosmopolite, but displays everywhere the peculiar tendencies of a Hebrew educated under Levitical training. The priestly bias is always visible, especially in chs. viii.–xi., xl.–xlviii., and in iv. 13 sq., xx. 12 sq., xxii. 8, &c. De Wette and Gesenius attribute this to a "contracted spirituality," and Ewald sees in it "a one-sided conception of antiquity which he obtained merely from books and traditions," and "a depression of spirit enhanced by the long continuance of the banishment and bondage of the people." But it was surely this very intensity of patriotic loyalty to a system whose partial suspension he both predicted and survived, which cheered the exiles with the confidence of the Prophet's hopes for the future, and tended to preserve the decaying nationality of his people. Mr. F. Newman is even more contemptuous than the German critics. "The writings of Ezekiel," he says, "painfully show the growth of what is merely visionary, and an increasing value for hard sacerdotalism" (*Hebr. Monarchy*, p. 330). He speaks of the "heavy materialism" of Ezekiel's Temple as being "as tedious and unedifying as Leviticus itself;" but he refutes his own criticisms when he adds that Ezekiel's predictions "so kept alive in the minds of the next generation a belief in a certain return from Captivity as to have tended exceedingly towards that result."

We shall try to show in the sketch of his teaching that what has been called his predominating ceremonialism and externalism were partly indeed due to his birth and early training, but were also essential to the work which he was appointed to fulfil. It must be borne in mind that five centuries were yet to elapse, even after the Restoration of the Captivity, during which it was the duty of the Jews to preserve their national institutions until the Saviour of the world should come. Over the religious life of those centuries no Old Testament writer exercised a more powerful influence than the prophet Ezekiel.*

It was not only his attainment of the full age for priestly functions which called forth the prophetic gifts of Ezekiel. God, Who prepares His servants by the education of history and experience, trained the mind of His Prophet by the course of events for the first overpowering revelation which determined his future career. When Jehoiachin had been taken to Babylon, his uncle Zedekiah was left as a viceroy over the poor remnants of the people. In the fourth year of his reign he joined in a great movement of Jews, Phoenicians, Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, to throw off the hated yoke of Nebuchadnezzar. Such designs could not be kept secret, and to afford himself with a colourable excuse Zedekiah seems to have gone in person to Babylon (Jer. li. 59),[f] accompanied by ambassadors, to some of whom Jeremiah entrusted the memorable letter in which he had prophesied that the Captivity should last for seventy years (xxv. 11), and in which he sternly rebuked the false prophets who encouraged the exiles in vain hopes (Jer. xxix. 1–32). It was probably this letter, and the thoughts which it kindled, which awoke the flame of prophecy in the heart of the exiled priest. Jeremiah was at this time all but universally hated and persecuted, and his life was constantly endangered by the fury of lying prophets and apostate princes (Jer. xx. 7–18). By the side of the Chebar it was brought home to the mind of Ezekiel that he, the aristocratic descendant of Zadok, must throw himself into the cause of the poor priest of Anathoth, and share the intense odium which his prophecies had inspired. It is the moral and spiritual relationship between these great Prophets of the epoch of the fall of Judah which is dimly shadowed in Jewish legends. Jerome supposes that, being contemporaries during a part of their mission, they interchanged their prophecies, sending them respectively to Jerusalem and Chaldaea for mutual confirmation and encouragement, that the Jews might hear as it were a strophe and antistrophe of warning and promise, "velut ac si duo cantores alter ad alterius vocem sese componerent" (Calvin, *Comment. ad Ezech.* i. 2). Although it was only towards the close of Jeremiah's lengthened office that Ezekiel received his commission, yet these suppositions are easily accounted for by the internal harmony between the two Prophets, in proof of which we may refer to Ezek. xiii. as compared with Jer. xxiii. 9 sq., and Ezek. xxxiv. with Jer. xxxiii., &c. This inner resemblance is the more striking from the otherwise wide difference of character which separates the two Prophets. Jeremiah is far more of a poet than Ezekiel, though the latter shows a more daring imagination. The elegiac tenderness of Jeremiah is the reflex of his gentle and introspective spirit, while Ezekiel, in that age when true prophecy was so rare (Ezek. xii. 21–25; Lam. ii. 9), "comes forward with all abruptness and iron consistency. Has he to contend with a people of brazen front and unbending neck? He possesses on his own part an unbending nature, opposing the evil with an unflinching spirit of boldness, with words full of consuming fire."

Of the reception of Ezekiel's prophecies during the twenty-two years over which—though probably at irregular intervals—his work extended (Ezek. i. 1, xxix. 17), we have no direct informa-

* In our Masoretic canon he is placed *third* of the *Nebiim Acharonim*, or greater Prophets; in *Baba Kama*, f. 14, 2, he is placed *second*.

[f] It should, however, be observed that the readings of this verse are uncertain. The LXX., followed by Bleek and others, read "*from* Zedekiah" for "*with*"; and the Peshitto reads "*eleventh*" for "*fourth*" year of his reign.

tion. It is, however, unlikely that he escaped the bitter and violent opposition which is the ordinary fate of the true Prophet.[g] From vague and incidental notices we may infer that at first he was made to suffer even to the extent of bonds and imprisonment (Ezek. iii. 25); but if so, he soon triumphed over his enemies, and obtained honour and recognition as a Prophet, even while the people took no practical heed to his words (xxxiii. 32, 33). But while the general tenor of his life seems to have been far less stormy and troubled than that of his spiritual father Jeremiah, his ministry was exceptionally powerful. Its central lesson has been summed up in the words "through repentance to salvation" (Cornill, *Der Prophet Ezekiel*, p. 264). The chosen people had drunk to the dregs the cup of humiliation; they had seen their kings defeated, dishonoured, dragged into captivity, cruelly tortured, shamefully slain; they had seen their royal city ruined and dismantled, and their Temple destroyed by fire. They had seen the God of Israel become as a stranger in His own land (Jer. xiv. 8). Yet there were many of the people who only spoke the language of unbelief and defiance. They expressed open doubts of God's power (Is. lix. 1) or of His justice (Ezek. xviii. 25, 29; xxxiii. 17, 20). It was the task of Ezekiel again and again to refute these blasphemies, and to show that the secret of Israel's ruin lay exclusively in Israel's sins, and especially in the sins of gross idolatry (Ezek. viii. xiv. 1–12), lasciviousness (xvi. xxiii.), and bloodguiltiness (xxiv. 6–9), and in the general corruption and trust in lies of prophets, priests, princes and people (xxii. 1–31). In preaching his Theodicaea, Ezekiel had especially to revive the national faith which had been so deeply shaken by the miserable end of the good king Josiah. He had to show how false was the application of the proverb that "The father had eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth were set on edge" (xviii. 3–32), and how completely the personal punishment of his contemporaries was due to their own offences. But while thus rebuking a rebellious despair, he was obliged at the same time to strike down an overweening confidence. In his days, as in those of John the Baptist, the people, encouraged in their national conceit by false prophets, were founding vain hopes on the fact that "they had Abraham to their father" (Ezek. xxxiii. 24). Ezekiel not only pointed out how futile was such a plea for guilty souls (*vv.* 25–29), but he dealt at this pride of birth the most tremendous blow which it had ever received when he exclaimed, "Thy birth and thy nativity was of the land of Canaan; thy mother was an Hittite, and thy father an Amorite;[h] and thine elder sister is Samaria, and thy younger sister that dwelleth at thy right hand is Sodom and her daughters" (xvi. 3, 44–59). They relied on their holy origin, but their true paternity was proved by their deeds (Is. i. 10; Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 44).

Side by side however with the insolence of obstinate self-defence, Ezekiel found that in the hearts of others there was an abject despondency. They were saying, "If our transgressions and our sins be upon us, and we pine away in them, how should we then live?" (xxxiii. 10). It was in answer to such melancholy spirits that Ezekiel set forth more clearly than any of his predecessors the truth that the one object of punishment is not vengeance, but reformation. The key-note of all his teaching was, "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" (xxxiii. 11). The sole remedy for the present disastrous condition of the nation was that heartfelt repentance which proves its sincerity by amendment (iii. 20; xviii. 24–32; xxxiii. 13). For those whose despair was too deeply-seated to be reached even by this high moral teaching, which for the first time set forth Jehovah as the Educator of the human race, Ezekiel received his remarkable vision of the Resurrection in the Valley of Dry Bones (xxxvii. 1–14). This striking allegory had for its immediate object the revival of national hopes; but it has a far wider and more glorious meaning, and, pointing as it does to "a hope full of immortality," it is one of the deepest notes of revelation which the Old Testament contains.[i]

Besides his high moral and spiritual teaching, it was Ezekiel's mission to keep alive among the Jews a sense of their religious unity and political existence. Judaism was never intended to be a cosmopolitan religion; and when the exiles contrasted the colossal splendour of Babylon with their own poor Jerusalem, they needed the message "*Fear not*, thou worm Jacob" (Is. xli. 14), and the reminder that they were not to sink into Babylonians, since they had higher hopes and nobler promises. Their tears were but to be as the softening showers which should prepare the soil for a purer seed. It was therefore essential that they should not relapse into the idolatry of their conquerors; and since they had no longer a Temple or sacrifices, it was necessary to insist with the utmost stringency on their ancient and peculiar institution of the Sabbath.[k] Ezekiel has been severely judged because, amid the lofty teachings of his eighteenth chapter, he dwells so strongly on one or two negative and positive rules (xviii. 6–9, 11–

[g] He speaks of his people, even his fellow-exiles, as "a house of rebellion," ii. 5–8; iii. 9, 26, 27; xxiv. 3, &c. See too xiv. 3, xx. 32. "The Holy One—blessed be He—afflicted Ezekiel in order to cleanse Israel from their iniquities." (*Sanhedrin*, f. 39.)

[h] How bitterly this verse was felt by the Jews is shown centuries later by the Rabbis of the Talmud. "When the Holy One—blessed be He—commissioned Ezekiel to say to Israel, 'Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite,' a pleading spirit" (according to Rashi, the angel Gabriel) "objected and said, 'If Abraham and Sarah were to stand here in Thy presence, wouldest Thou thus humiliate them to their face?'" (*Sanhedrin*, f. 44, 1.) The passage certainly shows an intensely unfavourable view of Israel's past, though it was not meant to apply to Abraham and Sarah at all, but to the *heathen origin and moral affinities of the city of Jerusalem*. See chs. xvi., xx., xxiii.

[i] The Rabbis lost themselves in frivolous discussions as to whether the scene was real or not; and, if real, what became of the men who were raised!

[k] For the same reason Jeremiah dwells strongly on the sacredness of the Sabbath (Jer. xvii. 21–27). It was the strongest bulwark of the Law and national life of the Jews.

13, 15–17). The criticism is unjust, because those rules are not meant to include all morality, but are aimed at the dangers which most immediately menaced the national existence—idolatry, impurity, greed, and unkindness. How little the teaching of Ezekiel was akin to Pharisaism may be seen in his insistence on the fact that a new heart and a new spirit (xxxvi. 26, 27) are not the reward of merit, but the gift of God's free love (*vv.* 21–23, 32, 33; xvi. 62, 63; xx. 43, 44). By this mixture of doctrine and morality, by his thorough examination of the problems of sin and punishment, and repentance and free grace (xviii. 32), and by his reference of all questions to the will and glory of God, Ezekiel has earned the title of "the Paul of the Old Testament." Further than this, by his chosen title "Son of Man" and its accordance with his deepest thoughts, he becomes a type of Christ (Isidore, *de Vit. et ob. Sanct.* 39).

That title was no ordinary one. It is true that "son of man" is common in Scripture in the sense of "man"; but the only two Prophets to whom the title is given are Daniel, who is thus addressed once only (Dan. viii. 17), and Ezekiel, to whom the phrase is applied ninety times. It is equivalent to *weak mortal*, and is doubtless suggested by the noble language of the viiith Psalm (viii. 4, 5). If in one aspect it implies the deep humility of the Prophet in the presence of Him Who had revealed Himself as throned upon the Cherubim, in another it suggests to Ezekiel as to David the glory of his privilege in being chosen to receive the messages of God (see i. 28; iii. 23; xliii. 3; xliv. 4). [F. W. F.]

EZE'KIEL, BOOK OF. We see in his Book the gradual transition from the Prophet into the scribe. He is the precursor of Ezra in inaugurating the religion of legalism. He was neither a statesman nor a politician, but resembles the figure of his own visions,—the man in the white robe with the inkhorn by his side (Ezek. ix.). Jeremiah, "the last great Prophet, the evening star of the declining day of prophecy, occupies the dividing line between two ages, and without intending it closes the species of entirely pure prophecy." He points to the new covenant (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34),[a] while it was the main duty of Ezekiel to secure and protect the resuscitation of the old covenant until the fulness of the times. The object of the "new heart and a new spirit" is "that they may walk in My ordinances and observe My statutes." He does not, like Isaiah, look mainly for new heavens and a new earth (Is. lxv. 19; lxvi. 22), but sketches a new and minutely regulated national life.[b] It is only in his denunciations that Ezekiel treads in the footsteps of his prophetic predecessors; his remedies and ideals are priestly, and his personal work was to a great extent of a pastoral and didactic character (see xxiii. 6), such as suited a period of national inaction.

I. *Style.*—His prophetic method was very varied. He furnishes instances of visions (viii.–xi.), symbolic actions (iv. v. xii.), similitudes (xv. xvi.), parables (xvii.), proverbs (xii. 22; xviii. 2), poems (xix.), allegories (xxi. xxiii. xxiv.), and direct prophecies (vi. xx., &c.). Carpzov says, "Tanta ubertate et figurarum variatione floret ut unus omnes prophetici sermonis numeros ac modos explevisse, jure suo sit dicendus" (*Introd.* ii. pt. iii. 5). Michaelis and others talk of his "plagiarism;" but although his language is undoubtedly moulded by his early studies, it shows a marked originality in form, in conception, and in many unique phrases, which may be seen by contrasting his prophecy against Tyre (xxviii.) with that of Isaiah (xxiii.). He is indeed more of a writer than either a poet or an orator, and his style is in general the result of literary elaboration rather than of spontaneous passion. This is doubtless due to the fact that many of his prophecies do not seem to have been publicly uttered, but recorded in private. He seems to have been a man of silent, meditative, and almost melancholy character,[c] and this gave to his expressions the "evenness and repose" of which Ewald speaks. The style of Ezekiel bears a certain indefinable stamp of distinction and self-restraint, which makes it contrast with the more impassioned eloquence of his persecuted contemporary, Jeremiah. On the other hand, some of his symbols, images, and expressions are crude and displeasing (xvi. 1–5; xxiii. *passim*), and he is sometimes prolix from the many iterations and recurrent formulae.[d] His composite symbols show clear traces of the extent to which his attention had been seized by the strange forms of art by which he was surrounded amid the temples and palaces of Babylon. The attempt to interpret these by painting taxed the highest powers even of an Albrecht Dürer and a Raphael. These symbols furnish an almost unique phenomenon in Semitic literature, and one which can only be explained by recent familiarity with Aryan surroundings. But Ezekiel shows in the combination of these diverse elements a daring imagination and an architectonic skill. They have exercised a strong fascination over the minds of thinkers. St. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 23) calls Ezekiel the loftiest and most wonderful of all Prophets, *ὁ τῶν μεγάλων ἐποπτὴς καὶ ἐξηγήτης μυστηρίων* (see Carpzov, *Introd.* i. 192), and Herder describes him as the Aeschylus and Shakspeare of the Hebrews. Schiller wished that he had learnt Hebrew mainly because he wished to read Ezekiel in his own language. Hävernick is perhaps too enthusiastic in speaking of "his glow of divine indignation," and the "torrent of his eloquence resting on a combination of power and consistency, the one as unwearied as the

[a] Kuenen, "Ezekiel" (*Mod. Rev.* p. 616, Oct. 1884), §§ xi. 20, xxxvi. 27.

[b] Compare Jer. iii. 16; vii. 4, 11–14, 21–23; ix. 25, 26; xxiv. 6, 7. Chapters xxx., xxxi. exhibit such "elevation of thought and expansion of horizon" that Movers, Hitzig, and others have unwarrantably supposed that they were written by "the second Isaiah" (see Dr. R. Williams, *The Hebrew Prophets*, ii. 60).

[c] To speak of him as probably "afflicted by a chronic nervous malady" (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1877) is quite to exceed the limits of legitimate conjecture.

[d] Duhm (*Die Theol. d. Propheten*) contrasts him unfavourably both with Jeremiah and the later Isaiah, but the difference between them does not necessarily prove inferiority. The work as well as the style of Ezekiel was of another order from that of his predecessors.

other is imposing." St. Jerome, on the other hand, writes too coldly when he says, "Sermo ejus nec satis disertus nec admodum rusticus, sed ex utroque genere medie temperatur" (*Praef. in Ezech.*). Among the most splendid passages are ch. i., the prophecy against Tyrus (xxvi.–xxviii.); that against Assyria, "the noblest monument of Eastern history" (xxxi.); and ch. viii., the account of what he saw in the Temple-porch,

> ——"when, by the vision led,
> His eye surveyed the dark idolatries
> Of alienated Judah."—MILTON, *Par. Lost*, i.

The depth of his *matter*, and the marvellous nature of his visions, make him occasionally obscure, but chiefly in passages which were designedly shrouded in enigmatic language (*e.g.* xxi. and xxxix.). His prophecy was placed by the Jews among the גְּנָזִים (treasures), those portions of Scripture which (like the early part of Genesis and the Canticles) were not allowed to be read till the age of 30 (Jer. *Ep. ad Eustoch.*; Orig. *proem. homil.* iv. *in Cantic.*; Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.* ii. 1, 3). Hence Jerome compares the "inextricabilis error" of his writings to Virgil's labyrinth ("Oceanus Scripturarum, mysteriorumque Dei labyrinthus"), and also to the catacombs. The Jews classed him in the very highest rank of Prophets. The Sanhedrin is said to have hesitated long whether his Book should form part of the Canon, from its occasional obscurity, and from its supposed contradictions to the Law (xviii. 20–xx. 5, xxxiv. 7; Jer. xxxii. 18). But in point of fact these apparent oppositions are the mere expression of truths complementary to each other, as Moses himself might have taught them (Deut. xxiv. 16). Although, generally speaking, comments on this book were forbidden, R. Ananias undertook to reconcile the supposed differences.[a] Spinoza, *Tract. Theol. Polit.* ii. 27, partly from these considerations, inferred that the present Book is made up of mere fragments, but his argument from its commencing with a·ı, and from the expression in i. 3 above alluded to, hardly needs refutation.

II. *Unity.*—As to the unity of the Book there has never been any serious question. Josephus indeed (*Antt.* x. 5, § 1) has the following passage: οὐ μόνον δὲ οὗτος (Jeremiah) προεθέσπισε ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος [ὅς] πρῶτος περὶ τουτῶν δύο βίβλια γράψας κατέλιπεν. The undoubted meaning seems to be that *Ezekiel* (although Eichhorn on various grounds applies the word to Jeremiah) left *two* books of prophecy; which is also stated by Zonaras, and the Latin translation of Athanasius, where, after mentioning other lost books, and *two* of Ezekiel, the writer continues, "Nunc vero jam unum duntaxat inveniri scimus. Itaque haec omnia per impiorum Judaeorum amentiam et incuriam periisse manifestum est" (*Synops.* p. 136, but the passage does not occur in the Greek). In confirmation of this view (which is held by Maldonatus and others) some have referred to passages quoted in Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* i. 10, § 91, ἐν ᾧ εὕρῳ σε ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κρινῶ σε: and again, τέτοκεν καὶ οὐ τέτοκεν φησὶν ἡ γραφή (Id. *Strom.* vii. 16, § 93). Tertullian says, "Legimus apud Ezechielem de vaccâ illâ quae peperit et non peperit" (*de Carn. Christi*, § 23; cp. Epiphan. *Haeres.* xxx. 30), and refers the supposed prophecy to the Virgin Mary. The attempt to identify it with Job xxi. 10 can hardly be maintained. That these passages (quoted by Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* § 221) can come from a lost *genuine* book is extremely improbable, since we know from the Talmud the extraordinary care with which the later Jews guarded the λόγια ζῶντα. They may indeed come from a lost *apocryphal* book, although we find no other trace of its existence (Sixtus Sen. *Bibl. Sanct.* ii. 61). Le Moyne (*Var. Sacra*, ii. p. 332 sq.) thinks that they undoubtedly belong to some collection of traditionary Jewish apophthegms, such as those which are preserved in *Pirke Aboth*, or the "chapters of the fathers." Just in the same way we find certain ἄγραφα δόγματα attributed to our Lord by the Fathers, and even by the Apostles (Acts xx. 35), on which see a monograph by Kuinoel. The simplest supposition about the passage in Josephus is either to assume that he is in error, or to admit a former division of Ezekiel into two books at ch. xxv., or possibly at ch. xxxix. Le Moyne adopts the latter view, and supports it by analogous cases. There is nothing which militates against it in the fact that Josephus mentions δύο μόνα καὶ εἴκοσι βίβλια (*c. Apion.* i. 22) as forming the Canon.

III. *Genuineness.* — Of the genuineness of the Book of Ezekiel there has never been any serious doubt. It is true that in *Baba Bathra*, f. 15, 1, we are told that "the men of the Great Synagogue *wrote* the Book of Ezekiel, the Twelve Minor Prophets, the Book of Daniel, and the Book of Esther," where Rashi says that "the men of the Great Synagogue were Haggai, Malachi, Zerubbabel, Mordecai, and their associates." But "the Great Synagogue" is by many considered a purely unhistorical body, and it is clear that "wrote" can only mean "edited." It has indeed been rashly supposed by Oeder, Vogel, and a writer in the *Monthly Magazine* (1798) that the last nine chapters are a spurious addition to the Book, and it has even been suggested that they were written by some Samaritan author to induce the Jews to permit the co-operation of the Samaritans in the building of the Second Temple! Corrodi also doubted the genuineness of chs. xxxviii. and xxxix. It is needless to enter into the very slight show of argument which was advanced in favour of these views, because they have long been abandoned. Zunz went further (*Gottesdienstl. Vortr.* p. 183; *Gesamm. Schriften*, i. 217), and impugned the genuineness of the whole Book, which he believed to have been written between B.C. 440 and B.C. 400. He argued (1) from the specific character of some of the predictions (*e.g.* xvii. 10; xxiv. 2 sq.); (2) from the impossibility of believing that in B.C. 570 Ezekiel should have dreamed of suggesting a new set of laws, a new kind of Temple, and a new division of the Holy Land; (3) from the absence of any

[a] "Revere the memory of Hananiah ben Hizkiah, for had it not been for him the Book of Ezekiel would have been suppressed, because it contradicts the Law. By the help of 300 bottles of oil he prolonged his studies till he reconciled all the discrepancies" (*Shabbath*, f. 13, 2). Rashi refers to Ezek. xliv. 31, xlv. 20, as passages which seem to contradict the Law.

allusion to Ezekiel in the Books of Jeremiah and Esther; (4) from the allusions to Daniel (xiv. 14); (5) from certain grammatical and linguistic peculiarities. In answer to these objections of a sincere and learned author we may reply generally that, even if we allow the purely *à priori* objection to specific predictions, they would only prove at the outside that Ezekiel had edited his Book as a literary whole towards the end of his life. The views of the ancients and the moderns about literary methods differed widely, and the addition of subsequent touches may have been in no disaccord with the customs of an undeveloped literature, and the conditions under which the Book was made public.

Such is the suggestion of Ewald and Kuenen;[f] and although it cannot be proved, and therefore need not be accepted, it would be absurd to view such circumstances from a modern standpoint, or to attribute such subsequent editing to literary fraud. The second objection of Zunz must be treated separately. The third is a mere *argumentum e silentio*, which, as has been proved again and again by the most decisive instances, has no validity at all, either in ancient or modern days. The fourth objection does not seem to have any intrinsic weight, and is of too vague a character to be dealt with. The fifth again has no validity because the conditions of the Exile are quite sufficient to account for many linguistic phenomena, and because it is far from improbable that some of these linguistic peculiarities may be due to a text which is regarded by many scholars as being the most corrupt in the Old Testament.

IV. *Contents.*—That Ezekiel was the *editor* as well as the author of the Book is admitted equally by Ewald, Keil, Kuenen, and nearly all other inquirers. The prophecies are arranged according to a definite plan. The Book is divided into two great parts, separated from each other by the destruction of Jerusalem. The first division consists of chs. i.–xxiv.; the second of chs. xxv.–xlviii. So marked is the division that the close of the twenty-fourth chapter marks the exact half of the Book.[g] There are also marked differences between the general character of these great divisions. The first section is mainly characterised by threats of judgment; the second section by promises of deliverance, the idea of which is also involved in the threats against heathen nations. The Book may also be divided chronologically into *three* sections, viz.:—1. The prophecies before the fall of Jerusalem (i.–xxiv.); 2. Those delivered during the siege (xxv.–xxxii.); 3. Those delivered after the beginning of the final captivity (xxxiii.–xlviii.). Ezekiel himself gives fourteen dates for his groups of prophecies—namely, those delivered in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (i.–vii.); in the sixth year (viii.–xix.); in the seventh year (xx.–xxiii.); in the ninth year (xxiv. xxv.); in the tenth year (xxix. 1–16); in the eleventh year (xxvi.–xxviii.; xxx. 20–26; xxxi.); in the twelfth year (xxxii., and perhaps xxxv.–xxxix.); in the twenty-fifth year (xl.–xlviii.); in the twenty-seventh year (xxix. 17–xxx. 1–20).[h]

1. Looking yet more closely at the structure of the Book, we find that the first great section is composed of—I. The glorious vision which inaugurated the Prophet's work (i. ii. iii.). II. The general carrying out of his commission (iii.–vii.) by various symbolic actions (iv. v.); by the rebuke of idolatry (vi.); and the threat of the final doom of Judah (vii.). III. Details of the profanation of the Temple by idolatry, and of the consequent judgment which shall come upon Jerusalem (viii.–xi.). IV. Further rebukes of the special sins of the age, interspersed with exhortations to repentance, and threats of punishment (xii.–xix.). V. The imminence of the doom, and renewed denunciation of the crimes by which it had been precipitated (xx.–xxiii.). VI. The significance of the now-commencing punishment (xxiv.).

2. The next section (xxv.–xxxii.) is composed of seven oracles against Ammon, Moab, Edom, the Philistines, and Sidon,[i] together with the long and magnificent philippics against Tyre (xxvi.–xxviii. 19) and Egypt (xxix.–xxxii.); which, as the Prophet explains (xxviii. 24–26), are intended as a source of consolation to Israel. They were delivered during the eighteen months of the siege. Between the beginning of the siege and the destruction of the Temple the Prophet has no *direct* message to his countrymen; and some have even understood xxiv. 27, xxix. 21, xxxiii. 22 (cp. iii. 26) in the sense that during the progress of the siege he was actually dumb or silent, and that this accounts for the parenthetic character of these chapters.[k]

[f] According to the headings of the prophecies, chs. i.–vii. were delivered in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity; viii.–xix. in the sixth year; xx.–xxiii. in the seventh year; xxiv. in the ninth year. If those headings apply to the entire contents of each chapter, Ezekiel distinctly predicted the peculiar fate of Zedekiah (xii. 13), and the particulars of the siege and fall of Jerusalem. Kuenen argues that ch. xvii. could not have been written in the sixth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, because Zedekiah had not then actually revolted, nor could he at that time have made a covenant with Egypt, since Egypt is not mentioned in Jer. xxvii. 3. He also thinks that xxi. 20–32 could not have been written in B.C. 591, because "the reproach of the Ammonites" (xxv. 1–7) could not have been uttered till after the fall of Jerusalem and the profanation of the sanctuary. Hence he argues that Ezekiel "did not trouble himself about scrupulous accuracy in the literary reproduction of his spoken prophecies" (*Prophets*, p. 328, E. T.). His view is that Ezekiel's slight subsequent additions to what he had previously written or delivered did not in any way militate with ancient and Eastern conceptions of literary good faith. Reuss (*Les Prophètes*, ii. 1–12) goes even farther, and supposes that the first twenty-four chapters were merely written from an *ideal standpoint* anterior to the ruin of the Temple. The manner in which Ezekiel, in xxix. 17–21, professedly modifies and supplements without altering his original prophecy against Tyre, is wholly unlike the editing process suggested by these critics, and so far tells against their view.

[g] It need hardly be said that the division of the Book into actual chapters did not take place until centuries after the days of Ezekiel.

[h] xxix. 17 sq. is a postscript to modify what had been said about the sack of Tyre in xxvi. See *infra*.

[i] The comparatively insignificant Sidon (xxviii. 20–23) would perhaps hardly have been included among these denunciations except from the mystic significance attached to the number seven.

[k] The real or ideal dumbness was removed "in the twelfth year of our captivity" (xxxiii. 21), but in this passage the Peshitto reads "eleventh," and is followed

In this section one paragraph (xxix. 17–21) is placed out of its proper chronological order, having been uttered in the twenty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, and therefore being the latest of all the prophecies of which Ezekiel himself furnishes a date. It was added seventeen years after the general prophecy against Tyre, and may perhaps serve to explain circumstances about the siege which had not originally come into the sphere of the Prophet's vision, and of which the details are not accurately known to us.

3. The third section consists of eight oracles delivered after the fall of Jerusalem. They are more directly full of hope and consolation. The thirty-fourth chapter contains the reproof of the shepherds that feed themselves, and the thirty-fifth is the judgment of Mount Seir. The thirty-seventh contains the splendid vision in which, under the image of the dry bones in the valley, Ezekiel not only encourages his people to believe in the possibility of their restoration, but also foreshadows, more nearly than any of his predecessors, the great doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters contain in four divisions the prophecy against Gog and Magog. This general picture of God's judgments is no doubt partly intended, like Rev. xx. 7–10, in which it is imitated, to indicate the final conflict and overthrow of the powers of evil, but may also be meant to indicate in a cryptographic manner the doom of Babylon. This would account for the obscurity of the prophecy, and the sort of apocalyptic twilight in which it is enveloped.

4. The last section contains nine chapters (xl.–xlviii.) which have suggested many difficulties, and have been explained in widely different manners. They fall into three sections. The first (xl.–xliii.) minutely describes the construction of the Temple; the second (xliv.–xlvi.) the relation of different classes to the Temple and its service; the third (xlvii. xlviii.) the blessing which streams from the Temple, and its position in the redistributed territories of the land. On the way in which we understand this section depends our apprehension of the whole work and mind of Ezekiel, and of the remarkable position which he occupies in Jewish history.

Of the general views respecting these chapters some may be dismissed at once and finally. 1. It is certain that they are not *historical*, for the details differ absolutely from the details of Solomon's Temple, as well as from those of the second and of Herod's Temple. 2. It is equally certain, in spite of such isolated expressions as xliii. 10, xlv. 1, &c., that they could never have been meant to be *literally* carried out, for they abound in impossibilities on every page, and all commentators alike are compelled to admit that there can be nothing literal in the vision of the holy waters (xlvii. 1–12). 3. The attempt to give them a *future* applicability lands us in the absurd conclusion that there is to be a millennial retrogression from Christianity to the "weak and beggarly elements" of Jewish bondage. 4. All endeavours to explain them *allegorically* or *symbolically* have hopelessly failed, because, although such meaning may be attached to some of the numbers and arrangements, they cannot be applied without the utmost arbitrariness to the great mass of minute particulars. 5. Hence there can be no reasonable doubt that in this, as in the previous vision of Gog and Magog, and indeed by a literary method which prevails throughout his Book, Ezekiel is simply clothing general views and conceptions in elaborate and concrete forms. It is clear from his appeal to direct Divine sanction (xliii. 10, 11) that he is not indulging in an objectless play of fancy; and indeed his general views and enactments, as Reuss truly says, were not without influence on subsequent legislation. Nevertheless in these eight oracles we are evidently moving in the region of a pure Utopia, and dealing only with an imaginative composition.[1] That this ideal picture was incapable of realisation may be seen from the facts that (α) it sets at defiance the geography of the Holy Land,[m] and the entire circumstances of the returning exiles. (β) The Temple with its precincts is a mile square, or larger than all Jerusalem, and yet is on the top of a mountain. (γ) It is also placed nine and a half miles from the utmost bound of the city, and more than fourteen miles from its centre. (δ) If equal strips of land were, in defiance of all principles of justice, assigned to the twelve tribes, the Temple could have nothing to do with Zion, and would be well on the road to Samaria.[n] (ε) The "oblation" (xlv. 1) of holy land for the sanctuary cannot by any possibility be brought into the limits assigned for Palestine (xlvii. 15–21). (ζ) The distribution of lands to the tribes, besides its other incongruities, directly contradicts the prediction of Obadiah *v.* 19. (η) The land assigned to the support of the Temple and its sacrifices is wholly inadequate, and yet the enormous size of the area set apart for the Temple itself leaves no room for some of the tribes in the districts marked out for them. It may therefore be regarded as unquestionable that all the concrete imagery is but the literary development of a free ideal.

But what was the object of the Prophet in this ideal? The answer is that it represents in concentrated form the view which he held of his entire mission. The famous nine chapters were written with the same kind of object as Plato's *Republic*, Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Campanella's *Civitas Solis*, Harington's *Oceana*, and Fénelon's *Salent*. They clothe in concrete forms, which were never meant for actual realisation, Ezekiel's conceptions as to the future development of the theocracy, and they are therefore to be regarded as being, from his point of view, the crown and flower of all his work. He saw that it was God's will that the future of Israel should differ widely

by some MSS., as also by Ewald, Hitzig, Kuenen, and others. Jerusalem was taken in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign (Jer. li. 5–12).

[1] Hence the views of Ezekiel are not once alluded to in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, or in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah.

[m] The Transjordanic territory is excluded. The remainder of the strip assigned to the Holy City is divided between the priests of the house of Zadok, the other Levites, and the prince (xlviii.).

[n] The peculiar order of the tribes, in which Reuben is inserted between Ephraim and Judah (xlviii. 6, 7), was ideally intended to counteract the tendency of Ephraim to vex Judah, and Judah to envy Ephraim (Is. xi. 13).

from the past, and that practical securities must be devised against the danger of a national relapse into former idolatries. He saw that those securities could best be provided in the then condition of his people by the development of an elaborate system of ritual. A priest by birth, by training, and by all his sympathies, he was also taught by the logic of events and the revelation of God, that hereafter the Temple and its service must occupy a different and more important position than it had done during the whole period since the Exodus. It was intended to fulfil the function of a necessary education to the Jews until the fulness of the time should come. They were to be reminded by every detail of worship that they were a peculiar people. The Temple was to be the centre and symbol of their life. That Temple could not be rich with treasures of gold and silver, like the Temple of Solomon, but (*ideally*) it was to be built with elaborate and symbolic symmetry, and isolated in the centre of an immense domain, and to be made the scene of continuous and solemn sacrifices. The king or prince was no longer to claim the prominent functions with regard to it which he had previously usurped, but was to be surrounded with safeguards against the temptations to oppression (xlv. 7, 8), and was to employ his revenues to supply the priests with sacrifices (xlv. 16, 17). The feasts and the offerings are carefully specified. The whole system is to be placed under the charge of a special order, the priests of the family of Zadok, who are to be the exclusive guardians of the sacred precincts. The aim of the code is "holiness" in the sense of consecrated separation (Lev. xix. 2): "the holy mount surrounded by the holy territory of the priests; the holy house upon the holy mount; the holy men to serve the holy house." In other words, the state is practically to be transformed into a Church, and the theocracy is to assume the form of a monocracy under the administration of scribes and people.

V. *Ezekiel and Leviticus.*—We have now to consider the modern theories respecting these chapters, which at the present time form one of the most debated problems of the Old Testament.

The resemblances between Ezekiel and Lev. xvii.–xxvi. are of the most remarkable character, and it cannot be for a moment denied that there is *some* connexion between the two Books. A similarity so close can only have arisen in one of four ways: (1) Either Ezekiel borrowed largely from the Book of Leviticus; or (2) those chapters of the Book of Leviticus are a later addition to the Pentateuch by authors who borrowed largely from the Book of Ezekiel; or (3) both are alike influenced in large measure by some common source; or (4) both were written by the same author.

The last conclusion (4) is that of Graf (*Die Gesch. Bücher des Alten Testamentes*, 1866, pp. 81–83), whose theory was laboriously supported by Bishop Colenso (*Pentateuch*, pt. vi. ch. i. ii.).[o] Kayser, in the main, maintained the same views (*Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1881, pp. 541 sq.), by eliminating from the chapters certain elements which he regarded as Elohistic. The argument in favour of this opinion loses nearly all its force when side by side with the verbal resemblances we observe the differences between the systems of the two Books. Those differences are most striking. Thus Ezekiel ignores the existence of a high-priest, unless it be very indirectly *implied* in xli. 3. It is still more strange that he ignores the Day of Atonement, the Feast of Pentecost, and the New Moons, and says nothing of an evening sacrifice (xlvi. 13–15) or of the Paschal Lamb. He also changes many other details of the Law as laid down in the Pentateuch, as for instance in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles (xlv. 25: cp. Num. xxix. 12–24, 35; Lev. xxiii. 36, 39. Compare also Ezek. xliv. 20; Lev. xxi. 5; Ezek. xliv. 22; Lev. xxi. 7, 13, 14, &c.).[p] Accordingly this theory is rejected by Klostermann, *Zeitschr. f. luther. Theol.* 1877, pp. 401 sq.; Wellhausen, *Einl. in d. A. T.*, Von Bleek, 1878, p. 173; Reuss, *L'Hist. Sainte et la Loi*, p. 253; Smend, *Die Proph. Ezekiel erklärt.* p. xxvii.; Delitzsch, *Zeitsch. f. kirchl. Wiss.* 1880, xii. 618; and Kuenen, *De Godsdienst von Israel*, ii. 94–96. The theory has however been again taken up by Horst, who in his *Lev.* xvii.–xxvi. *und Hezekiel* argues that the last nine chapters of Ezekiel were written by the Prophet long after the chapters in Leviticus, and in his prophetic capacity, while the Priestly-codex, as the section of Leviticus is often called, had been not so much written as compiled by him twenty-five years earlier from existing documents.

The first hypothesis—that Ezekiel borrowed largely from the Book of Leviticus—is the one adopted by Klostermann (*l. c.*); Dillmann, *Komm. Ex. Levit.*, who, however, admits the possibility of additions to Leviticus at the time of the Exile and later; Hoffmann, *Magazin f. d. Wissensch. des Judenth.*, 1879, pp. 209–215; Nöldeke, *Zur Kritik des A. T.*, pp. 67–71, and Delitzsch, *Pent. kritische Stud.*, p. 620.[q] It is in favour of this opinion that, so far as phraseology is concerned, Ezekiel is not an original writer, for he borrows very largely from Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Zephaniah, and above all Jeremiah. If this hypothesis be true, the extent of Ezekiel's indebtedness still remains a remarkable problem, especially since many of the words and expressions are unique. Against these must indeed be set a certain number of peculiarities and differences. Hoffmann uses these as a proof that Ezekiel could not have written the Priest-codex, because in it there are none of the

[o] He held that Ezekiel wrote Lev. xxvi., and possibly Lev. xviii.–xx.; but, seeing the many expressions not found in Ezekiel which occur in Lev. xxiii., xxiv., xxv., xxvii., he thought that others of the last ten chapters of Leviticus were written either by Ezekiel or by a writer or writers who stood in close relation to him.

[p] On the many differences between Ezekiel and the Mosaic Law and later custom, see Professor Gardiner "on Ezekiel and the Law," *Journ. of Soc. of Bibl. Lit.*, June 1881. Strack, in his article on the Pentateuch (Herzog, *RE.*[2] xi.), argues further that the mention of the year of Jubilee in Lev. xxv. 8, and of the Urim and Thummim in Lev. viii. 8, is inconsistent with the theory that the main part of the Levitic legislation is of post-Exilian origin. See Edersheim, *Prophecy and History*, 1885, pp. 270–273.

[q] See the long list of parallels in Smend's *Commentary*, pp. xxiv., xxv. Hoffmann shows that no less than eighty-one passages in this section of Leviticus have eighty-three parallels in Ezekiel, so that one of the writers *must* have seen the other.

approximations to the language of older writers which are found in the prophecy; and also because in the Priest-codex the parallels are to the language of Ezekiel only, and not to the phrases which he has in common with Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. Full weight must be allowed to these considerations, but it still remains difficult to account for the circumstance that Ezekiel should have written a Book of forty-eight chapters, and should have singled out from the whole Pentateuch one small section, and especially one isolated chapter (Lev. xxvi.), for such deep study as to have become thoroughly saturated with its style and expressions, and to have borrowed from one chapter nearly fifty expressions, of which eighteen occur nowhere else in the Bible.[r]

The second hypothesis (2)—that the Priestly-codex is in reality later than Ezekiel and partially founded on him—is, with trivial variations, that of Wellhausen, Kuenen, Smend, Reuss, Lagarde, Stade, and Robertson Smith. Their opinion is that the Book of Deuteronomy was in the main the Book found—or, as they would say, produced—by the high-priest Hilkiah in the reign of Josiah, and that the chapters in Leviticus are a modification of Ezekiel's preparatory and ideal scheme. They consider that the Prophet meant his Torah to be a sketch for the ritual of the Restoration, which was to supersede the old and corrupt usage of the Temple (xliii. 7; xliv. 5; xlv. 8, 9), and which was to be at once a reward for the repentance of his countrymen and a scheme to protect them from again falling into like sins (Rob. Smith, *The Prophets of the Old Testament*, pp. 374–387). The essence of this new ideal is its sacerdotalism, in that it gives prominence to an atoning ritual, and puts an end to the sacrifices of individual Israelites. This it effects partly by a stated *national* sacrifice, and partly by separating the worshippers from the sacrifices by "a double cordon of priests and Levites." The Levitical legislation, according to this view, is but a practical adaptation of Ezekiel's essential principles to the actual circumstances of the second Temple, when Jews were no longer a free people but a religious community. In the so-called "Priestly Codex" of Leviticus the nation becomes "the congregation;" the civil order is almost absorbed in the ecclesiastical; the State becomes a Church; the old prophetic ideal becomes a sacerdotal ideal.[s] Ezekiel's last nine chapters are regarded as the modification of an old priestly Torah, and Lev. xvii.–xxvi. as a practical adaptation of this Torah, but with the re-admission of many ancient ordinances. On this hypothesis Lev. xxvi. is considered to be an intentional imitation of the style and manner of Ezekiel. For criticism of this view, we must refer to the paper of Prof. Gardiner already quoted. No literary question seems more difficult on *à priori* grounds than the decision as to which of two writers has borrowed from the other. For instance, every fresh critic takes a different view of the obvious relations between the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and between St. Jude and 2 Pet. ii.; and quite recently there have been opposite opinions as to whether the Epistle of Barnabas borrows from the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles or *vice versâ*. All that can be regarded as certain in this instance is that there is *some* direct relation between the two sections of Ezekiel and Leviticus. Writers like Hoffmann and Kalisch, among others, adopt the third hypothesis (3), that both alike are founded on an older work; but no one could compare such paragraphs as Lev. xxvi. 30–33 with Ezek. vi. 3–7, or again Lev. xxvi. with Ezek. xxxiv. 25–31, without a strong conviction that one of the writers must have actually seen the existing work of the other. The questions here suggested cannot be regarded as finally settled, but meanwhile we may see as clearly as Luther did centuries ago, that the authorship of this or that section of the Pentateuch is a matter to be decided (as alone it can be decided) by simple criticism, and that it lies altogether out of the domain of religion.

There are no direct quotations from Ezekiel in the New Testament, but in the Apocalypse there are many parallels and obvious allusions to the later chapters. A useful list of these will be found in Dr. Currey's Commentary (*Speaker's Commentary*, vi. 12–16).

The Vision of Ezekiel ("The Chariot") became one of the chief studies of the Kabbalists, and the repetition of it was supposed to be surrounded with perils. The Talmud tells us of a child who was trying to comprehend *Chasmal* (A. V. "amber," Ezek. i. 4), when a fire came out of the *Chasmal* and consumed him (*Chagiga*, f. 13, 1). Many other wonderful circumstances about the מַעֲשֵׂה בְרֵאשִׁית are narrated in the same treatise, and in f. 11, 2, that there were four questions relating to it into which, if a man pried, "it were better for him that he had never been born." See, too, *Sukka*, f. 28, 1, and Klein, *Le Judaïsme*, p. 32.

The text of Ezekiel is considered to be the most corrupt in the Old Testament except that of the books of Samuel. It may often be conjecturally emended from the general character of the prophet's style, and sometimes from the renderings of the LXX., though many of the various readings are obviously older than that Version. Some are due to glosses and manipulations of later scribes, especially in chs. xl.–xlviii. See Smend, *Der Proph. Ezechiel*, p. xxix.

VI. *Bibliography.*—The chief commentators on this "most neglected of the prophets" are, among the Fathers, Origen, Jerome, and Theodoret; among the Jews, Rabbis David Qimchi and Abarbanel; among the Reformers, Oecolampadius and Calvin; among Romanists, Pradus and Villalpandus. There are modern commentaries by Marck (1731), Venema (1790), Newcome, Greenhill, Fairbairn (1851), Kliefoth (1856), Henderson, Hävernick (1843), Hitzig (1847), Hengstenberg (1867), Keil (1868), Smend[2] (1880), Schröder (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*), Cornill (1886), and Orelli (in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*, 1888). In the *Speaker's Commentary* (1876) the Book is edited by Dr. Currey; in Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary* (1884), by Dr. Gardiner.

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[r] See Horst, p. 85; Colenso, vi. 9. The argument from the use of *hapax legomena* is, however, always precarious. See Stanley Leathes, *Witness of the Old Test. to Christ*, p. 282 sq.

[s] See the view developed in Prof. J. E. Carpenter's "Through the Prophets to the Law," *Modern Rev.*, Jan. 1884.

Besides these commentaries, we may refer to Carpzov, *Introd.* iv. 203 sq.; Kayser, *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.*, 1881; Klostermann, *Zeitschr. f. luther. Theol.*, 1877; Delitzsch, *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissensch.*, 1880; Hoffmann, *Magazin f. d. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1879, pp. 210–215; Ewald, *Die Propheten d. Alten Bundes* (2nd ed. 1868), and *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv.; Kuenen, *Die Profeten*, and *De Godsdienst von Israel*, ii.; Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 1875; Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, and *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1875; Graf, *Die Geschichtliche Bücher des Alten Bundes*, 1866; Nöldeke, *Zur Kritik d. A. Test.*, pp. 67–71; Colenso, *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua*, part vi. 1872; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels* (2nd ed. 1883); Horst, *Lev.* xvii.–xxvi. *und Hezekiel*, 1881; Dr. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of the Old Testament*, pp. 374–387; Reuss, *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, i. 253 sq.; Kalisch, *Leviticus*, p. 386; Driver, *LOT.* ch. v.; and for Jewish views, Hamburger, *RE.* s. v. 'Jechezkel.' [F. W. F.]

E'ZEL, THE STONE (הָאֶבֶן הָאֵזֶל; B. τὸ Ἐργὰβ ἐκεῖνο, A. ἔργον; *lapis cui nomen est Ezel*). A well-known stone in the neighbourhood of Saul's residence, the scene of the parting of David and Jonathan when the former finally fled from the court (1 Sam. xx. 19). At the second mention of the spot (*v.* 41) the Hebrew text (מֵאֵצֶל הַנֶּגֶב; A. V. and R. V. "out of a place toward the south," R. V. marg. *from beside the south*) is, in the opinion of critics, undoubtedly corrupt (see the emendation of the text in Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* on 1 Sam. xx. 19). The true reading is indicated by the LXX. B., which in both cases has *Ergab* or *Argab*—in *v.* 19 for the Hebrew *Eben*, "stone," and in *v.* 41 for *han-negeb*, "the south." *Ergab* is doubtless the Greek rendering of the Hebrew *Argob*=a heap of stones. The true reading of *v.* 41 will therefore be as follows: "David arose from close to the stone heap,"—close to which (the same preposition, אֵצֶל, A. V. "by") it had been arranged beforehand that he should remain (*v.* 19). The change in *v.* 41 from הָאַרְגֹב, as the text stood at the time of the LXX., to הַנֶּגֶב, as it now stands, is one which might easily take place. [G.] [W.]

E'ZEM (עֶצֶם = *bone;* B. Βοσσάλ, A. Βοασόμ; *Asom*), one of the towns of Simeon (1 Ch. iv. 29). In the lists of Joshua (xix. 3) the name appears in the slightly different form of AZEM (the vowel being lengthened before the cause). [G.]

E'ZER (עֶזֶר ?=*treasure;* Ἐζέρ; *Ezer*). **1.** A son of Ephraim, who was slain by the aboriginal inhabitants of Gath, while engaged in a foray on their cattle (1 Ch. vii. 21). Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. 490) assigns this occurrence to the pre-Egyptian period. **2.** A priest noticed in the Book of Nehemiah (xii. 42; Ἰεζούρ, LXX.). **3.** 1 Ch. iv. 4. [W. L. B.]

EZERI'AS (B. δ Ζεχρίας, A. δ Ἐζερίας; *Azarias*), 1 Esd. viii. 1. [AZARIAH, 7.]

EZI'AS (B. δ Ὀζίας, A. Ἐζίας; *Azahel*), 1 Esd. viii. 2. [AZARIAH; AZIEL.]

E'ZION-GA'BER, or . . . GE'BER (עֶצְיֹן גָּבֶר = *the giant's back-bone;* Γασιών Γαβέρ; *Asiongaber;* Num. xxxiii. 35; Deut. ii. 8; 1 K. ix. 26, xxii. 48; 2 Ch. viii. 17), the last station named for the encampment of the Israelites before they came to "the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh," subsequently the station of Solomon's navy, described as near "Eloth, on the sea shore, in the land of Edom" (R. V.); and where that of Jehoshaphat was afterwards "broken"—probably destroyed on the rocks which lie in "jagged ranges on each side" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 2). Wellsted (ii. ch. ix. 153) would find it in Dahab [DIZAHAB], but this could hardly be regarded as "in the land of Edom" (although possibly the rocks which Wellsted describes may have been the actual scene of the wreck), nor would it accord with Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6, § 4)[a] as "not far from Elath." According to the map of Kiepert (in Robinson, 1856), it stands at *'Ain el-Ghudyán*, about 10 miles up what is now the dry bed of the Arabah, but, as he supposed, was then the northern end of the gulf, which may have anciently had, like that of Suez, a further extension. This probably is the best site for it. By comparing 1 K. ix. 26, 27 with 2 Ch. viii. 17, 18, it is probable that timber was floated from Tyre to the nearest point on the Mediterranean coast, and then conveyed over land to the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*, where the ships seem to have been built; for there can hardly have been adequate forests in the neighbourhood. [WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERING.] [H. H.]

EZ'NITE, THE (הָעֶצְנִי, *Keri* הָעֲצְנִי; B. δ Ἀσωναῖος, A. Ἀσώναος; Vulg. omits). According to the statement of 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, "Adino the Eznite" was another name for (R. V.) "Joshebbasshebeth a Tachcemonite (A. V. "the Tachmonite that sate in the seat"), chief among the captains." The passage is, however, one of the most disputed in the whole Bible, owing partly to the difficulty of the one man bearing two names so distinct without any assigned reason, and partly to the discrepancy between it and the parallel sentence in 1 Ch. xi. 11, in which for the words "Adino the Eznite" other Hebrew words are found, not very dissimilar in appearance, but meaning "he shook (A. V. and R. V. "lifted up") his spear." Modern critics (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco) are mostly agreed that the words in Chronicles preserve the original text, which in the Book of Samuel has become corrupted. The form of this particular word is the original text (*the Kethib*) Etzno, which has been altered to Etzni by the Masoret scribes (in the *Keri*), apparently to admit of some meaning being obtained from it. Jerome read it *Etzno*, and taking it to be a declension of *Etz* (="wood") has rendered the words "*quasi tenerrimus* ligni *vermiculus*." The LXX. and some Hebrew MSS. (see Davidson's *Heb. Text*) add the words of Chronicles to the text of Samuel, a course followed by the A. V.

The passage has been examined at length by Kennicott (*Dissertation* 1, 71–128) and Gesenius (*Thes.* pp. 994, 995), to whom the reader must

[a] Ἀσιωγγάβαρος, αὐτὴ Βερενίκη καλεῖται, οὐ πόρρω Αἰλανῆς πόλεως.

be referred for details. Their conclusion is that the reading of the Chronicles is correct (see Driver, *l. c.*). Ewald does not mention it (*Gesch.* iii. 180, note). [G.] [W.]

EZ'RA (עֶזְרָא = *help*; Ἔσδρας). **1.** The head of one of the twenty-two courses of priests which returned from captivity with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. xii. 2). But in the somewhat parallel list of Neh. x. 2–8, the name of the same person is written עֲזַרְיָה, Azariah, as it is probably in Ezra vii. 1.

2. A man of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 17).

3. The famous scribe and priest, descended from Hilkiah the high-priest in Josiah's reign, from whose younger son Azariah sprung Seraiah, Ezra's father (Ezra vii. 1), thought by many to be quite a different person from Seraiah the high-priest. All that is really known of Ezra is contained in the last four chapters of the Book of Ezra and in Neh. viii. and xii. 26. From these passages we learn that he was a learned and pious priest residing at Babylon in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 465–425). The origin of his influence with the king does not appear, but in the seventh year of his reign, in spite of the unfavourable report which had been sent by Rehum and Shimshai (Ezra iv. 8, 9), he obtained leave to go to Jerusalem, and to take with him a company of Israelites, together with priests, a few Levites, singers, porters, and Nethinim. Of these a list, amounting to 1754, is given in Ezra viii.; and these, also, doubtless form a part of the full list of the returned captives contained in Neh. vii., and in duplicate in Ezra ii. (cp. Smend, *Die Listen d. BB. Esra u. Neh.*). Including women and children, the number probably amounted to between 6,000 and 8,000 souls. The journey of Ezra and his companions from Babylon to Jerusalem took just four months; and they brought up with them a large free-will offering of gold, silver, and silver vessels, contributed, not only by the Babylonian Jews, but by the king himself and his counsellors. These offerings were for the House of God, to beautify it, and for the purchase of bullocks, rams, and the other offerings required for the Temple-service. In addition to this, Ezra was empowered to draw upon the king's treasurers beyond the river for any further supplies he might require; and all priests, Levites, and other ministers of the Temple, were exempted from taxation. Ezra had also authority given him to appoint magistrates and judges in Judaea, with power of life and death over all offenders. This ample commission was granted him at his own request (v. 6), and it appears that his great design was to effect a religious reformation among the Palestine Jews, and to bring them back to the observation of the Law of Moses, from which they had grievously declined. His first step, accordingly, was to enforce a separation from their wives upon all who had made heathen marriages, in which number were many priests and Levites, as well as other Israelites. This was effected in little more than six months after his arrival at Jerusalem.[a] With the detailed account of this important transaction Ezra's autobiography ends abruptly, and we hear nothing more of him till, thirteen years afterwards, in the twentieth of Artaxerxes, we find him again at Jerusalem with Nehemiah "the Tirshatha." It is generally assumed that Ezra had continued governor till Nehemiah superseded him; but as Ezra's commission was only of a temporary nature, "to inquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem" (Ezra vii. 14), and to carry thither "the silver and gold which the king and his counsellors had freely offered unto the God of Israel" (*v.* 15), and as there is no trace whatever of his presence at Jerusalem between the eighth and the twentieth of Artaxerxes, it seems probable that after he had effected the above-named reformation, and had appointed competent judges and magistrates, with authority to maintain it, he himself returned to the king of Persia. This is in itself what one would expect, and what is borne out by the parallel case of Nehemiah, and it also accounts for the abrupt termination of Ezra's narrative, and for that relapse of the Jews into their former irregularities which is apparent in the Book of Nehemiah. Such a relapse, and such a state of affairs at Jerusalem in general, could scarcely have occurred if Ezra had continued there.[b] Whether he returned to Jerusalem with Nehemiah, or separately, does not appear certainly; but as he is not mentioned in Nehemiah's narrative till after the completion of the wall (Neh. viii. 1), it is perhaps probable that he followed the latter some months later, having, perhaps, been sent for to aid him in his work. The functions he executed under Nehemiah's government were purely of a priestly and ecclesiastical character, such as reading and interpreting the Law of Moses to the people during the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles, praying in the congregation, assisting at the dedication of the wall, and in promoting the religious reformation so happily effected by the Tirshatha. But in this he filled the first place; being repeatedly coupled with Nehemiah the Tirshatha (viii. 9; xii. 26), while Eliashib the high-priest is not mentioned as taking any part in the reformation at all, through (as some think; cp. Hunter, ii. 235) hostility to the course pursued. In the sealing to the covenant described in Neh. x., Ezra's name does not occur, probably because this formal act on the part of the man who had drawn up the covenant was not considered necessary, though some consider that he sealed under the patronymic Seraiah or Azariah (v. 2). As Ezra is not mentioned after Nehemiah's departure for Babylon in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, and as everything fell into confusion during Nehemiah's absence (Neh. xiii.), it is not unlikely that Ezra may have died or returned to Babylon before that year (see his character, Mal. ii. 5–7). Josephus, who should be our next best authority after Scripture, evidently knew nothing about the time or the place of his death. He vaguely says, "He died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem" (*Ant.*

[a] The steps of Ezra's reformation are well, if somewhat imaginatively, described by Hunter, *After the Exile*, ii., chs. i. ii.—[F.]

[b] On the other hand, it is argued that Ezra remained all this time in Jerusalem, but was forced into inactivity by the strong reaction against his Puritan *régime*. Cp. Hunter, ii. 96 sq. —[F.]

xi. 5, § 5), and places his death in the high-priesthood of Joacim, and before the government of Nehemiah! But that he lived under the high-priesthood of Eliashib and the government of Nehemiah is expressly stated in Nehemiah; and there was a strong Jewish tradition that he was buried in Persia. Thus Benjamin of Tudela says of Nehar-Samorah—apparently some place on the lower Tigris, on the frontier of Persia, Zamuza according to the Talmudists, otherwise Zamzumu—"The sepulchre of Ezra the priest and scribe is in this place, where he died on his journey from Jerusalem to king Artaxerxes" (i. 116), a tradition which certainly agrees very well with the narrative of Nehemiah. This sepulchre is shown to this day (*ib.* ii. 116, note).

Tomb of Ezra on the banks of the Euphrates.

As regards the traditional history of Ezra, it is extremely difficult to judge what portion of it has any historical foundation. The principal works ascribed to him by the Jews, and, on the strength of their testimony, by Christians also, are:—1. The institution of the Great Synagogue, of which, the Jews say, Ezra was president, and Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Zorobabel, Mordecai, Jeshua, Nehemiah, &c., were members; Simeon the Just, the last survivor, living on till the time of Alexander the Great! 2. The settling the Canon of Scripture, and restoring, correcting, and editing the whole sacred volume according to the threefold arrangement of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, with the divisions of the *Pesukim*, or verses, the vowel-points handed down by tradition from Moses, and the emendations of the *Keri*. 3. The introduction of the Chaldee character instead of the old Hebrew or Samaritan. 4. The compilership of the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and, some add, Esther; and, many of the Jews say, also of the Books of Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve Prophets. 5. The establishment of synagogues. Of most of these works a full account is given in Prideaux's *Connexion*, i. 308–348 and 355–376; also in Buxtorf's *Tiberias*. References to the chief rabbinical and other authorities will be found in Winer; Fürst, *Der Kanon d. A. Ts.*, p. 112 sq.; and Hamburger, *R.E.* s. n. A compendious account of the arguments by which most of these Jewish statements are proved to be fabulous is given in Stehelin's *Rabbin. Literat.* pp. 5–8. The chief are drawn from the silence of the sacred writers themselves, of the apocryphal books, and of Josephus—and, it might be added, of Jerome—and from the fact that they may be traced to the author of the chapter in the Mishna called *Pirke Avoth*. Here, however, it must suffice to observe that the pointed description of Ezra (vii. 6) as "a ready scribe in the Law of Moses," repeated in *vv.* 11, 12, 21, added to the information concerning him that "he had prepared his heart to seek the Law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments" (vii. 10), and his commission "to teach the laws of his God to such as knew them not" (*v.* 25), and his great diligence in reading the Scriptures to the people, all give the utmost probability to the account which attributes to him a corrected edition of the Scriptures, and the circulation of many such copies. The Books of Nehemiah and Malachi must indeed have been added later; possibly by Malachi's authority; and some tradition to this effect may have given rise to the Jewish fable of Malachi being the same person as Ezra. But we cannot affirm that Ezra inserted in the Canon any Books that were not already acknowledged as inspired, as we have no sufficient ground for ascribing to him the prophetic character. Even the Books of which he was the compiler may not have assumed definitely the

character of SCRIPTURE till they were sanctioned by Malachi. There does not, however, seem to be sufficient ground for forming a definite opinion on the details of the subject. In like manner one can only say that the introduction of the Chaldee character, and the commencement of such stated meetings for hearing the Scriptures read as led to the regular synagogue-service, are things likely to have occurred about this time. For the question of Ezra's authorship, see CHRONICLES and EZRA, BOOK OF. [A. C. H.]

EZ'RA, BOOK OF. I. *Title and Structure of the Book.*—The Book of Ezra speaks for itself to any one who reads it with ordinary intelligence, and without any prejudice as to its nature and composition. It is manifestly a continuation of the Books of Chronicles, as indeed it is called by Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, *Sermones dierum Esdrae* (ap. Cosin's *Canon of Scr.* 51). It is naturally a fresh Book, as commencing the history of the returned captives after seventy years of suspension, as it were, of the national life. But when we speak of the Book as a *chronicle*, we at once declare the nature of it, which its contents also abundantly confirm. Like the two Books of Chronicles, it consists of the contemporary historical journals kept from time to time by the Prophets, or other authorised persons, who were eye-witnesses for the most part of what they record, and whose several narratives were afterwards strung together, and either abridged or added to, as the case required, by a later hand. That later hand, in the Book of Ezra, was doubtless Ezra's own, as appears by the last four chapters, as well as by other matter inserted in the previous chapters. While therefore, in a certain sense, the whole Book is Ezra's, as put together by him, yet, strictly, only the last four chapters are his original work. Nor will it be difficult to point out with tolerable certainty several of the writers of whose writings the first six chapters are composed. It has already been suggested [CHRONICLES, p. 577, col. 1] that the chief portion of the last chapter of 2 Ch. and Ezra i. may probably have been written by Daniel. The evidences of this in Ezra i. must now be given more fully. No one probably can read Daniel as a genuine Book, and not be struck with the very singular circumstance that, while he tells us in ch. ix. that he was aware that the seventy years' Captivity, foretold by Jeremiah, was near its close, and was led thereby to pray earnestly for the restoration of Jerusalem, and while he records the remarkable vision in answer to his prayer, yet he takes not the slightest notice of Cyrus's decree, by which Jeremiah's prophecy was fulfilled, and his own heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel was accomplished, and which must have been the most stirring event in his long life, not even excepting the incident of the den of lions. He passes over in utter silence the *first* year of Cyrus, to which pointed allusion is made in Dan. i. 21, and proceeds in ch. x. to the *third* year of Cyrus. Such silence is utterly unaccountable. But Ezra i. supplies the missing notice. If placed between Dan. ix. and x. it exactly fills up the gap, and records *the* event of the first year of Cyrus, in which Daniel was so deeply interested. And not only so, but the *manner* of the record is exactly Daniel's. Ezra i. 1: "And in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia," is the precise formula used in Dan. i. 1; ii. 1; vii. 1; viii. 1; ix. 1; x. 1; xi. 1. The designation (*vv.* 1, 2, 8) "Cyrus, king of Persia," is that used in Dan. x. 1; the reference to the prophecy of Jeremiah in *v.* 1 is similar to that in Dan. ix. 2, and the natural sequence to it. The giving the text of the decree, *vv.* 2–4 (cp. Dan. iv.), the mention of the name of "Mithredath the treasurer," *v.* 8 (cp. Dan. i. 3, 11), the allusion to the sacred vessels placed by Nebuchadnezzar in the house of his god, *v.* 7 (cp. Dan. i. 2), the giving the Chaldee name of Zerubbabel, *vv.* 8, 11 (cp. Dan. i. 7), and the whole *locus standi* of the narrator, who evidently wrote at Babylon, not at Jerusalem, are all circumstances which in a marked manner point to Daniel as the writer of Ezra i. Nor is there the least improbability in the supposition that if Ezra edited Daniel's papers he might think the chapter in question more conveniently placed in its chronological position in the *Chronicles* than in the collection of Daniel's prophecies. It is scarcely necessary to add that several chapters of the Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah are actually found in the Book of Kings, as *e.g.* Is. xxxvi.–xxxix. in 2 K. xviii.–xx. In the opinion then of the writer of this article, Ezra i. was by the hand of Daniel.

As regards Ezra ii., and as far as iii. 1, where the change of name from Sheshbazzar to Zerubbabel in *v.* 2, the mention of Nehemiah the Tirshatha in *vv.* 2 and 63, and that of Mordecai in *v.* 2, at once indicate a different and much later hand, we need not seek long to discover where it came from, because it is found *in extenso, verbatim et literatim* (with the exception of clerical errors), in ch. vii. of Nehemiah, to which it belongs beyond a shadow of doubt [NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF]. This portion then was written by Nehemiah, and was placed by Ezra, or possibly by a still later hand, in this position, as bearing upon the return from Captivity related in ch. i., though chronologically out of place. Whether the extract originally extended so far as iii. 1 may be doubted.[a] The next portion extends from iii. 2 to the end of ch. vi. With the exception of one large explanatory addition by Ezra, extending from iv. 6 to 23 (see below), this portion is the work of a writer contemporary with Zerubbabel and Jeshua and an eye-witness of the rebuilding of the Temple in the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis. The minute details given of all the circumstances, such as the weeping of the old men who had seen the first Temple, the names of the Levites who took part in the work, of the heathen governors who hindered it, the expression (vi. 15) "*This house* was finished," &c., the number of the sacrifices offered at the dedication, and the whole tone of the narrative, bespeak an actor in the scenes described. Who then was so likely to record these interesting events as one of those Prophets who took an active part in promoting them, and a portion of whose duty it would be to continue the national *chronicles*? That it was the Prophet Haggai

[a] Oettli (§ 4) suggests that chs. i.–iii. belong to one historical source.

becomes tolerably sure when we observe further the following coincidences in style.

1. The title "the Prophet" is throughout this portion of Ezra attached in a peculiar way to the name of Haggai. Thus in v. 1 we read, "Then the Prophets, Haggai *the Prophet*, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophesied," &c.; and in vi. 14, "They prospered through the prophesying of Haggai *the Prophet*, and Zechariah the son of Iddo." And in like manner in Hag. i. 1, 3, 12, ii. 1, 10, he is called "Haggai the Prophet."

2. The designation of Zerubbabel and Jeshua is identical in the two writers: "Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak" (cp. Ezra iii. 2, 8, v. 2, with Hag. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 2, 4, 23). It will be seen that both writers usually name them together, and in the same order: Zechariah, on the contrary, does not once name them together, and calls them simply Zerubbabel and Jeshua. Only in vi. 11 he adds "the son of Josedech," where the difference in transliteration is merely an inaccuracy in the A. V., corrected in the R. V. "Jehozadak."

3. The description in Ezra v. 1, 2 of the effect of the preaching of Haggai and Zechariah upon Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the people, is identical with that in Hag. i., only abbreviated. And Hag. ii. 3 alludes to the interesting circumstance recorded in Ezra iii. 12.

4. Both writers mark the date of the transactions they record by the year of "Darius the king" (Ezra iv. 24, vi. 15, compared with Hag. i. 1, 15, ii. 10, &c.).

5. Ezra iii. 8 contains exactly the same enumeration of those that worked, viz. "Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the *remnant* of their brethren," as Hag. i. 12, 14, where we have "Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, with all the *remnant* of the people" (cp. too Ezra vi. 16 and Hag. ii. 2).

6. Both writers use the expression "the work of the house of the Lord" (Ezra iii. 8, 9 compared with Hag. i. 14); and both use the phrase "the foundation of the Temple was laid" (Ezra iii. 6, 10, 11, 12, compared with Hag. ii. 18).

7. Both writers use indifferently the expressions the "house of the Lord" and the "Temple of the Lord," but the former much more frequently than the latter. Thus the writer in Ezra uses the expression "the house" (בַּיִת) twenty-five times, to six in which he speaks of "the Temple" (הֵיכָל). Haggai speaks of "the house" seven times, of "the Temple" twice.

8. Both writers make marked and frequent references to the Law of Moses. Thus cp. Ezra iii. 2, 3–6, 8, vi. 14, 16–22, with Hag. i. 8, 10, ii. 5, 11–13, 17, &c.

Such strongly-marked resemblances in the compass of two such brief portions of Scripture seem to prove, in the opinion of the writer of this article, that they are from the pen of the same writer.

But the above observations do not apply to Ezra iv. 6–23, which is a parenthetic addition by a much later hand, and, as the passage most clearly shows, made in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 465–425). The compiler who inserted ch. ii., a document drawn up in the reign of Artaxerxes, to illustrate the return of the captives under Zerubbabel, here inserts a notice of two historical facts,—of which one occurred in the reign of Xerxes, and the other in the reign of Artaxerxes,—to illustrate the opposition offered by the heathen to the rebuilding of the Temple in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. He tells us that in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, *i.e.* before Esther was in favour, they had written to the king to prejudice him against the Jews—a circumstance, by the way, which may rather have inclined him to listen to Haman's proposition; and he gives the text of letters sent to Artaxerxes, and of Artaxerxes' answer, on the strength of which Rehum and Shimshai forcibly hindered the Jews from rebuilding the city. These letters doubtless came into Ezra's hands at Babylon, and may have led to those endeavours on his part to make the king favourable to Jerusalem which issued in his own commission in the seventh year of his reign. At *v.* 24 Haggai's narrative proceeds in connexion with *v.* 5. The mention of Artaxerxes in vi. 14 is of the same kind. The last four chapters, beginning with chapter vii., are Ezra's own, and continue the history after a gap of fifty-eight years—from the sixth of Darius to the seventh of Artaxerxes. The only history of Judaea during this interval is what is given in the above-named parenthesis, from which we may infer that during this time there was no one in Palestine to write the Chronicles. The history of the Jews in Persia for the same period is given in the Book of Esther.

[In the canon of the Jewish Church the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah are reckoned as one (*Baba Bathra*, f. 15 a), and Ezra was regarded as the "writer." Josephus, Origen (Ἔ. πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος ἐν ἑνὶ Ἔζρᾳ in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25), Melito of Sardis, Epiphanius, Jerome, and the LXX. (א. and A.) also counted the two as one; led to their conclusion as much by the literary character of the Books as by a supposed desire to bring the number of the Canonical Books into keeping with the number of the letters in the Hebrew and Greek alphabets. The abrupt ending, or rather non-ending, of Ezra, lent itself to this conclusion; while some of the most interesting episodes in the history of Ezra are to be found not in the Book which bears his name but in Nehemiah (vii. 73 b–x). It seems impossible now to determine when the separation between the two Books (Heb. text, LXX. B., and Vulg.) took place; but at least the point fixed upon—the appearance of Nehemiah upon the scene—commends itself as the most natural which could be selected.

The question of *authorship*, or perhaps compilership, is by no means settled. In the case of the Book Ezra (for the Book of Nehemiah, see *s. n.*), separate compilership being presupposed, the style of the portions admitted to be his (*e.g.* vii. 27, ix. 15) is declared to be in agreement with that found elsewhere in the Book; and such peculiarities as transition from the first to the third person, or sections alternately Hebrew and Aramaic, are not considered incompatible with the view that Ezra was himself the compiler. On this supposition Ezra's Book was written "in B.C. 457 or very shortly afterwards" (Sayce, pp. 28–33). On the

other hand, the peculiarities above mentioned are with some critics matters of special moment; and dual compilership with a final redaction not being considered satisfactory, a date is taken from Neh. xii. 23 ("Darius the Persian" being taken to be Darius Codomannus, B.C. 336–330), and the Book is—as regards its present form—placed at the end of the 4th cent. or in the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. (Oettli, § 5.)—F.]

II. *Text.*—The text of the Book of Ezra is not in a good condition. There are a good many palpable corruptions both in the names and numerals, and perhaps in some other points. It is written partly in Hebrew, and partly in Chaldee. The Chaldee begins at iv. 8, and continues to the end of vi. 18. The letter or decree of Artaxerxes (vii. 12–26) is also given in the original Chaldee. There has never been any doubt about Ezra being canonical, although there is no quotation from it in the N. T. Augustine says of Ezra, "magis rerum gestarum scriptor est habitus quam propheta." (*de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36). The period covered by the Book is eighty years, from the first of Cyrus (B.C. 536) to the beginning of the eighth of Artaxerxes (B.C. 456). It embraces the governments of Zerubbabel and Ezra, the high-priesthoods of Jeshua, Joiakim, and the early part of Eliashib; and the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes, and part of Artaxerxes. Of these Cambyses and Smerdis are not named. Xerxes is barely named iv. 6. [ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF.] [A. C. H.]

III. *Literature.*—The best edition of the Heb.-Aram. text is Baer's *Libri Danielis, Ezrae, et Nehemiae*, 1882, with glossary, &c. by Fried. Delitzsch. Good commentaries are supplied by Bertheau-Ryssel[2] (in the *Kgf. Hdb. z. A. T.*); Keil (in Keil u. Delitzsch's *Bibl. Komm.*); Schultz (in Lange's *Theol.-hom. Bibelw.*); Neteler, *Die BB. Esdras, Neh., u. Esther;* Rawlinson (in *Speaker's Commentary*); Sayce (*Introd. to the Books of Ezra, Neh. and Esther*); Ryle (in *Cambridge Bible for Schools*); Driver (*LOT.* p. 507 sq.); and Oettli (in Strack und Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm. z. d. heil. Schriften d. A. T.*), who also supplies references to numerous German monographs on special points. [F.]

EZ'RAHITE, THE (הָאֶזְרָחִי; B. ὁ Ζαρείτης, A. ὁ Ἐζραηλίτης [in K.], Bא. Ἰσραηλείτης [in Pss.]; *Ezrahita*), a title attached to two persons—Ethan (1 K. iv. 31; Ps. lxxxix. title) and Heman (Ps. lxxxviii. title). The word is naturally derivable from Ezrah, or—which is almost the same in Hebrew—Zerach, זֶרַח; and accordingly in 1 Ch. ii. 6, Ethan and Heman are both given as sons of Zerah the son of Judah. Another Ethan and another Heman are named as Levites and musicians in the lists of 1 Ch. vi. and elsewhere. [G.]

EZ'RI (עֶזְרִי = *my help*; Ἐσδρί, A. Ἐζραΐ; *Ezri*), son of Chelub, superintendent for king David of those who worked "for tillage of the ground" (1 Ch. xxvii. 26). [G.]

F

FABLE (μῦθος; *fabula*). Taking the words "fable" and "parable," not in their strict etymological meaning, but in that which has been stamped upon them by current usage—looking, *i.e.* at the Aesopic fable as the type of the one, at the Parables of the N. T. as the type of the other,—we have to ask, (1) In what relation they stand to each other, as instruments of moral teaching? (2) What use is made in the Bible of this or of that form? That they have much in common is, of course, obvious enough. In both we find "statements of facts, which do not even pretend to be historical, used as vehicles for the exhibition of a general truth" (Neander, *Leben Jesu*, p. 68). Both differ from the Mythus, in the modern sense of that word, in being the result of a deliberate choice of such a mode of teaching, not the spontaneous, unconscious evolution of thought in some symbolic form.[a] They take their place so far as species of the same genus. What are the characteristic marks by which the fable and the Parable differ from each other, it is perhaps easier to feel than to define. Thus we have (cp. Trench, *Notes on the Parables*, p. 2) (1) Lessing's statement that the fable takes the form of an actual narrative, while the Parable assumes only that what is related might have happened; (2) Herder's, that the difference lies in the fable's dealing with brute or inanimate nature, in the Parable's drawing its materials exclusively from human life; (3) Olshausen's (on Matt. xiii. 1), followed by Trench (*l. c.*), that it is to be found in the higher truths of which the Parable is the vehicle. Perhaps the most satisfactory summing up of the chief distinctive features of each is to be found in the following extract from Neander (*l. c.*):—"The Parable is distinguished from the fable by this, that, in the latter, qualities or acts of a higher class of beings may be attributed to a lower (*e.g.* those of men to brutes); while, in the former, the lower sphere is kept perfectly distinct from that which it seems to illustrate. The beings and powers thus introduced always follow the law of their nature, but their acts, according to this law, are used to figure those of a higher race. . . . . The mere introduction of brutes as personal agents, in the fable, is not sufficient to distinguish it from the Parable which may make use of the same contrivance; as, for example, Christ employs the sheep in one of His parables. The great distinction here, also, lies in what has already been remarked; brutes introduced in the Parable act according to the law of their nature, and the two spheres of nature and of the kingdom of God are carefully separated from each other. Hence the reciprocal relations of brutes to each other are not made use of, as these could furnish no appropriate image of the relation between man and the kingdom of God."

[a] On the myth see Bishop Westcott, *Essays on the History of the Religious Thought in the West*, p. 3.

Of the fable, as thus distinguished from the Parable, we have but two examples in the Bible: (1) that of the trees choosing their king, addressed by Jotham to the men of Shechem (Judg. ix. 8–15)—unnecessarily placed by some (cp. Bleek-Wellhausen,[4] p. 194) in the times of the Kings; (2) that of the cedar of Lebanon and the thistle, as the answer of Jehoash to the challenge of Amaziah (2 K. xiv. 9). The narrative of Ezek. xvii. 1–10, though, in common with the fable, it brings before us the lower forms of creation as representatives of human characters and destinies, differs from it, in the points above noticed, (1) in not introducing them as having human attributes, (2) in the higher prophetic character of the truths conveyed by it. The great eagle, the cedar of Lebanon, the spreading vine, are not grouped together as the agents in a fable, but are simply, like the bear, the leopard, and the lion in the visions of Daniel, symbols of the great monarchies of the world.

In the two instances referred to, the fable has more the character of the Greek *αἶνος* (Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* v. 11) than of the *μῦθος*: that is, it is less the fruit of a vivid imagination, sporting with the analogies between the worlds of nature and of men, than a covert reproof, making the sarcasm which it affects to hide all the sharper (Müller and Donaldson, *Hist. of Greek Literature*, vol. i. ch. xi.). The appearance of the fable thus early in the history of Israel, and its entire absence from the direct teaching both of the O. and N. T., are, each of them in its way, significant. Taking the received chronology, the fable of Jotham was spoken about 1209 B.C. The Arabian traditions of Lokman do not assign to him an earlier date than that of David. The earliest Greek *αἶνος* is that of Hesiod (*Op. et D.* v. 202), and the prose form of the fable does not meet us till we come (about 550 B.C.) to Stesichorus and Aesop. The first example in the history of Rome is the apologue of Menenius Agrippa B.C. 494, and its genuineness has been questioned on the ground that the fable could hardly at that time have found its way to Latium (Müller and Donaldson, *l. c.*). It may be noticed, too, that when collections of fables became familiar to the Greeks, they were looked on as imported, not indigenous. The traditions that surround the name of Aesop, the absence of any evidence that he *wrote* fables, the traces of Eastern origin in those ascribed to him, leave him little more than the representative of a period when the forms of teaching, which had long been familiar to the more Eastern nations, were travelling westward, and were adopted eagerly by the Greeks. The collections themselves are described by titles that indicate a foreign origin. They are Libyan (Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 20), Cyprian, Cilician. All these facts lead to the conclusion that the Hebrew mind, gifted, as it was, in a special measure, with the power of perceiving analogies in things apparently dissimilar, attained, at a very early stage of its growth, the power which does not appear in the history of other nations till a later period. Whatever antiquity may be ascribed to the fables in the comparatively later collection of the *Pancha Tantra*, the land of Canaan is, so far as we have any data to conclude from, the fatherland of fable. To conceive brutes or inanimate objects as representing human characteristics; to personify them as acting, speaking, reasoning; to draw lessons from them applicable to human life,—this must have been common among the Israelites in the time of the Judges. The part assigned in the earliest records of the Bible to the impressions made by the brute creation on the mind of man when "the Lord God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them" (Gen. ii. 19), and the apparent symbolism of the serpent in the narrative of the Fall (Gen. iii. 1), are at once indications of teaching adapted to men in the possession of this power, and must have helped to develop it (Herder, *Geist der Ebräischen Poesie; Werke*, xxxiv. p. 16, ed. 1826). The large number of proverbs in which analogies of this kind are made the bases of a moral precept, and some of which (*e.g.* Prov. xxvi. 11, xxx. 15, 25–28) are of the nature of condensed fables, show that there was no decline of this power as the intellect of the people advanced. The absence of fables accordingly from the teaching of the O. T. must be ascribed to their want of fitness to be the media of the truths which that teaching was to convey. The points in which brutes or inanimate objects present analogies to man are chiefly those which belong to his lower nature, his pride, indolence, cunning, and the like; and the lessons derived from them accordingly do not rise higher than the prudential morality which aims at repressing such defects (cp. Trench, *Notes on the Parables*, l. c.). Hence the fable, apart from the associations of a grotesque and ludicrous nature which gather round it, apart too from its presenting narratives which are "nec verae nec verisimiles" (Cic. *de Invent.* i. 19), is inadequate as the exponent of the higher truths which belong to man's spiritual life. It may serve to exhibit the relations between man and man; it fails to represent those between man and God. To do that is the office of the PARABLE, finding its outward framework in the dealings of men with each other, or in the world of nature as it is, not in any grotesque parody of nature, and exhibiting, in either case, real and not fanciful analogies. The fable seizes on that which man has in common with the creatures below him; the Parable rests on the truths that man is made in the image of God, and that "all things are double one against another."

It is noticeable, as confirming this view of the office of the fable, that though those of Aesop (so called) were known to the great preacher of righteousness at Athens, though a metrical paraphrase of some of them was among the employments of his imprisonment (Plato, *Phaedon*, pp. 60, 61), they were not employed by him as illustrations, or channels of instruction. While Socrates shows an appreciation of the power of such fables to represent some of the phenomena of human life, he was not, he says, in this sense of the word, *μυθολογικός*. The myths which appear in the *Gorgias*, the *Phaedrus*, the *Phaedon*, the *Republic*, are as unlike as possible to the Aesopic fables, are (to take his own account of them) *οὐ μῦθοι ἀλλὰ λόγοι*,—true, though figurative, representations

of spiritual realities; while the illustrations from the common facts of life which were so conspicuous in his ordinary teaching, though differing in being comparisons rather than narratives, come nearer to the parables of the Bible (cp. the contrast between τὰ Σωκρατικά, as examples of the παραβολή and the λόγοι Αἰσώπειοι, Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 20). It may be said indeed that the use of the fable as an instrument of teaching (apart from the embellishments of wit and fancy with which it is associated by such writers as Lessing and La Fontaine) belongs rather to childhood, and the child-like period of national life, than to a more advanced development. In the earlier stages of political change, as in the cases of Jotham, Stesichorus (Arist. *Rhet.* l. c.), Menenius Agrippa, it is used as an element of persuasion or reproof. It ceases to appear in the higher eloquence of orators and statesmen. The special excellence of fables is that they are δημηγορικοί (Arist. *Rhet.* l. c.); that "ducere animos solent, praecipue rusticorum et imperitorum" (Quint. *Inst. Orat.* l. c.).

The μῦθοι of false teachers claiming to belong to the Christian Church, alluded to by writers of the N. T. in connexion with γενεαλογίαι ἀπέραντοι (1 Tim. i. 4), or with epithets Ἰουδαικοί (Tit. i. 14), γραωδεῖς (1 Tim. iv. 7), σεσοφισμένοι (2 Pet. i. 16), do not appear to have had the character of fables, properly so called. As applied to them, the word takes its general meaning of anything false or unreal, and here we need not discuss the nature of the falsehoods so referred to (see Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. "Fabel;" Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Wörterb.*[4] s. v. μῦθος). On the large use and specimens of fable in the Talmudical writings, see Hamburger, *RE.* Abth. ii. *s. v.* "Fabel." [E. H. P.] [F.]

FAIR HAVENS (Καλοὶ Λιμένες), a harbour in the island of CRETE (Acts xxvii. 8), not mentioned in any other ancient writing. There seems no probability that it is, as Biscoe suggested (*on the Acts*, p. 347, ed. 1829), the Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ of Steph. Byz.—for that is said to be a city, whereas Fair Havens is described as "a place near to which was a city called Lasaea" (τόπος τις ᾧ ἐγγὺς ἦν πόλις Λ.). Moreover Mr. Pashley found (*Travels in Crete*, ii. 57) a district

Fair Havens in Crete.

called *Acte;* and it is most likely that Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ was situated there; but that district is in the W. of the island, whereas Fair Havens was on the S. Its position is now quite certain. Though not mentioned by classical writers, it is still known by its old Greek name, as it was in the time of Pococke, and other early travellers mentioned by Mr. Smith (*Voyage and Shipw. of St. Paul*,[2] pp. 80–82). LASAEA, too, has recently been most explicitly discovered. In fact Fair Havens appears to have been practically its harbour. These places are situated 4 or 5 miles to the E. of Cape Matala, which is the most conspicuous headland on the S. coast of Crete, and immediately to the W. of which the coast trends suddenly to the N. This last circumstance explains why the ship which conveyed St. Paul was brought to anchor in Fair Havens. In consequence of violent and continuing N. W. winds she had been unable to hold on her course towards Italy from Cnidus (*v.* 7), and had run down, by Salmone, under the lee of Crete. It was possible to reach Fair Havens: but beyond Cape Matala the difficulty would have recurred, so long as the wind remained in the same quarter. A considerable delay took place (*v.* 9), during which it is possible that St. Paul may have had opportunities of preaching the Gospel at Lasaea, or even at GORTYNA, where Jews resided (1 Macc. xv. 23), and which was not far distant: but all this is conjectural. A consultation took place, at which

it was decided, against the Apostle's advice, to make an attempt to reach a good harbour named PHENICE, their present anchorage being ἀνευθέτος πρὸς παραχείμασίαν (*v.* 12). All such terms are comparative: and there is no doubt that, as a safe winter harbour, Fair Havens is infinitely inferior to Phenice; though perhaps even as a matter of seamanship St. Paul's advice was not bad. However this may be, the south wind, which sprang up afterwards (*v.* 13), proved delusive; and the vessel was caught by a hurricane [EUROCLYDON] on her way towards Phenice, and ultimately wrecked. Besides a view (p. 81), Mr. Smith gives a chart of Fair Havens with the soundings (p. 257), from which any one can form a judgment for himself of the merits of the harbour. [J. S. H.] [W.]

FAIRS (עֲזָבוֹנִים; ἀγορά; *nuadinae, forum*), a word which occurs only in Ezek. xxvii. and there no less than seven times (*vv.* 12, 14, 16, 19, 22, 27, 33): in the last of these verses it is rendered by the A. V. "wares;" and this, being the true meaning of the word, is used by the R. V. throughout. It will be observed that the word stands in some sort of relation to כְּעֵרֶב throughout the whole of the chapter, the latter word also occurring seven times, and translated by A. V. sometimes "market" (*vv.* 13, 17, 19), and elsewhere "merchandise" (*vv.* 9, 27, 33, 34, the rendering of R. V.). The words are used alternately, and represent the alternations of commercial business in which the merchants of Tyre were engaged. That the first of these words cannot signify "fairs" is evident from *v.* 12; for the inhabitants of Tarshish did not visit Tyre, but *vice versâ*. Let the reader substitute the R. V. "traded for thy wares" for the A. V. "traded in thy fairs," and the sense is much improved. The relation which this term bears to *maarab*, which properly means "barter," appears to be pretty much the same as exists between exports and imports. The requirements of the Tyrians themselves, such as slaves (*v.* 13), wheat (*v.* 17), steel (*v.* 19), were a matter of *maarab;* but where the business consisted in the exchange of Tyrian wares for foreign productions, it is specified in this form, "Tarshish *paid for thy wares* with silver, iron, tin, and lead." The use of the terms would probably have been more intelligible if the Prophet had mentioned what the Tyrians gave in exchange: as it is, he only notices the one side of the bargain, viz. what the Tyrians received, whether they were buyers or sellers.
[W. L. B.] [F.]

FALLOW-DEER (יַחְמוּר[a] *yachmûr;* Arab. يحمور; A. βούβαλος; *bubalus;* R. V. roebuck). The Heb. word, which is mentioned only in Deut. xiv. 5, as the name of one of the animals allowed by the Levitical law for food, and in 1 K. iv. 23 as forming part of the provisions for Solomon's table, appears to point to the *Antilope bubalis*, Pallas, the *Alcelaphus bubalis* of recent naturalists; the βούβαλος of the Greeks (see Herod. iv. 192; Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* iii. 6, ed. Schneider, and *De Part. Anim.* iii. 2, 11, ed. Bekker; Oppian, *Cyn.* ii. 300) is properly, we believe, identified with the before-named antelope. From the different descriptions of the *yachmûr*, as given by Arabian writers, and cited by Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 284 sq.), it would seem that this is the animal denoted; though Damir's remarks in some respects are fabulous, and he represents the *yachmûr* as having deciduous horns, which will not apply to any antelope. Still Cazuinus, according to Rosenmüller, identifies the *yachmûr*[b] with the *bekker-el-wash* ("wild cow"), which is the modern name in N. Africa for the *Antilope bubalis*. Kitto (*Pict. Bibl.* Deut. *l. c.*) says, "The yachmûr of the Hebrews is without doubt erroneously identified with the fallow-deer, which does not exist in Asia," and refers the name to the *Oryx leucoryx*, citing Niebuhr as authority for stating that this animal is known among the Eastern Arabs by the name of *yazmur*. The fallow-deer (*Cervus dama*) is undoubtedly a native of Asia; indeed Persia seems to be its proper country. Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 211) noticed this deer in Mount Tabor. But it was unknown in Egypt, and can never, from its habits as a dweller in woods, have existed in Arabia. It was, therefore, unlikely to be mentioned by Moses. The authority of the LXX., however, in a question of this kind, has some weight: accordingly we have little doubt but that the *yachmûr* of the Heb. Scriptures denotes the *bekker-el-wash*, or "wild ox," of Barbary and N. Africa (see Shaw's *Travels*, p. 242, and Suppl. p. 75, folio; Buffon, *Hist. Natur.* xii. p. 294). The Greek βούβαλος evidently points to some animal having the general appearance of an ox. Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 15) tells us that the common people in their ignorance sometimes gave the name of *bubalus* to the *Bison* (*Aurochs*) and the *Urus*. He adds, the animal properly so called is produced in Africa,

Alcelaphus bubal s.

[a] From the root חָמַר, "to be red" (see MV. 11).

[b] *Yachmûr*, Ruber; "animal ad genus pertinens cui est apud Arabes nomen بقر الوحش" (Freytag, *Lex. Ar.*)

and bears a resemblance to the calf and the stag. That this antelope partakes in external form of the characters belonging both to the Cervine and Bovine ruminants will be evident to any one who glances at the woodcut.

The *bekker-el-wash* appears to be depicted in the Egyptian monuments, where it is represented as being hunted for the sake of its flesh, which Shaw tells us (Suppl. p. 75) is very sweet and nourishing, much preferable to that of the red deer (see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. pp. 214–47 [smaller ed. 1878]). This animal, which is about the size of a stag, was common in N. Africa up to the last century, in the early part of which Dr. Shaw speaks of it as common on the Atlas mountains, where it is now all but extinct. It lives in small herds. The range of the Bubale is from Morocco to Arabia; and though I never myself obtained it in Palestine, yet I have found the Arabs east of Jordan perfectly familiar with it, and have seen its horns in their possession. They stated that they often shot it at its watering-places.

But we believe that the *yachmûr* equally includes the roebuck, and that the Revisers were fully justified in so rendering the word. The roebuck (*Cervus capreolus*, L.) identical with the British species was found, though now very rare in Palestine, by myself in the Galilaean woods, and by Major Conder on Mount Carmel (*Proc. Zool. Soc.*, London, 1876, pp. 420, 701). An animal so capable of maintaining itself in the neighbourhood of man, and still existing, cannot formerly have been rare. The Arabs are perfectly familiar with it, and call it يحمور, identical with the Hebrew name. In general appearance, with its short horns and somewhat heavy gait, it would bear to incurious observers the semblance of a diminutive bubale; and as the larger animal became scarcer and almost forgotten, the name would be applied to the more familiar and smaller one. In a similar way, since the bustard and the stork became extinct in England, their names are applied by the country-folk to the smaller Norfolk plover and the heron. [H. B. T.]

FAMINE. When the "sweet influences (R. V. "cluster") of the Pleiades" are bound, and "the bands of Orion" cannot be loosed* (Job xxxviii. 31), then it is that famines generally prevail in the lands of the Bible. In Egypt a deficiency in the rise of the Nile, with drying winds, produces the same results. The famines recorded in the Bible are traceable to both these phenomena: and we generally find that Egypt was resorted to when scarcity afflicted Palestine. This is notably the case in the first three famines, those of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, although in the last case Egypt was involved in the calamity, and only saved from its horrors by the provident policy of Joseph. In this instance, too, the famine was widespread, and Palestine further suffered from the restriction which must have been placed on the supplies usually derived, in such circumstances, from Egypt.

In the whole of Syria and Arabia, the fruits of the earth must ever be dependent on rain: the watersheds have few large springs, and the small rivers are not sufficient for the irrigation of even the level lands. If therefore the heavy rains of November and December fail, the sustenance of the people is cut off in the parching drought of harvest time, when the country is almost devoid of moisture. Further, the pastoral tribes rely on the scanty herbage of the desert-plains and valleys for their flocks and herds; for the desert is interspersed in spring-time with spontaneous vegetation, which is the product of the preceding rainfall, and fails almost totally without it. It is therefore not difficult to conceive the frequent occurrence and severity of famines in ancient times, when the scattered population of a country—pastoral rather than agricultural—was dependent on natural phenomena which, however regular in their season, occasionally failed, and with them the sustenance of man and beast.

Egypt, again, owes all its fertility—a fertility that gained for Zoan [Ṣân] the striking comparison to the "garden of the Lord"—to its mighty river, whose annual flood is sufficient to inundate nearly the whole land and renders the cultivation of cereals an easy certainty. But this very bounty of nature has not unfrequently exposed the country to the opposite extreme of drought. With scarcely any rain, and that chiefly on the Mediterranean coast (though of late years showers have become more common at Cairo, and have even reached Thebes), and with wells only supplied by filtration from the river through a nitrous soil, a failure in the rise of the Nile almost certainly entails a degree of scarcity; but if it is followed by cool weather, and occurs only for a single year, the labour of the people may in a great measure avert the calamity. Dearth and famine in Egypt are caused by defective inundation, preceded, accompanied, and followed, by prevalent easterly and southerly winds. Both these winds dry up the earth, and the latter, keeping back the rain-clouds from the north, are perhaps the chief cause of the defective inundation, to which they also contribute by accelerating the current of the river, which northerly winds would retard. Famines in Egypt and Palestine seem to be affected by drought extending from Northern Syria, through the meridian of Egypt, as far as the highlands of Abyssinia.

The first famine recorded in the Bible is that of Abraham, after he had pitched his tent on the east of Bethel: "And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there, for the famine was grievous in the land" (Gen. xii. 10). We may conclude that this famine was extensive, although this is not quite proved by the fact of Abraham's going to Egypt; for on the occasion of the second famine, in the days of Isaac, this patriarch is recorded to have found refuge with Abimelech king of the Philistines in Gerar, and to have been warned by God not to go down into Egypt, whither therefore we may suppose he was journeying (Gen. xxvi.

* That is to say, when the best and most fertilising of the rains, which fall when the Pleiades set at dawn (not exactly heliacally) at the end of autumn, fail. [For other interpretations, see Delitzsch, Davidson, Bradley, and *Speaker's Comm.* in loco.]

1 sq.). We hear no more of times of scarcity until the great famine of Egypt which "was over all the face of the earth;" "and all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn, because that the famine was sore in all lands" (Gen. xli. 56, 57). "And the sons of Israel came to buy corn among those that came: for the famine was in the land of Canaan" (xlii. 5). Thus, in the third generation, Jacob is afflicted like his ancestors, and sends from Hebron to Egypt when he hears that there is corn there; and it is added in a later passage, on the occasion of his sending the second time for corn to Egypt, "and the famine was sore in the land," *i.e.* Hebron (Gen. xliii. 1).

The famine of Joseph need be discussed here only with reference to its physical characteristics. We have mentioned the chief causes of famines in Egypt: this instance differs in the remarkable occurrence of seven consecutive years of plenty, whereby Joseph was enabled to provide against the coming dearth, and to supply not only the population of Egypt with corn, but those of the surrounding countries: "And the seven years of plenty, that was in the land of Egypt, came to an end. And the seven years of famine began to come, according as Joseph had said: and there was famine in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread; and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth: and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine was sore in the land of Egypt" (Gen. xli. 53–56, R. V.).

The modern history of Egypt throws some curious light on these ancient records of famines; and instances of their recurrence may be cited to assist us in understanding their course and extent. They have not been infrequent since the Muhammadan conquest, according to the testimony of Arab historians: one of great severity, following a deficient rise of the Nile, in the year of the Flight 597 (A.D. 1200), is recorded by 'Abd-el-Latîf, an eye-witness and a trustworthy authority. He gives a most interesting account of its horrors, states that the people throughout the country were driven to the last extremities, eating offal and even their own dead, and mentions, as an instance of the dire straits to which they were driven, that persons who were burnt alive for eating human flesh were themselves, thus ready roasted, eaten by others. Multitudes fled the country, only to perish in the desert-road to Palestine (*Relation de l'Égypte*, trans. S. de Sacy, p. 360 sq.; White's text, p. 210 sq.).

But the most remarkable famine occurred in the reign of the Fâtimy Khalif el-Mustansir, the only famine of seven years' duration on record in Egypt since the time of Joseph. This famine (A.H. 457–464, A.D. 1064–1071) exceeded in severity all others of modern times, and was aggravated by the anarchy which then ravaged the country. Vehement drought and pestilence (says Es-Suyûty, in his *Husn el Muhâdarah*) continued for seven consecutive years, so that they [the people] ate corpses, and animals that died of themselves; the cattle perished; a dog was sold for five dînârs, and a cat for three dînârs . . . and an ardebb (about five bushels) of wheat for one hundred dînârs, and then it failed altogether. He adds, that all the horses of the Khalif, save three, perished, and gives numerous instances of the straits to which the wretched inhabitants were driven, and of the organised bands of kidnappers who infested Cairo and caught passengers in the streets by ropes furnished with hooks and let down from the windows, in order to provide themselves with food. This account is confirmed by El-Makrîzy (in his *Khitat*: cp. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, ii. 296), from whom we further learn that the family and even the women of the Khalif fled, by the way of Syria, on foot, to escape the peril that threatened all ranks of the population. The whole narrative is worthy of attention, since it contains a parallel to the duration of the famine of Joseph, and at the same time enables us to form an idea of the character of famines in the East. The famine of Samaria resembled it in many particulars; and that very briefly recorded in 2 K. viii. 1, 2 (R. V.), affords another instance of one of seven years: "Now Elisha had spoken unto the woman whose son he had restored to life, saying, Arise, and go thou and thy household, and sojourn whereso-ever thou canst sojourn: for the Lord hath called for a famine; and it shall also come upon the land seven years. And the woman arose, and did according to the word of the man of God: and she went with her household and sojourned in the land of the Philistines seven years." Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, &c., iii. 334, 335) quotes the record of a famine in the reign of Usurtasen I., which he supposes to be that of Joseph; but on chronological grounds alone the theory is untenable. The "famine lasting many years," referred to in the inscription in the tomb of Baba at El-Kab (immediately before the 18th Dynasty; Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt under the Pharaohs*[2], i. 158, 302 sq., and *Die bibl. sieben Jahre d. Hungersnoth*, 1891), if "a pious fraud," yet shows the existence of a tradition that there had been, at some early date, a seven years' period of severe distress (Renouf, *PSBA.* 1891, xiii. 444).

In Arabia, famines are of frequent occurrence. The Arabs, in such cases, when they could not afford to slaughter their camels, used to bleed them, and drink the blood, or mix it with the shorn fur to make a kind of black-pudding. They ate also various plants and grains, which at other times were not used as articles of food. And the tribe of Hanîfeh were taunted with having in a famine eaten their god in a dish of dates mashed up with clarified butter and a preparation of dried curds of milk (Lane, *Ar. Lex.* s. v. تبع). [E. S. P.]

FAN. [AGRICULTURE, pp. 66, 67.]

FARTHING. Two names of coins, one the fourth part of the other, are rendered in the A. V. and in the R. V. by this word.

1. ἀσσάριον (Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6), properly a small *as*, *assarium*, but in the N. T. period used as the Greek equivalent of the

Latin *as*. The Vulg. in Matt. x. 29 renders it by *as*, and in Luke xii. 6 translates "two assaria" by *dipondius*; the dupondius, or dipondius, being equal in value to two *asses*. The Graeco-Roman, or technically Greek imperial, coin equivalent to the Roman *as* is no doubt intended by the Evangelists.

2. κοδράντης, *quadrans* (Matt. v. 26; Mark xii. 42), a coin equivalent to two lepta (λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης, Mark, *l. c.*). The plain meaning of this passage is that two lepta were equal to a quadrans, the lepton (λεπτὸν) being a coin current in Palestine, but the quadrans not necessarily so. St. Luke's use of Latin words renders it quite possible that he intended to give the information that two common Palestinian coins were equivalent to a Roman one, or to the fourth part of the *as*. There is no question that the smallest Roman coin of the earlier emperors was a quadrans, and that the smallest Judaean copper coin was lighter, and could well be reckoned as its half, it being remembered that bronze or copper money is always of the nature of a token currency, and that the weight consequently is not to be taken too seriously into account. It is doubtful if the currency of Palestine at the time referred to contained a κοδράντης. [R. S. P.]

FASTING AND FASTS. Fasting, in the sense of a religious or ceremonial abstinence from food, either partial or complete, for a certain time, at recurring periods, or under special public or private emergencies, is a practice the beginnings of which, like those of most other instinctive religious customs, are lost in the mists of an immemorial past. "Food I have not eaten; weeping is my fare; ... tears are my meat and drink," is the cry of the old Accadian penitent, we know not how many thousands of years before our era.[a] And in certain old Babylonian calendars for the months of Intercalary Elul, Ve-Adar, Sebat, Tebet, Sivan, 2nd Nisan, and Marchesvan, prescribing the rites to be observed by the king on each day of the month, we find that on five days — viz. the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th—the king was religiously bound to abstain from certain kinds of food and other indulgences, such as riding in his chariot.[b] In this connexion, it should be borne in mind that Babylonia is the earliest recorded home of the fathers of Israel (Gen. xi. 31; Josh. xxiv. 2); and that the civilisation of Accad is the oldest, of which any authentic documents remain. On the other hand, the monuments of Egyptian antiquity make no mention of the usage of *fasting*.[c] The brief statements of Herodotus, to the effect that the Egyptians fasted before sacrificing to Isis (ii. 40; cp. iv. 186), if correct, refer only to the voluntary practice of isolated localities at a comparatively late period. Although there is no direct inculcation of fasting as a religious practice in the sacred literature of China before Buddhism, we find its disciplinary value recognised in the *Doctrine of the Mean* (e.g. in the phrase *chai ming*, to purify the mind by abstinence), a work ascribed to the grandson of Confucius. The Vedas prescribe fasting; and the practice of it forms an important element in the ascetic discipline both of the Brahman and the Buddhist. The system of Zoroaster and its modern representative Parsism naturally neglect an observance which, if favourable to the calm contemplative life of the religious mystic, is not compatible with the active stir and strain of a business career. The strict fast of the ninth month (Ramadan), universally observed in Islam, was probably instituted not without reference to Jewish and Christian precedents. Nor was the practice unknown to the Greeks and Romans, although it does not appear to have been a matter of general obligation as in the case of Semitic religions. It was customary in the Eleusinian mysteries; and the women who celebrated the Thesmophoria abstained from common food, though they might eat cakes of sesame and honey.

On the occasion of certain *prodigia* at Rome, B.C. 191, the Sibylline books ordered a quinquennial fast to be instituted in honour of Ceres; but this prescription doubtless concerned the priesthood only, and such of the laity as chose to honour it (Liv. xxxvi. 37). The idea involved was that of a sympathetic share in the grief of the goddess, who abstained from food and drink during her long search for her lost Proserpine. Tertullian informs us that on the occasion of a severe drought, the heathen kept a thoroughly Jewish fast, and walked in procession barefoot (*De Jejunio*, 15). On our Monday (*dies Jovis*) a fast in honour of Jupiter was recognised as meritorious by the Romans (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 288–292). But, upon the whole, the practice had no more than a sporadic and isolated prevalence in classical antiquity.

In the Old Testament we find numerous references to fasting. The term צוֹם—rendered νηστεία by the LXX., and *jejunium* in the Latin Versions, denoting first "fasting" and then "a fast," in the concrete sense (plural צוֹמוֹת, Esth. ix. 31)—is common in the Prophets (including the histories) and occurs thrice in the Psalms (xxxv. 13; lxix. 10; cix. 24), but not once in the Law, where we find instead (Lev. xvi. 29, 31; Num. xxx. 13) the striking expression עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ, "to afflict, abase, or humble the soul," *i. e.* the self (Ps. iii. 2; Is. li. 23), or perhaps specially the appetites and desires (Ps. xlii. 4; Prov. vi. 30; Jer. ii. 24).

It was only on one day in the year, the great Day of Atonement, that the Law required all Israelites to fast. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.] It has been maintained by a powerful school of modern critics (Graf, Wellhausen) that the Day of Atonement is of post-Exilic origin, on the grounds that it is only mentioned in the "Priestly Legislation," and that no reference is made to it in the narrative (Neh. viii.–x.). We have seen, that so far as the element of religious fasting is concerned, that custom is of unknown antiquity; and the Hebrew phrase which describes it as an "abasing

[a] [U-NU]-KU-f fR-ŠUKUMMA-MU ... fR-UA-MU= *[ritum]ul akul; bikitum kurmati ... dimtu maštiti.* (Haupt, *ASKT.* No. 15.)

[b] These calendars belong to the Assyrian collections of the British Museum. That for Intercalary Elul was published in *W. A. I.*, iv. 32, 33. The remains of the others are given in the new edition. See Pll. 32, 33, 33*.

[c] So I am informed by Mr. Le Page Renouf. Neither in this nor in many other cases must we look to Egypt for the origin of Hebrew religious customs.

of the soul," may belong to a very distant past, independently of the relative age of the canonical documents in which it is now first found. No very profound study is required to enable persons of ordinary intelligence to realize the fact that the great fundamental conceptions and observances of religion are, broadly speaking, the same throughout the ancient world. The Old Testament adopts the common external forms of worship and service, and adapts them to the expression of the higher meanings of revealed religion. Thus it does not expressly originate sacrifice, although it lays down particular rules to be observed in sacrifice. It nowhere defines a temple or an altar as something previously unknown, any more than it defines the idea of God. It takes for granted that Israel is already familiar with these and a hundred other necessary elements of religion; yet it incidentally reveals, in the clearest way, the ancient and original sense of such a term as "altar," when it uses as a synonymous expression "the table of Jehovah" (Ezek. xli. 22; Mal. i. 7–12). Modern researches have demonstrated that this phrase covers the ultimate prehistoric conception of an altar. And yet the first Old Testament writers in which it occurs, both belong to the period after the fall of the Jewish monarchy. To argue that the idea was post-Exilic, on that ground, would be evidently absurd. The assumption, however, that Israel did not before the post-Exilic period observe the Day of Atonement, rests, as we have seen, upon the precisely similar ground that the Day is not mentioned by any writer previous to "the Priestly Legislation," which is referred to that period. This is not the place to discuss the age and authorship of the Book of Leviticus and of that section of the Hexateuch to which it belongs [PENTATEUCH]. The inherent weakness of an argument which assumes that a religious usage or prescription cannot be primitive, because no relatively early record of it happens to have survived, hardly requires to be pointed out. We may recognise the fact that the historical Books of the Old Testament nowhere mention the annual Fast of the tenth day of the seventh month (Tishri), without drawing Graf's inference that therefore it was unknown before the Exile (Graf, *Die gesch. Büch. des A. T.* p. 41). How many other things are missing in those fragmentary outlines of Israel's history! Some, at least, who carefully note the characteristics of these narratives, with their express references to fuller accounts upon which they are based, and their occasional episodes or "cameos" of personal history, interpersed unequally in the course of mere annals abbreviated at times to little more than a thin line of royal and dynastic names, will not be inclined to set much store by this argument from omission, where so much besides of equal or greater consequence is likewise omitted.

But the Day of Atonement is not mentioned in Neh. viii.–x. "Even in 444 B.C. the year of the publication of the Pentateuch by Ezra," writes Wellhausen, "the great Day of Atonement has not yet come into force. Ezra begins the reading of the Law in the beginning of the seventh month, and afterwards the Feast of Tabernacles is observed on the fifteenth; of an atoning solemnity on the tenth of the month not a word is said in the circumstantial narrative, which, moreover, is one specially interested in the liturgical element, but it is made up for on the twenty-fourth (Neh. viii. ix.). This *testimonium e silentio* is enough; down to that date the great day of the Priestly Code (now introduced for the first time) had not existed" (*Prolegomena to the Hist. of Israel*, p. 111, Eng. tr.). It is true that the chronicler exhibits a strong interest in everything that concerns the Temple and its services; but his narrative in these chapters is far from being "circumstantial" in the sense required by this argument, viz. that of containing a *complete* "record of proceedings from the first day of the seventh month onwards to the twenty-fourth," as stated by Professor Robertson Smith (*Old Test. in Jewish Church*, p. 377). The chronicler does not profess to supply such a consecutive relation within the space of these three chapters. Had that been his intention, the long prayer of the Levites (Neh. ix. 4–38) would hardly have been allowed to occupy such an altogether disproportionate share of his space. But why is the authority of the chronicler's compilation, which is referred by these learned critics to the "very end of the Persian or the beginning of the Greek period," preferred in this instance to that of the "Priestly Legislation," which they allow to have been published in its completeness at least a century and a half before his time? On the one hand, no writer suggests that the author of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah was ignorant of the ordinance of the tenth day of the seventh month. On the other, critics have not scrupled to suppose him capable of freely antedating the customs and institutions of later times. If then he does not mention the Day of Atonement in this passage, it certainly is not because he did not believe that it had been observed at all before B.C. 444, nor because he intended to suggest such a surprising inference; but rather because he wished to dwell at length upon the exceptional public humiliation of the twenty-fourth day of the same month. After all, in this as in other portions of his compilation he made his choice of excerpts in his own way, like other Oriental compilers, without having the fear of modern criticism before his eyes. Perhaps, indeed, the celebration of the Day was not recorded in the source he was using. It is evident from the whole account that the returned exiles were unfamiliar with the ordinances of the ancient Law, which had fallen into desuetude during their long captivity in a heathen land. This it was that necessitated the public reading and exposition of the Law recorded in the eighth chapter. In the then irregular state of things, their religious leaders may not have judged it possible or expedient to proclaim the observance of the Day of Atonement on that occasion. The ceremonies of the Day, which were specially concerned with the purification of the high priest and his family, and then that of the Temple and its vessels, would hardly have seemed appropriate, at a time when the people had not yet formally undertaken to observe the Law, and to provide for the maintenance of the sacrificial worship (Neh. x. 29 sq.); when the dues of the priesthood were left unpaid, and "the house of God was forsaken" (cp. Neh. xiii. 10, 11). The entire

picture presented to us in these vivid though fragmentary chapters is one of a provisional state of things; of the gradual restoration and regulation of the public worship after long disuse and disorder. The walls of Jerusalem were not rebuilt in a day; nor were the precepts of the Law carried out at once in all their fulness by the struggling community of Judea. The remainder of the Book, which relates how the population of Jerusalem was recruited, the Levitical ministry re-established in the Temple, the observance of the Sabbath vindicated, witnesses to the fact clearly enough.[d]

There remains one other objection. It is urged that the Day of Atonement conflicts with that purely joyous conception of worship which characterised ancient Israel. But that conception is no more than a plausible hypothesis, which itself conflicts with the general analogy of the history of religion. Reference has already been made to those old Accadian confessions of sin which the Semitic Assyrians of the 7th century B.C. copied from Babylonian texts for their own use. Hebrew human nature even in the earliest period probably resembled human nature at large in respect of an occasional consciousness of guilt and the need of expiation. And there were too many occasions in the national history, when foreign oppression or domestic disaster, when the sword or drought or pestilence, irresistibly suggested the Divine wrath, to allow us to acquiesce in the proposition that national sin, atonement, and expiation became principal ideas in the religious consciousness of Israel only after the Exile. The witness of the Prophets and of the prophetical histories is against this view. Would the troubles of the times of the Judges, or the plague in David's reign, be the occasion of holiday rites and joyous feasting round the altar? On the other hand, what proof is there that during the period of the Exile "men felt themselves ... unceasingly under the leaden pressure of sin and wrath" (Wellhausen, p. 112)? Such a conception of the time seems to be unnatural; or at least the statement is rhetorically exaggerated. The sorrowful utterances of the Lamentations do not express the uniform experience of the entire Captivity. If that were so, the buoyant oracles of the Prophets of the period are as inexplicable as the fact that so many of the banished preferred to stay in Babylonia, and so few took advantage of the Edict of Deliverance.[e]

During the Exile four annual fast-days were established, in commemoration of the fall of Jerusalem and subsequent calamities. These days were the ninth of the fourth month, for the capture of Jerusalem (Jer. lii. 6); the tenth of the fifth month, for the destruction of the city and the Temple (2 K. xxv. 8, 9; Jer. lii. 12); the fast of the seventh month, for the murder of Gedaliah (2 K. xxv. 25; Jer. xli. 1, 2); and that of the tenth day of the tenth month, for the beginning of the siege (2 K. xxv. 1; Jer. lii. 4; Zech. viii. 19, 20). The Mishna (*Taanith*, iv. 6) and St. Jerome (*in Zech.* viii.), following contemporary Jewish notions, connect other events with these fasts, regardless of manifest anachronisms. After the Return, and when the rebuilding of the Temple had begun, the Jews of Babylon sent to inquire of the priests at Jerusalem whether they were still bound to keep the fast of the fifth month. Thereupon the Prophet Zechariah took occasion to rebuke their hypocritical observance of the fast-days of both the fifth and the seventh months (Zech. vii. 5, 6); and declared that all the four fasts would hereafter be turned into days of "joy and gladness and cheerful feasts" (viii. 19). According to Jewish tradition, this led to the abolition of the fasts, but they were re-introduced after the destruction of the second Temple. The Prophet's words, however, are scarcely a direct injunction to discontinue the four fasts. But it is a remarkable coincidence that Titus took Jerusalem in the fourth month, and the Temple was burnt in the fifth (on the 10th Löus=Ab, according to Josephus; on the 9th of Ab, according to the Talmud). The Jews still observe these fasts (Friedländer, pp. 32, 33).

Fasting is one form of sacrifice, the essential idea of which is the surrender of some personal good in order to propitiate the Divine favour. The necessity of self-denial is illustrated at the very outset of Scripture by the parable of the Forbidden Fruit (cp. Tertull. *de Jejun.* 3). Fasting is, moreover, a natural outward evidence of inward self-abasement before God, and of humble acquiescence in the Divine chastisements; it is an instinctive mode of manifesting sorrow for sin, and of enhancing and intensifying that sorrow. Consequently, so long as the sense of *sin*, in any degree beyond a merely sentimental regret, shall survive; so long as it is felt that our worst transgressions are directly due to the indulgence of a fallen nature and the corrupt desires of the flesh,—so long will it seem right to earnest spiritual minds to mortify the body by the discipline of fasting.

As a natural accompaniment and token of intense grief, fasting finds many incidental illustrations in the Old Testament. It is associated with mourning for the dead (1 Sam. xxxi. 13; 2 Sam. i. 12); with private and personal distresses (1 Sam. i. 7; Ps. cix. 24); with sympathetic sorrow for the misfortunes of friends (1 Sam. xx. 34; Ps. xxxv. 13) and for national calamities (Judg. xx. 26; Neh. i. 4; Baruch i. 5; Joel i. 14, ii. 12, 15); with the expression of penitence for one's own offences (1 K. xxi. 27; Ecclus. xxxiv. 26) and for those of the community (1 Sam. vii. 6; Deut. ix. 18; Jonah iii. 5; Ps. lxix. 10; Ezra x. 6; Neh. ix. 1). Persons fasting often displayed other signs of mourning, such as wearing sackcloth, rending their gar-

[d] The "circumstantial narrative" omits to notice the Sabbatic character of the first day of the seventh month, and the blast on the priestly trumpets with which it was ushered in (Lev. xxiii. 24; cp. Neh. viii. 1), though the former fact is implied in the statement that "the day is holy unto our Lord" (Neh. viii. 10). Whether the trumpet-blast "ill-befitted its quiet solemnity" (Wellhausen, p. 110) or not, may be a matter of opinion. Mirth was not necessarily implied by the blowing of trumpets, but simply the proclamation of the fact that the day had begun. See Friedländer, *Text-book of the Jewish Religion*[2], p. 19.

[e] The late Friedrich Bleek maintained, on the ground of its peculiar contents, that Lev. xvi. was of Mosaic origin (*Einleitung*, § 12 sq.). The proceedings with reference to the desert-fiend (Azazel) can hardly have been instituted for the first time in the 5th cent.; and, as a matter of fact, this demon belongs to primitive Accadian religion (see *PSBA.*, June 1890).

ments and plucking out the hair of head and beard, sprinkling the head with earth and ashes, weeping, lying prostrate on the ground, neglect of washing and anointing the person, and walking barefoot (2 Sam. i. 11, xii. 16, 20; 1 K. xxi. 27; Ezra ix. 3; Neh. ix. 1; Esth. iv. 3; Add. to Esth. xiv. 2; Is. lviii. 5; Jonah iii. 6; Dan. ix. 3; Judith viii. 6; 1 Macc. iii. 47).

In the case of individuals, fasting was recognised as auxiliary to undisturbed communion with God, and as a preparation for the reception of Divine revelations (Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9; Dan. x. 2; 2 Esd. v. 13, 20, vi. 31, 35, &c.; Matt. iv. 2). Upon similar grounds, the practice of a fasting reception of the Eucharist may be justified (cp. also Acts xiii. 3).

In special emergencies extraordinary general fasts were sometimes proclaimed, in token of national humiliation for sin, and by way of averting the Divine wrath or of ensuring the Divine assistance in public enterprises (1 Sam. vii. 6; 2 Ch. xx. 3; Ezra viii. 21; Jer. xxxvi. 6, 9; 2 Macc. xiii. 12; Judith iv. 9, 10, vi. 19: cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 24; 1 K. xxi. 9, 12).[f]

The writings of the Prophets of the Exile and the Return reveal the origin of a popular tendency to regard fasting as in itself so pleasing to God as to atone for the flagrant neglect of the higher duties of righteousness, mercy, and truth. Against this delusion the Prophets of the period raise their protest, as their predecessors had done, against a similar heathenish view of the value of the old sacrificial system. Like the Ionic philosopher, they bid their countrymen fast from wickedness (*νηστεύειν κακότητος*, Empedocles, *Fragm.* 454. See Is. lviii. 3 sq.; Zech. vii. 5 sq., viii. 16 sq.: and cp. Joel ii. 12, 13; Jer. xiv. 12), without implying any denunciation of the proper use of literal fasting as a spiritual discipline.

To this period must be referred the origin of fasting "twice in the week" (Luke xviii. 12), which was the regular custom of the Pharisees, the days chosen being the second and the fifth (Monday and Thursday, which were the days appointed for public fasts, according to *Taanith*, ii. 9). See also Matt. ix. 14, vi. 16; Mark ii. 18; Luke v. 33. Judith is represented as fasting daily, except on the Sabbaths and New Moons and the eves of those festivals (Judith viii. 6); a fact which clearly indicates the growing rigour of the standard of outward sanctity (cp. also Judith iv. 9; Tob. xii. 8; Ecclus. xxxiv. 26; Luke ii. 37).

Custom varied in the matters of time and strictness. There was the one day fast from evening to evening (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10, § 3), terminating with the appearance of the stars; a limit which is still observed by the Moslems in their fast of Ramadan. But besides this, we read also of a fast of three days (Esth. iv. 16; 2 Macc. xiii. 12); of four (Acts x. 30, probably); of seven (1 Sam. xxxi. 13); and even of forty days. In the longer periods, we have to think of restriction to bare necessaries (Dan. x. 2, 3),[g] and perhaps of abstinence even from these until nightfall.[h] The rules of fasting, which were long in dispute between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, are systematized in the Talmudic tracts *Joma* and *Taanith*.

It is important to remember that our Lord has emphatically recognised the religious value of fasting (Matt. vi. 16–18; ix. 15). He couples it with prayer as a source of spiritual power (Matt. xvii. 21). If His disciples are said not to have fasted so long as "the Bridegroom" was with them, the denial relates only to the frequent and excessive fasts of the Jewish sects (Matt. xi. 19; cp. ix. 15). Fasting was naturally important in the practice of John's disciples, their master's work being especially a preaching of repentance.

In view of our Lord's attitude towards this observance, we are not surprised to find that in the primitive Church not only did Jewish Christians long continue to keep the Jewish fast-days, but fasting and prayer were united in the practice of Gentile believers also, especially in the case of Ordination (Acts xiii. 1–3; xiv. 23). With St. Paul's warnings against the tendency to attach an independent value to fasting, and to reduce Christian holiness to a mere external asceticism (Rom. xiv. 2, 6, 17, 21; Col. ii. 16, 21–23; 1 Tim. iv. 3–5, 8, v. 23), we have also to consider his precept (1 Cor. vii. 5) in favour of fasting, and, above all, his own practice (2 Cor. vi. 5; xi. 27).

It is not logical to confess the Divine authority of Christ, and the inspiration of His Apostles, and at the same time to treat as of no permanent obligation an ordinance for which the Master Himself laid down rules, and which both He and His immediate followers carefully observed in practice. So far from being, as some suppose, contrary to the spirit of the Gospel; as a token of sorrow for sin, as a means of crucifying the flesh, as an act of obedience to the precepts and a following of the example of Christ, fasting is one of the proofs of a sincere acceptance of the Gospel. [C. J. B.]

FAT. The Hebrews distinguished between the suet or pure fat of an animal (חֵלֶב), and the fat which was intermixed with the lean (מֵשִׁמְנִים, Neh. viii. 10). Certain restrictions were imposed upon them in reference to the former: some parts of the suet—viz. about the stomach, the entrails, the kidneys, and the tail of a sheep, which grows to an excessive size in many Eastern countries, and produces a large quantity of rich fat [SHEEP]—were forbidden to be eaten in the case of animals offered to Jehovah in sacrifice (Lev. iii. 3, 9, 17; vii. 3, 23). The ground of the prohibition was that the fat was the richest part of the animal, and

[f] In later times, the Sanhedrin was wont to order a general fast if the beginning of the rainy season was delayed. And Josephus informs us of a fast which the Pharisee Ananias succeeded in getting imposed upon the town of Tiberias, for his own private ends (*Life*, § 56).

[g] Cp. Tertullian's *portionale jejunium*, or partial fast, *i.e.* abstinence from particular kinds of food.

[h] So the Council of Chalcedon decreed that in fasting one should take neither food nor drink all day until after the evening prayer (*The Sixteenth Homily*). It was the rule of the Essenes to abstain altogether from flesh and wine, and only to partake of such food as bread, vegetables, millet, and water, after sunset. [ESSENES.]

therefore belonged to Him (iii. 16). It has been supposed that other reasons were superadded, as that the use of fat was unwholesome in the hot climate of Palestine. There appears, however, to be no ground for such an assumption. The presentation of the fat as the richest part of the animal was agreeable to the dictates of natural feeling, and was the ordinary practice even of heathen nations, as instanced in the Homeric descriptions of sacrifices (*Il.* i. 460, ii. 423; *Od.* iii. 457), and in the customs of the Egyptians (Her. ii. 47) and Persians (Strab. xv. p. 732). Indeed, the term *cheleb* is itself significant of the feeling on which the regulation was based; for it describes metaphorically the *best* of any production (Gen. xlv. 18; Num. xviii. 12; Ps. lxxxi. 16, cxlvii. 14: cp. 2 Sam. i. 22; Judg. iii. 29; Is. x. 16). With regard to other parts of the fat of sacrifices or the fat of other animals, it might be consumed, with the exception of those dying either by a violent or a natural death (Lev. vii. 24), which might still be used in any other way. The burning of the fat of sacrifices was particularly specified in each kind of offering, whether a peace-offering (Lev. iii. 9), consecration offering (viii. 25), sin-offering (iv. 8), trespass-offering (vii. 3), or redemption-offering (Num. xviii. 17). The Hebrews fully appreciated the luxury of well-fatted meat, and had their stall-fed oxen and calves (1 K. iv. 23; Jer. xlvi. 21; Luke xv. 23); nor is there any reason to suppose its use unwholesome. [W. L. B.]

FAT (A.-S. *faet*. Cp. Germ. *fass*), *i.e.* VAT. The word employed in the A. V. and R. V. to translate the Hebrew term יֶקֶב, *Yekeb*, in Joel ii. 24, iii. 13 only. The word commonly used for *yekeb*, indiscriminately with *gath*, גַּת, is "wine-press" or "wine-fat," and once "press-fat" (R. V. "wine-fat," Hag. ii. 16); but the two appear to be distinct—*gath*, the upper receptacle or "press" in which the grapes were trod; and *yekeb*, the "vat," on a lower level, into which the juice or must was collected. The word is derived by Gesenius (*Thes.* 619 *b*) from a root signifying to "hollow or dig out": and in accordance with this is the practice in Palestine, where the "wine-press" and "vats" were excavated in the native rock of the hills on which the vineyards lay. Rock-cut presses are found in every part of the hills of Palestine. They usually consist of two square basins. The upper, which was large and shallow, was used for treading the grapes. A short channel led to the smaller and deeper basin, *yekeb*, into which the wine ran, and whence it was sometimes strained off into a third basin. The "wine-fat" (R. V. "wine-press") of Mark xii. 1 is ὑπολήνιον, which is frequently used by the LXX. to translate *yekeb* in the O. T. [G.] [W.]

FATHER (*Ab*, אָב, Chald. *Abba*, אַבָּא, Mark xiv. 36, Rom. viii. 15; πατήρ; *pater*: a primitive word, but following the analogy of אָבָה, *to show kindness*, Gesen. *Thes.* pp. 6–8).

The position and authority of the father as the head of the family is expressly assumed and sanctioned in Scripture, as a likeness of that of the Almighty over His creatures; an authority, as Philo remarks, intermediate between human and divine (Philo, περὶ γονέων τιμῆς, § 1). It lies of course at the root of that so-called patriarchal government (Gen. iii. 16; 1 Cor. xi. 3) which was introductory to the more definite systems which followed, and which in part, but not wholly, superseded it. When therefore the name of "father of nations" was given to Abram [ABRAHAM], he was thereby held up not only as the ancestor, but as the example to those who should come after him (Gen. xviii. 18, 19; Rom. iv. 17). The father's blessing was regarded as conferring special benefit, but his malediction special injury, on those on whom it fell (Gen. ix. 25, 27; xxvii. 27–40; xlviii. 15, 20; xlix.); and so also the sin of a parent was held to affect, in certain cases, the welfare of his descendants (2 K. v. 27), though the Law was forbidden to punish the son for his father's transgression (Deut. xxiv. 16; 2 K. xiv. 6; Ezek. xviii. 20). The command to honour parents is noticed by St. Paul as the only one of the Decalogue which bore a distinct promise (Ex. xx. 12; Eph. vi. 2), and disrespect towards them was condemned by the Law as one of the worst of crimes (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; 1 Tim. i. 9: cp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 609; Aristoph. *Ran.* 274–773). Instances of legal enactment in support of parental authority are found in Ex. xxii. 17; Num. xxx. 3, 5, xii. 14; Deut. xxi. 18, 21; Lev. xx. 9, xxi. 9, xxii. 12: and the spirit of the Law in this direction may be seen in Prov. xiii. 1, xv. 5, xvii. 25, xix. 13, xx. 20, xxviii. 24, xxx. 17; Is. xlv. 10; Mal. i. 6. The father, however, had not the power of death over his child (Deut. xxi. 18–21; Philo, *l. c.*).

From the patriarchal spirit also the principle of respect to age and authority in general appears to be derived. Thus Jacob is described as blessing Pharaoh (Gen. xlvii. 7, 10: cp. Lev. xix. 32, Prov. xvi. 31; Juv. *Sat.* xiii. 54, 55; Philo, *l. c.* § 6).

It is to this well-recognised theory of parental authority and supremacy that the very various uses of the term "father" in Scripture are due. (1.) As the source or inventor of an art or practice (Gen. iv. 20, 21; Job xxxviii. 28, xvii. 14; John viii. 44; 2 Cor. i. 3). (2.) As an object of respect or reverence (Jer. ii. 27; 2 K. ii. 12, v. 13, vi. 21). (3.) Thus also the pupils or scholars of the prophetical schools, or of any teacher, are called sons (1 Sam. x. 12, 27; 1 K. xx. 35; 2 K. ii. 3, iv. 1; Heb. xii. 9; 1 Tim. i. 2). (4.) The term father and also mother is applied to any ancestor of the male or female line respectively (2 Sam. ix. 7; 2 Ch. xv. 16; Is. li. 2; Jer. xxxv. 6, 18; Dan. v. 2). (5.) In the Talmud the term father is used to indicate the chief, *e.g.* the principal of certain works are termed "fathers." Objects whose contact causes pollution are called "fathers" of defilement (Mishn. *Shabb.* vii. 2, vol. ii. p. 29; *Pesach* i. 6, vol. ii. p. 137, Surenh.). (6.) A protector or guardian (Deut. xxxii. 6; Job xxix. 16; Ps. lxviii. 5). Many personal names are found with the prefixes אַב and אֲבִי, as Ab-salom, Abi-shai, Abi-ram, &c., implying some quality or attribute possessed, or ascribed (Gesen. pp. 8, 10. See reff. under ABIA).

There is no word in Hebrew for "grandfather," and thus the word "fathers" is used in the sense of seniors (Acts vii. 2, xxii. 1), and of parents in general, or ancestors (Dan. v. 2;

Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 405; Jer. xxvii. 7; Matt. xxiii. 30, 32).

Among Mohammedans parental authority has great weight during the time of pupilage. The son is not allowed to eat, scarcely to sit, in his father's presence. Disobedience to parents is reckoned one of the most heinous of crimes (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 355; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 84). [H. W. P.]

FATHOM. [MEASURES.]

FAUCHION (Judith xiii. 6, xvi. 9), sometimes spelt *faulchion* or *falchion*. The Greek word ἀκινάκης is variously considered to have been a straight sword, or a crooked sword, or a short spear (see *Speaker's Comm.* on the Apocrypha in loco). A drawing of the "Akinakes" is given on p. 159.

FEASTS. [FESTIVALS.]

FEET. For customs relative to the feet, see DUST, MOURNING, SANDAL, and WASHING.

FELIX (Φῆλιξ; *Felix*), Antonius Felix (Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). As a freedman of Antonia, mother of the Emperor Claudius, he had assumed her family name. He was brother of Pallas, one of the great freedmen who were the real administrators of the empire in the reign of Claudius. Felix was procurator of Judaea at the time of St. Paul's arrest at Jerusalem, and to Felix at Caesarea he was sent for trial (Acts xxiii. 24, 26). After hearing Tertullus and St. Paul (Acts xxiv. 1–21), Felix put off the Jews with the pretext that he would wait for the evidence of Lysias before deciding, though the chief captain's opinion was already before him in writing. A remarkable reason is given for the postponement (Acts xxiv. 22)—namely, that "he had more exact knowledge concerning the Way;" that is to say, that he knew a good deal about Christianity and its relation to Judaism; or, as may possibly be implied by the comparative, more than Paul's accusers had chosen to tell him. The postponement is therefore represented in the narrative as being made in St. Paul's favour, though a bolder and juster man would at once have acquitted the accused. On this statement of his knowledge of "the Way" follows naturally the account of the audience given by Felix to St. Paul on the subject of the Christian faith (Acts xxiv. 24). The Apostle chose topics of direct personal application to Felix and Drusilla themselves. The guilty conscience of Felix was moved to fear. He dismissed St. Paul abruptly. Other interviews followed, but the impression made does not seem to have been renewed, as we are expressly told that "he sent for him the oftener and communed with him," in the hope of getting a bribe for his release (Acts xxiv. 26). Two years' imprisonment followed the trial. Felix was recalled; and, desiring to gain favour with the Jews in view of the complaints which he knew would follow him to Rome, he left St. Paul in bonds (Acts xxiv. 27). The gross injustice of the imprisonment of an innocent man, prolonged for two years in the hope of obtaining a bribe for his release, is surely sufficient to meet the charge that the character of Felix in the Acts is inconsistent with that given by profane writers. For criticism in this direction, see Overbeck in loco; De Wette, *Apostelgesch.*[4] The account in Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 13) represents Felix only as a stern governor in a time of great turbulence, dispersing rebels and crucifying robbers. But the later narrative of *Ant.* xx. 7, 8, shows him in his true colours, and from it we learn the following particulars. He persuaded Drusilla to desert her husband Aziz and live with him [DRUSILLA]. He induced Eleazar, the brigand chieftain, to surrender on promise of safety, and then sent him to Rome for punishment. He grew weary of the repeated admonitions of Jonathan the high-priest, to whom he owed his position, and procured his assassination. He made no attempt to restrain the warfare of the factions in Jerusalem. Things went on as if there was no government (ὡς ἐν ἀπροστατήτῳ πόλει). On Felix's return to Rome he was followed by accusers from Judaea, and "he would certainly have suffered punishment for the wrongs he had committed against the Jews, had not Nero yielded to the urgent entreaties of Pallas (brother of the accused), who was then in great favour with the emperor" (*Ant.* xx. 8, 9).

Tacitus mentions Felix twice, and his own fellow-countryman paints him even in blacker colours than Josephus the Jew. "Relying on his brother's influence, Felix counted on impunity for any misdeeds he might commit. His remedial measures were such as to stimulate crime" (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54). "He had the soul of a slave with the power of a sovereign, and he exercised his power in all manner of cruelty and lust" (Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). After all this, Tertullus' reference to the "peace" enjoyed by his means, and to the "clemency" which characterised him, sounds like the bitterest irony (Acts xxiv. 2–4).

It remains to notice very briefly a serious discrepancy between the statements of Josephus and Tacitus, which is as yet unreconciled. Tacitus states that Felix was joint procurator with Cumanus, having Samaria as his portion, before his appointment as sole procurator of Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea. On the troubles between the Jews and Samaritans being referred to the legate of Syria, Quadratus acquitted Felix and sent Cumanus with others to Rome for trial (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54). Josephus, on the other hand, while he gives a full account of the Samaritan troubles, and the legate's inquiry into them, does not mention Felix till his appointment to Judaea after the trial and condemnation of Cumanus at Rome. Ewald accepts Tacitus' account (*Hist. Israel*, vii. 418 sq.), but critics generally reject it as mistaken. It may be remarked that it is difficult to understand why Jonathan should have asked for Felix as procurator (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, 5) unless the latter had already served in Syria and gained favour with the Jews. The interest of the discrepancy for N. T. students lies in the justification which has been sought from this lengthened procuratorship of Felix for the words of St. Paul (Acts xxiv. 10), "of many years" (cp. "Jampridem Judaeae impositus," Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54). But accepting Wieseler's chronology (*Chron. Apost. Zeit.* pp. 66–88), Felix had been procurator for five years (A.D. 53–58) at the time of the trial, and in a government where so many changes

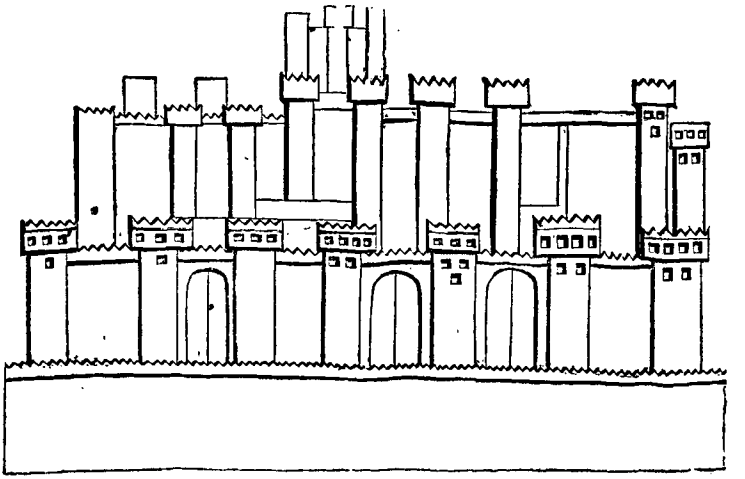
had occurred this was a long period. The addition of δίκαιον to κρίτην in some few authorities, feebly justified by Chrysostom, would be a piece of flattery impossible in St. Paul's mouth. The only other mention of Felix is in Suetonius (*Claud.* 28), who calls him "the husband of three queens." One of the three was Drusilla, already mentioned. Another wife of royal descent was a grand-daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, also named Drusilla by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9). But probably this is by confusion with Drusilla the daughter of Herod Agrippa. The third "queen" is unknown. [E. R. B.]

FELLER (Is. xiv. 8; A. V. and R. V.), a cutter of wood, from the A.-S. *fellan*, "to fell." The word describes the destructive character of the king of Babylon. [F.]

FELLOES (A.-S. *foelge*), the curved pieces forming the circumference of a wheel (1 K. vii. 33, A. V. and R. V.; Lumby, "Glossary of Bible Words" in Eyre and Spottiswoode's *Teachers' Bible*). [F.]

FENCED CITIES (מְבֻצָרִים, or מִבְצָרוֹת, Dan. xi. 15, from בָּצַר, *cut off, separate*, equivalent to עָרִים בְּצֻרוֹת, Ges. p. 231; πόλεις ὀχυραί, τειχήρεις, τετειχισμέναι; *urbes*, or *civitates, muratae, munitae, munitissimae, firmae*). The broad distinction between a city and a village in Biblical language has been shown to consist in the possession of walls. [CITY.] The City had walls, the village was unwalled, or had only a watchman's tower (מִגְדָּל; πύργος; *turris custodum*; compare Gesen. p. 267), to which the villagers resorted in times of danger. A threefold distinction is thus obtained—1, cities; 2, unwalled villages; 3, villages with castles or towers (1 Ch. xxvii. 25). The district east of the Jordan, forming the kingdoms of Moab and Bashan, is said to have abounded from very early times in castles and fortresses, such as were built by Uzziah to protect the cattle, and to repel the inroads of the neighbouring tribes, besides unwalled towns (Amm. Marc. xiv. 9; Deut. iii. 5; 2 Ch. xxvi. 10). Of these many remains probably exist undiscovered at the present day, if many have been discovered (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 197; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 127). The dangers to which unwalled villages are exposed from the marauding tribes of the desert, and also the fortifications by which the inhabitants sometimes protect themselves, are illustrated by Sir J. Malcolm (*Sketches of Persia*, ch. xiv. 148; and Frazer, *Persia*, pp. 379, 380; cp. Judg. v. 7). Villages in the *Hauràn* are sometimes enclosed by a wall, or rather the houses being joined together form a defence against Arab robbers, and the entrance is closed by a gate (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 212).

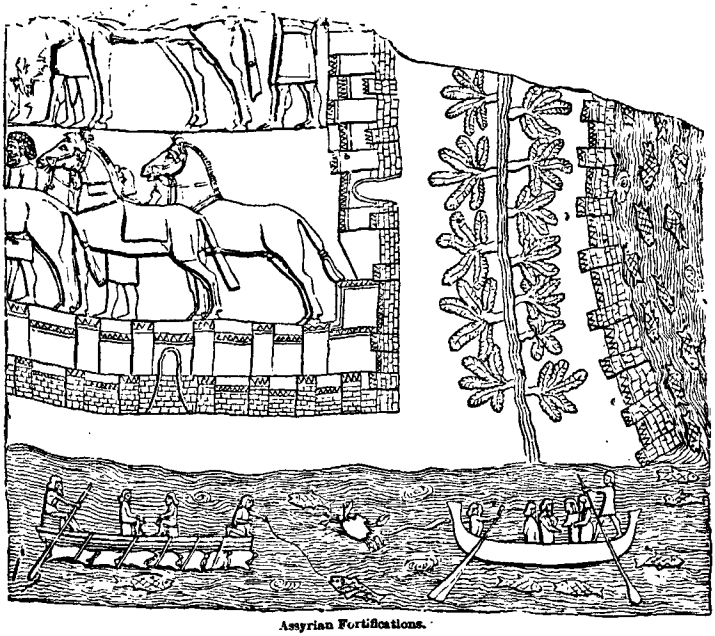
A further characteristic of a city as a fortified place is found in the use of the word בָּנָה, *to build*, and also *fortify*. So that "to build" a city appears to be sometimes the same thing as to fortify it (cp. Gen. viii. 20 and 2 Ch. xvi. 6 with 2 Ch. xi. 5–10 and 1 K. xv. 17).



Fortified place belonging to an enemy of the Assyrians.

The fortifications of the cities of Palestine, thus regularly "fenced," consisted of one or more walls crowned with battlemented parapets, חֹמוֹת, having towers at regular intervals (2 Ch. xxxii. 5; Jer. xxxi. 38), on which in later times engines of war were placed, and watch was kept by day and night in time of war (Judg. ix. 45; 2 K. ix. 17; 2 Ch. xxvi. 9, 15). Along the oldest of the three walls of Jerusalem, there were 90 towers; in the second, 14; and in the third, 60 (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2). One such tower, that of Hananeel, is repeatedly mentioned (Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10), as also others (Neh. iii. 1, 11, 27). The gateways of fortified towns were also fortified and closed with strong doors (Judg. xvi. 2, 3; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 2 Sam. xviii. 24, 33; 2 Ch. xiv. 7; Neh. ii. 8, iii. 3, 6, &c.; 1 Macc. xiii. 33, xv. 39). In advance of the wall there appears to have been sometimes an outwork (חֵיל, προτείχισμα), in A. V. marg. *ditch*, R. V. "rampart" (1 K. xxi. 23; 2 Sam. xx. 15 [A. V. "trench," marg. *the outmost*

wall; R. V. "rampart"]; Ges. *Thes.* p. 454), which was perhaps either a palisade or wall lining the ditch, or a wall raised midway within the ditch itself. Both of these methods of strengthening fortified places, by hindering the near approach of machines, were usual in earlier Egyptian fortifications (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 408 [1878]), but would generally be of less use in the hill forts of Palestine than in Egypt. In many towns there was a keep or citadel for a last resource to the defenders. Those remaining in the *Haurân* and *Ledja* are square. Such existed at Shechem and Thebez (Judg. ix. 46, 51, viii. 17; 2 K. ix. 17), and the great forts or towers of Psephinus, Hippicus, and especially Antonia, served a similar purpose, as well as that of overawing the town at Jerusalem. These forts were well furnished with cisterns (Acts xxi. 34; 2 Macc. v. 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3; *B. J.* i. 5, § 4, v. 4, § 2, vi. 2, § 1). At the time of the entrance of Israel into Canaan there were many fenced cities existing, which at first caused great alarm to the exploring party of searchers (Num. xiii. 28), and afterwards much trouble to the people in subduing them. Many of these were refortified, or, as it is expressed, rebuilt by the Hebrews (Num. xxxii. 17, 34–42; Deut. iii. 4, 5; Josh. xi. 12, 13; Judg. i. 27–33), and many, especially those on the sea-coast, remained for a long time in the possession of their inhabitants, who were enabled to preserve them by means of their strength in chariots (Josh. xiii. 3, 6, xvii. 16; Judg. i. 19; 2 K. xviii. 8; 2 Ch. xxvi. 6). The strength of Jerusalem was shown by the fact that that city, or at least the citadel, or "stronghold of Zion," remained in the possession of the Jebusites until the time of David (2 Sam. v. 6, 7; 1 Ch. xi. 5). Among the kings of Israel and Judah several are mentioned as fortifiers or "builders" of cities: Solomon (1 K. ix. 17–19; 2 Ch. viii. 4–6), Jeroboam I. (1 K. xii. 25), Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 5, 12), Baasha (1 K. xv. 17), Omri (1 K. xvi. 24), Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxxii. 5), Asa (2 Ch. xiv. 6, 7), Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 12), but especially Uzziah (2 K. xiv. 22; 2 Ch. xxvi. 2, 9, 15); and in the reign of Ahab the town of Jericho was rebuilt and fortified by a private individual, Hiel of Bethel (1 K. xvi. 34). Herod the Great was conspicuous in fortifying strong positions, as



Assyrian Fortifications.

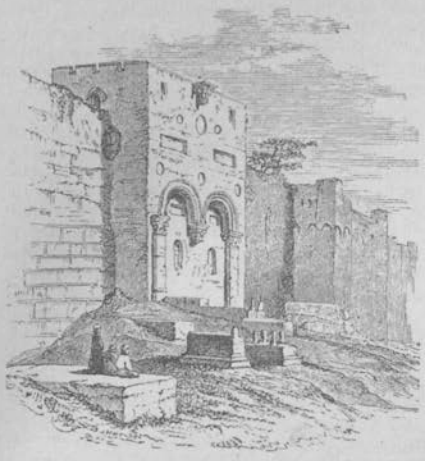
Masada, Machaerus, Herodium, besides his great works at Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 6, §§ 1, 2, and 8, § 3; *B. J.* i. 21, § 10; *Ant.* xiv. 13, § 9).

But the fortified places of Palestine served only in a few instances to check effectually the progress of an invading force, though many instances of determined and protracted resistance are on record, as of Samaria for three years (2 K. xviii. 10), of Jerusalem (2 K. xxv. 3) for four months, and in later times of Jotapata, Gamala, Machaerus, Masada, and above all Jerusalem itself, the strength of whose defences drew forth the admiration of the conqueror Titus (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 6, iv. 1 and 9, vii. 6, §§ 2–4 and 8; Robinson, i. 232).

The earlier Egyptian fortifications consisted usually of a quadrangular and sometimes double wall of sun-dried brick, 15 feet thick, and often 50 feet in height, with square towers at intervals, of the same height as the walls, both crowned with a parapet, and a round-headed battlement in shape like a shield. A second lower wall with towers at the entrance was added, distant 13 to 20 feet from the main wall, and sometimes another was made of 70 or 100 feet in length, projecting at right angles from the main wall to enable the defenders to annoy the

assailants in flank. The ditch was sometimes fortified by a sort of tenaille in the ditch itself, or a ravelin on its edge. In later times the practice of fortifying towns was laid aside, and the large temples with their enclosures were made to serve the purpose of forts (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 408, 409 [1878]).

The fortifications of Nineveh, Babylon, Ecbatana, and of Tyre and Sidon are all mentioned, either in the Canonical Books or in the Apocrypha.



The so-called Golden Gate of Jerusalem, showing supposed remains of the old Jewish Wall.

In the sculptures of Nineveh representations are found of walled towns, of which one is thought to represent Tyre, and all illustrate the mode of fortification adopted both by the Assyrians and their enemies (Jer. li. 30–32, 58; Ezek. xxvii. 11; Amos i. 10; Nah. iii. 14; Zech. ix. 3; Tob. i. 17, xiv. 14, 15; Judith i. 1, 4; Layard, *Nin.* ii. pp. 275, 279, 388, 395; *Nin. & Bab.* pp. 231, 358; *Mon. of Nin.* pt. ii. 39, 43). [H. W. P.]

FERRET (אֲנָקָה, *anâkâh*; μυγαλή; *mygale*; R. V. "Gecko"), one of the unclean, creeping things forbidden as food in Lev. xi. 30. All commentators are agreed that the rendering of the A. V. is erroneous. That of the R. V. seems the most probable (see the marg. note in loco). This and the three which follow it in Leviticus are "creeping things," or reptiles; and the name is from a root אָנַק, "to sigh or groan," well applicable to the rapid clucking sound made by the Gecko (*Ptyodactylus gecko*) by vibrating its tongue against its palate, whence the name. The LXX. translates it μυγαλή, the shrew mouse (*Sorex araneus*), which is common enough in Palestine, where are also other species of shrew. The Rabbinical writers identify *anâkâh* with the hedgehog, which, though not uncommon in the country, would not be classed with the creeping things, but is looked upon as a small porcupine (Lewysohn, *Zool. des Talmuds*, §§ 129, 134). The gecko is extremely common in the Holy Land and in Arabia. It runs with great rapidity on walls and on smooth, indented surfaces, attaching itself to a ceiling by means of a remarkable provision in the structure of the underside of its toes, a series of fine laminae or plates, so that its movements appear like those of a fly. [H. B. T.]

FESTIVALS. I. The student of antiquity soon discovers that there is little that can be called strange or peculiar in the principal features of the Mosaic system of ritual and observance. The ceremonial actions in which the religious spirit found natural expression are much the same here as elsewhere [see FASTING]; allowing for modifications of more or less importance, introduced from time to time by special enactment, or originating in the altered circumstances of the Israelitish people at the various stages of their history. The Higher Revelation could find free course in the ancient channels; new ones were needless, and might even have proved a hindrance to its beneficent progress. What was good or capable of expressing good in existing religious usage was taken up and moulded to its own purposes by the religion of Moses and the Prophets. Among the institutions of natural[a] religion which were thus accepted by Mosaism as legitimate and worthy of adoption and regulation in the interests of a more spiritual faith and a more enlightened practice, was the festival.

A festival or feast is a period of time consisting of one or more consecutive holy days; that is, days hallowed or set apart for the honour of God. Generically a holy season, the festival is specifically a season of rejoicing, and thus excludes the fast. The principal business of the festival in the ancient world was sacrifice with its attendant ceremonies; and this naturally involved a more or less entire cessation of the ordinary business of life.

The opinion that the germ of the festival, as of all other worship, is to be found in periodical offerings and prayers to the departed, is far from being borne out by the oldest available evidence. It directly contradicts the testimony of the documents of the extremely primitive Accadian religion; where the chief objects of adoration are not ghosts, but elemental Powers of Heaven, Earth, the Deep, Fire, Wind, and Water: a religion which takes us back to at least five thousand years before our era, and whose beginnings must be referred to a yet remoter epoch. Ea, the Creator of Man, who has his home in "the waters under the earth," is no more a magnified ghost than is Nanna the Moon, or Utu the Sun, or Mermer the Wind, or Bilgi the Fire, or Nergal the God of War, or Ningirsu (the Chinese Siennung) the God of Tillage. Yet these deities belong to the earliest records of the oldest known language—the primitive speech of the land of Shumir and Accad.

To make "Animism" the one original form of religion is to ignore the fact that the impressions received in dreams and associated with the mystery of death were neither the most frequent nor the most vivid of the influences to which the primitive mind was subject. The powers of nature, the great objects of the physical world, the sun and moon daily departing and returning, apparently of their

[a] By "natural," in this connexion, I mean, universally resulting from the religious instincts of humanity.

own will and motion, the sound and force of the unseen winds, the terrific phenomena of the storm, would from the outset impress ignorant but receptive humanity[b] with those lively emotions of wonder and awe which find an instinctive expression in worship; even if we must grant that man first appeared upon this earthly scene in that forlorn destitution of reason and conscience and spiritual intuition which current speculation so freely presupposes. "Animism," to say the least, is no more a complete account of the origin of religion than the chemistry of the body is a complete account of human nature; and there is no ground in archaeology for denying that the sense of Unseen Non-human Living Powers is as truly an aboriginal endowment of humanity as the sense of an external world.

The Christian apologist is by no means concerned to prove the absolute originality of the Festivals prescribed or permitted by the Mosaic Law. It is enough for his purpose to establish the fact that these and other customary observances were vitalized under the new religion by the infusion of a new spirit. That Israel, like other contemporary peoples, observed certain festivals before the time of Moses is a fact which might reasonably be taken for granted. In those times no festivals could only mean no religion. Besides, if the ancestors of Israel migrated from "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 31), and if they there had "served other gods" (Josh. xxiv. 2), they must have kept the festivals of the Moon, the tutelar god of Ur. It is an arbitrary and ignorant conception, justified neither by the sacred records nor by historical experience, which imagines that the Mosaic legislation implied or made possible a clean sweep of all primitive traditions, and abolished for Israel the entire heritage of the past. That is not the method by which progress has been achieved in the history of religion.

But we have the positive evidence of the Hebrew language, with its use of the primitive Semitic term חג (*chag*), which is common to Hebrew and the cognate dialects, and must have descended from the period when the great Semitic family had not yet broken up into distinct nations. It is the term rendered "feast" in Exod. x. 9; cp. iii. 18, v. 1. The tenacious vitality of traditional festivals is well known from general history, and may be illustrated by the long survival of the Roman Saturnalia, under more or less transparent disguises, in Christian times.

In Israel, as in other ancient nations, we find Festivals or holy times associated (1) with the periodic changes of the moon, and (2) with the recurring seasons of the year. Of the former kind were the New Moons and Sabbaths; of the latter, the three great annual Pilgrimage-Feasts. As regards the question of relative antiquity, the lunar Festivals would seem to be the older. All indications go to suggest that they were of primitive observance in Israel, and the opening page of Genesis represents the Sabbath as of immemorial institution; in perfect harmony with what we learn from other sources, viz. that a Sabbath or Day of Rest was known in ancient Babylonia, the primeval home of the forefathers of Jacob, and that the New Moons were there observed with prescribed hymns and offerings (see *W.A.I.* iv.[2], plates 25 and 32–33*). The differences of detail in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, *e.g.* that the Babylonian Kalendars seem to restrict it to the king and certain members of the priestly classes, and that the 19th day of the month is characterised in the same terms as the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th, cannot reasonably be considered to weaken the evidence for the Babylonian origin of the Sabbath. We should expect that in this as in other instances the effect of Mosaism would be to develop and spiritualize a pre-existing institution. In the prominence which it gave to the Sabbath, in the strictness and the universality of the ordinance, and above all in the religious significance associated therewith, we may still say with Dillmann that Mosaism was "quite original and creative."[c]

As Wellhausen has remarked, it is probable that the Sabbath was originally regulated by the phases of the moon, and thus occurred on the 7th, 14th, 21st (and 28th) days of the month, the new moon being reckoned as the first day. Hence the anxious care with which from the earliest period watch was kept for the first appearance of the new moon which determined the beginning of the month. The service rendered to man by this planet as a measurer of time and an indicator of holy seasons is more than once recognised in the Old Testament. It is called "the faithful witness in the sky" (Ps. lxxxix. 37), and is said to have been appointed "for set seasons" (Ps. civ. 19; cp. Gen. i. 14).

That the New Moons, *i.e.* the first days of the twelve or thirteen lunar months of the Hebrew year [see YEAR], were held in high estimation from ancient times in Israel, is sufficiently attested, both by the Historical and by the Prophetical Books (1 Sam. xx. 5, 18; 2 K. iv. 23; Amos viii. 5; Hos. ii. 11; Is. i. 13; cp. Ps. lxxxi. 3); while the Law lent its sanction to these traditional holy days by the prescription of additional offerings (Num. xxviii. 11–15) for all of them, and by raising the New Moon of the Seventh Month to a position of special sanctity (Lev. xxiii. 24 sqq.; Num. xxix. 1 sqq.; FEAST OF TRUMPETS). The observance of the New Moons lasted even to Christian times (Col. ii. 16).

The position accorded to the New Moon of the seventh month is not an isolated fact. It stands in connexion with that peculiar extension of the Sabbatical idea to months and years, of which

[b] I suppose no one would credit "anthropoid apes" with any sort of worship—even that of their dead forbears.

[c] The late George Smith, quoted by Wellhausen, *Proleg.* p. 112, n. 2, speaks of "a general prohibition of work on these days" (*Assyr. Eponym Canon*, pp. 19, 20). Mr. Smith appears to have inferred this from the expression UD GUL-ĠAL, "a bad (or unlucky) day," *ûmu limnu*, which the Babylonian Kalendars apply to the four (five) days. The texts, however, say nothing about *general* observance. They only regulate the conduct of the king and two other official persons—a priest and a soothsayer.

The definition preserved in *W.A.I.* ii. 32, 16 ab, *ûm nuḫ libbi | šabattum*, "The Day of Rest of the Heart | The Sabbath," is very remarkable. There is, however, no documentary evidence connecting it with the five days mentioned in the text.

no trace has been found outside of Mosaism. Thus, as the first day of the seventh month was to be hallowed by entire rest from work (*shabbāthôn*) and by religious assembly and sacrifice, so the seventh year was ordained as a year of rest for the land, during which the sacred soil, Jehovah's gift to His people, was to keep "a Sabbath of perfect rest" (*shabbath shabbāthôn;* Lev. xxv. 4) by being left to lie fallow all the year (Ex. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 2–7; Deut. xv. 1 sq.). Similarly, it was ordered that after the lapse of seven times seven years, or "seven Sabbaths (weeks) of years," the year of Jubilee should be celebrated (Lev. xxv. 8).

The great annual Festivals connected with the seasons of the year seem to have had their origin in the joy and thankfulness which led men to offer to God the firstlings of their flocks and herds and the first-fruits of the field and the vineyard (cp. Gen. iv. 3, 4). Hence the spring and autumn Festivals, vestiges of which are found in the remains of so many ancient peoples, remote from each other in space and time, in race and language. Among nations akin to the Hebrews, the festival of New Year was kept by the Babylonians and Assyrians, as we learn from the cuneiform inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Nebuchadnezzar;[d] while the Sacaean feast which was celebrated five days in the eleventh month, and was a kind of Saturnalia, may perhaps represent the Autumn feast (Berosus *ap.* Athen. *Deipn.* xiv. 9, 44; Ctesias, *Fragm. Assyr.* 20). The Syrians of Harran had a famous spring festival (Chwolsohn, *Ssabier*, ii. 25); and the Arabs before Muhammad appear to have observed their seventh month, Rajab, as a holy festival month. Among peoples of Aryan race, the ancient Persians are said to have held a new year's festival (Nairôz) for six days at the beginning of the first month (Farvardin = March–April), and an autumn feast also of six days' duration (Mihrgân), from the 16th day of the seventh month (Mihr = September–October) onwards. The Hindus still celebrate their *Huli*-feast in March, and a feast of harvest in September. The general practice of antiquity, as established by these and similar instances, raises a strong presumption in favour of the historical character of the three great annual Festivals of Israel. It is true that there is little specific mention of these Festivals outside the Books of the Law. But here again, as in the case of Fasts, we have to bear in mind the poverty of our documents. The unexceptionable evidence of the prophetic allusions may be considered to supply the deficiencies of the historical narratives. We know from Amos (v. 21; viii. 5, 10) and Hosea (ii. 13; ix. 5) that the annual Feasts, as well as the New Moons and Sabbaths, were, with whatever deviations from the strict order of Mosaism as represented by the more orthodox practice of Judah, diligently observed in Northern Israel; and the references of Isaiah (i. 12–14; xxix. 1; xxx. 29) prove the popularity of the traditional Festivals in the southern kingdom. As regards the premonarchical period, Dillmann justly considers the notice of the first celebration in Canaan of Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Josh. v. 10, 11) to be ancient and authentic. The annual feast, celebrated with dances of virgins at Shiloh in the time of the Judges, appears from the context to have been a vintage-feast, and thus to represent the Feast of Tabernacles (Judg. xxi. 19 sq.); and towards the close of this period we have the yearly pilgrimage of Elkanah and his family to the same sanctuary (1 Sam. i. 3, 21). The sacrifices which Solomon offered "three times in a year" (1 K. ix. 25) are rightly referred by the later historian to the three great annual Feasts (2 Ch. viii. 13); and that sovereign is recorded to have dedicated the Temple in the seventh month immediately before the Feast of Tabernacles (1 K. viii. 2, 65, 66; cp. 2 Ch. vii. 9, 10). The important and unquestionably authentic notice of Jeroboam's transference of this last great Festival from the seventh to the eighth month proves at once its previous observance and the strong hold which it had upon the people (1 K. xii. 32). We thus have adequate if not abundant evidence in favour of what is, after all, the natural conclusion that Israel, like every other ancient people of note, had from the outset its regular Festivals and Holy Days. When, therefore, it is said (2 K. xxiii. 22) that no such Passover as that of the eighteenth year of Josiah had been held "from the days of the Judges," it is obvious that we are not to understand that the Passover had never before been celebrated at all. This extraordinary inference of a defunct criticism does violence to the context (Heb. "*the like* of this Passover"), and, moreover, would prove too much; for the chronicler has made a similar statement in regard to this celebration (2 Ch. xxxv. 18), and a yet more inclusive one in regard to the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 17); and no critic would accuse that writer of disbelief in the Mosaic institution of the three great Festivals. The plain meaning of these passages is that the Festivals in question had not previously been observed in perfect accordance with the letter of the written Law.

While all the holy times of the Hebrews were alike *Mô'ădîm* (מוֹעֲדִים), "fixed or appointed seasons" (Gen. i. 14; Lev. xxiii. 2), the three annual Feasts of Passover and Unleavened Bread, of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles, were also called *Chaggîm* (חַגִּים); a term which, according to its etymology, may have originally denoted dances in a ring, probably accompanied by music and singing, like the Greek cyclic chorus. The cognate verb (חגג) means "to dance," 1 Sam. xxx. 16; elsewhere it is "to keep festival" (Ex. xxxii. 6, 18, 19; Judg. xxi. 19; Lev. xxiii. 39; Ps. xlii. 4), "because they danced and expanded the Good Day (*i.e.* the Feast) with rejoicing," as Kimchi explains.[e]

[d] The feast was called *Zagmukku*, a term explained to mean *rēš šatti*, "Beginning of the year" (=Heb. ראשׁ השׁנה), and derived from the Accadian ZAG, "head," and MUG, MU, "year."

[e] In Arabic the root حج, *ḥaǧǧa*, is "to go on pilgrimage" to Mecca; which agrees with the fact that the Hebrew *chaggim* were pilgrimage-feasts.

The Talmud uses the term רְגָלִים, *rĕgālîm*, in this sense; owing to a misunderstanding of the sense of that term in Ex. xxiii. 14; cp. Num. xxii. 28 (= "times") (Ges. *Thes.* s. v. רגל).

Besides the earlier prescription of these Feasts in Ex. xxiii. 14–19, xxxiv. 18 sq. (cp. Deut. xvi.), the middle section of the Law, now commonly known as "The Priestly Legislation" (*das Priesterbuch*), which Dillmann dates *circ.* 1000 B.C., but which Graf, Wellhausen, and their school refer to the age following the Return, furnishes a more elaborate Kalendar of Festivals (Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii., xxix.). In all, seven holy seasons ("set times." *môʿădîm*, Lev. xxiii. 2) are reckoned in addition to the weekly Sabbath, as follows:—

(1.) Passover, on the 14th of the first month.

(2.) Unleavened Bread, seven days, beginning with the 15th of the first month.

(3.) Pentecost, the 50th day after the 16th of the first month.

(4.) New Moon, or first day, of the seventh month.[f]

(5.) Day of Atonement, on the 10th day of the seventh month.

(6.) Feast of Tabernacles, seven days, from the 15th of the seventh month.

(7.) The *Aṣèreth*; that is, perhaps, the *Closing Day*, on the 22nd of the seventh month.

Thus six of the seven annual sacred times fall in the first and seventh months. The five (or six) months which include winter and the seasons of ploughing and sowing are unmarked by any annual feasts or holy seasons. So far as the numbers are concerned, there is no material divergence between the different accounts. Where only three Feasts are enumerated, the great popular Pilgrim-festivals (*Chaggîm*) are intended. For particulars as to these Feasts, see the special articles. Here it may be observed that the Feast of Unleavened Bread, falling in the month Abib, *i.e.* the month of Ears of Corn (Ex. xxiii. 15), which was the month of the vernal equinox (March–April) when the first ears ripened, marked the beginning, as the Feast of Pentecost marked the end, of the corn-harvest; while the Feast of Tabernacles was essentially a vintage-feast. The agricultural basis of these festivals is evident from their alternative names. But the mode in which the Law associated new facts of religious import even with observances which in their origin had a different significance, and thus turned them into celebrations commemorative of great providential events in the history of Israel, is clearly seen in the reason assigned for making this month Abib the beginning of the year (Ex. xii. 2),[g] and in the sacramental meaning ascribed to the ordinances of the Passover and of Unleavened Bread (Deut. xvi. 1–3). Even the Feast of Tabernacles, or of Ingathering (Ex. xxiii. 16), with its more obvious import of harvest joy and thanksgiving, had a historical reference connected with the feature of dwelling in leafy booths (Lev. xxiii. 42, 43). Abib or Nisan was, however, the first month of the Babylonian year (*Nisannu*; a softened form of the Accadian NI-SANGA, "that which is first"); as Tisri, the seventh month, had the same name and position in the Babylonian Kalendar (*Taš-ritu*, probably meaning "Consecration"). The Accadian name ITI DÛ AZAG, "month of the Pure Abode," suggests a possible connexion with the Feast of Tabernacles.[h] However this may be, the fact that these two 7-day Festivals began on the 15th day of the month,—that is, at the time of full moon, which was also a Babylonian sacred season,—seems to indicate a connexion with the lunar cycle (cp. Num. ix. 9 sq.). The special importance of the Feast of Tabernacles, both in earlier and in later times, is evident from Jeroboam's interference with it (1 K. xii. 32) and from Zechariah's prophecy concerning it (Zech. xii. 14).

Ewald and Dillmann have plausibly grouped the six annual Festivals, including the Day of Atonement and excluding the seventh New Moon, round the two great Feasts of Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles. Each greater Festival is ushered in by a preliminary holy day (*Vorfeier*) and terminated by a closing celebration (*Nachfeier*). The Passover and Pentecost are thus subordinated to the spring Festival; the Day of Atonement and the *Aṣèreth* to that of autumn. Dillmann's ingenious argument must not, however, blind us to the fact that the documents always name three, never two Pilgrim-Feasts (*Chaggîm*). A love of symmetry and system is apt to carry us beyond our evidence. Neither the Day of Pentecost nor that of Atonement really fit into the framework provided for them. Both are independent celebrations of the greatest importance; and the latter is not a "festival" at all in the sense of the three Pilgrim-Feasts.

All these sacred times involved the cessation of ordinary business. But seven days within the feast-cycle were distinguished as Days of Holy Convocation (Ex. xii. 15; Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii.; Is. i. 13), and were observed with a more Sabbatical strictness. They were the first and seventh days of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Day of Atonement, the first of the Feast of Tabernacles, the eighth day (*Aṣèreth*) which immediately followed it, the New Moon of the seventh month, and the Day of Pentecost. Of these, the Day of Atonement demanded absolute cessation of every kind of work (Lev. xvi. 29, xxiii. 2, 31; Num. xxix. 7); on the other six, abstention from all "servile work" (מלאכת עבדה; perhaps chiefly husbandry) was enough (Lev. xxiii. 7, 8, 21, 25, 35, 36; Num. xxviii. 18, 19: cp. Ex. xii. 16). On all these days assemblies were called for public worship. Owing to their Sabbath-like characteristics, they are designated by a kindred Hebrew term (*shabbāthôn*; formed from *shabbāth*: Lev. xxiii. 24, 39): the Day of Atonement is distinguished by a title which combines the two expressions (*shabbath shabbāthôn*; Lev. xxiii. 32).[i] On any other day of the great 7-day

[f] After the introduction of the Seleucid era, the New Moon of the seventh month became a sort of New Year's Day.

[g] According to another reckoning (Ex. xxiii. 16), which was the rule in Syria, the year began in autumn [see YEAR].

[h] The term DU is explained *sukku*, "hut,"—which seems to answer to the Heb. *sukkôth*, סֻכּוֹת, in the name of the feast,—as well as *šubtu*, "dwelling," and *tilu*, "mound" (see S°. 25, 28, 30). We may remember that the booths of the Feast were set up on the house-tops.

[i] At the end of the verse, simply *Shabbāth*, Sabbath.

festivals work was for obvious reasons permissible, provided the day did not happen to coincide with a weekly Sabbath.

Festival days were naturally marked in the public service of the national Sanctuary by special sacrifices, and in some cases by offerings characteristic of the occasion, in addition to the ordinary morning and evening sacrifice (Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii., xxix.). As regards the attendance of the people, it is evident that the public proclamation of a "Day of Holy Convocation" invited the presence at the services of all Israelites who might be in the neighbourhood of the Sanctuary; and for the three great Pilgrim-feasts, attendance was enjoined by the Law upon all males (Ex. xxiii. 14–17, xxxiv. 23 sqq.; Deut. xvi. 16). It was expressly forbidden to come empty-handed; and the custom was to take advantage of the pilgrimages for the presentation of obligatory as well as free-will offerings. The fact that no penalties are threatened for non-attendance may indicate that the Law is rather regulating ancient and popular usage than ordaining new observances. At all events, the general enthusiasm for the pilgrimage-feasts from ancient times is sufficiently attested (Ps. xlii. 5, lxxxiv. 6, 7; and the Pilgrims' Hymn-book, Pss. cxx.–cxxxiv.; cp. 1 K. xii. 32). In individual cases, allowance would naturally be made for untoward circumstances, such as distance, difficulties of travelling, poverty, and other material obstacles (cp. John vii. 8, 10). Philo of Alexandria was even satisfied with a single pilgrimage, like a modern Mahometan *Hajji*.

Although women were not under formal obligation to make the annual pilgrimages, the examples of Hannah (1 Sam. i. 7; ii. 19) and of the Blessed Virgin (Luke ii. 41) indicate the practice of pious women in regard to the greater Festivals from the earliest period to the latest. In spite of all deductions, the conflux of Jews from all parts of the world to Jerusalem for the celebration of the three great Feasts, especially that of Pentecost (Acts ii. 9 sq.), was, in the period after the Return, enormous. Josephus estimates the number attending the Passover at over two millions; and the Roman procurator was always careful to make a strong show of military force in Jerusalem on these occasions, in order to overawe the multitudes of fervid patriots (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 9 § 3, 10 § 2, xx. 8 § 11; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 12 § 1: cp. Matt. xxvi. 5; Luke xiii. 1; Acts xxi. 31 sq.). The great influence of these gatherings, not only as vivifying old religious memories and intensifying devotion, but also as fostering a sense of national unity, was already recognised in the early period of the monarchy (1 K. xii. 26, 27; cp. 2 Ch. xxx. 1); and their effect upon the maintenance of Judaism as a living force throughout the Greek and Roman world until the fall of Jerusalem can hardly be overrated.

II. In the period after the Return, certain annual festivals were instituted in commemoration of historical events in which the mercy of God was especially recognised. Of these the chief were:—(1) The Feast of Purim (Esth. ix. 20 sq.: see PURIM), in memory of the deliverance of the nation from the designs of Haman; and (2) the Feast of the Dedication, instituted B.C. 164 by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. iv. 56: see DEDICATION). Other new festivals of this period—such as Nicanor's Day, commemorating the victory of the 13th Adar, B.C. 161 (see NICANOR: 1 Macc. vii. 49; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 5), and the anniversary of the taking of the Acra by Simon, B.C. 141 (1 Macc. xiii. 52)—soon fell into disuse, though the former appears to have survived until the time of Josephus. The so-called "Feasts of the Wood-carryings," *ἑορταὶ τῶν ξυλοφορίων* (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17, §§ 6, 7; *Taanith*, iv. 5) grew out of the circumstance that the offerings of wood for Temple use (Neh. x. 34; xiii. 21) came in the course of time to be brought to Jerusalem by all contributors on the same day, viz. the 14th of the fifth month (Lōos = Ab).

III. The New Testament does not record the formal institution of any Christian Festivals. But although not a word is said of its institution, we find the Lord's Day already recognised by the Church (Acts xx. 7: cp. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2; Heb. x. 25; Rev. i. 10); and the earliest external testimonies confirm the natural inference from these passages [see LORD'S DAY]. The first Christians, moreover, followed the example of their Master in observing the greater Festivals of the Jewish Church, at least until the destruction of the Holy Place. Those Festivals, indeed, had received a new significance for them, by association with the principal events in the history of Redemption; just as the Law had given them a higher import for ancient Israel, by making them commemorative of the turning points in the historical emancipation of Jehovah's people. Thus the Passover was consecrated anew by the sacrifice of Christ our Passover (1 Cor. v. 7, 8); Pentecost, by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost (Acts ii. 1 sq.; xviii. 21; xx. 16).

For the rest, it *is* a superficial error *to* suppose that the cycle of Festivals is an unnecessary addition to the simplicity of the Gospel. A mechanical observance, and a total misconception of the use and meaning of festal solemnities, may make it such in effect, as happened in the case of the old Jewish Church. But a similar perversion of the Lord's Day is by no means unknown in the history of Christian sects. The widespread, indeed we may say universal observance of special days and seasons among the great historical races of mankind, is a fact which goes far to prove that they answer to some special needs of human nature; and reason cannot refuse to admit that the same grounds of religious expediency which suggested the institution of festivals and holy days in all the great pre-Christian systems, have lost little of their original force in the lapse of time. It seems plain that in our present circumstances—and more now, in the busy, restless modern world, than at any former period—such days and seasons of detachment, and holy meditation, and joyful commemoration of the great facts of Redemption—yes, and of the lives and deaths of those glorious patterns of our humbler walk, the saints of old,—can only be neglected at the deadly risk of complete absorption in the cares and pleasures of the passing scene. No stronger indication of the truth can well be imagined than the necessity that has driven religious bodies, which in time past have exhibited the

greatest hostility to the "ecclesiastical superstition" of Saints' days, to the observance of unauthorised equivalents such as anniversaries, and harvest festivals, and "Flower Services," and "Watch Night." What are these and similar novelties but so many unconscious testimonies to the wisdom of the Church Catholic in her ordinance of fixed holy days? Festivals, in short, would seem to be necessary for the average of mankind, if the spiritual life needs recurring stimulus and renewal, if religion is to have its due, and if the homage of public worship and thanksgiving is to be offered at fitting intervals and with due solemnity to our Divine Lord and King.

See Reland, *Antiq. Hebr.*; Bähr, *Symbolik*; Ewald's *Antiquities of Israel*; Dillmann *apud* Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, s. v. *Feste*; Riehm, *HWB.*, p. 430 sq.; Graf, *Die gesch. Bücher des A. T.*; Prof. W. Robertson Smith, *Prophets*, p. 383; Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, pp. 83–120; *Encycl. Brit.*[9] s. v. *Festivals*; Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. ch. lxix. sq. [C. J. B.]

FESTUS (Φῆστος; *Festus*). Porcius Festus was sent by Nero as the successor of Felix in the government of Judaea, and probably arrived there in the summer of A.D. 60. On his reaching Jerusalem the case of St. Paul was at once brought before him by the chief priests, and on his return to Caesarea he held an inquiry. Perplexed by the religious questions raised on the trial (Acts xxv. 20), and still more from a desire to gain favour with his new subjects, he was disposed to carry St. Paul to Jerusalem for a further trial. The danger involved in this led St. Paul to appeal to Caesar. On the arrival of Agrippa, Festus related to him the whole affair, and sought his assistance in gaining understanding of the religious questions involved. The doctrine of the resurrection called out from Festus the words "Paul, thou art mad;" but the discourse strengthened the governor's conviction of the prisoner's innocence of the charges of the Jews, who had probably sought both before Felix and Festus to identify St. Paul with the religious impostors (γόητες) who under both governors played a prominent part in the disturbances of the time (cp. also Acts xxi. 38). Festus shows exactly the same selfishness as Felix in his readiness to gratify the Jews at St. Paul's expense. But he may not have heard of the conspiracy and ambush two years before, and may have suspected no treachery. Beyond this there is nothing to blame in him as a magistrate, and the narrative of the Acts harmonises with the account of Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 14, 1), who contrasts him favourably with his successor Albinus. His cynical inability to understand religious earnestness contrasts unfavourably with his predecessor's "knowledge of the Way" and awakened conscience; but Festus was certainly a better governor and probably a better man. His friendship with Herod Agrippa II. (Acts xxv. 13) is illustrated by an incident recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8, 11), in which he takes Agrippa's part. He died in less than two years after his appointment. [E. R. B.]

FETTERS (נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם; כֶּבֶל; זִקִּים). 1. The first of these Hebrew words, *nechushtaim*, expresses the material of which fetters were usually made, viz. *brass* (πέδαι χαλκαί; A. V. and R. V. "fetters of brass"), and also that they were made in *pairs*, the word being in the dual number: it is the most usual term for fetters (Judg. xvi. 21; 2 Sam. iii. 34; 2 K. xxv. 7; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 11, xxxvi. 6; Jer. xxxix. 7, lii. 11). Iron was occasionally employed for the purpose (Ps. cv. 18, cxlix. 8). 2. *Cebel* occurs only in the above Psalms, and, from its appearing in the singular number, may perhaps apply to the link which connected the fetters. *Zikkim* ("fetters," Job xxxvi. 8) is more usually translated "chains" (Ps. cxlix. 8; Is. xlv. 14; Nah. iii. 10), but its radical sense appears to refer to the *contraction* of the feet by a chain (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 424). [W. L. B.]

FEVER (קַדַּחַת, דַּלֶּקֶת, חַרְחֻר; ἵκτερος, βίγος, ἐρεθισμός; Lev. xxvi. 16; Deut. xxviii. 22). These words, from various roots signifying heat or inflammation, are rendered in the A. V. by various words suggestive of fever, or a feverish affection. The word βίγος ("shuddering") suggests the ague as accompanied by fever, as in the opinion of the LXX. probably intended; and this is still a very common disease in Palestine. The third word, which they render ἐρεθισμός (a term still known to pathology), a feverish irritation, and which in the A. V. is called burning fever, may perhaps be erysipelas. The cases in the Gospels are St. Peter's wife's mother (Matt. viii. 14; Mark i. 30; Luke iv. 38) and the "nobleman's son" (John iv. 52, πυρέσσουσα, πυρετός), but neither having any distinctive symptom. Fever constantly accompanies the bloody flux, or dysentery (Acts xxviii. 8; cp. De Mandelslo, *Travels*, ed. 1669, p. 65). Fevers of an inflammatory character are mentioned (Burckhardt, *Arab.* i. 446) as common at Mecca, and putrid ones at Djidda. Intermittent fever and dysentery, the latter often fatal, are ordinary Arabian diseases. For the former, though often fatal to strangers, the natives care little, but much dread a relapse. These fevers sometimes occasion most troublesome swellings in the stomach and legs (ii. 290, 291). [H. H.]

FIELD (שָׂדֶה). The Hebrew *sadeh* is not adequately represented by our "field;" the two words agree in describing *cultivated* land, but they differ in point of extent; the *sadeh* being specifically applied to what is *unenclosed*, while the opposite notion of enclosure is involved in the word *field*. The essence of the Hebrew word has been variously taken to lie in each of these notions, Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 1321) giving it the sense of *freedom*, Stanley (*S. and P.* p. 490) that of *smoothness*, deriving *arvum* from *arare*. On the one hand, *sadeh* is applied to any cultivated ground, whether pasture (Gen. xxix. 2, xxxi. 4, xxxiv. 7; Ex. ix. 3), tillage (Gen. xxxvii. 7, xlvii. 24; Ruth ii. 2, 3; Job xxiv. 6; Jer. xxvi. 11; Micah iii. 12), woodland (1 Sam. xiv. 25, A. V. and R. V. "ground;" Ps. cxxxii. 6), or mountain-top (Judg. ix. 32, 36; 2 Sam. i. 21); and in some instances in marked opposition to the neighbouring wilderness (Stanley, pp. 236, 490), as in the instance of Jacob settling in the field of Shechem (Gen. xxxiii.

19), the field of Moab (Gen. xxxvi. 35; Num. xxi. 20, A. V. "country;" Ruth i. 1), and the vale of Siddim, i.e. *of the cultivated fields*, which formed the oasis of the Pentapolis (Gen. xiv. 3, 8; see Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5]), though a different sense has been given to the name by Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 1321). On the other hand, the *sadeh* is frequently contrasted with what is enclosed, whether a vineyard (Ex. xxii. 5; Lev. xxv. 3, 4; Num. xvi. 14, xx. 17; cp. Num. xxii. 23, "the ass went into the field," with *v.* 24, "a path of the vineyards, a wall being on this side and a wall on that side"), a garden (the very name of which, גַּן, implies enclosure), or a walled town (Deut. xxviii. 3, 16): unwalled villages or scattered houses ranked in the eye of the Law as fields (Lev. xxv. 31), and hence the expression *εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς = houses in the fields (in villas*, Vulg.; Mark vi. 36, 56). In many passages the term implies what is remote from a house (Gen. iv. 8, xxiv. 63; Deut. xxii. 25) or settled habitation, as in the case of Esau (Gen. xxv. 27; the LXX., however, refers it to his character, *ἀγροῖκος*): this is more fully expressed by פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה, "the open field" (Lev. xiv. 7, 53, xvii. 5; Num. xix. 16; 2 Sam. xi. 11), with which is naturally coupled the notion of exposure and desertion (Jer. ix. 22; Ezek. xvi. 5, xxxii. 4, xxxiii. 27, xxxix. 5).

The separate plots of ground were marked off by stones, which might easily be removed (Deut. xix. 14, xxvii. 17; cp. Job xxiv. 2; Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10): the absence of fences rendered the fields liable to damage from straying cattle (Ex. xxii. 5) or fire (*v.* 6; 2 Sam. xiv. 30): hence the necessity of constantly watching flocks and herds, the people so employed being in the present day named *Natoor* (Wortabet, *Syria*, i. 293). A certain amount of protection was gained by sowing the tallest and strongest of the grain crops on the outside: "spelt" appears to have been most commonly used for this purpose (Is. xxviii. 25, as in the margin). From the absence of enclosures, cultivated land of any size might be termed a field, whether it were a piece of ground of limited area (Gen. xxiii. 13, 17; Is. v. 8), a man's whole inheritance (Lev. xxvii. 16 sq.; Ruth iv. 5; Jer. xxxii. 9, 25; Prov. xxvii. 26, xxxi. 16), the *ager publicus* of a town (Gen. xli. 48; Neh. xii. 29), as distinct, however, from the ground immediately adjacent to the walls of the Levitical cities, which was called מִגְרָשׁ (A. V. and R. V. "suburbs"), and was deemed an appendage of the town itself (Josh. xxi. 11, 12), or lastly the territory of a people (Gen. xiv. 7, xxxii. 3, xxxvi. 35; Num. xxi. 20; Ruth i. 6, iv. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 1, xxvii. 7, 11). In 1 Sam. xxvii. 5, "a town in the field" (A. V. and R. V. "country") = a provincial town as distinct from the royal city. A plot of ground separated from a larger one was termed חֶלְקַת שָׂדֶה (Gen. xxxiii. 19; Ruth ii. 3; 1 Ch. xi. 13), or simply חֶלְקָה (2 Sam. xiv. 30, xxiii. 12; cp. 2 Sam. xix. 29). Fields occasionally received names after remarkable events, as Helkath-Hazzurim, *the field of the strong men*, or possibly *of the sharp knives* (R. V. marg., 2 Sam. ii. 16; cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* The LXX. has a different reading), or from the use to which they may have been applied (2 K. xviii. 17; Is. vii. 3; Matt. xxvii. 7).

It should be observed that the expressions "fruitful field" (Is. x. 18, xxix. 17, xxxii. 15, 16) and "plentiful field" (Is. xvi. 10; Jer. xlviii. 33) are not connected with *sadeh*, but with *carmel*, meaning a park or well-kept wood, as distinct from a wilderness or a forest. The same term occurs in 2 K. xix. 23 and Is. xxxvii. 24 (A. V. "Carmel"), Is. x. 18 ("forest"), and Jer. iv. 26 ("fruitful place") [CARMEL]. Distinct from this is the expression in Ezek. xvii. 5, שְׂדֵה־זֶרַע (A. V. "fruitful field"), which means a field suited for planting suckers.

We have further to notice other terms—(1.) *Shedemoth* (שְׁדֵמוֹת), translated "fields," and connected by Gesenius with the idea of *enclosure*. It is doubtful, however, whether the notion of *burning* does not rather lie at the bottom of the word. This gives a more consistent sense throughout. In Is. xvi. 8, it would thus mean the *withered* grape; in Hab. iii. 17, *blasted* corn; in Jer. xxxi. 40, the *burnt* parts of the city (no "fields" intervened between the south-eastern angle of Jerusalem and the Kedron); while in 2 K. xxiii. 4, and Deut. xxxii. 32, the sense of a *place of burning* is appropriate. It is not therefore necessary to treat the word in Is. xxxvii. 27, "blasted," as a corrupt reading (cp. 2 K. xix. 26). (2.) *Abel* (אָבֵל), a well-*watered* spot, frequently employed as a prefix in proper names. (3.) *Achu* (אָחוּ), a word of Egyptian origin (see reff. in MV.[11]), given in the LXX. in a Grecised form, ἄχει (Gen. xli. 2, 18, "meadow;" Job viii. 11, "flag;" Is. xix. 7, LXX.), meaning the green flags and rushes that grow in the marshes of Lower Egypt. (4.) *Maareh* (מַעֲרֶה), which occurs only once (Judg. xx. 33, "meadows"; R. V. "Maareh-Geba"), with a sense of *openness* or *bareness* or *exposure:* thus, "they came forth on account of the *exposure* of Gibeah," the Benjamites having been previously enticed away (*v.* 31).

[W. L. B.] [F.]

FIELD, FULLER'S, THE. [FULLER'S FIELD, THE.]

FIELD, POTTER'S, THE. [ACELDAMA; POTTER'S FIELD, THE.]

FIG, FIG-TREE (תְּאֵנָה, *teēnah;* Arab. تِين, *teen;* *συκῆ*; *ficus*) belongs to the natural order of the Bread-fruit family, and the sub-order *Moreae*, which includes also the mulberry. It is a word of frequent occurrence in the O. T., where it signifies the tree *Ficus Carica* of Linnaeus, and also its fruit. The LXX. render it by *συκῆ* and *σῦκον*, and when it signifies fruit by *συκῆ*—also by *συκεὼν* or *συκών*, *ficetum*, in Jer. v. 17 and Amos iv. 9. In N. T. *συκῆ* is the fig-tree, and *σῦκα* the figs (Jas. iii. 12). It is indigenous in Southern Europe, North Africa, the Canary Islands, Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, Armenia, and Northern India. It has a very smooth bark, with very large, thick, and palmate leaves. The branches are numerous, wide and spreading, presenting an object of striking beauty when in

full leaf. The fruit, unlike any other in this country, is an enlarged, succulent, hollow receptacle, containing the imperfect flowers in its interior. Hence the blossom of the fig-tree is not visible till the receptacle has been cut open. The fig-tree is very common in Palestine (Deut. viii. 8). Mount Olivet was famous for its fig-trees in ancient times, and they are still found there (see Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 187, 421, 422). The name probably means "early ripening," from أَنَى, "to be in good time." See MV.[11]

In Gen. iii. 7, the identification of עֲלֵה תְאֵנָה with the leaves of the *Ficus Carica* has been disputed by Gesenius, Tuch, and others (see Delitzsch [1887] in loco), who think that the large leaves of the Indian *Musa Paradisiaca* are meant (Germ. *Adamsfeige*, Fr. *figuier d'Adam*). These leaves, however, would not have needed to be strung or sewn together, and the plant itself is not of the same kind as the fig-tree. Dillmann[5] considers that the writer chose the fig-leaf as the largest with which he was familiar among Palestine leaves.

The failure or destruction of the fig is repeatedly threatened by the Prophets as one of Jehovah's sore judgments upon the land, which was "a land of wheat and barley and vines and *fig-trees*" (Deut. viii. 8). "He smote their vines also and fig-trees" (Ps. cv. 33). It must be borne in mind that the dried fig is not only an agreeable luxury, but, as an important article of daily food, is one of the staples of the country. Dried figs along with barley-cakes are the usual provender of the traveller, as well as the cheapest food.

"To sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree" (1 K. iv. 25; 2 K. xviii. 31; *Is.* xxxvi. 16; Mic. iv. 4, Zech. iii. 10) conveyed to the Jew the fullest idea of peace, security, and prosperity. Nor is the expression merely figurative. There is no protection against the rays of an Eastern sun more complete than the dense foliage of the fig-tree, which often touches the ground at its circumference. Under such a fig-tree, screened from all human observation, had Nathanael wrestled in prayer, but was noted by the omniscient eye of Jesus the Messiah.

When figs are spoken of as distinguished from the fig-tree, the plur. form תְּאֵנִים is used (see Jer. viii. 13).

2. There are also the words בִּכּוּרָה, פֶּג, and דְּבֵלָה, signifying different kinds of figs. (*a.*) In Hos. ix. 10, בִּכּוּרָה בְתְאֵנָה signifies *the first ripe of the fig-tree*, and the same word occurs in Is. xxviii. 4, and in Mic. vii. 1 (cp. Jer. xxiv. 2). Lowth on Is. xxviii. 4 quotes from Shaw's *Trav.* p. 370 sq. a notice of the early fig called *boccôre*, and in Spanish *Albacora* (see MV.[11] *s. n.*). (*b.*) פֶּג is the unripe fig, which hangs through the winter. It is mentioned only in Cant. ii. 13, and its name comes from the root פָּגַג, *crudus fuit*. The LXX. render it ὄλυνθοι. It is found in the Greek word Βηθφαγή = בֵּית פַּגֵּי, "house of green figs" (see Buxt. p. 1691). (*c.*) In the Historical Books of the O. T. mention is made of cakes of figs, used as articles of food, and compressed into that form for the sake of keeping them. They also appear to have been used remedially for boils (2 K. xx. 7; Is. xxxviii. 21). Such a cake was called דְּבֵלָה, or more fully דְּבֶלֶת תְּאֵנִים, from a root which in Arab. *dabala* = to make into a lump. Hence, or rather from the Syr. דבלתא, the first letter being dropped, came the Greek word παλάθη. Athenaeus (xi. p. 500, ed. Casaub.) makes express mention of the παλάθη Συριακή. Jerome on Ezek. vi. describes the παλάθη to be a mass of figs and rich dates, formed into the shape of bricks or tiles, and compressed in order that they may keep. Such cakes harden so as to need cutting with an axe.

Few passages in the Gospels have given occasion to so much perplexity as that of St. Mark xi. 13, where the Evangelist relates the circumstance of our Lord's cursing the fig-tree near Bethany: "And seeing a fig-tree afar off having leaves, He came, if haply He might find any thing thereon: and when He came to it, He found nothing but leaves; *for the time of figs was not yet*" (R. V. "for it was not the season of figs"). The apparent unreasonableness of seeking fruit at a time when none could naturally be expected, and the consequent injustice of the sentence pronounced upon the tree, is obvious to every reader.

The fig-tree, as has been stated above, in Palestine produces fruit at two, or even three, different periods of the year: first, there is the *biccûrâh*, or "early ripe fig," which ripens from May to August, according to situation. The *biccûrâh* drops off the tree as soon as ripe; hence the allusion in Nah. iii. 12, when shaken they "even fall into the mouth of the eater." Shaw (*Trav.* i. 264, 8vo ed.) aptly compares the Spanish name *breba* for this early fruit, "quasi breve," as continuing only for a short time. About the time of the ripening of the *biccûrim*, the *karmous* or summer fig begins to be formed; these rarely ripen before September, when another crop, called "the winter fig," appears. Shaw describes this kind as being of a much longer shape and darker complexion than the *karmous*, hanging and ripening on the tree even after the leaves are shed, and, provided the winter proves mild and temperate, being gathered as a delicious morsel in the spring (cp. also Plin. *N. H.* xvi. 26, 27).

The attempts to explain the above-quoted passage in St. Mark are numerous, and for the most part very unsatisfactory.

The explanation which has found favour with most writers is that which understands the words καιρὸς σύκων to mean "the fig-harvest;" the γὰρ in this case is referred not to the clause immediately preceding, "He found nothing but leaves," but to the more remote one, "He came if haply He might find any thing thereon" (for a similar *trajection* it is usual to refer to Mark xvi. 3, 4); the sense of the whole passage being then as follows: "And seeing a fig-tree afar off having leaves, He came if perchance He might find any fruit on it (and He ought to have found some), for the time of gathering it had not yet arrived, but when He came He found nothing but leaves" (see the notes in the Greek Testament of Burton, Trollope, Bloomfield, Webster and Wilkinson; Macknight, *Harm. of the Gospels*, ii. p. 591, note, 1809; Elsley's *Annot.* ad *l. c.*, &c.). A forcible objection to this explanation

will be found in the fact that at the time implied, viz. the end of March or the beginning of April, no figs at all eatable would be found on the trees; the *biccûrim* seldom ripen in Palestine before the end of June, and at the time of the Passover the fruit, to use Shaw's expression, would be "hard and no bigger than common plums," corresponding in this state to the *paggîm* (פַּגִּים) of Cant. ii. 13, wholly unfit for food in an unprepared state; and it is but reasonable to infer that our Lord expected to find something more palatable than these small sour things upon a tree which by its show of foliage bespoke, though falsely, a corresponding show of good fruit, for it is important to remember that *the fruit comes before the leaves.* Again, if καιρὸς denotes the "fig-harvest," we must suppose that, although the fruit might not have been ripe, the season was not very far distant, and that the figs in consequence must have been considerably more matured than these hard *paggîm;* but is it probable that St. Mark should have thought it necessary to state that it was not yet the season for gathering figs in March, when they could not have been fit to gather before June at the earliest?

The difficulty is best met by looking it full in the face, and by admitting that the words of the Evangelist are to be taken in the natural order in which they stand, neither having recourse to *trajection*, nor to unavailable attempts to prove that edible figs could have been found on the trees in March. It is true that occasionally the winter figs remain on the tree in mild seasons, and may be gathered the following spring, but this is not to be considered a usual circumstance.

But, after all, where is the *unreasonableness* of the whole transaction? It was stated above that the fruit of the fig-tree appears before the leaves; consequently if the tree produced leaves it should also have had some figs as well. As to what natural causes had operated to effect so unusual a thing for a fig-tree to have leaves in March, it is unimportant to inquire; but the stepping out of the way with the possible chance (εἰ ἄρα, *si forte*, "under the circumstances;" see Winer, *Gram. of N. T. Diction*, p. 465, Masson's transl.) of finding eatable fruit on a fig-tree in leaf at the end of March, would probably be repeated by any observant modern traveller in Palestine. The whole question turns on the *pretensions* of the tree: had it not proclaimed by its foliage its superiority over other fig-trees, and thus proudly exhibited its *precociousness;* or, had our Lord at that season of the year visited any of the other fig-trees upon which no leaves had as yet appeared with the prospect of finding fruit—then the case would be altered, and the unreasonableness and injustice real. The words of St. Mark, therefore, are to be understood in the sense which the order of the words naturally suggests. The Evangelist gives the reason why no fruit *was* found on the tree, viz. "because it was not the time for fruit;" we are left to infer the reason why it *ought to have had* fruit if it were true to its pretensions; and it must be remembered that this miracle had a typical design, to show how God would deal with the Jews, who, professing like this precocious fig-tree "to be first," should be "last" in His favour, seeing that no fruit was produced in their lives, but only, as Wordsworth well expresses it, "the rustling leaves of a religious profession, the barren traditions of the Pharisees, the ostentatious display of the Law, and vain exuberance of words without the good fruit of works."

The question is well summed up by Archbishop Trench (*Notes on the Miracles*, p. 438): "All the explanations which go to prove that, according to the natural order of things in a climate like that of Palestine, there might have been even at this early time of the year figs on that tree, either winter figs which had survived till spring or the early figs of spring themselves: all these, ingenious as they often are, yet seem to me beside the matter. For, without entering further into the question whether they prove their point or not, they shatter upon that οὐ γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς σύκων of St. Mark; *from which it is plain that no such calculation of probabilities brought the Lord thither, but those abnormal leaves which He had a right to count would have been accompanied with abnormal fruit.*" See also Trench's admirable reference to Ex. xvii. 24.

In the fig-tree as in all other plants, there are individual peculiarities, and the writer has often noticed, both in Palestine and especially in the Canary Islands, trees which naturally, or from their situation, put forth their leaves much earlier than their neighbours. But the fruit also precedes the foliage. Yet occasionally we have found trees in leaf without fruit. These were generally young trees which had been making vigorous growth. In some moist and hot nooks, as at Engedi, and in some Canary Island glens, the fig-tree never sheds its leaf and bears sparingly throughout the year. In Palestine irregular pieces of ground, the mouths of wells, and corners of vineyards are generally occupied by a fig-tree, "A fig-tree planted in a vineyard." The fig still maintains its repute in the East as the best poultice (Is. xxxviii. 21), and its use is familiar among ourselves as efficacious for gumboils. [H. B. T.]

FIR (בְּרוֹשׁ, *bĕrôsh;* בְּרוֹתִים, *bĕrôthim* [see MV.[11]]; from בָּרַשׁ, "to cut," Ges. p. 246, rendered indifferently in LXX. as ἄρκευθος, κέδρος, πίτυς, κυπάρισσος, πεύκη: *abies, cupressus;* A. V. and R. V. "fir;" R. V. marg. *cypress*). The word occurs very frequently in the O. T., generally in connexion with Lebanon and other mountain districts, and the A. V. translation is probably correct, though the term may have included the cypress, which is a conifer, and the juniper, which is similar in general appearance. That it is a general expression, like our own word "fir," may be inferred from the LXX. rendering it sometimes πεύκη (pine), at other times κυπάρισσος (cypress), or ἄρκευθος (juniper), all of which must have been well known to the Alexandrines. The timber was used for boards or planks for the Temple (1 K. vi. 15); for its two doors (*v.* 34); for the ceiling of the greater house (2 Ch. iii. 5); for shipboards (Ezek. xxvii. 5); for musical instruments (2 Sam. vi. 5). The red heart-wood of the tall fragrant juniper of Lebanon was no doubt extensively used in the building of the Temple; and the identification of *berôsh* or *berôth* with this tree receives additional confirmation from the LXX. words ἄρκευθος and κέδρος, "a

juniper." The deodar, the larch, and Scotch fir, which have been by some writers identified with the *berôsh*, do not exist in Syria or Palestine. The most abundant species of pine now found in Lebanon and Western Palestine is *Pinus halepensis* (Mill.) or Aleppo pine, a very handsome tree, not unlike our Scotch fir. It must be this species, still common on Lebanon, which is associated with the cedar for its noble growth. "The fir-trees were not like his boughs" (Ezek. xxxi. 8). "The choice fir-trees of Lebanon" (Is. xxxvii. 24). On Gilead and other mountainous regions east of Jordan its place is taken by *Pinus carica* (Don.), an allied species. The Aleppo pine is found occasionally throughout the country as far south as Hebron, but has generally been destroyed for fuel. In the time of the Crusades there was a fir-wood on the hills between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, of which not a trace now remains. A few trees linger far south of Hebron, near Jattir ('Attir). *Pinus laricio* (Poir.), the Austrian pine, has been introduced on the coast, where also *Pinaster pinea*, &c., is found sparingly. The only true fir, as distinguished from pine, is *Abies cilicica* (Ant. and K.) on Lebanon, probably abundant in ancient times. But the handsome *Juniperus excelsa* (Flor. canc.) is still very common, and *Cupressus sempervirens* (L.), both native and planted, is frequent. [CEDAR.] [H. B. T.]

FIRE (1. אֵשׁ; πῦρ; *ignis:* 2. אוֹר, and also אוּר; φῶς; *lux;* flame or light). The applications of fire in Scripture may be classed as:—

I. *Religious.* (1.) That which consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the incense-offering, beginning with the sacrifice of Noah (Gen. viii. 20), and continued in the ever-burning fire on the Altar, first kindled from heaven (Lev. vi. 9, 13, ix. 24), and rekindled at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (2 Ch. vii. 1, 3).

(2.) The symbol of Jehovah's Presence, and the instrument of His power, in the way either of approval or of destruction (Ex. iii. 2, xiv. 19, xix. 18; Num. xi. 1, 3; Judg. xiii. 20; 1 K. xviii. 38; 2 K. i. 10, 12, ii. 11, vi. 17; cp. Is. li. 6, lxvi. 15, 24; Joel ii. 30; Mal. iii. 2, 3, iv. 1; Mark ix. 44; 2 Pet. iii. 10; Rev. xx. 14, 15; Reland, *Ant. Sacr.* i. 8, p. 26; Jennings, *Jewish Ant.* ii. 1, p. 301; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 8, § 6, viii. 4, § 4). Parallel with this application of fire and with its symbolical meaning is to be noted the similar use for sacrificial purposes, and the respect paid to it, or to the heavenly bodies as symbols of deity, which prevailed among so many nations of antiquity, and of which the traces are not even now extinct (W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, i. Index s. n. "Fire"): *e.g.* the Sabaean and Magian systems of worship, and their alleged connexion with Abraham (Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. 1, 2); the occasional relapse of the Jews themselves into sun-, or its corrupted form of fire-worship (Is. xxvii. 9; cp. Gesen. חַמָּן, p. 489; Deut. xvii. 3; 2 K. xvii. 16, xxi. 3, xxiii. 5, 10, 11, 13; Jer. viii. 2; Ezek. viii. 16; Zeph. i. 5; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* c. vi. §§ 405, 408) [MOLOCH]; the worship or deification of heavenly bodies or of fire, prevailing to some extent, as among the Persians, so also even in Egypt (Her. iii. 16; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 328 [1878]); the sacred fire of the Greeks and Romans (Thuc. i. 24, ii. 15; Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 8, 12; Liv. xxviii. 12; Dionys. ii. 67; Plut. *Numa*, 9, i. 263, ed. Reiske); the ancient forms and usages of worship, differing from each other in some important respects, but to some extent similar in principle, of Mexico and Peru (Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 60, 64; *Peru*, i. 101); and lastly the theory of the so-called Guebres of Persia, and the Parsees of Bombay (Frazer, *Persia*, c. iv. 141, 162, 164; Sir R. Porter, *Travels*, ii. 50, 424; Chardin, *Voyages*, ii. 310, iv. 258, viii. 367 sq.; Niebuhr, *Voyages*, ii. 36, 37; Mandelslo, *Travels*, b. i. p. 76; Gibbon, *Hist.* c. viii., i. 335, ed. Smith; Benj. of Tudela, *Early Trav.* pp. 114, 116; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 156).

The perpetual fire on the Altar was to be replenished with wood every morning (Lev. vi. 12; cp. Is. xxxi. 9). According to the Gemara, it was divided into three parts, one for burning the victims, one for incense, and one for supply of the other portions (Lev. vi. 15; Reland, *Antiq. Hebr.* i. 4, 8, p. 26; and ix. 10, p. 98). Fire for sacred purposes obtained elsewhere than from the Altar was called "strange fire," and on account of their use of such Nadab and Abihu were punished with death by fire from God (Lev. x. 1, 2; Num. iii. 4, xxvi. 61).

(3.) In the case of the spoil taken from the Midianites, such articles as could bear it were purified by fire as well as in the water appointed for the purpose (Num. xxxi. 23). The victims slain for sin-offerings were afterwards consumed by fire outside the camp (Lev. iv. 12, 21, vi. 30, xvi. 27; Heb. xiii. 11). The Nazarite who had completed his vow, marked its completion by shaving his head and casting the hair into the fire on the Altar on which the peace-offerings were being sacrificed (Num. vi. 18).

II. *Domestic.* Besides for cooking purposes, fire is often required in Palestine for warmth (Jer. xxxvi. 22; Mark xiv. 54; John xviii. 18; Harmer, *Obs.* i. 125; Räumer, p. 79). For this purpose a hearth with a chimney is sometimes constructed, on which either lighted wood or pans of charcoal are placed (Harmer, i. 405). In Persia a hole made in the floor is sometimes filled with charcoal, on which a sort of table is set covered with a carpet; and the company placing their feet under the carpet draw it over themselves (Olearius, *Travels*, p. 294; Chardin, *Voyages*, viii. 190). Rooms in Egypt are warmed, when necessary, with pans of charcoal, as there are no fire-places except in the kitchens (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 41; *Englishwoman in Egypt*, ii. 11).

On the Sabbath the Law forbade any fire to be kindled, even for cooking (Ex. xxxv. 3; Num. xv. 32). To this general prohibition the Jews added various refinements, *e.g.* that on the eve of the Sabbath no one might read with a light, though passages to be read on the Sabbath by children in schools might be looked out by the teacher. If a Gentile lighted a lamp, a Jew might use it, but not if it had been lighted for the use of the Jew. If a Festival day fell on the Sabbath eve, no cooking was to be done (Mishn. *Shabb.* i. 3, xvi. 8, vol. ii. pp. 4, 56; *Moed Katan*, ii. vol. ii. p. 287, Surenhus.).

III. The dryness of the land in the hot season in Syria of course increases liability to accident from fire. The Law therefore ordered that any one kindling a fire which caused damage to corn

in a field, should make restitution (Ex. xxii. 6; cp. Judg. xv. 4, 5; 2 Sam. xiv. 30; Mishn. *Maccoth*, vi. 5, 6, vol. iv. p. 48, Surenh.; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 496, 622).

IV. Punishment of death by fire was awarded by the Law only in the cases of incest with a mother-in-law, and of unchastity on the part of a daughter of a priest (Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9). In the former case both the parties were to suffer, in the latter the woman only. This sentence appears to have been a relaxation of the original practice in such cases (Gen. xxxviii. 24). Among other nations, burning appears to have been no uncommon mode, if not of judicial punishment, at least of vengeance upon captives; and in a modified form was not unknown in war among the Jews themselves (2 Sam. xii. 31; Jer. xxix. 22; Dan. iii. 20, 21). In certain cases the bodies of executed criminals and of infamous persons were subsequently burnt (Josh. vii. 25; 2 K. xxiii. 16).

The Jews were expressly ordered to destroy the idols of the heathen nations, and especially any city of their own relapsed into idolatry (Ex. xxxii. 20; 2 K. x. 26; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, xiii. 16). In some cases, the cities, and in the case of Hazor, the chariots also, were, by God's order, consumed with fire (Josh. vi. 24, viii. 28, xi. 6, 9, 13). One of the expedients of war in sieges was to set fire to the gate of the besieged place (Judg. ix. 49, 52). [SIEGES.]

V. Incense was sometimes burnt in honour of the dead, especially royal personages, as is mentioned specially in the cases of Asa and Zedekiah, and negatively in that of Jehoram (2 Ch. xvi. 14, xxi. 19; Jer. xxxiv. 5).

VI. The use of fire in metallurgy was well known to the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus (Ex. xxxii. 24, xxxv. 32, xxxvii. 2, 6, 17, xxxviii. 2, 8; Num. xvi. 38, 39). [HANDICRAFT.]

VII. Fire or flame is used in a metaphorical sense to express excited feeling and divine inspiration, and also to describe temporal calamities and future punishments (Ps. lxvi. 12; Jer. xx. 9; Joel ii. 30; Mal. iii. 2; Matt. xxv. 41; Mark ix. 43; Rev. xx. 15). [H. W. P.]

FIREPAN (מַחְתָּה; πυρεῖον, θυμιατήριον; *ignium receptaculum; thuribulum*), one of the vessels of the Temple service (Ex. xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3; 2 K. xxv. 15; Jer. lii. 19). The same word is elsewhere rendered "snuff-dish" (Ex. xxv. 38, xxxvii. 23; Num. iv. 9; ἐπαρυστήρ; *emunctorium*) and "censer" (Lev. x. 1, xvi. 12; Num. xvi. 6 sq.), a variety of rendering preserved by the R. V. There appear, therefore, to have been two articles so called: one, like a chafing-dish, to carry live coals for the purpose of burning incense; another, like a snuffer-dish, to be used in trimming the lamps, in order to carry the snuffers and convey away the snuff. [W. L. B.]

FIRKIN. [MEASURES.]

FIRMAMENT. This term was introduced into our language from the Vulgate, which gives *firmamentum* as the equivalent of the στερέωμα of the LXX. (better Greek Ven.—τάμα from τείνω), and of the *rakia* (רָקִיעַ) of the Hebrew text (Gen. i. 6). The Hebrew term first demands notice (cp. Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] in loco). It is generally regarded as expressive of simple *expansion*, and is so rendered in the margin of the A. V. (*l. c.*; R. V. "expanse"); but the true idea of the word is a complex one, taking in the *mode* by which the expansion is effected, and consequently implying the *nature of the material* expanded. The verb *raka* means to expand *by beating*, whether by the hand, the foot, or any instrument. It is especially used, however, of beating out metals into thin plates (Ex. xxxix. 3; Num. xvi. 39), and hence the substantive רְקָעִים = "broad (R. V. "beaten") plates" of metal (Num. xvi. 38). It is thus applied to the flattened surface of the solid earth (Is. xlii. 5, xliv. 24; Ps. cxxxvi. 6), and it is in this sense that the term is applied to the heaven in Job xxxvii. 18 (R. V.) —"Canst thou with Him spread" (rather *hammer*) "out the sky, which is strong as a molten mirror"—the mirror to which he refers being made of metal. The sense of *solidity*, therefore, is combined with the ideas of *expansion* and *tenuity* in the term *rakia*. Saalschütz (*Archaeol.* ii. 67) conceives that the idea of solidity is inconsistent with Gen. ii. 6, which implies, according to him, the passage of the mist through the *rakia*; he therefore gives it the sense of pure *expansion*—it is the large and lofty room in which the winds, &c., have their abode. But it should be observed that Gen. ii. 6 implies the very reverse. If the mist had penetrated the *rakia*, it would have descended in the form of rain; the mist, however, was formed under the *rakia*, and resembled a heavy dew—a mode of fructifying the earth which, from its regularity and quietude, was more appropriate to a state of innocence than rain, the occasional violence of which associated it with the idea of Divine vengeance. But the same idea of *solidity* runs through all the references to the *rakia*. In Ezek. i. 22–26, the "firmament" is the floor on which the throne of the Most High is placed. That the *rakia* should be transparent, as implied in the comparisons with the sapphire (Ex. *l. c.*) and with crystal (Ezek. *l. c.*; cp. Rev. iv. 6), is by no means inconsistent with its solidity. Further, the office of the *rakia* in the economy of the world demanded *strength* and *substance*. It was to serve as a division between the waters above and the waters below (Gen. i. 7). In order to enter into this description we must carry our ideas back to the time when the earth was a chaotic mass, overspread with water, in which the material elements of the heavens were intermingled. The first step, therefore, in the work of orderly arrangement, was to separate the elements of heaven and earth, and to fix a floor of partition between the waters of the heaven and the waters of the earth; and accordingly the *rakia* was created to support the upper reservoir (Ps. cxlviii. 4), itself being supported at the edge or rim of the earth's disk by the mountains (2 Sam. xxii. 8; Job xxvi. 11). In keeping with this view the *rakia* was provided with "windows" (Gen. vii. 11; Is. xxiv. 18; Mal. iii. 10) and "doors" (Ps. lxxviii. 23), through which the rain and the snow might descend. A secondary purpose which the *rakia* served was to support the heavenly bodies, sun, moon, and stars (Gen. i. 14), in which they were

fixed as nails, and from which, consequently, they might be said to drop off (Matt. xxiv. 29). In all these particulars we recognise the same view as was entertained by the Greeks and, to a certain extent, by the Latins. The former applied to the heaven such epithets as "brazen" (χάλκεον, *Il.* xvii. 425; πολύχαλκον, *Il.* v. 504) and "iron" (σιδήρεον, *Od.* xv. 328, xvii. 565)—epithets also used in the Scriptures (Lev. xxvi. 19); and that this was not merely poetical embellishment appears from the views promulgated by their philosophers, Empedocles (Plutarch, *Plac. Phil.* ii. 11) and Artemidorus (Senec. *Quaest.* vii. 13). The same idea is expressed in the *caelo affixa sidera* of the Latins (Plin. ii. 39, xviii. 57). If it be objected to the Mosaic account that the view embodied in the word *rakia* does not harmonize with strict philosophical truth, the answer to such an objection is, that the writer describes things as they appeared to him rather than as they are. The writer purposed "to give, in a few broad and powerful strokes, the great outlines of creation; shadowing forth its deep mysteries in a series of grand and impressive representations on a scale of magnificence which is without parallel. In the tone of description suited to such a purpose, minute specification is out of place. All is vast and general. Let anything be added in the way of minute distinction, or of explanation and conciliation, and the whole style of conception is changed" (Conant). In truth the same absence of philosophic truth may be traced throughout all the terms applied to this subject, and the objection is levelled rather against the principles of language than anything else. Examine the Latin *coelum* (κοῖλον), the "hollow place" or cave scooped out of solid space; our own "heaven," *i.e.* what is *heaved up;* the Greek οὐρανός, similarly significant of height (Pott. *Etym. Forsch.* i. 123); or the German "Himmel," from *heimeln*, to cover—the "roof" which constitutes the "heim" or abode of man: in each there is a large amount of philosophical error. Correctly speaking, of course, the atmosphere is the true *rakia* by which the clouds are supported, and undefined space is the abode of the celestial bodies. There certainly appears an inconsistency in treating the *rakia* as the support both of the clouds and of the stars, for it could not have escaped observation that the clouds were below the stars: but perhaps this may be referred to the same feeling which is expressed in the *coelum ruit* of the Latins, the downfall of the *rakia* in stormy weather. Although the *rakia* and the *shamayim* ("heaven") are treated as synonymous in Gen. i. 8, yet it would be more correct to recognise a distinction between them, as implied in the expression "firmament of the heavens" (Gen. i. 14), the former being the upheaving power and the latter the upheaved body—the former the line of demarcation between heaven and earth, the latter the *strata* or stories into which the heaven was divided. Dr. Conant (*B. D.* Amer. ed.) has pointed out that it is well to distinguish the merely ideal and poetical imagery in later writings (Ps. civ. 3; 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Job xxvi. 11, xxxvii. 18) and in symbolic vision (Ezek. i. 22–26) from the purely descriptive, though manifestly phenomenal, representation in the Book Genesis. [W. L. B.] [F.]

FIRST-BORN (בְּכוֹר; πρωτότοκος; *primogenitus;* from בָּכַר, *early, ripe*, Gesen. p. 206), applied equally both to animals and human beings. That some rights of primogeniture existed in very early times is plain, but it is not so clear in what they consisted. They have been classed as, *a.* authority over the rest of the family; *b.* priesthood; *c.* a double portion of the inheritance. The birthright of Esau and of Reuben, set aside by authority or forfeited by misconduct, proves a general privilege as well as quasi-sacredness of primogeniture (Gen. xxv. 23, 31, 34, xlix. 3; 1 Ch. v. 1; Heb. xii. 16), and a precedence which obviously existed, and is alluded to in various passages (as Ps. lxxxix. 27; Job xviii. 13; Rom. viii. 29; Col. i. 15; Heb. xii. 23); but the story of Esau's rejection tends to show the supreme and sacred authority of the parent irrevocable even by himself, rather than inherent right existing in the eldest son, which was evidently not inalienable (Gen. xxvii. 29, 33, 36; Grotius, Calmet, Patrick, Knobel; Dillmann,[2] Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. xxv. and xxvii.).

Under the Law, in memory of the Exodus, the eldest son was regarded as devoted to God, and was in every case to be redeemed by an offering not exceeding five shekels, within one month from birth. If he died before the expiration of thirty days, the Jewish doctors held the father excused, but liable to the payment if he outlived that time (Ex. xiii. 12–15, xxii. 29; Num. viii. 17, xviii. 15, 16; Lev. xxvii. 6; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Luke ii. 22; Philo, *de Pr. Sacerd.* i. [ii. 233, Mangey]). This devotion of the first-born was believed to indicate a priesthood belonging to the eldest sons of families, which being set aside in the case of Reuben, was transferred to the tribe of Levi. This priesthood is said to have lasted till the completion of the Tabernacle (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* x. §§ 165, 387; Selden, *de Syn.* c. 16; Mishn. *Zebachim*, xiv. 4, vol. v. 58; cp. Ex. xxiv. 5).

The ceremony of redemption of the first-born is described by Calmet from Leo of Modena (Calm. on Num. xviii.). The eldest son received a double portion of the father's inheritance (Deut. xxi. 17), but not of the mother's (Mishn. *Becoroth*, viii. 9. Cp. M. Bloch, *Das Mos.-Talm. Erbrecht*, § 16, 1890). If the father had married two wives, of whom he preferred one to the other, he was forbidden to give precedence to the son of the one, if the child of the other were the first-born (Deut. xxi. 15, 16). In the case of levirate marriage, the son of the next brother succeeded to his uncle's vacant inheritance (Deut. xxv. 5, 6). Under the monarchy, the eldest son usually, but not always, as appears in the case of Solomon, succeeded his father in the kingdom (1 K. i. 30, ii. 22).

The male first-born of animals (פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם; διανοῖγον μήτραν; *quod aperit vulvam*) was also devoted to God (Ex. xiii. 2, 12, 13, xxii. 29, xxxiv. 19, 20; Philo, *l. c.*, and *Quis rerum div. haeres.* 24 [i. 489, Mang.]). Unclean animals were to be redeemed with the addition of one-fifth of the value, or else put to death; or, if not redeemed, to be sold, and the price given to the priests (Lev. xxvii. 13, 27, 28). The first-born of an ass was to be redeemed with a lamb; or, if not redeemed, put to death (Ex. xiii. 13, xxxiv.

20; Num. xviii. 15). Of cattle, goats, or sheep, the first-born from eight days to twelve months old were not to be used, but offered in sacrifice. After the burning of the fat, the remainder was appropriated to the priests (Ex. xxii. 30; Num. xviii. 17, 18; Deut. xv. 19, 20; Neh. x. 36). If there were any blemish, the animal was not to be sacrificed, but eaten at home (Deut. xv. 21, 22, and xii. 5–7, xiv. 23). Various refinements on the subject of blemishes are to be found in Mishn. *Becoroth* (see Mal. i. 8. By "firstlings," Deut. xiv. 23, compared with Num. xviii. 17, are meant tithe animals: see Reland, *Antiq.* iii. 10, p. 327; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 387). [H. W. P.]

FIRST-BORN, DEATH OF THE. [PLAGUES, No. 10.]

FIRST-FRUITS. 1. בִּכּוּרִים in pl. only, or בִּכּוּרִים, Gesen. p. 206: usually *πρωτογεννήματα, ἀπαρχαὶ τῶν πρωτογεννημάτων* (Ex. xxiii. 19); *primitiae, frugum initia, primitiva.* 2. רֵאשִׁית, from רֹאשׁ, *head* or *top* in two places, followed by בִּכּוּרִים, Ex. xxiii. 12, xxxiv. 26 (Gesen. pp. 1249, 1252). 3. תְּרוּמָה, Gesen. p. 1276: *ἀφαίρεμα, ἀπαρχή; primitiae.*

Besides the first-born of man and of beast, the Law required that offerings of first-fruits of produce should be made publicly by the nation at each of the three great yearly Festivals, and also by individuals without limitation of time. No ordinance appears to have been more distinctly recognised than this, so that the use of the term in the way of illustration carried with it a full significance even in N. T. times (Prov. iii. 9; Tob. i. 6; 1 Macc. iii. 49; Rom. viii. 23, xi. 16; Jas. i. 18; Rev. xiv. 4).

1. The Law ordered in general, that the first of all ripe fruits and of liquors, or, as it is twice expressed, the first of first-fruits, should be offered in God's House. (Ex. xxii. 29, xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Philo, *de Monarchia*, ii. 3 [ii. 224, Mang.]).

2. On the morrow after the Passover sabbath, *i.e.* on the 16th of Nisan, a sheaf of new corn was to be brought to the priest, and waved before the Altar, in acknowledgment of the gift of fruitfulness (Lev. xxiii. 5, 6, 10, 12; ii. 12). Josephus tells us that the sheaf was of barley, and that when this ceremony had been performed, the harvest work might be begun (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10, § 5).

3. At the expiration of seven weeks from this time, *i.e.* at the Feast of Pentecost, an oblation was to be made of two loaves of leavened bread made from the new flour, which were to be waved in like manner with the Passover sheaf (Ex. xxxiv. 22; Lev. xxiii. 15, 17; Num. xxviii. 26).

4. The feast of ingathering, *i.e.* the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month, was itself an acknowledgment of the fruits of the harvest (Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22; Lev. xxiii. 39).

These four sorts of offerings were national. Besides them, the two following were of an individual kind, but the last was made by custom to assume also a national character.

5. A cake of the first dough that was baked was to be offered as a heave-offering (Num. xv. 19 21).

6. The first-fruits of the land were to be brought in a basket to the holy place of God's choice, and there presented to the priest, who was to set the basket down before the Altar. The offerer was then, in words of which the outline, if not the whole form was prescribed, to recite the story of Jacob's descent into Egypt, and the deliverance therefrom of his posterity; and to acknowledge the blessings with which God had visited him (Deut. xxvi. 2–11).

The offerings, both public and private, resolve themselves into two classes: *a.* produce in general, in the Mishna בִּכּוּרִים, *Biccurim*, first-fruits, *primitivi fructus, πρωτογεννήματα*, raw produce. *b.* תְּרוּמוֹת, *Terumoth*, offerings, *primitiae, ἀπαρχαί*, prepared produce (Gesen. p. 1276; Augustine, *Quaest. in Hept.* iv. 32, vol. iii. p. 732; Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* iii. 9, p. 713; Reland, *Antiq.* iii. 7; Philo, *de Pr. Sacerd.* i. [ii. 233, Mang.] *de Sacrific. Abel. et Cain*, 21 [i. 177, M.]).

a. Of the public offerings of first-fruits, the Law defined no place from which the Passover sheaf should be chosen, but the Jewish custom, so far as it is represented by the Mishna, prescribed that the wave-sheaf or sheaves should be taken from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (*Terumoth*, x. 2). Deputies from the Sanhedrin went on the eve of the Festival, and tied the growing stalks in bunches. In the evening of the Festival day the sheaf was cut with all possible publicity, and carried to the Temple. It was there threshed, and an omer of grain, after being winnowed, was bruised and roasted; and after it had been mixed with oil and frankincense laid upon it, the priest waved the offering in all directions. A handful was thrown on the altar-fire, and the rest belonged to the priests, to be eaten by those who were free from ceremonial defilement. After this the harvest might be carried on. After the destruction of the Temple all this was discontinued, on the principle, as it seems, that the House of God was exclusively the place for oblation (Lev. ii. 14, x. 14, xxiii. 13; Num. xviii. 11; Mishn. *Terum.* v. 6, x. 4, 5; *Schekalim*, viii. 8; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10, § 5; Philo, *de Pr. Sacerd.* i. [ii. 233, Mang.]; Reland, *Antiq.* iii. 7, 3, iv. 3, 8).

The offering made at the Feast of the Pentecost was a thanksgiving for the conclusion of wheat harvest. It consisted of two loaves (according to Josephus one loaf) of new flour baked with leaven, which were waved by the priest as at the Passover. The size of the loaves is fixed by the Mishna at seven palms long and four wide, with horns of four fingers' length. No private offerings of first-fruits were allowed before this public oblation of the two loaves (Lev. xxiii. 15, 20; Mishn. *Terum.* x. 6, xi. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10, § 6; Reland, *Antiq.* iv. 4, 5). The private oblations of first-fruits may be classed in the same manner as the public. The directions of the Law respecting them have been stated generally above. To these the Jews added or from them deduced the following. Seven sorts of produce were considered liable to oblation, viz. wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates (Gesen. p. 219; Deut. viii. 8; Mishn. *Bicurim*, i. 3; Hasselquist, *Travels*, p. 417), but the Law appears to have contemplated produce of all sorts, and to have been so understood by Nehemiah (Deut. xxvi.

2; Neh. x. 35, 37). The portions intended to be offered were decided by inspection, and the selected fruits were fastened to the stem by a band of rushes (*Bic.* iii. 1). A proprietor might, if he thought fit, devote the whole of his produce as first-fruits (*ibid.* ii. 4). But though the Law laid down no rule as to quantity, the minimum fixed by custom was $\frac{1}{60}$th (Reland, *Antiq.* iii. 8, 4). No offerings were to be made before Pentecost, nor after the feast of the Dedication, on the 25th of Cisleu (Ex. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 16, 17; *Bic.* i. 3, 6). The practice was for companies of twenty-four persons to assemble in the evening at a central station, and pass the night in the open air. In the morning they were summoned by the leader of the Feast with the words, "Let us arise and go up to Mount Zion, the House of the Lord our God." On the road to Jerusalem they recited portions of Psalms cxxii. and cl. Each party was preceded by a piper, a sacrificial bullock having the tips of his horns gilt and crowned with olive. At their approach to the city they were met by priests appointed to inspect the offerings, and were welcomed by companies of citizens proportioned to the number of the pilgrims. On ascending the Temple mount each person took his basket, containing the first-fruits and an offering of turtle-doves, on his shoulders, and proceeded to the court of the Temple, where they were met by Levites singing Ps. xxx. 2. The doves were sacrificed as a burnt-offering, and the first-fruits presented to the priests with the words appointed in Deut. xxvi. The baskets of the rich were of gold or silver; those of the poor of peeled willow. The baskets of the latter kind were, as well as the offerings they contained, presented to the priests, who waved the offerings at the S.W. corner of the altar: the more valuable baskets were returned to the owners (*Bic.* iii. 6, 8). After passing the night at Jerusalem, the pilgrims returned on the following day to their homes (Deut. xvi. 7; *Terum.* ii. 4). It is mentioned that king Agrippa bore his part in this highly picturesque national ceremony by carrying his basket like the rest, to the Temple (*Bic.* iii. 4). Among other by-laws were the following: 1. He who ate his first-fruits elsewhere than in Jerusalem and without the proper form was liable to punishment (*Maccoth*, iii. 3, vol. iv. 284, Surenh.). 2. Women, slaves, deaf and dumb persons, and some others were exempt from the verbal oblation before the priest, which was not generally used after the Feast of Tabernacles (*Bic.* i. 5, 6).

b. The first-fruits prepared for use were not required to be taken to Jerusalem. They consisted of wine, wool, bread, oil, date-honey, onions, cucumbers (*Terum.* ii. 5, 6; Num. xv. 19, 21; Deut. xviii. 4). They were to be made, according to some, only by dwellers in Palestine; but according to others, by those also who dwelt in Moab, in Ammonitis, and in Egypt (*Terum.* i. 1). They were not to be taken from the portion intended for tithes, nor from the corners left for the poor (*ibid.* i. 5, iii. 7). The proportion to be given is thus estimated in that treatise: a liberal measure, $\frac{1}{30}$, or, according to the school of Shammai, $\frac{1}{50}$; a moderate portion, $\frac{1}{40}$; a scanty portion, $\frac{1}{60}$ (see Ezek. xlv. 13). The measuring-basket was to be thrice estimated during the season (*ib.* iv. 3). He who ate or drank his offering by mistake was bound to add $\frac{1}{5}$, and present it to the priest (Lev. v. 16; xxii. 14), who was forbidden to remit the penalty (*Terum.* vi. 1, 5). The offerings were the perquisite of the priests, not only at Jerusalem, but in the provinces, and were to be eaten or used only by those who were clean from ceremonial defilement (Num. xviii. 11; Deut. xviii. 4).

The corruption of the nation after the time of Solomon gave rise to neglect in these as well as in other ordinances of the Law, and restoration of them was among the reforms brought about by Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxxi. 5, 11). Nehemiah also, at the Return from Captivity, took pains to re-organise the offerings of first-fruits of both kinds, and to appoint places to receive them (Neh. x. 35, 37; xii. 44). Perversion or alienation of them is reprobated, as care in observing is eulogised by the Prophets, and specially mentioned in the sketch of the restoration of the Temple and Temple-service made by Ezekiel (Ezek. xx. 40, xliv. 30, xlviii. 14; Mal. iii. 8).

An offering of first-fruits is mentioned as an acceptable one to the prophet Elisha (2 K. iv. 42).

Besides the offerings of first-fruits mentioned above, the Law directed that the fruit of all trees freshly planted should be regarded as uncircumcised, or profane, and not to be tasted by the owner for three years. The whole produce of the fourth year was devoted to God, and did not become free to the owner till the fifth year (Lev. xix. 23–25). The trees found growing by the Jews at the conquest were treated as exempt from this rule (Mishn. *Orlah*, i. 2).

Offerings of first-fruits were sent to Jerusalem by Jews living in foreign countries (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 6, § 7).

Offerings of first-fruits were also customary in heathen systems of worship (see, for instances and authorities, Parker, *Bibliotheca*, v. 515; Patrick, *On Deut.* xxvi.; and a copious list in Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* iii. 9, *de Primitiarum Origine;* also Leslie, *On Tithes*, Works, vol. ii.; Winer, s. v. *Erstlinge*). [H. W. P.]

FISH, FISHING. Fishes, with the other inhabitants of the waters, as sea-monsters, whales, and great reptiles, as well as the fowl of the air, are the products of the fifth day, or creative epoch (Gen. i. 21). Their place in the record of creation is in exact accord with the results of geological investigation; which shows them to be the earliest vertebrate animals found in the stratified rocks. The earliest types appear in the Old Red Sandstone, the ganoid fishes of the Dura Den deposits. From these strata upwards fishes gradually increase, reaching their fullest development in the Cretaceous or chalk epoch, when the warm-blooded mammals or quadrupeds were beginning to prevail.

The Jewish literature does not show that the nation ever acquired any intimate knowledge of this branch of natural history. The fishermen, whether of the sea or the lake, doubtless had distinctive names for the various species which they caught, but of these only one is preserved in Josephus, and none in Scripture or in the Rabbinical writings. They simply classified them as great or small, clean or unclean. The latter is the only distinction between

the kinds of fish in the law of Moses (Lev. xi. 9–12). The unclean fish, forbidden as food, were such as had no fins or scales. This would comprise all aquatic reptiles, the *Siluridae* or Sheat fish, very common in the Nile and Jordan, the *Raiidae* or Skate fish, and the *Petromizidae* or Lampreys. To these the Rabbis afterwards added the *Muraenidae* or Eels, whose scales are very minute and covered with a slimy secretion. The Egyptians adopted a similar classification, and looked on all fishes without fins or scales as unwholesome (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 191–2 [1878]). One of the laws of El Hakim prohibits the sale or even the capture of such (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* i. 132). This distinction is probably referred to in the terms *σαπρά* (*esui non idonea*, Schleusner, *Lex.* s. v.; Trench, *Parables*, p. 137) and *καλά* (Matt. xiii. 48). The second division is marked in Gen. i. 21 (as compared with *v.* 28), where the great marine animals (הַתַּנִּינִם הַגְּדֹלִים; *κήτη μεγάλα*), generically described as "whales" in the A. V. and "sea-monsters" in the R. V. (Gen. *l. c.*; Job vii. 12) [WHALE], but including also other animals, such as the crocodile [LEVIATHAN] and perhaps some kinds of serpents, are distinguished from "every living creature that *creepeth*" (הָרֹמֶשֶׂת; A. V. and R. V. "moveth"), a description applying to fish, along with other reptiles, as having no legs. To the former class we may assign the large fish referred to in Jon. ii. 1 (דָּג גָּדוֹל; *κήτος μέγα*, Matt. xii. 40), which Winer (art. *Fische*), after Bochart, identifies with a species of shark (*Canis carcharias*); and also that referred to in Tob. vi. 2 sq., identified by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. p. 697 sq.) with the *Silurus glanis*, but by Kitto (art. *Fish*) with a species of crocodile (the *seesar*) found in the Indus (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). The Hebrews were struck with the remarkable fecundity of fish, and have expressed this in the term דָּג, the root of which signifies *increase* (cp. Gen. xlviii. 16), and in the secondary sense of שָׁרַץ, lit. *to creep*, thence *to multiply* (Gen. i. 20, viii. 17, ix. 7; Ex. i. 7), as well as in the allusions in Ezek. xlvii. 10. Doubtless they became familiar with this fact in Egypt, where the abundance of fish in the Nile, and in the lakes and canals (Strab. xvii. p. 823; Diod. i. 36, 43, 52; Herod. ii. 93, 149), rendered it one of the staple commodities of food (Num. xi. 5; cp. Wilkinson, *l. c.*). The destruction of the fish was on this account a most serious visitation to the Egyptians (Ex. vii. 21; Is. xix. 8). Occasionally it is the result of natural causes: thus St. John (*Travels in Valley of the Nile*, ii. 246) describes a vast destruction of fish from cold, and Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 310) states that in Oman the fish are visited with an epidemic about every five years, which destroys immense quantities of them.

The worship of fishes was expressly forbidden by the law of Moses: "The likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth" (Deut. iv. 18). This strange form of idolatry was widely spread and still exists in the East. It arose, perhaps, from the fecundity of fishes, which caused them to be taken as the emblems of abundance and increase. The blessing of Jacob upon the sons of Joseph was, "Let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth," A. V. marg. *as fishes do increase* (Gen. xlviii. 16). Nations the widest apart, as the Tartars and the ancient Britons, had their fish-gods, the one the Nataghi, the other the Brithyll of the Kelts and Belgae. In Egypt many species of fishes were objects of worship (Herod. ii. 72). Herodotus, in the passage referred to, mentions only two kinds as venerated, but we find from other authors that different fishes were worshipped in different places (Plut. *de Is.* § 18; Wilkinson, *l. c.*). Cuvier noticed no less than ten distinct species depicted on the walls of the sepulchral caves of Thebes (see also Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 120). The mummies of several kinds of fishes are found in great numbers stored up in the Egyptian temples. Fish-worship extended also to Assyria. The fish-god, a male form of the Phoenician Dagon, is represented on one of the sculptures of Khorsabad, though Rawlinson considers them distinct (*Herod.* i. 593). The male-god is also described by Berosus (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. p. 466). Ichthyolatry spread also to India (Baur, *Mythologie*, ii. 51); but among the Philistines the fish-god or goddess was a national deity, and had temples in all their cities, notably at Gaza and Ashdod. In Scripture records Dagon was thought to have been represented with the head, arms, and body of a man, and the tail of a fish (cp. 1 Sam. v. 4; A. V.); "only the stump (*fishy part*, marg.) of Dagon was left to him;" but (cp. R. V.) the belief that his body terminated in the tail of a fish arose from a mistaken etymology of the name [DAGON]. This worship of Dagon remained to the time of the Hasmonaeans, who destroyed the temple at Ashdod. At a later period the idol was of female form, as we find from Lucian (*De Deâ Syr.*) and Diodorus Siculus, who describes the image at Ashkalon as having the face of a woman and the body of a fish. Sidon was also the fish-goddess of Phoenicia (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* iii.). For an exhaustive summary of historical references, see Selden, *de Dis Syris*, *de Dagone*. The superstitious veneration of certain fishes still remains even among the Moslems in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. A few miles north of the Syrian Tripoli is a monastery of dervishes, with a spring and pool swarming with fish, which are held sacred, as being inhabited by the souls of the faithful departed, and to which offerings are made. So at Orfa, the ancient Edessa, the fishes of the river are held sacred by the Moslems (see Robertson-Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, i. 157 sq.).

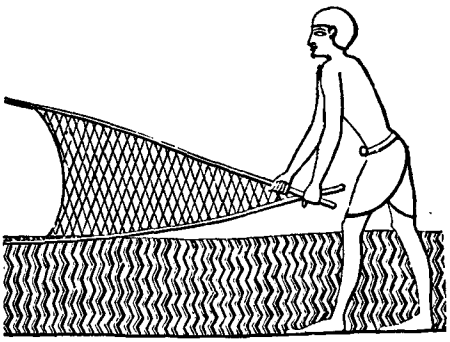
Fish was a principal article of diet in Egypt, although forbidden to the priests. "We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely," was the complaint of the Israelites when they murmured in the wilderness. Not only was there, and still is, prodigious abundance of fish in the Nile, and especially in the Delta, but the variety of species is very great. Herodotus, Josephus, and Strabo give us the names of several kinds, most of which are difficult of identification. Herodotus names the *λεπιδωτός*, probably *Cyprinus lepidotus*, allied to the carp, *ὀξύρρυγχος* (*Mormyrus oxyrhynchus*), and the eel, as sacred fish (ii. 72, and Plut. *de Is.* vii. 18, 22). Strabo mentions these, and also *κοράκινος* (*Clarias macrocanthus*); *κέστρευς*, a species of

mullet; φάγρος, a bream, and many others which cannot be satisfactorily identified, as inhabiting the Nile (Strabo, *Geogr.* xvii. p. 1164; ed. Falconer, Oxford, 1807).[a] The fresh-water fishes of Egypt are as varied as they are numerous, belonging chiefly to the families of the *Sparidae*, *Labridae*, *Chromidae*, and *Cyprinidae*, the bream, perch, and carp. It is very remarkable that while the Greek language possesses over 400 names for fishes, not more than one or two have been preserved in Hebrew.

The fishes of the Jordan, its lakes and affluents, bear a strong affinity to many of the species of the Nile, though with far less admixture of species found in other rivers of the Eastern Mediterranean. In fact, the ichthyology of the Jordan system is the most isolated and unique, as regards geographical distribution, in the world. Thirty-six species have been ascertained, and of these only one (*Blennius lupulus*) belongs to the ordinary Mediterranean fauna. Two others, *Chromis niloticus* and *Clarias macrocanthus*, are Nilotic. Seven other species occur also in the rivers of South-West Asia, as the Tigris and Euphrates. Ten more are found in other parts of Syria, chiefly in the Damascus lakes; and the remaining sixteen species of the families *Chromidae*, *Cyprinodontidae*, and *Cyprinidae* are peculiar to the Jordan. This analysis points to a very close affinity of the Jordan with the rivers and lakes of tropical Africa. The affinity is not only of families, but of genera, for *Chromis* and *Hemichromis* are peculiarly Ethiopian forms, while the other species are identical with, or very closely allied to, the fishes from other fresh waters of Syria. But the African forms are a very large proportion of the whole; and considering the difficulty of transportation in the case of fresh-water fishes, these peculiarities are of great significance. These fishes probably date from the earliest time after the elevation of the country from the Eocene ocean. They form a group far more distinct and divergent from that of the surrounding region than can be found in any other class of existing life. During the epochs subsequent to the Eocene, owing to the unbroken isolation of the basin, there have been no opportunities for the introduction of new forms, nor for the further dispersion of the old ones. The affinity is very close to the forms of the rivers and fresh-water lakes of East Africa, even as far south as the Zambesi; but while the genera are the same, the species are rather representative than identical. The solution appears to be, that during the Meiocene and Pleiocene periods, the Jordan basin formed the northernmost of a vast system of fresh-water lakes, extending from north to south; of which, in the earlier part of the epochs, perhaps the Red Sea, and certainly the Nile basin, the Nyanza, the Nyassa, and Tanganyika lakes, and the feeders of the Zambesi, were members. During that warm period, a fluviatile ichthyological fauna was developed suitable to its then conditions, consisting of representative and, perhaps, identical species throughout the area.

The advent of the Glacial period was, like its close, gradual. Many species must have perished under the changed conditions. The hardiest survived; and some, perhaps, have been modified to meet those new conditions. Under this strict isolation it could hardly be otherwise; and however severe the climate may have been—that of the Lebanon, with its glaciers, corresponding with the present temperature of the Alps at a similar elevation (regard being had to the difference of latitude), the fissure of the Jordan being, as we certainly know, as much depressed below the level of the ocean as it is at present, *i.e.* 1300 feet at the Dead Sea—there must have been an exceptionally warm temperature in its waters, in which the existing species could survive.

The most important species in the Lake of Galilee are two species of blenny, *Blennius lupulus* and *B. varus*; *Chromis niloticus*, known as *Bolti* in Egypt, and *Moucht* by the fishermen of Tiberias; *Chromis tiberiadis*, the *Mouchtlebet* of the fishermen, found in amazing shoals; *C. Andreae*, *C. Simonis*, *C. Flavii-Josephi*, the *Addadi* of the fishermen; *C. microstomus*, the *Moucht kart* of the fishermen, *Hemichromis sacra*, all peculiar to the lake; *Clarias macrocanthus*, the silurus, κοράκινος of Josephus, *barbour* of the fishermen; *Barbus canis* and



An Egyptian Landing-net. (Wilkinson.)

B. longiceps, the *Escheri* of the fishermen, both peculiar, and swarming in the Jordan, as well as in the lake. The fishes of the genera *Chromis* and *Hemichromis* have an extraordinary manner of propagation. The spawn is deposited in a little cavity, and the male fish takes the ova into his mouth one by one, and hatches them there; and for several weeks after, until they are nearly four inches long, the young continue to live in his mouth and gills, which are distended so that his jaws cannot meet. Dr. Livingstone noticed a similar habit in a fish of the Lake Tanganyika. The density of the shoals of fish in the Lake of Galilee can scarcely be conceived by those who have not witnessed them. They sometimes cover an acre or more on the surface in one dense mass, their dorsal fins standing out of the water. Josephus notices this abundance, and mentions also the *Coracinus*, which, being the same as the Sheat-fish of the Nile, suggested the belief that the lake was connected with the Nile (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 10, 8). There was also a tradition that one of the ten laws of Joshua enacted that the fishing of the lake should be free to all comers (Lightfoot, *Talm. Ex.* Matt. iv. 18).

[a] For a fuller account of the Nile fishes, see Athenaeus, vii. 55 sq.

Many of the fish are carried by the rapid stream of the Jordan in shoals into the Dead Sea, where they are stupified and soon perish, and may be seen floating dead on the surface. No

Fisherman of the Sea of Galilee casting his net.

more vivid illustration of the regeneration of the land by the waters of life could be presented than the vision of Ezekiel, showing these waters of death peopled by living things: "The fishers shall stand upon it from Engedi even unto Eneglaim: they shall be a place to spread forth nets; their fish shall be according to their kinds, as the fish of the great sea, exceeding many" (xlvii. 10).

While the Jews diligently prosecuted fishing in the Sea of Galilee (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10, § 9) they do not appear to have themselves worked the fisheries on their coast; but they possessed few localities adapted for boat harbours. Joppa was indeed their only port where any considerable fleet of fishing-boats could find shelter; for the northern ports were held by the Phoenicians, who, from Tyre and Sidon, extensively practised this industry. The Hebrew name of Sidon signifies "fishing-place;" and fishing is the only remaining industry of the squalid village which occupies the site of Tyre. "Tyre shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea" (Ezek. xxvi. 5). Jerusalem was supplied with fish by Phoenician fishermen, "men of Tyre" (Neh. xiii. 16) who came up from Joppa; probably with dried fish, such as is still largely consumed. The trade in fish must have been considerable, as one of the gates of Jerusalem was the *fish-gate* (2 Ch. xxxiii. 14), implying a fish-market, which would be contiguous to it, as each commodity to the present day has its distinct bazaar. Salt-fish is often spoken of in the Talmud, where it is called מליח (Lightfoot on Matt. xiv. 17). There is no clear evidence that the Jews preserved fish alive in ponds or tanks as the Egyptians did. In the passages which are supposed to suggest this (Cant. vii. 4, "fish-pools in Heshbon"), "fish" is an interpolation, omitted in R. V. In Is. xix. 10 "all that make sluices and ponds for fish" is rendered in R. V. "all they that work for hire (marg. *that make dams*) shall be grieved in soul"; the word "fish" not being in the Hebrew.

Numerous allusions to the art of fishing occur in the Bible: in the O. T. these allusions are of a metaphorical character, descriptive either of the conversion (Jer. xvi. 16; Ezek. xlvii. 10) or of the destruction (Ezek. xxix. 3 sq.; Eccles. ix. 12; Amos iv. 2; Hab. i. 14) of the enemies of God. In the N. T. the allusions are of a historical character for the most part, though the metaphorical application is still maintained in Matt. xiii. 47 sq.

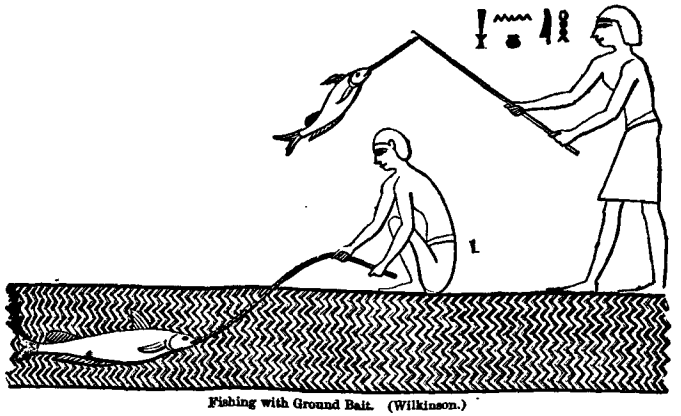
The Sea of Galilee was fished principally by means of the drag- or draw-net—מִכְמֹרֶת, *michmoreth*, σαγήνη, *sagena*, whence "seine," as we still call it (Is. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15; Matt. xiii. 47),—a large net, leaded and buoyed, which is carried out by a boat, cast, and then drawn in in a circle, so as to "enclose a great multitude of fishes." It is this kind of net to which our Lord compares the kingdom of Heaven (Matt. xiii. 47–50). The number of boats on the lake in our Lord's time was very large (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10, § 9), and the few boats which still exist there employ

Fishing. (Kouyunjik.)

the draw-net. The fishing is carried on at night, the best time for taking fish, as we know in our own seas, and as we read in Luke v. 5. Another net very commonly used was

the casting-net—חֵרֶם, *cherem* (Hab. i. 15; Ezek. xxvi. 5, 14, xlvii. 10), ἀμφίβληστρον (Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16), *rete*,—elsewhere expressed by the generic term δίκτυον. This was used either by a naked fisherman wading from the shore, and by a rapid motion throwing his net and then drawing it in in a circle, or thrown in the same manner from a boat. It was this casting-net that Peter and Andrew were using when called to be fishers of men (Matt. iv. 18), and it was also the same kind, as we see from the details of the narrative, which enclosed the second miraculous draught after the Resurrection (John xxi. 6–8). The casting-net is still in common use round the lake. Another mode of fishing which was and still is practised on the rivers was by weirs or stake-nets formed of a sort of cane wattle. According to the Rabbis, one of the traditional laws of Joshua forbade the use of stake-nets in the Lake of Galilee, where the fishing was free to all, lest the boats should be damaged by them (Lightfoot, *Talm. Ex.* Matt. iv. 18).

Other modes of taking fish in present use in Palestine, and alluded to in Scripture, are by the hook and line. Angling is often depicted on the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. It was a favourite amusement, and was also followed as a livelihood (Wilkinson, ii. 186 [1878]). It is referred to by Isaiah (xix. 8), "They that cast angle (Heb. חַכָּה) into the Nile" (R. V.); Hab. i. 15, and Job xli. 1. Two other words are used by Amos: צִנָּה, *tzinnah*,



Fishing with Ground Bait. (Wilkinson.)

and סִיר, *sîr*, i.e. "thorn" (ch. iv. 2); in Matt. xvii. 27, we read "cast an hook" (ἄγκιστρον). Hooks were used with lines, with or without a rod, and especially with night-lines. Fly-fishing was unknown, as none of the fishes of the Nile or Palestine will rise like the *Salmonidae* to a fly. In Job xli. 2, "Canst thou put an hook into his nose? or bore his jaw through with a thorn?" the reference is not to fishing, but to the keeping alive, after the Egyptian fashion, in tanks, fishes not required for immediate use, by a hook through their gills (חוֹחַ, *choach;* "thorn," A.V.; "hook," R. V.). This was attached to a stake by a rope of rushes (אַגְמֹן, *agmōn*, "hook;" A. V. "rope;" R. V. marg., *rope of rushes*).

Another method of fishing was with the fish-spear, still used in the Lebanon and North Syria. This is alluded to by Job (xli. 7; Hebr. xl. 31), "Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons? or his head with fish-spears?"

The fish is a favourite symbol in the Christian Church, frequent in the catacombs of Rome, and familiar especially on early Christian sepulchral monuments in Northern Syria and other parts of the East,—not, as has been absurdly suggested, from an old superstition, or in honour of the fishermen of Galilee, but from the circumstance that the initial letters of the words Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, form the word Ἰχθύς (see *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* s. n. "Fish"). [H. B. T.]

FISH GATE (שַׁעַר הַדָּגִים), Neh. iii. 3, xii. 39; Zeph. i. 10. A gate in the north wall of Jerusalem; it may have led to the fish market, or the Tyrian merchants who brought fish to the city (Neh. xiii. 16) may have sold them in front of it. [JERUSALEM.] [W.]

FISH-POOLS. Cant. vii. 4. More correctly POOLS, as in R. V. [HESHBON.]

FITCHES (*i.e.* VETCHES). Two Hebrew words are so rendered in A. V.: (1) כֻּסֶּמֶת, *kussemeth* (Ezek. iv. 9); elsewhere A. V. "rye,"

Nigella sativa.

R. V. "spelt;" see RYE. (2) קֶצַח, *ketsach;* μελάνθιον; *gith;* R. V. marg. *black cummin*

(Is. xxviii. 25, 27), denotes without doubt the *Nigella sativa*, L., an herbaceous annual plant belonging to the natural order *Ranunculaceae* and sub-order *Helleboreae*, which grows in the S. of Europe and in the N. of Africa. It is cultivated in Palestine for the sake of its seeds, which are to this day used in Eastern countries as a medicine and a condiment. They are black, whence the name, and hot to the taste, and are sprinkled thickly over the flat cakes of the country before they are baked, in the same way that caraway seeds are used among ourselves. The seeds may be seen on all the little provision stalls in the markets. The leaves of the plant are laciniated, like those of the ranunculus, the flower yellow (in other species red or purple), and the seed-vessel is a cup divided into partitions or cells with a fringe of horns. This plant is mentioned only in Is. xxviii. 25, 27, where especial reference is made to the mode of threshing it; not with "a threshing instrument" (חָרוּץ), but "with a staff" (מַטֶּה), because the heavy-armed cylinders of the former implement would have crushed the seeds of the *Nigella*. The *μελάνθιον* of Dioscorides (iii. 83, ed. Sprengel) is unquestionably the *Nigella;* both these terms having reference to its black seeds, which, according to the above-named author and Pliny (*N. H.* xix. 8), were sometimes mixed with bread. The word *gith* is of uncertain origin. It is used by Pliny (*N. H.* xx. 17), who says, "*Gith* ex Graecis alii melanthion, alii melaspermon vocant." Plautus also (*Rud.* v. 2, 39) has the same word *git:* "Os calet tibi! num *git* frigide factas." Cp. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 71).

Besides the *N. sativa*, there are seven other species found wild in Palestine; *N. arvensis*, L., and *N. damascena*, L., being common field weeds; but the seeds of all the wild species are less aromatic than those the cultivated plant. [H. B. T.]

FLAG. See BULRUSH.

FLAGON, a word employed in the A. V. to render two distinct Hebrew terms: 1. *Ashishah*, אֲשִׁישָׁה (2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Ch. xvi. 3; Cant. ii. 5; Hos. iii. 1). The real meaning of this word, according to the conclusions of Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 166), is a cake of pressed raisins. He derives it from a root signifying to compress, and this is confirmed by the renderings of the LXX. (*λάγανον, ἀμορίτη, πέμματα*) and of the Vulgate, and also by the indications of the Targum Pseudojon. and the Mishna (*Nedarim*, 6, § 10). In the passage in Hosea there is probably a reference to a practice of offering such cakes before the false deities (R. V. renders "a cake," or "cakes of raisins"). The rendering of the A. V. is perhaps to be traced to Luther, who in the first two of the above passages has *ein Nössel Wein*, and in the last *Kanne Wein;* but primarily to the interpretations of modern Jews (*e.g.* Gemara, *Baba Bathra*, and Targum on Chronicles), grounded on a false etymology (see Michaelis, quoted by Gesenius, and the observations of the latter, as above). It will be observed that in the first two passages the words "of wine" are interpolated, and that in the last "of wine" should be "of grapes."

2. *Nebel*, נֵבֶל (Is. xxii. 24 only). *Nebel* is commonly used for a bottle or vessel, originally probably a skin, but in later times a piece of pottery (Is. xxx. 14). But it also frequently occurs with the force of a musical instrument (A. V. generally "psaltery," but sometimes "viol"), a meaning which is adopted by the Targum, the Arabic and Vulgate Versions, Luther, and given in the margin of the A. V. The text, however, follows the rendering of the LXX., and with this agrees Gesenius's rendering, "*Becken und Flaschen, von allerhand Art.*" [G.] [W.]

FLAX. Two Hebrew words are used for this plant in O. T., or rather the same word slightly modified—פִּשְׁתָּה and פֶּשֶׁת. About the former there is no question. It occurs only in three places (Ex. ix. 31; Is. xlii. 3, xliii. 17). As regards the latter, there is probably only one passage where it stands for the plant in its undressed state (Josh. ii. 6). Eliminating all the places where the words are used for the article manufactured in the *thread*, the *piece*, or the *made-up garment* [LINEN; COTTON], we reduce them to two: Ex. ix. 31, certain, and Josh. ii. 6, disputed.

In the former the flax of the Egyptians is recorded to have been damaged by the plague of hail. The word גִּבְעֹל is retained by Onkelos; but is rendered in LXX. *σπερματίζον*, and in Vulg. *folliculos germinabat.* The A. V. seems to have followed the LXX. (*boiled* = *σπερματίζον*); and so Rosenm., "globulus seu nodus lini maturescentis" (Schol. *ad loc.*). Gesen. makes it the calyx, or corolla; he refers to the Mishna, where it is used for the calyx of the hyssop, and describes this explanation as one of long standing among the more learned Rabbins (*Thes.* p. 261).

For the flax of ancient Egypt, see Herodot. ii. 37, 105; Cels. ii. p. 285 sq.; Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 2, p. 368 sq. For that of modern Egypt, see Hasselquist, *Journey*, p. 500; Olivier, *Voyage*, iii. p. 297; Girard's *Observations* in *Descript. de l'Égypte*, t. xvii. (*état moderne*), p. 98; Paul Lucas, *Voyages*, pt. ii. p. 47.

From Ritter's *Erdkunde*, ii. p. 916 (cp. his *Vorhalle*, &c., pp. 45–48), it seems probable that the cultivation of flax for the purpose of the manufacture of linen was by no means confined to Egypt; but that, originating in India, it spread over the whole continent of Asia at a very early period of antiquity. That it was grown in Palestine even before the conquest of that country by the Israelites appears from Josh. ii. 6, the second of the two passages mentioned above. There is, however, some difference of opinion about the meaning of the words פִּשְׁתֵּי הָעֵץ; *λινοκαλάμη*; Vulg. *stipulae lini;* and so A. V. "stalks of flax;" Joseph. speaks of *λίνου ἀγκαλίδας*, armfuls or bundles of flax; but Arab. Vers. "stalks of *cotton*." Gesenius, however, and Rosenmüller are in favour of the rendering "stalks of flax." If this be correct, the place involves an allusion to the custom of drying the flax-stalks by exposing them to the heat of the sun upon the flat roofs of houses; and so expressly in Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. § 2), *λίνου γὰρ ἀγκαλίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους ἔψυχε*. In later times this drying was done in ovens (Rosenm. *Alterthumsk.*). There is a decided reference to the raw material in the

LXX. rendering of Lev. xiii. 47, *ἱματίῳ στυπτνίνῳ*, and Judg. xv. 14, *στυππίον*: cp. Is. i. 31.

The various processes employed in preparing the flax for manufacture into cloth are indicated —1. The drying process (see above). 2. The peeling of the stalks, and separation of the fibres (the name being derived by Gesen. from פָּשַׁשׁ, "to tear apart," "to stretch out." But the term is probably of foreign origin). 3. The hackling (Is. xix. 9; LXX. *λίνον τὸ σχιστόν*: *vid.* Gesen. *Lex.* s. v. שְׁרִיק; and for the *combs* used in the process, cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 90 [1878]). The flax, however, was not always dressed before weaving (see Ecclus. xl. 4, where *ἀμόλινον* is mentioned as a species of clothing worn by the poor). That the use of the coarser fibres was known to the Hebrews, may be inferred from the mention of *tow* (נְעֹרֶת) in Judg. xvi. 9, Is. i. 31. That flax was anciently one of the most important crops in Palestine appears from Hos. ii. 5, 9; and that it continued to be grown, and manufactured into linen in N. Palestine down to the Middle Ages, we have the testimony of numerous Talmudists and Rabbins. It is still cultivated there, but not so extensively as the cotton plant. [COTTON; LINEN.] [T. E. B.]

FLEA (פַּרְעוֹשׁ, *par'osh*; *ψύλλος*; *pulex*) is only twice mentioned in Scripture (1 Sam. xxiv. 14, xxvi. 20), where David addressing Saul compares himself to it, as the most insignificant and contemptible of living things. The flea, *Pulex irritans*, L., of the insect order *Aphaniptera*, though world-wide in its distribution, is nowhere more abundant than in the East. It propagates there in countless myriads among the dust of caves, especially if used occasionally by cattle, and among the stubble and refuse of old camps. Woe betide the traveller who incautiously pitches on the site of an old Bedouin encampment! The villagers in the wattled huts of Northern Syria are frequently driven away by the swarms of fleas, and are compelled to desert their homes for a year or two. [H. B. T.]

FLESH. [FOOD.]

FLINT (חַלָּמִישׁ. The corresponding Assyr. *ēlmēšu* may betoken the diamond. See MV.[11]). The Hebrew quadriliteral is rendered *flint* in Deut. viii. 15, xxxii. 13; Ps. cxiv. 8; and Is. l. 7. In Job xxviii. 9 the same word is rendered *rock* in the text, and *flint* in the margin (R. V. text, "flinty rock"). In the first three passages the reference is to God's bringing water and oil out of the naturally barren rocks of the Wilderness for the sake of His people. In Isaiah the word is used metaphorically to signify the firmness of the Prophet in resistance to his persecutors. In Ezek. iii. 9 the English word "flint" occurs in the same sense, but there it represents the Hebrew *Tzor*. So also in Is. v. 28 we have *like flint* applied to the hoofs of horses. In 1 Macc. x. 73, *κόχλαξ* is translated *flint*, and in Wisd. xi. 4 the expression *ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου* is adopted from Deut. viii. 15 (LXX.). [W. D.]

FLOOD. [NOAH.]

FLOOR. [PAVEMENT.

FLOUR. [BREAD.]

FLOWER. [PALESTINE, BOTANY OF.]

FLOWERS, only in the phrase "her flowers," A. V.; "her impurity," R. V. (נִדָּתָהּ; *ἡ ἀκαθαρσία αὐτῆς, ἐν τῇ ἀφέδρῳ αὐτῆς*; *tempus sanguinis menstrualis*), Lev. xv. 24, 33. "Stains" of the menstruation is intended; the earliest source of the expression being probably Plato, *Rep.* 429 D, where *τὸ ἄνθος* means "the dye," there of purple (*ἁλουργόν*); see also 557 C, *πᾶσιν ἄνθεσιν πεποικιλμένον*. [ISSUE OF BLOOD.] [H. H.]

FLUTE, THE (Aramaic *Mashrauqitho* [מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא], Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15), is one of the oldest musical instruments known. It is, no doubt, identical with the Hebrew *Chalil* (חָלִיל, 1 Sam. x. 5); but although old, and having naturally undergone much development and many changes of construction, it has yet preserved its two chief characteristics. Its *piccolo* is capable of producing very sharp notes indeed,—and hence its name *Mashrauqitho*: cp. Is. v. 26; Zech. x. 8. On the other hand, it has the power of imitating the feeble whisper of the dying, and the mysterious death-rattle. It is for these reasons that the ancient Hebrews employed this instrument on the most opposite occasions—at burials (Mishna *Kethuboth*, iv. 4), at weddings (Mishna *Bobo Metzi'o*, vi. 1), and at festivals, both private (Is. xxx. 29) and public (1 Kings i. 40), profane (Is. v. 12) and religious (Mishna *Sukkah*, v. 1). [S. M. S.-S.]

FLUX, BLOODY (*δυσεντερία*, Acts xxviii. 8), the same as our dysentery, which in the East is, though sometimes sporadic, generally epidemic and infectious, and then assumes its worst form. It is always attended with fever. [FEVER.] A sharp gnawing and burning sensation seizes the bowels, which give off in purging much slimy matter and purulent discharge. When blood flows, it is said to be less dangerous than without it (Schmidt, *Bibl. Medic.* c. xiv. pp. 503–507). King Jehoram's disease was probably a chronic dysentery and the "bowels falling out," perhaps the *prolapsus ani*, known sometimes to ensue (2 Ch. xxi. 15, 19); but possibly it was the actual discharge of portions of the diseased organs (see *Biblisch-Talmudische Medicin*, by R. J. Wunderbar, iii. B, *c*). [H. H.]

FLY, FLIES. The two following Hebrew terms denote flies of some kind.

1. *Zĕbûb* (זְבוּב; *μυῖα*; *musca*) occurs only in Eccles. x. 1, "Dead *zĕbûbim* cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour," and in Is. vii. 18, where it is said, "The Lord shall hiss for the *zĕbûb* that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt." The Hebrew name, it is probable, is a generic one for any insect, but the etymology is a matter of doubt (see Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 401; MV.[11]). In the first-quoted passage allusion is made to flies, chiefly of the family *Muscidae*, getting into vessels of ointment or other substances; even in this country we know what an intolerable nuisance the house-flies are in a hot

summer when they abound, crawling everywhere and into everything; but in the East the nuisance is tenfold greater, where in a few minutes they will pollute a dish of food. The *zĕbûb* from the rivers of Egypt has by some writers, as by Oedmann (*Vermisch. Samm.* vi. 79), been identified with the *zimb* of which Bruce (*Trav.* v. 190) gives a description, and which is evidently some species of *Tabanus*. Sir G. Wilkinson has given some account (*Transac. of the Entomol. Soc.* ii. p. 183) of a gad-fly (*Oestrus*) under the name of *Dthebab*, a term almost identical with *zĕbûb*. Though *zĕbûb* is probably a generic name for any *flies*, in this passage of Isaiah it may be used to denote some very troublesome and injurious fly, κατ' ἐξοχήν. "The *Dthebab* is a long grey fly, which comes out about the rise of the Nile, and is like the *Cleg* of the north of England; it abounds in calm hot weather, and is often met with in June and July, both in the desert and on the Nile." This insect is very injurious to camels and horses, and causes their death, if the sores which it generates are neglected; it attacks both man and beast. We have found it extremely tormenting to our herses and mules in the hotter parts of Palestine.

So grievous a pest was the *zĕbûb* in the plains of Philistia, that the Phoenicians invoked against it the aid of their God, under the name of BAAL-ZEBUB, "the Lord of the fly." Though such a title may seem a term of derision, and has been so interpreted, as applied in contempt by the Israelites (Selden, *De Diis Syris*, p. 375), yet there seems no reason to doubt that this was the name given to their god by his worshippers; and the torments caused by flies in hot climates amply account for the designation. Similarly the Greeks gave the epithet ἀπόμυιος to Zeus (Pausan. v. 14, § 2; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 38). Pliny speaks of a Fly-god, Myiodes (xxix. 6, 34). The Jews in derision changed the name Baal-zebub to Baal-zebul, "Lord of the dunghill," and applied it in the time of our Lord to the prince of the devils (Matt. xii. 24, &c.).

2. *'Ârôb* (עָרֹב; κυνόμυια; *omne genus muscarum, muscae diversi generis, musca gravissima;* "swarms of *flies*," "divers sorts of *flies*," A. V. and R. V.), the name of the insect, or insects, which God sent to punish Pharaoh: see Ex. viii. 21–31; Ps. lxxviii. 45, cv. 31. The question as to what particular insect is denoted by *'ârôb*, or whether any one species is to be understood by it, has long been a matter of dispute. The Scriptural details are as follows:—The *'ârôb* filled the houses of the Egyptians, covered the ground, lighted on the people, and the land was laid waste on their account. The LXX. explain *'ârôb* by κυνόμυια, *i.e.* "dog-fly:" it is not very clear what insect is meant by this Greek term, which is frequent in Homer, who often uses it as an abusive epithet. It is not improbable that one of the *Hippoboscidae* or horse-flies, perhaps *H. Equina*, Linn., is the κυνόμυια of Aelian (*N. A.* iv. 51), though Homer may have used the compound term to denote extreme impudence, implied by the shamelessness of the dog and the teasing impertinence of the common fly (*Musca*). As the *'ârôb* is said to have filled the houses of the Egyptians, it seems not improbable that common flies (*Muscidae*) are more especially intended, and that the compound κυνόμυια denotes the grievous nature of the plague, though we see no reason to restrict the *'ârôb* to any one family. It may include, besides the horse-fly, those blood-sucking tormentors the gnats or mosquitoes (*Culicidae*), and the gad-flies (*Oestrus*). The common horse-fly is, however, quite tormenting enough to have been of itself the Egyptian plague. It settles on the human body like the mosquito, sucks blood, and produces festering sores. "Of insects," says Sonnini (*Trav.* iii. p. 199), "the most troublesome in Egypt are flies; both man and beast are cruelly tormented with them. No idea can be formed of their obstinate rapacity. It is in vain to drive them away, they return again in the self-same moment, and their perseverance wearies out the most patient spirit." It is the great instrument of spreading the well-known purulent ophthalmia, which is conveyed from one individual to another by these dreadful pests, which alight on the diseased eye, and then with their feet moist from the discharge inoculate the next healthy person on whom they settle. See for cases of Myosis produced by Dipterous larvae, *Transactions of Entomol. Soc.* ii. pp. 266–269.

The identification of the *'ârôb* with the cockroach (*Blatta Orientalis*), which Oedmann (*Verm. Sam.* pt. ii. c. 7) suggests, and which Kirby (*Bridgw. Treat.* ii. p. 357) adopts, has nothing at all to recommend it, and is purely gratuitous, as Mr. Hope proved in 1837 in a paper on this subject in the *Trans. Entomol. Soc.* ii. 179–183. The error of calling the cockroach a beetle, and the confusion which has been made between it and the sacred beetle of Egypt (*Ateuchus sacer*), has been repeated by M. Kalisch (*Hist. and Crit. Comment.* Exod. *l. c.*). The cockroach, as Mr. Hope remarks, is a nocturnal insect, and prowls about for food at night, "but what reason have we to believe that the fly attacked the Egyptians by night and not by day?" We see no reason to be dissatisfied with the reading in our own Version. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

FOOD. The diet of Eastern nations has been in all ages more light and simple than our own. The chief points of contrast are the small amount of animal food consumed, the variety of articles used as accompaniments to bread, the substitution of milk in various forms for our liquors, and the combination of what we should deem heterogeneous elements in the same dish, or the same meal. The chief point of agreement is the large consumption of bread, the importance of which in the eyes of the Hebrew is testified by the use of the term *lechem* (originally food of any kind) specifically for bread, as well as by the expression "staff of bread" (Lev. xxvi. 26; Ps. cv. 16; Ezek. iv. 16, xiv. 13). Simpler preparations of corn were, however, common; sometimes the fresh green ears were eaten in a natural state,[a] the husks being rubbed off by the hand (Lev. xxiii. 14; Deut. xxiii. 25; 2 K. iv. 42; Matt. xii. 1; Luke vi. 1); more frequently, however, the grains, after

[a] This custom is still practised in Palestine (Robinson's *Researches*, i. 493).

being carefully picked, were roasted in a pan over a fire (Lev. ii. 14), and eaten as "parched corn," in which form it was an ordinary article of diet, particularly among labourers, or others who had not the means of dressing food (Lev. xxiii. 14; Ruth ii. 14; 1 Sam. xvii. 17, xxv. 18; 2 Sam. xvii. 28): this practice is still very usual in the East (cp. Lane, i. 251; Robinson, *Researches*, ii. 350). Sometimes the grain was bruised (like the Greek *polenta*, Plin. xviii. 14), in which state it was termed either גֶּרֶשׂ (ἐρικτά, LXX.; A. V. "beaten," R. V. "bruised;" Lev. ii. 14, 16), or רִיפוֹת (πτισάναι, Aq., Symm.; A. V. "ground corn," R. V. "bruised corn;" 2 Sam. xvii. 19; cp. Prov. xxvii. 22), and then dried in the sun; it was eaten either mixed with oil (Lev. ii. 15), or made into a soft cake named עֲרִיסָה (A. V. "dough," R. V. marg. *coarse meal;* Num. xv. 20; Neh. x. 37; Ezek. xliv. 30). The Hebrews used a great variety of articles (John xxi. 5) to give a relish to bread. Sometimes salt was so used (Job vi. 6), as we learn from the passage just quoted; sometimes the bread was dipped into the sour wine (A. V. and R. V. "vinegar") which the labourers drank (Ruth ii. 14); or, where meat was eaten, into the gravy, which was either served up separately for the purpose, as by Gideon (Judg. vi. 19), or placed in the middle of the meat dish, as done by the Arabs (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 63), whose practice of dipping bread in the broth, or melted fat of the animal, strongly illustrates the reference to the sop in John xiii. 26 sq. The modern Egyptians season their bread with a sauce[b] composed of various stimulants, such as salt, mint, sesame, and chickpeas (Lane, i. 180). The Syrians, on the other hand, use a mixture of savory and salt for the same purpose (Russell, i. 93). Where the above-mentioned accessories were wanting, fruit, vegetables, fish, or honey, were used. In short it may be said that all the articles of food, which we are about to mention, were mainly viewed as subordinates to the staple commodity of bread. The various kinds of bread and cakes are described under the head of BREAD.

Milk and its preparations hold a conspicuous place in Eastern diet, as affording substantial nourishment; sometimes it was produced in a fresh state (חָלָב; Gen. xviii. 8), but more generally in the form of the modern *leban*, i.e. sour milk (חֶמְאָה; A. V. "butter;" Gen. xviii. 8; Judg. v. 25; 2 Sam. xvii. 29). The latter is universally used by the Bedouins, not only as their ordinary beverage (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 240), but mixed with rice, flour, meat, and even salad (Burckhardt, i. 58, 63; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 118). It is constantly offered to travellers, and in some parts of Arabia it is deemed scandalous to take any money in return for it (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 120). For a certain season of the year, *leban* makes up a great part of the food of the poor in Syria (Russell, *l.c.*). Butter (Prov. xxx. 33) and various forms of coagulated milk, of the consistency of the modern *kaimak* (Job x. 10; 1 Sam. xvii. 18; 2 Sam. xvii. 29), were also used. [BUTTER; CHEESE; MILK.]

Fruit was another source of subsistence: figs stand first in point of importance; the early sorts described as the "summer fruit" (קַיִץ; Amos viii. 1, 2) and the "first ripe fruit" (בִּכּוּרָה; Hos. ix. 10; Mic. vii. 1) were esteemed a great luxury, and were eaten as fresh fruit; but they were generally dried and pressed into cakes, similar to the date-cakes of the Arabians (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 57), in which form they were termed דְּבֵלִים (παλάθαι, A. V. "cakes of figs;" 1 Sam. xxv. 18, xxx. 12; 1 Ch. xii. 40), and occasionally קַיִץ simply (2 Sam. xvi. 1; A.V. "summer fruit"). Grapes were generally eaten in a dried state as raisins (צִמּוּקִים; *ligaturae uvae passae*, Vulg.; 1 Sam. xxv. 18, xxx. 12; 2 Sam. xvi. 1; 1 Ch. xii. 40), but sometimes, as before, pressed into cakes, named אֲשִׁישָׁה (2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Ch. xvi. 3; Cant. ii. 5; Hos. iii. 1), understood by the LXX. as a sort of cake, λάγανον ἀπὸ σταγόνου, and by the A. V. as a "flagon *of wine*," and by the R. V. as "a cake of raisins." Fruit-cake forms a part of the daily food of the Arabians, and is particularly adapted to the wants of travellers; dissolved in water, it affords a sweet and refreshing drink (Niebuhr, *Arabia*, p. 57; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 82); an instance of its stimulating effect is recorded in 1 Sam. xxx. 12. Apples (probably citrons) are occasionally noticed, but rather in reference to their fragrance (Cant. ii. 5, vi. 8) and colour (Prov. xxv. 11) than as an article of food. Dates are not noticed in Scripture, unless we accept the rendering of קַיִץ in the LXX. (2 Sam. xvi. 1) as = *φοίνικες*; it can hardly be doubted, however, that where the palm-tree flourished, as in the neighbourhood of Jericho, its fruit was consumed; in Joel i. 12 it is reckoned among other trees valuable for their fruit. The pomegranate tree is also noticed by Joel; it yields a luscious fruit, from which a species of wine was expressed (Cant. viii. 2; Hag. ii. 19). Melons were grown in Egypt (Num. xi. 5), but not in Palestine. The mulberry is undoubtedly mentioned in Luke xvii. 6 under the name *συκάμινος*: the Hebrew בָּכָאִים so translated (2 Sam. v. 23 [R. V. marg. *balsam tree*]; 1 Ch. xiv. 14) is rather doubtful; the Vulg. takes it to mean *pears*. The *συκομορέα* ("sycomore," A. V.; Luke xix. 4) differed from the tree last mentioned; it was the Egyptian fig, which abounded in Palestine (1 K. x. 27), and was much valued for its fruit (1 Ch. xxvii. 28; Amos vii. 14). [APPLE; CITRON; FIGS; MULBERRY-TREE; PALM-TREE; POMEGRANATE; SYCAMINE-TREE; SYCAMORE.]

Of vegetables we have most frequent notice of lentils (Gen. xxv. 34; 2 Sam. xvii. 28, xxiii. 11; Ezek. iv. 9), which are still largely used by the Bedouins in travelling (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 65); beans (2 Sam. xvii. 28; Ezek. iv. 9), which still form a favourite dish in Egypt and Arabia for breakfast, boiled in water and eaten with butter and pepper; from 2 Sam. xvii. 28 it might be inferred that beans and other kinds of pulse were roasted, as barley was, but the second קָלִי in that verse is interpolated, not appearing in the LXX. and other Versions (see *QPB.*[2]), and, even if it were not so, the reference to *pulse* in

[b] The later Jews named this sauce חֲרוֹסֶת (Mishn. *Pes.* 2, § 8): it consisted of vinegar, almonds, and spice, thickened with flour. It was used at the celebration of the Passover (*Pes.* 10, § 3).

the A. V., as of *cicer* in the Vulg., is wholly unwarranted; cucumbers (Num. xi. 5; Is. i. 8; Bar. vi. 70; cp. 2 K. iv. 39, where wild gourds, *Cucumeres asinini*, were picked in mistake for cucumbers); leeks, onions, and garlic, which were and still are of a superior quality in Egypt (Num. xi. 5; cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 169 [1878]; Lane, i. 251); lettuce, of which the wild species, *Lactuca agrestis*, is identified with the Greek τραγόπους by Pliny (xxi. 65), and formed, according to the LXX. and the Vulg., the "bitter herbs" (מְרֹרִים) eaten with the Paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 8; Num. ix. 11); endive, which is still well known in the East (Russell, i. 91), may have been included under the same class. In addition to the above we have notice of certain "herbs" (אֹרוֹת; 2 K. iv. 39) eaten in times of scarcity, which were mallows according to the Syriac and Arabic Versions, but, according to the Talmud, a vegetable resembling the *Brassica eruca* of Linnaeus; and again of sea-purslain (מַלּוּחַ; ἅλιμα; A. V. "mallows," R. V. "salt-wort") and broom-root (רְתָמִים, A. V. and R. V. "juniper;" Job xxx. 4), as eaten by the poor in time of famine, unless the latter were gathered as fuel. An insipid plant, probably purslain, used in salad, appears to be referred to in Job vi. 6, under the expression רִיר חַלָּמוּת ("white of egg," A. V., R. V. marg. *the juice of purslain*). The usual method of eating vegetables was in the form of pottage (נָזִיד; ἕψημα; *pulmentum;* Gen. xxv. 29; 2 K. iv. 38; Hag. ii. 12); a meal wholly of vegetables was deemed very poor fare (Prov. xv. 17; Dan. i. 12; Rom. xiv. 2). The modern Arabians consume but few vegetables; radishes and leeks are most in use, and are eaten raw with bread (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 56). [BEANS; CUCUMBER; GARLIC; GOURD; LEEK; LENTIL; ONION.]

The spices or condiments known to the Hebrews were numerous: cummin (Is. xxviii. 25; Matt. xxiii. 23), dill (Matt. xxiii. 23; "anise," A. V.), coriander (Ex. xvi. 31; Num. xi. 7), mint (Matt. xxiii. 13), rue (Luke xi. 42), mustard (Matt. xiii. 31, xvii. 20), and salt (Job vi. 6), which is reckoned among "the principal things for the whole use of man's life" (Ecclus. xxxix. 26). Nuts (pistachios) and almonds (Gen. xliii. 11) were also used as *whets* to the appetite. [ALMOND-TREE; ANISE; CORIANDER; CUMMIN; MINT; MUSTARD; NUTS; SPICES.]

In addition to these classes, we have to notice some other important articles of food: in the first place, honey, whether the natural product of the bee (1 Sam. xiv. 25; Matt. iii. 4), which abounds in most parts of Arabia (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54), or the other natural and artificial productions included under that head, especially the *dibs* of the Syrians and the Arabians, *i.e.* grape-juice boiled down to the state of the Roman *defrutum*, which is still extensively used in the East (Russell, i. 82); the latter is supposed to be referred to in Gen. xliii. 11 and Ezek. xxvii. 17. The importance of honey as a substitute for sugar is obvious; it was both used in certain kinds of cake (though prohibited in the case of meat offerings, Lev. ii. 11), as in the pastry of the Arabs (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54), and was also eaten in its natural state either by itself (1 Sam. xiv. 27; 2 Sam. xvii. 29; 1 K. xiv. 3), or in conjunction with other things, even with fish (Luke xxiv. 42). "Butter and honey" is an expression for rich diet (Is. vii. 15, 22); such a mixture is popular among the Arabs (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54). "Milk and honey" are similarly coupled together, not only frequently by the sacred writers, as expressive of the richness of the promised land, but also by the Greek poets (cp. Callim. *Hymn. in Jov.* 48; Hom. *Od.* xx. 68). Too much honey was deemed unwholesome (Prov. xxv. 27). With regard to oil, it does not appear to have been used to the extent we might have anticipated; some modern Arabs only employ it in frying fish (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54), substituting butter for all other purposes; others make it a prominent article of food; while other Orientals eat it universally in place of butter and fat during Lent. Among the Hebrews oil was deemed an expensive luxury (Prov. xxi. 17), to be reserved for festive occasions (1 Ch. xii. 40); it was chiefly used in certain kinds of cake (Lev. ii. 5 sq.; 1 K. xvii. 12). "Oil and honey" are mentioned in conjunction with bread in Ezek. xvi. 13, 19. The Syrians, especially the Jews, eat oil and honey (*dibs*) mixed together (Russell, i. 80). Eggs are not often noticed, but were evidently known as articles of food (Is. x. 14, lix. 5; Luke xi. 12), and are reckoned by Jerome (*In Epitaph. Paul.* i. 176) among the delicacies of the table. The Orientals of to-day fry them in twice their bulk of fat or butter or oil. [HONEY; OIL.]

The Orientals are, as a rule, sparing in the use of animal food[a]: not only does the excessive heat of the climate render it both unwholesome to eat much meat (Niebuhr, *Descript.* p. 46), and expensive from the necessity of immediately consuming a whole animal; but beyond this the ritual regulations of the Mosaic law in ancient, as of the Koran in modern times, have tended to the same result. It has been inferred from Gen. ix. 3, 4, that animal food was not permitted before the Flood: but the notices of the flock of Abel (Gen. iv. 2) and of the herds of Jabal (Gen. iv. 20), as well as the distinction between clean and unclean animals (Gen. vii. 2), favour the opposite opinion; and the permission in Gen. ix. 3 does not so much constitute a considerable difference (Dillmann[6] in loco) as (cp. Delitzsch [1887] in loco) a more explicit declaration of a condition implied in the grant of universal dominion previously given (Gen. i. 28). The prohibition then expressed against consuming the blood of any animal (Gen. ix. 4) was more fully developed in the Levitical Law, and enforced by the penalty of death (Lev. iii. 17, vii. 26, xix. 26; Deut. xii. 16; 1 Sam. xiv. 32 sq.; Ezek. xliv. 7, 15), on the ground, as stated in Lev. xvii. 11 and Deut. xii. 23, that the blood contained the principle of life, and, as such, was to be offered on the Altar; probably there was an

[a] Dr. Post (*B. D.* Amer. ed., *s. v.* "Food," note at end) points out, however, that dyspepsia is very common among the people, and arises partly from their heavy and unwholesome food, and partly from the fact that their heavy meal is taken just before retiring for the night. He describes a stew as consisting of meat and vegetables fried in butter or fat, and the eater as drinking as much of the fatty matter as possible.

additional reason in the heathen practice of consuming blood in their sacrifices (Ps. xvi. 4; Ezek. xxxiii. 25). The prohibition applied to strangers as well as Israelites, and to all kinds of beast or fowl (Lev. vii. 26; xvii. 12, 13). So strong was the feeling of the Jews on this point, that the Gentile converts to Christianity were laid under similar restrictions (Acts xv. 20, 29; xxi. 25). As a necessary deduction from the above principle, all animals which had died a natural death (נְבֵלָה, Deut. xiv. 21), or had been torn of beasts (טְרֵפָה, Ex. xxii. 31), were also prohibited (Lev. xvii. 15; cp. Ezek. iv. 14), and were to be thrown to the dogs (Ex. xxii. 31): this prohibition did not extend to strangers (Deut. xiv. 21). Any person infringing this rule was held unclean until the evening, and was obliged to wash his clothes (Lev. xvii. 15). In the N. T. these cases are described under the term πνικτόν (Acts xv. 20), applying not only to what was *strangled* (as in A. V.), but to any animal from which the blood was not regularly poured forth. Similar prohibitions are contained in the Koran (ii. 175, v. 4, xvi. 116), the result of which is that at the present day the Arabians eat no meat except what has been bought at the shambles. Certain portions of the fat of sacrifices were also forbidden (Lev. iii. 9, 10), as being set apart for the Altar (Lev. iii. 16, vii. 25: cp. 1 Sam. ii. 16 sq.; 2 Ch. vii. 7): it should be observed that the term in Neh. viii. 10, translated *fat*, is not חֵלֶב, but מַשְׁמַנִּים =the fatty pieces of meat, delicacies. In addition to the above, Christians were forbidden to eat the flesh of animals, portions of which had been offered to idols (εἰδωλόθυτα), whether at private feasts, or as bought in the market (Acts xv. 29, xxi. 25; 1 Cor. viii. 1 sq.). All beasts and birds classed as unclean (Lev. xi. 1 sq.; Deut. xiv. 4 sq.) were also prohibited [UNCLEAN BEASTS AND BIRDS]: and in addition to these general precepts there was a special prohibition against "seething a kid in his mother's milk" (Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21), which has been variously understood, by Talmudical writers as a general prohibition against the joint use of meat and milk (Mishna, *Cholin*, cap. 8, § 1); by Michaelis (*Mos. Recht*, iv. 210) as prohibiting the use of fat or milk, as compared with oil, in cooking; by Luther and Calvin as prohibiting the slaughter of young animals; and by Bochart and others as discountenancing cruelty in any way. These interpretations, however, all fail in establishing any connexion between the precept and the offering of the first-fruits, as implied in the three passages quoted. More probably it has reference to certain heathen usages at their harvest festivals (Maimonides, *More Neboch.* 3, 48; Spencer, *de Legg. Hebr. Ritt.* 535 sq. Cp. Knobel-Dillmann on Exod. xxiii. 19): and there is a remarkable addition in the Samaritan Version and in some copies of the LXX. in Deut. xiv. 21, which supports this view; ὃς γὰρ ποιεῖ τοῦτο, ὡσεὶ ἀσπάλακα θύσει, ὅτι μίασμά ἐστι τῷ θεῷ Ἰακώβ (cp. Knobel, *Comment.* in Ex. xxiii. 19). The Hebrews further abstained from eating the sinew of the hip (גִּיד הַנָּשֶׁה, Gen. xxxii. 32 [Heb. *v.* 33]), in memory of the struggle between Jacob and the Angel (cp. *v.* 25). The LXX., the Vulg., and the A. V. interpret the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον word *nasheh* of the shrinking or benumbing of the muscle (ὃ ἐνάρκησεν; *qui emarcuit*; "which shrank"): Josephus (*Ant.* i. 20, § 2) more correctly explains it, τὸ νεῦρον τὸ πλατύ; and there is little doubt that the nerve he refers to is the *nervus ischiadicus*, which attains its greatest thickness at the hip. There is no further reference to this custom in the Bible; but the Talmudists (*Cholin*, 7) enforced its observance by penalties.

Under these restrictions the Hebrews were permitted the free use of animal food: generally speaking, they only availed themselves of it in the exercise of hospitality (Gen. xviii. 7), or at festivals of a religious (Ex. xii. 8), public (1 K. i. 9; 1 Ch. xii. 40), or private character (Gen. xxvii. 4; Luke xv. 23): it was only in royal households that there was a daily consumption of meat (1 K. iv. 23; Neh. v. 18). The use of meat is reserved for similar occasions among the Bedouins (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 63). The animals killed for meat were—calves (Gen. xviii. 7; 1 Sam. xxviii. 24; Amos vi. 4), which are farther described by the term fatling (מְרִיא = μόσχος σιτευτός, Luke xv. 23, and σιτιστά, Matt. xxii. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 13; 1 K. i. 9 sq.; A.V. "fat cattle"); lambs (2 Sam. xii. 4; Amos vi. 4); oxen, not above three years of age (1 K. i. 9; Prov. xv. 17; Is. xxii. 13; Matt. xxii. 4), which were either stall-fed (בָּרִאים; μόσχοι ἐκλεκτοί), or taken up from the pastures (רְעִי; βόες νομάδες; 1 K. iv. 23); kids (Gen. xxvii. 9; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. xvi. 20); harts, roebucks, and fallow-deer (1 K. iv. 23), which are also brought into close connexion with ordinary cattle in Deut. xiv. 5, as though holding an intermediate place between tame and wild animals; birds of various kinds (צִפֳּרִים; A. V. "fowls;" Neh. v. 18; the LXX., however, gives χίμαρος, as though the reading were צְפִירִים); quail in certain parts of Arabia (Ex. xvi. 13; Num. xi. 32); poultry (בַּרְבָּרִים; 1 K. iv. 23; understood generally by the LXX., ὀρνίθων ἐκλεκτῶν σιτευτά; by Kimchi and the A. V. and R. V. as "fatted fowl;" by Gesenius, *Thesaur.* p. 246, as geese, from the *whiteness* of their plumage; by Thenius, *Comm.* in *l. c.*, as guinea-fowls, as though the word represented the call of that bird); partridges (1 Sam. xxvi. 20); fish, with the exception of such as were without scales and fins (Lev. xi. 9; Deut. xiv. 9), both salted, as was probably the case with the sea-fish brought to Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 16), and fresh (Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36; Luke xxiv. 42). This in our Saviour's time appears to have been the usual food about the Sea of Galilee (Matt. vii. 10); the term ὀψάριον is applied to it by St. John (vi. 9; xxi. 9 sq.) in the restricted sense which the word obtained among the later Greeks, as = *fish*. Locusts, of which certain species only were esteemed clean (Lev. xi. 22), were occasionally eaten (Matt. iii. 4), but considered as poor fare. They are at the present day largely consumed by the poor both in Persia (Morier's *Second Journey*, p. 44) and in Arabia (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, i. 319); they are salted and dried, and roasted, when required, on a frying-pan with butter (Burckhardt's *Notes*, ii. 92; Niebuhr, *l. c.*).

Meat does not appear ever to have been eaten

by itself; various accompaniments are noticed in Scripture, as bread, milk, and sour milk (Gen. xviii. 8); bread and broth (Judg. vi. 19); and with fish either bread (Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36; John xxi. 9) or honeycomb (Luke xxiv. 42): the instance in 2 Sam. vi. 19 cannot be relied on, as the meaning of the term אֲשִׁישָׁה, rendered in the A. V. "a good piece *of flesh*," after the Vulg., *assatura bibulae carnis*, is quite unknown (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.*, in loco. The R. V. renders in text a portion *of flesh*, and in marg. *of wine*). For the modes of preparing meat, see COOKING; and for the times and manner of eating, MEALS: see also FISH, FOWL, &c.

To pass from ordinary to occasional sources of subsistence: prison diet consisted of bread and water administered in small quantities (1 K. xxii. 27; Jer. xxxvii. 21): pulse and water was considered but little better (Dan. i. 12): in time of sorrow or fasting it was usual to abstain either altogether from food (2 Sam. xii. 17, 20), or from meat, wine, and other delicacies, which were described as לֶחֶם חֲמֻדוֹת, lit. *bread of desires* (Dan. x. 3). In time of extreme famine the most loathsome food was swallowed; such as an ass's head (2 K. vi. 25), the ass, it must be remembered, being an unclean animal (for a parallel case cp. Plutarch, *Artaxerx.* 24), and dove's dung (see the article on that subject), the dung of cattle (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 13, § 7), and even possibly their own dung (2 K. xviii. 27). The consumption of human flesh was not altogether unknown (2 K. vi. 28; cp. Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 3, § 4), the passages quoted supplying instances of the exact fulfilment of the prediction in Deut. xxviii. 56, 57: cp. also Lam. ii. 20, iv. 10; Ezek. v. 10.

With regard to the beverages used by the Hebrews, we have already mentioned milk, and the probable use of barley-water, and of a mixture resembling the modern *sherbet*, formed of fig-cake and water. The Hebrews probably resembled the Arabs in not drinking much during their meals, but concluding them with a long draught of water. It is almost needless to say that water was most generally drunk. In addition to these the Hebrews were acquainted with various intoxicating liquors, the most valued of which was the juice of the grape, while others were described under the general term of *shechar* or *strong drink* (Lev. x. 9; Num. vi. 3; Judg. xiii. 4, 7), if indeed the latter does not sometimes include the former (Num. xxviii. 7): these were reserved for the wealthy or for festive occasions. The poor consumed a sour wine (A. V. "vinegar;" Ruth ii. 14; Matt. xxvii. 48), calculated to quench thirst, but not agreeable to the taste (Prov. x. 26). [DRINK, STRONG; VINEGAR; WATER; WINE.] [W. L. B.] [F.]

FOOT, watering with the (Deut. xi. 10). [GARDEN.]

FOOTMAN, a word employed in the A. V. in two senses. 1. Generally, to distinguish those of the people or of the fighting-men who went on foot from those who were on horseback or in chariots. The Hebrew word for this is רַגְלִי, *ragli*, from *regel*, a foot. The LXX. commonly express it by πεζοί, or occasionally ταγμάτα.

But, 2. The word occurs in a more special sense (in 1 Sam. xxii. 17 only; R. V. "guard;" both A. V. and R. V. have in marg. Heb. *runners*), and as the translation of a different term from the above—רוּץ, *rootz*. This passage affords the first mention of the existence of a body of swift runners in attendance on the king, though such a thing had been foretold by Samuel (1 Sam. viii. 11). This body appears to have been afterwards kept up, and to have been distinct from the body-guard—the six hundred, and the thirty—who were originated by David. See 1 K. xiv. 27, 28; 2 Ch. xii. 10, 11; 2 K. xi. 4, 6, 11, 13, 19. In each of these cases the word is the same as the above, and is rendered "guard:" but the translators and revisers were evidently aware of its signification, for they have put the word "runners" in the margin (1 K. xiv. 27, A. V. and R. V.; 2 K. xi. 4; 2 Ch. xii. 10, R. V.). This indeed was the force of the term "footman" at the time the A. V. was made, as is plain not only from the references just quoted, but amongst others from the title of a well-known tract of Bunyan's—*The Heavenly Footman, or a Description of the Man that gets to Heaven*, on 1 Cor. ix. 24 (St. Paul's figure of the race). Swift running was evidently a valued accomplishment of a perfect warrior—a *gibbor*, as the Hebrew word is — among the Israelites. There are constant allusions to this in the Bible, though obscured in the E. V., from the translators not recognising or not adopting the technical sense of the word *gibbor*. Among others see Ps. xix. 5; Job xvi. 14; Joel ii. 7, where "strong man," "giant," and "mighty man" are all *gibbor*, used in connexion with running. David was famed for his powers of running; they are so mentioned as to seem characteristic of him (1 Sam. xvii. 22, 48, 51; xx. 6), and he makes them a special subject of thanksgiving to God (2 Sam. xxii. 30; Ps. xviii. 29). The cases of Cushi and Ahimaaz (2 Sam. xviii.) will occur to every one. It is not impossible that the former—"the Ethiopian," as his name most likely is—had some peculiar mode of running. [CUSHI.] Asahel also was "swift on his feet," and the Gadite heroes who came across to David in his difficulties were "swift as the roes upon the mountains:" but in neither of these last cases is the word *rootz* employed. The word probably derives its modern sense from the custom of domestic servants running by the carriage of their master. [GUARD.] [G.] [W.]

FORDS. [See JORDAN.]

FOREHEAD (מֵצַח, from מָצָא, rad. inus. *to shine*, Gesen. p. 815; μέτωπον; *frons*). The practice for women of the higher classes, especially married women, in the East, to veil their faces in public, sufficiently stigmatizes with reproach the unveiled face of women of bad character (Gen. xxv. 65; Jer. iii. 3; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 132, 149, 150; Shaw, *Travels*, pp. 228, 240; Hasselquist, *Travels*, p. 58; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 312; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 72, 77, 225–248; Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 233). An especial force is thus given to the term "hard of fore-

head," as descriptive of audacity in general (Ezek. iii. 7–9; comp. Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 242 — "Ejectum attritâ de fronte ruborem").

The custom among many Oriental nations both of colouring the face and forehead, and of impressing on the body marks indicative of devotion to some special deity or religious sect, is mentioned elsewhere [CUTTINGS IN FLESH]. (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 51; Niebuhr, *Voy.* ii. 57; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 342 [1878]; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 66.) It is doubtless alluded to in Rev. (xiii. 16, 17; xiv. 9; xvii. 5; xx. 4), and in the opposite direction by Ezekiel (ix. 4–6) and in Rev. (vii. 3; ix. 4; xiv. 1; xxii. 4). The mark mentioned by Ezekiel with approval has been supposed to be the figure of the cross, said to be denoted by the word here used, תָּו, in the ancient Semitic language (Gesen. p. 1495; Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. 20. 3, pp. 409, 413; MV.[11]).

It may have been by way of contradiction to heathen practice that the high-priest wore on the front of his mitre the golden plate inscribed "Holiness to the Lord" (Ex. xxviii. 36, xxxix. 30; Spencer, *l. c.*).

The "jewel for the forehead" mentioned by Ezekiel (xvi. 12), and in margin of A. V. Gen. xxiv. 22, was in all probability nose-rings (so R. V. Cp. Is. iii. 21; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* iii. 225, 226; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 311, 312; Gesen. p. 870; Winer, s. v. *Nasenring*). The Persian and also Egyptian women wear jewels and strings of coins across their foreheads (Olearius, *Travels*, p. 317; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 228). [NOSE-JEWEL.]

For the use of frontlets between the eyes, see FRONTLETS; and for symptoms of leprosy apparent in the forehead, LEPROSY. [H. W. P.]

FORESKIN. [CIRCUMCISION.]

FOREST. The corresponding Hebrew terms are יַעַר, חֹרֶשׁ, and פַּרְדֵּס. The first of these most truly expresses the idea of a forest, the etymological force of the word being *abundance*, and its use being restricted (with the exception of 1 Sam. xiv. 26, and Cant. v. 1, in which it refers to honey) to an abundance of trees. The second is seldom used, the word itself involving the idea of what is being cut down (*silva a caedendo dicta*, Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 530): it is only twice (1 Sam. xxiii. 15 sq.; 2 Ch. xxvii. 4) applied to woods properly so called, and there probably to woods on hills as distinguished from woods on the plain; its sense, however, is illustrated in the other passages in which it occurs, viz. Is. xvii. 2 (A. V. "bough," R. V. "wood." The verse is difficult, and the readings various. See Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[5] in loco), where the comparison is to the "forsaken places" (R. V.) of worship in the forest, and Ezek. xxxi. 3, where it applies to trees or foliage sufficient to afford shelter (*frondibus nemorosus*, Vulg.; A. V. and R. V. "with a shadowing shroud"). The third, *pardes* (a word of foreign origin [see MV.[11]], meaning an enclosed place, whether garden or park, whence also comes the Greek παράδεισος), refers perhaps to forest trees (Neh. ii. 8), the forests of Palestine being carefully preserved under the Persian rule, a regular warden being appointed, without whose sanction no tree could be felled. Elsewhere the word describes a garden or orchard (Eccles. ii. 5; Cant. iv. 13).

Although Palestine has never been in historical times a woodland country, yet there can be no doubt that there was much more wood formerly than there is at present. It is not improbable that the highlands were once covered with a primeval forest, of which the celebrated oaks and terebinths scattered here and there are the relics. The woods and forests mentioned in the Bible appear to have been situated, where they are usually found in cultivated countries, in the valleys and defiles that lead down from the high- to the lowlands and in the adjacent plains. They were therefore of no great size, and correspond rather with the idea of the Latin *saltus* than with our *forest*.

(1.) The wood of Ephraim was the most extensive. It clothed the slopes of the hills that bordered the plain of Jezreel, and the plain itself in the neighbourhood of Bethshan (Josh. xvii. 15 sq.), extending, perhaps, at one time to Tabor, which is translated δρυμὸς by Theodotion (Hos. v. 1), and which is still well covered with forest trees (Stanley, p. 350). (2.) The wood of Bethel (2 K. ii. 23, 24) was situated in the ravine which descends to the plain of Jericho. (3.) The forest of Hareth (1 Sam. xxii. 5) was somewhere on the border of the Philistine plain, in the southern part of Judah. (4.) The wood through which the Israelites passed in their pursuit of the Philistines (1 Sam. xiv. 25) was probably near Aijalon (cp. *v.* 31), in one of the valleys leading down to the plain of Philistia. (5.) The "wood" (Ps. cxxxii. 6) implied in the name of Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. vii. 2) must have been similarly situated, as also (6) were the "forests" (*Choresh*) in which Jotham placed his forts (2 Ch. xxvii. 4). (7.) The plain of Sharon was partly covered with wood (Strab. xvii. p. 578), whence the LXX. gives δρυμὸς as an equivalent (Is. lxv. 10). It has still a fair amount of wood (Stanley, p. 260). (8.) The wood (*Choresh*) in the wilderness of Ziph, in which David concealed himself (1 Sam. xxiii. 15 sq.), lay S.E. of Hebron.

The greater portion of Peraea was, and still is, covered with forests of oak and terebinth (Is. ii. 13; Ezek. xxvii. 6; Zech. xi. 2: cp. Buckingham's *Palestine*, pp. 103 sq., 240 sq.; Stanley, p. 324). A portion of this near Mahanaim was known as the "wood of Ephraim" (2 Sam. xviii. 6), in which the battle between David and Absalom took place. Winer (art. *Wälder*) places it on the west side of the Jordan, but a comparison of 2 Sam. xvii. 26, xviii. 3, 23, proves the reverse. The statement in xviii. 23, in particular, marks its position as on the highlands, at some little distance from the valley of the Jordan (cp. Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10, §§ 1, 2).

"The house of the forest of Lebanon" (1 K. vii. 2, x. 17, 21; 2 Ch. ix. 16, 20) was so called probably from being fitted up with cedar. It has also been explained as referring to the forest-like rows of cedar pillars. The number and magnificence of the cedars of Lebanon is frequently noticed in the poetical portions of the Bible. The *forest* generally supplied Hebrew writers with an image of pride and exaltation doomed to destruction (2 K. xix. 23; Is. x. 18, xxxii. 19, xxxvii. 24; Jer. xxi. 14, xxii. 7, xlvi. 23; Zech. xi. 2), as well as of unfruitful-

ness as contrasted with a cultivated field or vineyard (Is. xxix. 17, xxxii. 15; Jer. xxvi. 18; Hos. ii. 12). [W. L. B.] [F.]

FORNICATION. [ADULTERY.]

FORTIFICATIONS. [FENCED CITIES.]

FORTUNATUS (*Φορτούνατος*; *Fortunatus*), mentioned in 1 Cor. xvi. 17, and in Clem. Rom. *Ep.* lix., where Bishop Lightfoot has the following note:—"The form of the expression (*σὺν καὶ Φ.*) seems to separate Fortunatus from Ephebus and Bito; and, if so, he was perhaps not a Roman who accompanied the letter, but a Corinthian from whom Clement was expecting a visit. In this case there is no improbability in identifying him with the Fortunatus of 1 Cor. xvi. 17, for he seems to be mentioned by St. Paul (A.D. 57) as a younger member of the household of Stephanas, and might well be alive less than forty years after, when Clement wrote. It must be remembered, however, that Fortunatus is a very common name." [E. R. B.]

FOUNTAIN. 1. עַיִן, from עין, *to flow*; also signifies an "eye," Gesen. p. 1017. 2. מַעְיָן (from 1), a well-watered place; sometimes in A. V. "well," or "spring." 3. מוֹצָא מַיִם, from יָצָא, *to go forth*, Gesen. p. 613; a gushing forth of waters. 4. מָקוֹר, from קוּר, *to dig*, Gesen. p. 1209. 5. מַבּוּעַ, from נָבַע, *to bubble forth*, Gesen. p. 845. 6. גַּל, or גַּלָּה, from גָּלַל, *to roll*, Gesen. p. 288; all usually rendered *πηγή*, or *πηγὴ ὕδατος*; *fons* and *fons aquarum*. The special use of these various terms will be found examined in the Appendix to Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*.

Among the attractive features presented by the Land of Promise to the nation migrating from Egypt by way of the desert, none would be more striking than the natural gush of waters from the ground. Instead of watering his field or garden, as in Egypt, "with his foot" (Shaw, *Travels*, p. 408), the Hebrew cultivator was taught to look forward to a land that "drinketh water of the rain of heaven, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths springing forth in valleys and hills" (Deut. viii. 7; xi. 11, R. V.). In the desert of Sinai, "the few living, perhaps perennial springs," by the fact of their rarity assume an importance hardly to be understood in moister climates, and more than justify a poetical expression of national rejoicing over the discovery of one (Num. xxi. 17). But the springs of Palestine, though short-lived, are remarkable for their abundance and beauty, especially those which fall into the Jordan and its lakes throughout its whole course (Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 17, 122, 123, 295, 373, 509; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 344). The spring or fountain of living water, the "eye" of the landscape (see No. 1), is distinguished in all Oriental languages from the artificially sunk and enclosed well (Stanley, p. 509). Its importance is implied by the number of topographical names compounded with En, or *Ain* (Arab.): En-gedi, *Ain-jidy*, "spring of the gazelle," may serve as a striking instance (1 Sam. xxiii. 29; Reland, p. 763; Robinson, i. 504; Stanley, App. § 50).

The volcanic agency which has operated so powerfully in Palestine, has from very early times given tokens of its working in the warm springs which are found near the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. One of them, En-eglaim, the "spring of calves," at the N.E. end of the latter, is probably identical with Callirrhoë, mentioned by Josephus as a place resorted to by Herod in his last illness (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 33, § 5; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.* pp. 120, 121; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 285). His son Philip built the town, which he named Tiberias, at the sulphureous hot-springs at the S. of the Sea of Galilee (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, § 3; Hasselquist, *Travels*, App. 283; Kitto, p. 114; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 328, 330; Oliphant, *Haifa*, p. 127). Other hot-springs are found at seven miles' distance from Tiberias, and at *Omkeis* (Gadara) (Reland, p. 775; Burckhardt, pp. 276, 277; Kitto, pp. 116, 118).

Jerusalem, though mainly dependent for its supply of water upon its rain-water cisterns, appears from recent inquiries to have possessed either more than one perennial spring, or one issuing by more than one outlet. To this agree the "fons perennis aquae" of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 12), and the *ὑδάτων ἀνέκλειπτος σύστασις* of Aristeas (Joseph. ii. 112, ed. Havercamp; Robinson, i. 343, 345; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 458, 468; Raumer, p. 298; Ezek. xlvii. 1, 12; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr.* pp. 412, 415). [CISTERNS; SILOAM.]

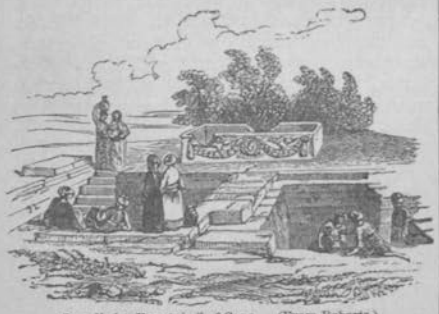
In the towers built by Herod, Josephus says there were cisterns with *χαλκουργήματα* through which water was poured forth: these may have been statues or figures containing spouts for water after Roman models (Plin. *Epist.* v. 6; *N. H.* xxxvi. 15, 151; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 4).

No Eastern city is so well supplied with water as Damascus (*Early Trav.* p. 294). In Oriental

Fountain at Nazareth. (Roberts.)

cities generally public fountains are frequent (Poole, *Englishw. in Egypt*, i. 180). Traces of such fountains at Jerusalem may perhaps be found in the names En-rogel (2 Sam. xvii. 17), the "Dragon-well" or fountain, and the "gate of the fountain" (Neh. ii. 13, 14). The water which supplied Solomon's pools near Bethlehem

was conveyed to them by subterranean channels. In these may also be found "the sealed fountain" of Cant. iv. 12 (Hasselquist, p. 145; Maundrell, *Early Trav.* p. 457). The fountain of Nazareth



So-called "Fountain" of Cana. (From Roberts.)

bears a traditional antiquity, to which it has probably good derivative, if not actual, claim (Roberts, *Views in Palestine*, i. 21, 29, 33; *Col. Ch. Chron.* No. cxxx. 147; Fisher's *Views in Syria*, i. 31, iii. 44). [H. W. P.]

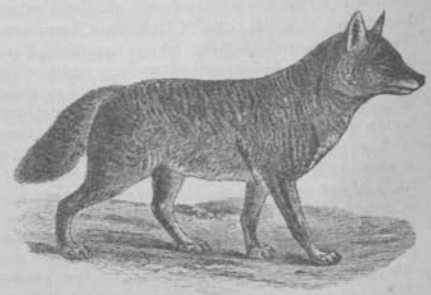
FOUNTAIN GATE, Neh. iii. 15; xii. 37. A gate in the city walls on the south side of Jerusalem, near, and probably leading to, Siloam. [JERUSALEM.]

FOWL, FATTED (בְּרִבְרִים אֲבוּסִים, *barberîm avoosîm*; ὄρνιθες σιτευταί; *aves altiles*). The word only occurs in 1 K. iv. 23, in the list of supplies for the daily provision of Solomon's table. There is no other clue to the meaning of the term than the rendering of the LXX. Gesenius proposes "fatted geese" or swans, from בָּרַר, "to be white." But the goose is not an inhabitant of Syria, which is much too warm for it, and the swan is only a rare visitor in winter. Others have suggested guinea-fowls. But we have no evidence that this tropical African bird was ever introduced by Solomon or the Phoenicians. But there seems no difficulty in accepting the ordinary rendering of our domestic fowl; for although we have no proof of the Jews having possessed poultry before the Captivity, yet when Solomon introduced peacocks from India, it is most probable he would also import the common fowl, which has been from time immemorial domesticated in that its native country. [H. B. T.]

FOWL, FOWLER. [SPARROW.]

FOX (שׁוּעָל, *shû'al*; ἀλωπήξ; *vulpes*). The Turkish چقال, *jakâl*, French *chacal*, German *schakal*, R. V. marg. *jackals*, are evidently related to the Hebrew word, and refer to the jackal (*Canis aureus*, L.). The various passages where the word occurs, show that the Hebrews, like the Arabs at the present day, used the same name for both fox and jackal. At the same time, there is another word—אִיִּים, *iyim*, lit. "howlers?"—which occurs in Is. xiii. 22, xxxiv. 14, Jer. l. 39, rendered in A. V. "wild beasts of the islands," and R. V. "wolves," which more probably represents the jackal, whom the Arabs call ولول بني *beni walwal*, "sons of howling," or واوى, *wawi*, as commonly as *jakâl*.

In all the passages where the Hebrew *shû'al* occurs, excepting possibly Cant. ii. 15, Ezek. xiii. 4, jackals rather than foxes are intended. The



Canis aureus (Jackal).

passage in Ps. lxiii. 10, "they shall be a portion for *shû'âlim*," evidently refers to "jackals," which are ever ready to prey on the dead bodies of the slain, follow caravans for the chance of the animals that fall, and attack graves for the carrion. The fondness of the fox for grapes is well known in the East; but not more so than that of the jackal, which, going in packs, often commits great devastation in the vineyards. Both animals are, like the dog, omnivorous. Thus in many parts of North Africa, where the jackals swarm, there is no possibility of obtaining flesh or carrion, and they subsist on the fruit of the dwarf palmetto, with which the plains are covered.

The *shû'âlim* of Judg. xv. 4 are evidently "jackals," and not "foxes," for the former animal is gregarious, whereas the latter is solitary in its habits; and it is in the highest degree improbable that Samson should ever have succeeded in catching so many as 300 foxes, whereas he could readily have "taken in snares," as the Hebrew verb (לָכַד) properly means, so many jackals, which go together for the most part in large groups. The whole passage, which describes the manner in which Samson avenged himself on the Philistines by tying the tails of two jackals together, with a firebrand between them, and then sending them into the standing corn and orchards of his enemies, has, it is well known, been the subject of much dispute. Dr. Kennicott (*Remarks on Select Passages in the O. T.*, Oxford, 1787, p. 100) proposed, on the authority of seven Hebrew MSS., to read *shĕâlim* (שְׁעָלִים), "sheaves" (?), instead of *shû'âlim* (שׁוּעָלִים), leaving out the letter ו: the meaning then being, simply, that Samson took 300 sheaves of corn, and put them end to end ("tail to tail"), and then set a burning torch between them (see also what an anonymous French author has written under the title of *Rénards de Samson*, and his arguments refuted in a treatise, "De Vulpibus Simsonaeis," by B. H. Gebhard, in *Thes. Nov. Theol. Phil.* i. 553 sq.). The proposed reading of Kennicott has deservedly found little favour with commentators. Not to mention the authority of the important old

Versions which are opposed to this view, it is pretty certain that *shĕālim* cannot mean "sheaves." The word, which occurs only three times, denotes in Is. xl. 12 "the hollow of the hand," and in 1 K. xx. 10, Ezek. xiii. 19, "handfuls."

The difficulty of the whole passage consists in understanding how two animals tied together by their tails would run far in the same direction. Col. H. Smith (in Kitto's *Cyc.*, art. "Shual") observes, "they would assuredly pull counter to each other, and ultimately fight most fiercely." Probably they would; but it is only fair to remember, in reply to the objections which critics have advanced to this transaction of the Hebrew judge, that it has yet to be demonstrated that two jackals united by their tails *would* run counter, and thus defeat the intended purpose; in so important a matter as the verification of a Scripture narrative the proper course is experimental where it can be resorted to. Again, we know nothing as to the *length of the cord* which attached the animals, a consideration which is obviously of much importance in the question at issue; for, as jackals are gregarious, the couples would naturally run together if we allow a length of cord of two or three yards, especially when we reflect that the terrified animals would endeavour to escape as far as possible out of the reach of their captor, and make the best of their way out of his sight. The translation of the A. V. is unquestionably the correct rendering of the Hebrew, and has the authority of the LXX. and Vulg. in its favour. But if the above remarks are deemed inadequate to a satisfactory solution of Samson's exploit, we are at liberty to suppose that he had men to help him, both in the capture of the jackals and in the use to which he put them, and it is not necessary to conclude that the animals were all caught at, and let loose *from, the same place:* some might have been taken in one portion of the Philistines' territory, and some in another, and let loose in different parts of the country. This view would obviate

Vulpes Nilotica.

the alleged difficulty alluded to above; for there would be no necessity for the jackals to run any great distance in order to insure the greatest amount of damage to the crops: 150 different *centres*, so to speak, of conflagration throughout the country of the Philistines must have burnt up nearly all their corn; and, from the whole context, it is evident that the injury done was one of almost unlimited extent.

With respect to the jackals and foxes of Palestine, the common jackal of the country is the *Canis aureus*, L., so named from its tawny yellow colour, and which may be heard every night in the villages. The fox of the southern and central regions of Palestine, extremely abundant in Judaea and the east of Jordan, is *Vulpes Nilotica*, Rüpp, which differs very slightly from our own, being a little smaller, more tawny above, and of a greyer hue below. In its habits it is very distinct from the jackal, being solitary, and often hunting in the daytime. It is found through Egypt, Arabia, and the Syrian desert.

Another species is common in the wooded districts of Galilee and the north, *Vulpes flavescens*, Gray, the *Canis Syriacus* of Col. H. Smith, known to the natives as ثعلب, *tha'lab*. It is considerably larger than the last species, and differs from the English fox, of which we believe it to be only a local race, by its peculiarly bright light yellowish colour throughout, and finer and longer fur. It has black ears, and a splendid brush. It ranges from Syria to Central Asia, and the north side of the Himalayas (cp. Hemp. and Ehr. *Symb. Phys.* pt. i.; Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 184). That jackals and foxes were formerly, as now, common in Palestine is evident from the names of places derived from these animals, as Hazar-Shual (Josh. xv. 28), Shaalbim (Judg. i. 35).

Canis Syriacus.

The Rabbinical writers make frequent mention of the fox and his habits. In the Talmud it is said, "The fox does not die from being under the earth: he is used to it, and it does not hurt him." Again: "He has gained as much as a fox in a ploughed field," *i.e.* nothing. Another proverb relating to him is:

> "If the fox be at the rudder,
> Speak him fairly—'My dear brother.'"

[W. H.] [H. B. T.]

FRANKINCENSE (לְבֹנָה, *lebōnah*, from לָבַן, "to be white"; λίβανος; *thus*; Arab. لبان, *lubān* [Ex. xxx. 34, &c.; 1 Ch. ix. 29; Matt. ii. 11; Rev. viii. 3]), the fragrant gum of

an Indian tree, procured through Arabia. "All they from Sheba shall come. They shall bring gold and incense" (Is. lx. 6); "Incense from Sheba" (Jer. vi. 20). Frankincense is the gum or resin of the tree *Boswellia serrata* of botanists, which grows abundantly in the hilly districts of Central and Southern India, and is known as "Salai" by the natives. It belongs to the natural order *Amyridaceae*, or the Myrrh family. All the trees of the order, which is tropical, abound in balsamic resin. Among the genera which it includes are *Amyris* and *Icica*, yielding elemi and incense-wood, and *Balsamodendron*, or balsam tree, from some species of which the *môr* of the Hebrews, the myrrh of commerce, is procured. *Boswellia serrata*, and to a more limited extent *Boswellia glabra*, are the sources of the Olibanum, the Hebrew Lebonah, and Greek λίβανος, the frankincense of the Scriptures and

Boswellia serrata.

of modern commerce. The Hindoos call the gum "Cundur." It is abundant especially about Nagpur, whence large quantities are exported to Europe. It requires no preparation, and is procured by cutting slits in the bark, whence it copiously exudes. The best gum is of a white colour, brittle and bitter to the taste, and is reserved for the Mohammedan markets. That which is yellowish in colour is considered less pure, but is in large demand in Southern and Central Europe for use in the ceremonial of the Greek and Roman Churches. Previous to the English occupation of India there was great uncertainty as to the origin of frankincense; the greater part of that supplied to Europe reaching us by caravan through Persia to Aleppo. Nor do the ancients, as may be seen from Theophrastus and Pliny, appear to have been much better informed (Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* ix. 4; Plin. *Hist.* xii. 31). No tree yielding such a gum has ever been found in Palestine (Cels. *Hierob.* i. 231 sqq.). [H. B. T.]

FREEDOM, Acts xxii. 28. [CITIZENSHIP.]

FRET (A.-S. *fretan*), used in the sense of "devour." In Lev. xiii. 55 the word, as a noun (R. V. "afret"), is the translation of פְּחֶתֶת, and signifies the leprosy spot which has *eaten into* a garment. [F.]

FRINGES. [DRESS.]

FROG (צְפַרְדֵּעַ, *tzephardê'a*; βάτραχος; *rana*). Gesenius derives the Hebrew word from צָפַר, "to leap," and the Arabic ضفدع, *rêda'*, "marsh," *i.e.* "the marsh-leaper;" but Dietrich's derivation of the word from the root צָפַד, "to swell," is now more generally accepted (see MV.[11]). The frog was selected by God as an instrument for humbling the pride of Pharaoh (Ex. viii. 2–14; Ps. lxxviii. 45, cv. 30; Wisd. xix. 10): frogs came in prodigious numbers from the canals, the rivers, and the marshes; they filled the houses, and even entered the ovens and kneading troughs. When at the command of Moses the frogs died, the people gathered them in heaps, and "the land stank" from the corruption of the bodies. There can be no doubt that the whole transaction was miraculous: frogs, it is true, if allowed to increase, can easily be imagined to occur in such multitudes as marked the second plague of Egypt—indeed, similar plagues are on record as having occurred in various places, as at Paeonia and Dardania, where frogs suddenly appeared in such numbers as to cause the inhabitants to leave that region—(see Eustathius on Hom. *Il.* i., and other quotations cited by Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 575)—but that the transaction was miraculous appears further from the fact that the frogs would not naturally have died, in such prodigious numbers as is recorded, in a single day.

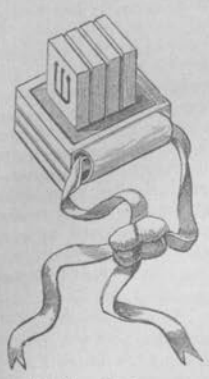
It is stated (Ex. viii. 7) that the Egyptian "magicians brought up frogs." Some writers have denied that they could have had any such power, and think that they must have practised some deceit. It is worthy of remark, that though they may have been permitted by God to increase the plagues, they were quite unable to remove them.

Amongst the Egyptians the frog was considered a symbol of an imperfect man, and was supposed to be generated from the slime of the river—ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἰλύος (see Horapollo, i. 26). A frog sitting upon a lotus (*Nelumbium*) was also regarded by the ancient Egyptians as symbolical of the return of the Nile to its bed after the inundations. The symbol was probably suggested by the habit of the tree frog (*Hyla arborea*, L.), which sits on the foliage for the greater part of the year, but returns to the water for three months in spring for the spawning season. Some have connected the Egyptian word *Hhrur*, used to denote the Nile *descending*, with *Chrur*, the Coptic name of a frog (Jablonski, *Panth. Aegypt.* iv. 1, § 9); but the connexion suggested is more than doubtful.

The only known species of frog which occur at present in Egypt are the *Rana esculenta*, Schinz, of which two varieties are described, which differ from Spallanzani's species in some slight peculiarities (*Descript. de l'Égypte, Hist. Natur.* tom. i. p. 181, fol. ed.), and the little tree frog (*Hyla arborea*), mentioned above, which in spring lives in the water in vast myriads. Its croak, when there are many together, may be heard at a distance of more than a mile. The *Rana esculenta*, the well-known edible frog of the Continent, has a wide geographical range, being found all over Europe (though scarce in the British Isles); through Northern Asia and Japan; in North Africa and Egypt; in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Northern Persia. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

FRONTLETS, or PHYLACTERIES (טוֹטָפוֹת, Ex. xiii. 16; Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18; the

only three passages of the O. T. in which the word occurs; LXX. ἀσάλευτα; N. T. φυλακτήρια, Matt. xxiii. 5; the modern Jews called them *Tephillin*, תְּפִילִּין, a word not found in the Bible, Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v.). These "frontlets" or "phylacteries" were strips of parchment, on which were written four passages of Scripture (Ex. xiii. 2-10, 11-17; Deut. vi. 4-9, 13-22) in an ink prepared for the purpose. They were then rolled up in a case (בַּיִת) of black calfskin, which was attached to a stiffer piece of leather, having a thong one finger broad, and one and a half cubits long. "They were placed at the bend of the left arm; and after the thong had made a little knot in the shape of the letter ר, it was wound about the arm in a spiral line, which ended at the top of the middle finger." This was called "the *Tephillah* on the arm," and the leather case contained only one cell, the passages being written on a single piece of parchment, with thin lines ruled between (Godwin, *Mos. & Aar.* 1, ch. x. 2159).



Frontlets or Phylacteries.

Those worn on the forehead were written on four strips of parchment (which might not be of any hide except cow's hide, *Nork. Bramm. und Rabb.* p. 211; cp. Hesych. *s. v.* Σκυτικὴ ἐπικουρία), and put into four little cells within a square case, on which the letter שׁ was written; the three points of the שׁ being "an emblem of the heavenly Father's, Jehovah, our Lord Jehovah" (*Zohar*, fol. 54, col. 2). The square had two thongs (רְצִיעוֹת), on which Hebrew letters were inscribed; these were passed round the head, and after making a knot in the shape of ד passed over the breast. This phylactery was called "the *Tephillah* on the head," and was worn in the centre of the forehead (Leo of Modena, *Ceremonies of the Jews*, i. 11, n. 4; Calmet, s. v. *Phylactery*; Otho, *Lex. Rabbin.* p. 656).

The derivation of טוֹטָפוֹת is uncertain. Gesenius derives it by contraction from טְפַטְפוֹת (*Thes.* p. 548). The Rabbinic name תְּפִילִּין comes from תְּפִלָּה, "a prayer," because they were worn during prayer, and were supposed to typify the sincerity of the worshipper; hence they were bound on the *left* wrist (Gem. *Eruvin.* 95, 2; Otho, *l. c.*; Buxt. *Lex. Talm.* s. v.). In Matt. xxiii. 5, only, they are called φυλακτήρια, either because they tended to promote observance of the Law (ἀεὶ μνημὴν ἔχειν τοῦ Θεοῦ, Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 205, for which reason Luther happily renders the word by *Denkzettel*), or from the use of them as amulets (Lat. *praebia*, Gk. περίαπτα, Grotius *ad* Matt. xxiii. 5). Φυλακτήριον is the ordinary Greek word for an amulet (Plut. ii. 378 B, where φυλ. = the Roman *bulla*), and is used *apparently* with this meaning by a Greek translator (Ezek. xiii. 18) for כְּסָתוֹת, cushions (Rosenmüller, *Schol.* ad loc. i.; Schleusner, *Lex. in N. T.*). That phylacteries *were* used as amulets is certain, and was very natural (Targ. *ad Cant.* viii. 3; Bartolocc. *Bibl. Rab.* i. 576; Winer, s. vv. *Amulete, Phylakterien*). Jerome (on Matt. xxiii. 5) says that they were thus used in his day by the Babylonians, Persians, and Indians, and condemns certain Christian "mulierculae" for similarly using the Gospels ("parvula evangelia," βίβλια μικρά, Chrys.) as περιάμματα, especially the Proem. to St. John (cp. Chrysost. *Hom. in Matt.* 73). The Koran and other sacred books are applied to the same purpose to this day (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* i. 8, p. 301; *de nummis Orient.* xvii. sq. "The most esteemed of all Hhegabs is a Mooshaf, or copy of the Koran," Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 338). Scaliger even supposes that phylacteries were designed to supersede those amulets, the use of which had been already learnt by the Israelites in Egypt. [AMULETS.] There was a spurious book called *Phylact. Angelorum*, where Pope Gelasius evidently understood the word to mean "amulets," for he remarks that Phylacteria ought rather to be ascribed to devils. In this sense they were expressly forbidden by Pope Gregory ("Si quis . . . phylacteriis usus fuerit, anathema sit," Sixt. Senensis, *Bibl. Sanct.* p. 92; cp. Can. 36, Concil. Laod.).

The LXX. rendering ἀσάλευτα (Aquil. ἀτίνακτα) must allude to their being tightly *bound* on the forehead and wrist during prayer. Petit (*Var. Lectt.* ii. 3) would read ἀζάλευτα (h. e. *appensa*, αἰδοῖα ἐπὶ ἀποτροπῇ? Schleusner, *Thes.* s. v. ἀσάλ.), but he is amply refuted by Spencer (*de Legg. Rit.* iv. 2, p. 1210) and Witsius (*Aegypt.* ii. 9, § 11). Jerome calls them *Pittaciola* (al. Pictat.), a name which tolerably expresses their purpose (Forcellini, *Lex.* s. v.).

The expression "they make broad their phylacteries" (πλατύνουσι τὰ φυλ. αὐτῶν, Matt. xxiii. 5) refers not so much to the phylactery itself, which seems to have been of a prescribed breadth, as to the case (קְצִיצָה) in which the parchment was kept, which the Pharisees (among their other pretentious customs, Mark vii. 3, 4; Luke v. 33, &c.) made as conspicuous as they could (Reland, *Antiq.* ii. 9, 15). Misled probably by the term πλατύνουσι, and by the mention of the צִיצִת or fringe (Num. xv. 38, κλῶσμα ὑακίνθινον ἐπὶ τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν πτερυγίων, LXX.) in connexion with them, Epiphanius says that they were πλάτεα σήματα πορφύρας, like the Roman *laticlave*, or the stripes on a dalmatic (τὰ δὲ σήματα τῆς πορφύρας φυλακτήρια εἰώθασιν οἱ ἠκριβωμένοι μετονομάζειν, *c. Haer.* i. 33; Sixt. Sen. *l. c.*). He says that these purple stripes were worn by the Pharisees with fringes, and four pomegranates, that no one might touch them, and hence he derives their name (Reland, *Ant.* ii. 9, 15). But that this is an error is clearly shown by Scaliger (*Elench. Trihaer.* viii. p. 66 sq.). It is said that the Pharisees wore them always, whereas the common people only used them at prayers, because they were considered to be even holier than the צִיץ, or golden plate, on the priest's tiara (Ex. xxviii. 36), since that had the sacred name once engraved, but in each of the Tephillin

the tetragrammaton recurred twenty-three times (Carpzov, *App. Critic.* p. 196). Again the Pharisees wore the *Tephillah* above the elbow, but the Sadducees on the palm of the hand (Godwin, *l. c.*). The modern Jews only wear them at morning prayers, and sometimes at noon (Leo of Modena, *l. c.*).

In our Lord's time they were worn by all Jews, except the Karaites, women, and slaves. Boys, when (at the age of thirteen years and a day) they became בְּנֵי מִצְוֹת (sons of the commandments), were bound to wear them (*Baba Berac.* fol. 22, 1, in Glossâ), and therefore they may have been used even by our Lord, as He merely discountenanced their *abuse*. The suggestion was made by Scaliger (*l. c.*), and led to a somewhat idle controversy. Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* xxiii. 5) and Otho (*Lex. Rab.* p. 656) agree with Scaliger, but Carpzov (*l. c.*) and others strongly deny it, from a belief that the entire use of phylacteries arose from an error.

The Karaites explained Deut. vi. 8, Ex. xiii. 9, &c., as a *figurative* command to remember the Law (Reland, *Ant.* p. 132), as is certainly the case in similar passages (Prov. iii. 3, vi. 21, vii. 3; Cant. viii. 6, &c.). It seems clear to us that the scope of these injunctions favours the Karaite interpretation, and in Ex. xiii. 9 the word is not טוֹטָפוֹת, but זִכָּרוֹן, "a memorial" (Gerhardus on Deut. vi. 8; Eduardus on *Berachoth*, i. 209; Heidanus, *de Orig. Erroris*, viii. B. 6; Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 199; Rosenmüller, *ad loc.*; Hengstenberg, *Pent.* i. 458). Considering too the nature of the passages inscribed on the phylacteries (by *no means* the most important in the Pentateuch — for the Fathers are mistaken in saying that the Decalogue was used in this way, Jer. *l. c.*; Chrysost. *l. c.*; Theophyl. *ad Matt.* xxiii. 5), and the fact that we have *no* trace whatever of their use before the Exile (during which time the Jews probably learnt the practice of wearing them from the Babylonians), we have no doubt that the object of the precepts (Deut. vi. 8; Ex. xii. 9) was to impress on the minds of the people the necessity of remembering the Law. But the figurative language in which this duty was urged upon them was mistaken for a literal command. An additional argument against the literal interpretation of the direction is the dangerous abuse to which it was immediately liable. Indeed such an observance would defeat the supposed intention of it, by substituting an outward ceremony for an inward remembrance. We have a specimen of this in the curious literalism of Kimchi's Comment on Ps. i. 2. Starting the objection that it is impossible to meditate in God's law day and night, because of sleep, domestic cares, &c., he answers that for the fulfilment of the text it is sufficient to wear *Tephillin!*

In spite of these considerations, Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* l. c.), Chrysostom, Euthymius, Theophylact, and many moderns (Baumgarten, *Comm.* i. 479; Winer, s. v. *Phylact.*) prefer the literal meaning. It rests therefore with them to account for the entire absence of all allusion to phylacteries in the O. T. The passages in Proverbs (*v. supra*) contain no such reference, and in Ezek. xxiv. 17 פְּאֵר means not a Phylactery (as Rashi says), but a turban. [CROWNS.] (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1089.)

The Rabbis have many rules about their use. They were not worn on Sabbaths or other sacred days, because those days were themselves a sign or pledge (אוֹת), and required no further memorial (*Zohar*, f. 236; Reland, *l. c.*). They must be read standing in the morning (when blue can be distinguished from green), but in the evening (at sunset) they might be read sitting. In times of persecution a red thread was worn instead (Munster, *de Praec. affirm.*; cp. Josh. ii. 18). Both hands were to be used, if possible, in writing them. The leather must have no hole in it. A single blot did not signify if an uneducated boy could read the word. At the top of the parchment no more room must be left than would suffice for the letter ל, but at the bottom there might be room even for ף or ז. A man, when wearing the *Tephillin*, must not approach within four cubits of a cemetery (Sixt. Senensis, *l. c.*). He who has a taste for further frivolities (which yet are deeply interesting as illustrative of a priestly superstition) may find them in Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* ad loc.), Schöttgen, Otho (*Lex. Rab.* s. v.), and in the Mishna—especially in the treatise called *Rosh Hashanah* (see, too, Bab. *Berachoth*, f. 7a, &c., in Schwabe, pp. 17, 98, 247, &c.).

The Rabbis even declared that God wore them, arguing from Is. lxii. 8, Deut. xxxiii. 2; cp. Is. xlix. 16. Perhaps this was a pious fraud to inculcate their use; or it may have had some mystic meaning (*Zohar*, pt. ii. fol. 2; Carpzov, *l. c.*).

Josephus gives their general significance (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 13, *ὡς περιβλεπτὸν πανταχόθεν τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόθυμον τοῦ Θεοῦ*). They were supposed to save from the Devil (Targ. *ad Cant.* viii. 3) and from sin (Hottinger, *Jur. Hebr. Leg.* xx. p. 29), and they were used for oaths; but the Rabbis disapproved the application of them to charm wounds, or lull children to sleep (Id. *Leg.* 253; Maimon. *de Idol.* ii.). He who wore them was supposed to prolong his days (Is. xxxviii. 16), but he who did not was doomed to perdition, since he thereby broke eight affirmative precepts (Maimon. *Tephil.* iv. 26).

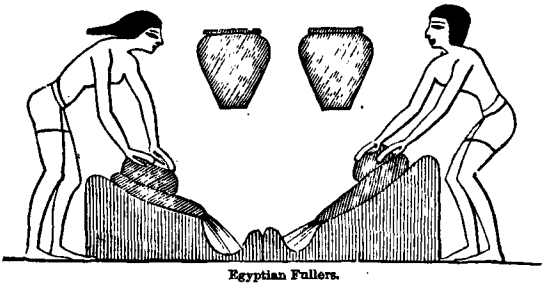
On the analogous practice alluded to in Rev. xiii. 16, xiv. 1, see FOREHEAD.

Besides the authors already quoted (Sixt. Senensis, Reland, Otho, Lightfoot, Schöttgen, Carpzov, Hottinger, Godwin, Rosenmüller, &c.), see the following, to whom they refer:—Maimonides, *Tephillin;* Wagenseil *in Sota*, cap. ii. 397–418; Surenhusius, Mishna *ad Tract. Berachoth*, pp. 8, 9; Beck, *de Judaeorum ligamentis precativis*, and *de usu Phylact.* (1679); Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, v. ch. xii. 12 sq.; Braunius, *de Vest. Sacerd.* p. 7 sq.; Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* p. 170 sq.; Ugolini, *Thes.* tom. xxi.; *de usu Phylact.* There is in this latter work much further information, but we have inserted all that seemed interesting. Full information may also be found in Hamburger, *RE.* Abt. ii. s. v. "Tephillin," who quotes all the chief Talmudic passages. [F. W. F.]

FULLER (כֹּבֵס, from כָּבַס, *to tread*, Gesen. p. 657; *γναφεύς*; *fullo*). The trade of the fullers, so far as it is mentioned in Scripture, appears

to have consisted chiefly in cleansing garments and whitening them. The use of white garments, and also the feeling respecting their use for festal and religious purposes, may be gathered from the following passages:—Eccles. ix. 8; Dan. vii. 9; Is. lxiv. 6; Zech. iii. 3, 5; 2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Ch. xv. 27; Mark ix. 3; Rev. iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9; Mishna *Taanith*, iv. 8: see also Stat. *Silv.* i. 2, 237; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 79; Claudian, *de Laud. Stil.* iii. 289. This branch of the trade was perhaps exercised by other persons than those who carded the wool and smoothed the cloth when woven (Mishna *Bava Kama*, i.; x. 10). In applying the marks used to distinguish cloths sent to be cleansed, fullers were desired to be careful to avoid the mixtures forbidden by the Law (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11; Mishna *Cilaim*, ix. 10).

The process of fulling or cleansing cloth, so far as it may be gathered from the practice of other nations, consisted in treading on the garments with the feet or beating with bats in tubs of water, in which some alkaline substance answering the purpose of soap had been dissolved (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1261, רָגַל; Beckmann, *Hist. of Inventions*, ii. 94, 95, Bohn). The substances used for this purpose which are mentioned in Scripture are נֶתֶר, nitre, *νίτρον*, *nitrum* (Gesen. p. 930; Prov. xxv. 20; Jer. ii. 22), and בֹּרִית, soap, *πόα*, *herba fullonum*, *herba borith* (Gesen. p. 246; Mal. iii. 2). Nitre is found in Egypt and in Syria, and vegetable alkali was also obtained there from the ashes of certain plants, probably Salsola kali (Gesen. p. 246; Plin. xxxi. 10, 46; Hasselquist, p. 275; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 214). The juice also of some saponaceous plant, perhaps *Gypsophila struthium*, or *Saponaria officinalis*, was sometimes mixed with the water for the like purpose, and may thus be regarded as representing the soap of Scripture. Other substances also are mentioned as being employed in cleansing, which, together with alkali, seem to identify the Jewish with the Roman process, as urine and chalk, *Creta cimolia*, and bean-water, *i.e.* bean-meal mixed with water (Mishna, *Shabb.* ix. 5; *Niddah*, ix. 6). Urine, both of men and of animals, was regularly collected at Rome for cleansing cloths (Plin. *H. N.* xxxviii. 6, 8; Athen. xi. p. 484; Mart. ix. 93; Plautus, *Asin.* v. 2, 57), and it seems not improbable that its use in the fullers' trade at Jerusalem may have suggested the coarse taunt of Rabshakeh, during his interview with the deputies of Hezekiah in the highway of the fullers' field (2 K. xviii. 27), but Schoettgen thinks it doubtful whether the Jews made use of it in fulling (*Antiq. full.* § 9). The process of whitening garments was performed by rubbing into them chalk or earth of some kind. *Creta cimolia* (cimolite) was probably the earth most frequently used. The whitest sort of earth for this purpose is a white potter's clay or marl, with which the poor at Rome rubbed their clothes on festival days to make them appear brighter (Plin. xxxi. 10, § 118; xxxv. 17). Sulphur, which was used at Rome for discharging positive colour, was abundant in some parts of Palestine, but there is no evidence to show that it was used in the fullers' trade.



Egyptian Fullers.

The trade of the fullers, which in Egypt was carried on both by men and women, as causing offensive smells, and also as requiring space for drying cloths, appears to have been carried on at Jerusalem outside the city; and from them a field, a monument, and also a spring (En-rogel), derived their names (Jer. ii. 22; Beckmann, *Hist. of Inv.* ii. 92, 106, Bohn; *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, art. *Fullo*; Winer, s. v. *Walker*; Wilkinson, ii. 106 [1878]; Saalschütz, i. 3, 14, 32, ii. 14, 6; Schoettgen, *Antiq. fulloniae*). [HANDICRAFT.] [H. W. P.]

FULLER'S FIELD, THE (שְׂדֵה כוֹבֵס; *ἀγρὸς τοῦ γναφέως*, or *κναφέως*; *ager fullonis*), a spot near Jerusalem (2 K. xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 2, vii. 3), so close to the walls that a person speaking from there could be heard on them (2 K. xviii. 17, 26). It is only incidentally mentioned in these passages, as giving its name to a "highway" (מְסִלַּה = an embanked road, Gesen. *Thes.* p. 957 *b*), "in" (בְּ) or "on" (אֶל, A. V. "in"), which highway was the "conduit of the upper pool." The "end" (קְצֵה) of the conduit, whatever that was, appears to have been close to the road (Is. vii. 3). One resort of the fullers of Jerusalem would seem to have been below the city on the south-east side. [EN-ROGEL.] But Rabshakeh and his "great host" can hardly have approached in that direction. They must have come from the north—the only accessible side for any body of people—as is certainly indicated by the route traced in Is. x. 28–32 [GIBEAH]; and the fuller's field was therefore, to judge from this circumstance, on the table-land on the northern side of the city. The "pool" and the "conduit" would be sufficient reasons for the presence of the fullers.

The fuller's Monument, mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2) as being near the N.E. corner of the third wall, was possibly connected with the fuller's field. The only known conduit on the N. side of the city is that, undoubtedly a very ancient one, which entered the city to the E. of the Damascus Gate, and in close proximity to it must have been the fuller's field.

In considering the nature of this spot, it should be borne in mind that *Sadeh*, "field," is a term almost invariably confined to cultivated

arable land, as opposed to unreclaimed ground. [JERUSALEM.] [G.] [W.]

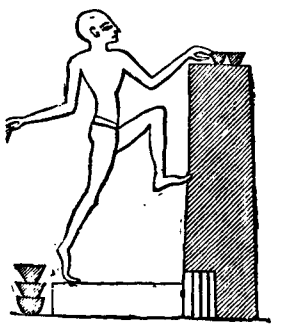
FUNERALS. [BURIAL.]

FURLONG. [MEASURES.]

FURNACE. Various kinds of furnaces are noticed in the Bible. (1.) תַּנּוּר is so translated in the A. V. in Gen. xv. 17; Is. xxxi. 9; Neh. iii. 11, xii. 38. Generally the word applies to the baker's oven, which is described under BREAD, and some think that the "tower of the furnaces" in Neh. should be rendered "tower of the ovens." In Gen. xv. and Is. xxxi. it is used in a more general sense. (2.) כִּבְשָׁן, a smelting or calcining furnace (Gen. xix. 28; Ex. ix. 8, 10, xix. 18), especially a lime-kiln, the use of which was evidently well known to the Hebrews (Is. xxxiii. 12; Amos ii. 1). (3.) כּוּר, a refining furnace (Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21; Ezek. xxii.

Furnace.—An Egyptian blowing the fire for melting gold. (Wilkinson.)

18 sq.), metaphorically applied to a state of trial (Deut. iv. 20; 1 K. viii. 51; Is. xlviii. 10; Jer. xi. 4). The form of it was probably similar to the one used in Egypt, which is figured above.



The Egyptian Potter's Furnace. (Wilkinson.)

(4.) אַתּוּן, a large furnace built like a brick-kiln, with an opening at the top to cast in the materials (Dan. iii. 22, 23), with a door on the ground by which the metal might be extracted (*v.* 26). The Roman *fornax*, as represented in *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* s. n., gives an idea of the Persian *Attun*. The Babylonians and Persians were in the habit of using the furnace as a means of inflicting capital punishment (Dan. *l. c.*; Jer. xxix. 22; 2 Macc. vii. 5; Hos. vii. 7). A parallel case is mentioned by Chardin (*Voyage en Perse*, iv. 276), two ovens having been kept ready heated for a whole month to throw in any corn-dealers who raised the price of corn. (5.) The potter's furnace (Ecclus. xxvii. 5; xxxviii. 30), which resembles a chimney in shape, and was about five or six feet high, as represented above. (6.) The blacksmith's furnace (Ecclus. xxxviii. 28). The Greek κάμινος, which is applied to the two latter, also describes the calcining furnace (Xen. *Vectig.* iv. 49). It is metaphorically used in the N. T. in this sense (Rev. i. 15, ix. 2), and in Matt. xiii. 42 with an especial reference to Dan. iii. 6. [W. L. B.]

G

GA'AL (גָּעַל = *a graft* [Ges.] or *loathing* [al.]: B. var. Γάλααδ, Γάλα, Γαάδ; A. Γαάλ, Γάδ: Joseph. Γαάλης: *Gaal*), son of Ebed, aided the Shechemites in their rebellion against Abimelech (Judg. ix.; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 7, §§ 3, 4). He does not seem to have been a native of Shechem, nor specially interested in the revolution, but rather one of a class of *condottieri*, who at such a period of anarchy would be willing to sell their services to the highest bidder. Josephus calls him τὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων, a term which scarcely designates any special office, as in the case of Zebul (τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἄρχων, Joseph. *l. c.*): more probably it has reference to the headship of his family (Judg. ix. 26; Joseph. *l. c.*), and the command of a body of men-at-arms, who seem to have been permanently attached to his service (σὺν ὁπλίταις καὶ συγγενέσι, Joseph.). His appeal to ante-Israelitish traditions (Judg. ix. 28), together with the re-establishment of idolatry at Shechem, shows that the movement in which he took part was a reactionary one, and proceeded upon the principle of a combination of the aborigines with the idolatrous Israelites against the iconoclastic family of Gideon as represented by Abimelech. The ambitious designs of Gaal, who seems to have aspired to the supreme command, awakened the jealousy of Zebul, who recalled Abimelech, and procured the expulsion of Gaal from the city upon a charge of cowardice. [T. E. B.]

GA'ASH (גָּעַשׁ = *spur*: B. Γαλααδ, A. Γαάς; Josh. xxiv. 30: *Gaas*). On the north side of "the hill of Gaash" (accurately, as in R. V., "mountain of G." הַר־גָּ֫עַשׁ), in the district of "mount Ephraim," was Timnath-serah, or Timnath-heres, the city which at his request was given by the nation to Joshua; where he resided, and where at last he was buried (Josh. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9; cp. Josh. xix. 49, 50). We only hear of it again incidentally as the native place of one of David's guard, "Hiddai, or Hurai, of the brooks (the torrent-beds or wadys, נַחֲלֵי) of Gaash"—the "torrents of the earthquake" (2 Sam. xxiii. 30; 1 Ch. xi. 32). By Eusebius and Jerome it is said to have been near Thamna, i.e. *Tibneh*, about 12 miles N.E. of Lydda (*OS.*[2] p. 255, 63; cp. p. 264, 3). Its site depends on that of TIMNATH-HERES, which has been identified by some writers (see Dillmann,[2] in loco) with *Tibneh*, and by others (Conder) with *Kefr Hâris*, 9 miles S.W. of Shechem. [G.] [W.]

GA'BA (גֶּבַע; Γαβαά, Γαιβάλ, Γαβαών; *Gabee, Gaboa, Geba*). Pausal pronunciation of GEBA (R. V.). It is found in the A. V. in

Josh. xviii. 24; Ezra ii. 26; Neh. vii. 30: but in the Hebrew also in 2 Sam. v. 25; 2 K. xxiii. 8; Neh. xi. 31. [GABDES.]

GA'BA-EL (בּ. Γαβαήλ, A. Γαμαήλ; Vet. Lat. *Gabahel* [Tob. i. 1], Vulg. *Gabelus*). **1.** An ancestor of Tobit (Tob. i. 1).

2. A poor Jew (Tob. i. 17, Vulg.) of "Rages in Media," to whom Tobias lent (*sub chirographo dedit*, Vulg.) ten talents of silver, which Gabael afterwards faithfully restored to Tobias in the time of Tobit's distress (Tob. i. 14, iv. 1, 20, v. 6, ix., x. 2). [GABRIAS.] [B. F. W.]

GAB'ATHA (*Bagatha*), Esth. xii. 1. [BIGTHAN.]

GAB'BAI (גַּבַּי = *? exactor of tribute*; B. Γηβή [for ℵ. and A. see Swete's text]; *Gebbai*), apparently the head of an important family of Benjamin resident at Jerusalem (Neh. xi. 8).

GAB'BATHA (Γαββαθᾶ; *Gabbatha*). The Hebrew or Chaldee appellation of a place also called "Pavement" (λιθόστρωτον), where the judgment-seat or bema (βῆμα) was planted, from his place on which Pilate delivered our Lord to death (John xix. 13). The name, and the incident which leads to the mention of the name, occur nowhere but in this passage of St. John. The place was outside the praetorium (A. V. "judgment-hall," R. V. "palace"), for Pilate brought Jesus forth from thence to it.

It is suggested by Lightfoot (*Exerc. on St. John* in loco) that the word is derived from גַּב, "a surface," in which case Gabbatha would be a mere translation of λιθόστρωτον. There was a room in the Temple in which the Sanhedrin sat, and which was called Gazith (see Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 553), because it was paved with smooth and square flags (גָּזִית); and Lightfoot conjectures that Pilate may on this occasion have delivered his judgment in that room. But this is not consistent with the practice of St. John, who in other instances gives the Hebrew name as that properly belonging to the place, not as a mere translation of a Greek one. Besides, Pilate evidently spoke from the bema—the regular seat of justice—and this in an important place like Jerusalem would be a fixed spot, and that spot not within the Temple, where the Praetorium, a Roman residence with the idolatrous emblems,* could not have been. The word Gabbatha is more probably Chaldee, גַּבְּתָא, from a root signifying height or roundness (see Edersheim, ii. 578, n. 2)—the root of the Hebrew word Gibeah, which is the common term in the O. T. for a bald rounded hill, or elevation of moderate height. In this case Gabbatha designated the place on which the bema was planted, or perhaps the elevated bema; and the "pavement" was possibly some mosaic or tesselated work, either forming the bema itself, or the flooring of the court immediately round it—perhaps some such work as that which we are told by Suetonius (*Caesar*, 46) that Julius Caesar was accustomed to carry with him on his expeditions, in order to give the bema or tribunal its conventional elevation. [G.] [W.]

GAB'DES (A. Γαββῆς, B. Κάββης; *Gabea*), 1 Esd. v. 20. In Ezra ii. 26, GABA.

GAB'RIAS (B. Γαβρίας; ℵ. Γαβρεί, i.e. גַּבְרִיָּה, *the man of Jehovah*), according to the present text of the LXX. the brother of Gabael, the creditor of Tobit (Tob. i. 14), though in another place (Tob. iv. 20, τῷ τοῦ Γαβρία; cp. Fritzsche ad loc.) he is described as his father by E. V. (but doubtfully, the word "son" being in italics). The readings throughout are very uncertain, and in the Versions the names are strangely confused. It is an obvious correction to suppose that Γαβαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Γαβρία should be read in i. 14, as is in fact suggested by ℵ., Γαβήλῳ . . . τῷ ἀδ. τῷ Γαβρεί. The misunderstanding of τῷ ἀδελφῷ (cp. Tob. i. 10, 16, &c.) naturally occasioned the omission of the article. The Old Latin has, *Gabelo fratri meo filio Gabahel*, and in iv. 20. [B. F. W.]

GAB'RIEL (גַּבְרִיאֵל = *man of God*; Γαβριήλ, LXX. and N. T.). The word, which is not in itself distinctive, but merely a description of the angelic office, is used as a proper name or title of the Angel sent to Daniel (Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21), and of the Angel of the Annunciation sent to Zacharias and to the Blessed Virgin (Luke i. 19, 26. In the Targums and Chaldee paraphrase of the Old Testament, Gabriel is spoken of [Deut. xxxiv. 16] as one of the angelic ministrants at the burial of Moses, and [2 Ch. xxxii. 21] as the Angel destroying the army of Sennacherib). In the ordinary Jewish and Christian traditions he is described as one of the "four great Archangels," or as one of the "seven holy Angels who stand before God" (cp. Luke i. 19, and Rev. viii. 2). In Holy Scripture he is called simply "the Angel" and (in Dan. ix. 21) "the man Gabriel;" and he appears as the representative of the angelic nature, not in its dignity or power of contending against evil [MICHAEL], but in its ministration of comfort and sympathy to man. Thus his mission to Daniel is to interpret in plain words the vision of the ram and the he-goat, and to comfort him after his prayer with the prophecy of the "seventy weeks." Similarly in the New Testament he is the herald of good tidings, declaring the coming of the predicted Messiah and of His forerunner. His prominent character, therefore, is that of a "man of God," a "fellow-servant" of the saints on earth; and there is a corresponding simplicity, and absence of all terror and mystery, in his communications to men, though the vision of him inspired special awe. It may be noted that the Koran, imitating in this respect our Holy Scripture, makes him the special medium of Divine revelation to Mahomet, and so a kind of patron-Angel of Islâm. [A. B.]

GAD (גָּד; Γάδ, Joseph. Γάδας; *Gad*), Jacob's seventh son, the first-born of Zilpah, Leah's maid, and whole-brother to Asher (Gen. xxx. 11–13; xlvi. 16, 18). (*a*) The passage in which the bestowal of the name of Gad is preserved—

* These emblems were suppressed at Jerusalem. For the movable nature of the bema, see Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 14, § 8. Caesarea was the station of the Procurator, not Jerusalem.

like the others, an exclamation on his birth—is more than usually obscure: "And Leah said, Fortunate! (R. V.; *be gad*, בגד), and she called his name Gad" (Gen. xxx. 11). Such is supposed to be the meaning of the old text of the passage (the *Kethîb*): so it stood at the time of the LXX., who render the key-word by *ἐν τύχῃ*; in which they are followed by Jerome in the Vulgate, *feliciter*, and by most modern commentators.[a] But in the marginal emendations of the Masorites (the *Kerî*) the word is given בָּא גָד, "Gad comes" (A. V. "a troop cometh"). This construction is adopted by the ancient Versions of Onkelos, Aquila (*ἦλθεν ἡ ζῶσις*), and Symmachus (*ἦλθεν Γάδ*). (*b*) In the blessing of Jacob, however, we find the name played upon in a different manner: "Gad" is here taken as meaning a marauding band or troop (the term constantly used for which is *gedûd*, גְּדוּד), and the allusion—the turns of which it is impossible adequately to convey in English—would seem to be to the irregular life of predatory warfare which would be pursued by the tribe after their settlement on the borders of the Promised Land. "Gad, a plundering troop (*gedûd*) shall plunder him (*ye-gûdenû*), but he will plunder (*ya-gûd*) at their heels" (Gen. xlix. 19). A. V. renders the words, "Gad, a troop shall overcome him; but he shall overcome at the last." The R. V. is, "Gad, a troop shall press upon him, but he shall press upon their heel."[b] (*c*) The force here lent to the name has been by some partially transferred to the narrative of Gen. xxx., *e.g.* the Samaritan Version, the Veneto-Greek, and our own A. V.; but it must not be overlooked that the word *gedûd*—by which it is here sought to interpret the *gad* of Gen. xxx. 11—possessed its own special signification of turbulence and fierceness, which makes it hardly applicable to children in the sense of a number or crowd, the image suggested by the A. V. Exactly as the turns of Jacob's language apply to the characteristics of the tribe, it does not appear that there is any connexion between his allusions and those in the exclamation of Leah. The key to the latter is probably lost. To suppose that Leah was invoking some ancient divinity, the god Fortune, who is conjectured to be once alluded to—and only once—in the so-called later part of the Book of Isaiah, under the title of *Gad* (Is. lxv. 11; A. V. "that troop," R. V. "Fortune;" Ges., "dem Glück"), is by some considered a poor explanation, by others not improbable in an Aramaean.

Of the childhood and life of the individual GAD nothing is preserved. At the time of the descent into Egypt seven sons are ascribed to him, remarkable from the fact that a majority of their names have plural terminations, as if those of families rather than persons (Gen. xlvi. 16). The list, with a slight variation, is again given on the occasion of the census in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. xxvi. 15–18). [AROD; EZBON; OZNI.] The position of Gad during the march to the Promised Land was on the south side of the Tabernacle (Num. ii. 14). The leader of the tribe at the time of the start from Sinai was Eliasaph, son of Reuel or Deuel (ii. 14, x. 20). Gad is regularly named in the various enumerations of the tribes through the wanderings—at the despatching of the spies (xiii. 15)—the numbering in the plains of Moab (xxvi. 3, 15); but the only inference we can draw is an indication of a commencing alliance with the tribe which was subsequently to be his next neighbour (see Dillmann[c] and Delitzsch [1887] in Gen. *l. c.*). He has left the more closely related tribe of Asher, to take up his position next to Reuben. These two tribes also preserve a near equality in their numbers, not suffering from the fluctuations which were endured by the others. At the first census Gad had 45,650, and Reuben 46,500; at the last, Gad had 40,500, and Reuben 43,330. This alliance was doubtless induced by the similarity of their pursuits. Of all the sons of Jacob these two tribes alone returned to the land which their forefathers had left five hundred years before, with their occupations unchanged. "The trade of thy slaves hath been about cattle from our youth even till now"—"we are shepherds, both we and our fathers" (Gen. xlvi. 34, xlvii. 4)—such was the account which the Patriachs gave of themselves to Pharaoh. The civilisation and the persecutions of Egypt had worked a change in the habits of most of the tribes, but Reuben and Gad remained faithful to the pastoral pursuits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and at the halt on the east of Jordan we find them coming forward to Moses with the representation that they "have cattle"—"a great multitude of cattle"—and the land where they now are is a "place for cattle." What should they do in the close precincts of the country west of Jordan with all their flocks and herds? Wherefore let this land, they pray, be given them for a possession, and let them not be brought over Jordan (Num. xxxii. 1–5). They did not, however, attempt to evade taking their proper share of the difficulties of subduing the land of Canaan; and after that task had been effected, and the apportionment amongst the nine and a half tribes completed "at the doorway of the tabernacle of the congregation in Shiloh, before Jehovah," they were dismissed by Joshua "to their tents," to their "wives, their little ones, and their cattle," which they had left behind them in Gilead. To their *tents* they went—to the dangers and delights of the free Bedawi life in which they had elected to remain, and in which—a few partial glimpses excepted—the later history allows them to remain hidden from view.

The country allotted to Gad formed the northern portion of the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites. This kingdom, which was divided between Reuben and Gad, lay east of Jordan, and comprised all the hill-country from the Arnon, *Wâdy Mojib*, to the Jabbok, *Wâdy ez-Zerka*, and the whole of the Jordan valley to the east of the river from the Salt Sea to the Sea of Chinnereth, or Gennesaret (Deut. iii. 12–17; Josh. xii. 2, 3; xiii. 27). North of the Jabbok[c]

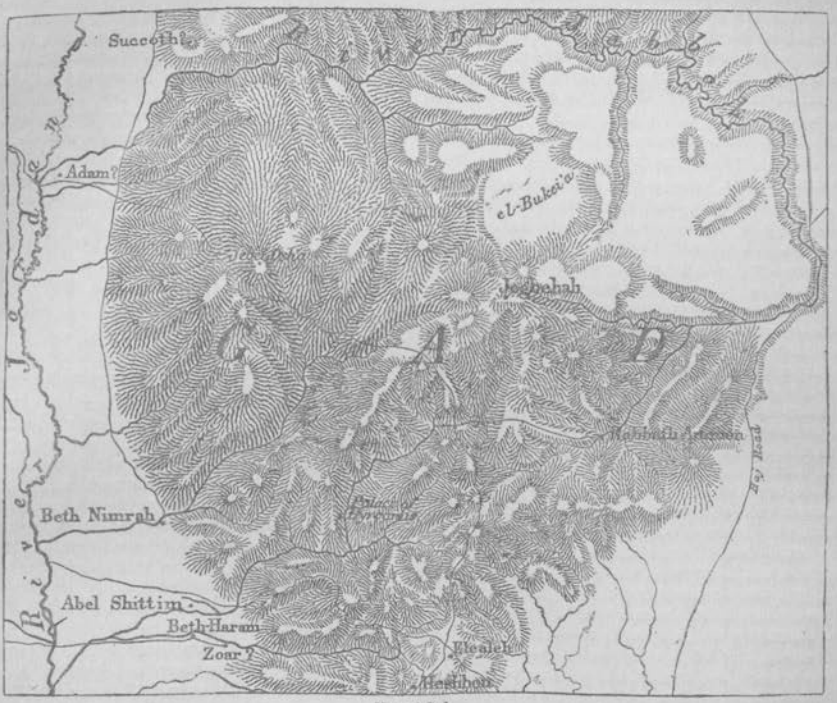
[a] In his *Quaest. in Genesim*, Jerome has *in fortuna*. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 19, § 8) gives it a still different turn—*τυχαίως ἀ. fortuitus*.

[b] Jerome (*De Benedict. Jacobi*) interprets this of the revenge taken by the warriors of the tribe on their return from the conquest of Western Palestine, for the incursions of the desert tribes during their absence.

[c] The Jabbok now forms the boundary between two Turkish administrative districts.

was the kingdom of Og, which was allotted to the half tribe of Manasseh, and the boundary between the two Amorite kingdoms thus became the common frontier between Gad and Manasseh. The possessions of Gad commenced at or near Heshbon (Josh. xiii. 26). They embraced "half the hill country of Gilead" (Deut. iii. 12), or "half the land of the children of Ammon" (Josh. xiii. 25); and included the ancient sanctuary of Mahanaim. On the east the furthest landmark given is "Aroer, that faces Rabbah," the present *'Ammân* (Josh. xiii. 25). West was the Jordan (*v.* 27). The territory thus consisted of two comparatively separate and independent parts—(1) the high land, on the general level of the country east of Jordan; and (2) the sunk valley of the Jordan itself—the former stopping short at the Jabbok; the latter occupying the whole of the great valley on the east side of the river, and extending up to the very sea of Chinnereth, or Gennesaret, itself.

The territory of Gad has been well described as a "combination of rich arable and pasture lands with fine forests" (Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, p. 223), as "park-like and beautiful," and as "offering the most attractive combination of soil, climate, and scenery" (p. 197). The undulating downs clothed with rich grass, on the east, are pre-eminently a "land for cattle" (Num. xxxii. 4). The broken country on the west above the Jordan is very picturesque, and "most beautifully varied with hanging woods, mostly of the vallonia oak, laurestinus, cedar, common arbutus, *Arbutus*



Map of Gad.

andrachne, &c. At times the country had all the appearance of a noble park" (Irby, p. 147). It is also a land of rivers and springs, and the gorges through which the streams find their way from the plateau to the Jordan valley are of great beauty. "Clear brooks are running between lawns of turf, or breaking in falls over high precipices, hung with brambles and green with fern: thick oak woods of most English character climb the slopes and here and there crown a white chalk-cliff" (Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 163). The highest point, *Jebel Osh'a*, is 3,597 ft., and the level of the plateau is from 2,500 ft. to 3,000 ft. above the sea. [GILEAD.]

Such was the territory allotted to the Gadites: but there is no doubt that they soon extended themselves beyond these limits. The official records of the reign of Jotham of Judah (1 Ch. v. 11, 16) show them to have been at that time established over the whole of Gilead, and in possession of Bashan as far as Salcah — the modern *Sălkhad*, a town at the eastern extremity of the noble plain of the *Haurân*—and very far both to the north and the east of the border given them originally, while the Manassites were pushed still further northwards to Mount Hermon (1 Ch. v. 23). They soon became identified with Gilead—that name so memorable in the earliest history of the nation; and in many of the earlier records it supersedes the name of Gad, as we have already remarked it did that of Bashan. In the Song of Deborah "Gilead" is said to have "abode beyond Jordan" (Judg. v. 17). Jephthah appears to have been a Gadite, a native of Mizpeh (Judg. xi. 34; cp. *v.* 31, and Josh. xiii. 26), and yet he is always designated "the

Gileadite;" and so also with Barzillai of Mahanaim (2 Sam. xvii. 17; Ezra ii. 61: cp. Josh. xiii. 26).

The character of the tribe is throughout strongly marked—fierce and warlike—"strong men of might, men of war for the battle, that could handle shield and buckler, their faces the faces of lions, and like roes upon the mountains for swiftness." Such is the graphic description given of those eleven heroes of Gad—"the least of them more than equal to a hundred, and the greatest to a thousand"—who joined their fortunes to David at the time of his greatest discredit and embarrassment (1 Ch. xii. 8), undeterred by the natural difficulties of "flood and field" which stood in their way. Surrounded, as they were, by Ammonites, Midianites, Hagarites, "Children of the East," and all the other countless tribes, animated by a common hostility to the strangers whose coming had dispossessed them of their fairest districts, the warlike propensities of the tribe must have had many opportunities of exercise. One of its great engagements is related in 1 Ch. v. 19–22. Here their opponents were the wandering Ishmaelite tribes of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab (cp. Gen. xxv. 15), nomad people, possessed of an enormous wealth in camels, sheep, and asses, to this day the characteristic possessions of their Bedawi successors. This immense booty came into the hands of the conquerors, who seem to have entered with it on the former mode of life of their victims: probably pushed their way further into the eastern wilderness in the "steads" of these Hagarites. Another of these encounters is contained in the history of Jephthah, but this latter story develops elements of a different nature and a higher order than the mere fierceness necessary to repel the attacks of the plunderers of the desert. In the behaviour of Jephthah, throughout that affecting history, there are traces of a spirit which we may almost call chivalresque: the high tone taken with the Elders of Gilead, the noble but fruitless expostulation with the king of Ammon before the attack, the hasty vow, the overwhelming grief, and yet the persistent devotion of purpose, surely in all these there are marks of a great nobility of character, which must have been more or less characteristic of the Gadites in general. If to this we add the loyalty, the generosity, and the delicacy of Barzillai (2 Sam. xix. 32–39), we obtain a very high idea of the tribe at whose head were such men as these. Nor must we, while enumerating the worthies of Gad, forget that in all probability Elijah the Tishbite, "who was of the inhabitants of Gilead," was one of them.

But while exhibiting these high personal qualities, Gad appears to have been wanting in the powers necessary to enable the tribe to take any active or leading part in the confederacy of the nation. The warriors who rendered such assistance to David might, when Ishbosheth set up his court at Mahanaim as king of Israel, have done much towards affirming his rights. Had Abner made choice of Shechem or Shiloh instead of Mahanaim—the quick, explosive Ephraim instead of the unready Gad—who can doubt that the troubles of David's reign would have been immensely increased, perhaps the establishment of the northern kingdom antedated by nearly a century? David's presence at the same city during his flight from Absalom produced no effect on the tribe, and they are not mentioned as having taken any part in the quarrels between Ephraim and Judah.

Cut off as Gad was by position and circumstances from its brethren on the west of Jordan, it still retained some connexion with them. We may infer that it was considered as belonging to the northern kingdom—"Know ye not," says Ahab in Samaria, "know ye not that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria?" (1 K. xxii. 3). The territory of Gad was the battle-field on which the long and fierce struggles of Syria and Israel were fought out, and, as an agricultural pastoral country, it must have suffered severely in consequence (2 K. xx. 33). The "men of Gad" are supposed to be noticed on the Moabite Stone (l. 10; *Records of the Past*, New Ser. ii. 208); but it is possible that "Gad" may have another meaning in this passage.

Gad was carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch. v. 26), and in the time of Jeremiah the cities of the tribe seem to have been inhabited by the Ammonites. "Hath Israel no sons? hath he no heir? why doth Malcham (*i.e.* Moloch) inherit Gad, and his people dwell in his cities?" (Jer. xlix. 1). [G.] [W.]

GAD (גָּד; Γάδ; *Gad*), "the seer" (הַחוֹזֶה), or "the king's seer," *i.e.* David's—such appears to have been his official title (1 Ch. xxix. 29; 2 Ch. xxix. 25; 2 Sam. xxiv. 11; 1 Ch. xxi. 9)—was "a prophet" (נָבִיא), who appears to have joined David when in "the hold," and at whose advice David quitted it for the forest of Hareth (1 Sam. xxii. 5). Whether he remained with David during his wanderings is not to be ascertained: we do not again encounter him till late in the life of the king, when he reappears in connexion with the punishment inflicted for the numbering of the people (2 Sam. xxiv. 11–19; 1 Ch. xxi. 9–19). But he was evidently attached to the royal establishment at Jerusalem, for he wrote a book of the Acts of David (1 Ch. xxix. 29), and also assisted in settling the arrangements for the musical service of the "house of God," by which his name was handed down to times long after his own (2 Ch. xxix. 25). In the abruptness of his introduction Gad has been compared with Elijah (Jerome, *Qu. Hebr.* on 1 Sam. xxii. 5), with whom he may have been of the same tribe, if his name can be taken as denoting his parentage, but this is unsupported by any evidence. Nor is there any apparent ground for Ewald's suggestion (*Gesch.* iii. 116) that he was of the school of Samuel. If this could be made out, it would afford a natural reason for his joining David. [G.] [W.]

GAD (גָּד; δαιμόνιον, Ν. δαίμων; *Fortuna*). Properly "the Gad," with the article. In the A. V. of Is. lxv. 11 the clause "that prepare a table for that troop" has in the margin instead of the last word the proper name *Gad*, which evidently denotes some idol (cp. the second clause where the A. V. text "number" is in marg. *Meni*, and in R. V. "Destiny"). That Gad was the deity Fortune, under whatever

outward form it was worshipped, is supported by the etymology, by the common assent of commentators, and by the R. V. It is evidently connected with the Syriac ܓܕܐ, *gâdô*, "fortune, luck," and with the Arabic جد, *jad*, "good fortune," and Gesenius is probably right in his conjecture that Gad was the planet Jupiter, which was regarded by the astrologers of the East (Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Ar.* p. 130) as the star of greater good fortune. The name appears frequently in Phoenician (*e.g.* גרענם) and Palmyrene (*e.g.* גדעתא) inscriptions (see MV.[11]; Bäthgen, *Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 77); and a trace of the Syrian worship of Gad is to be found in the exclamation of Leah, when Zilpah bare a *son* (Gen. xxx. 11; בָּגָד, *begâd* [LXX. *ἐν τύχῃ*], the *Kethîb* reading now generally preferred to the *Keri* בָּא גָּד, "Gad, or good fortune cometh"). The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum both render "a lucky planet cometh," and testimony to the worship of Gad among the ancient Canaanites is furnished by the names Baal-Gad, Migdal-Gad. The name is not Babylonian, however identical the worship of Gad and Bel is, by some, thought to have been. Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* s. v.) reports the ancient custom for each man to have in his house a splendid couch, which was not used, but was set apart for "the prince of the house;" that is, for the star or constellation Fortune, to render it more propitious. This couch was called the couch of Gada, or good-luck (Talm. Babl. *Sanhed.* f. 20 *a*; *Nedarim*, f. 56 *a*). Again in *Bereshith Rabba*, p. 65, the words יְקוּם אַבִּי in Gen. xxvii. 31 are explained as an invocation to Gada or Fortune. Rabbi Moses the Priest, quoted by Aben Ezra (on Gen. xxx. 11), says "that לָגָד (Is. lxv. 11) signifies the star of luck, which points to everything that is good; for thus is the language of Kedar (Arabic): but he says that בָּא גָד (Gen. xxx. 11) is not used in the same sense."

Illustrations of the ancient custom of *lectisternia* (cp. Jer. vii. 18, li. 44) or the placing a banqueting table in honour of idols will be found in the table spread for the sun among the Ethiopians (Her. iii. 17, 18), and in the feast made by the Babylonians for their god Bel, which is described in the Apocryphal history of Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 3 (cp. also Her. i. 181, &c., and the fact as attested by Nebuchadnezzar; see *Speaker's Comm.* on Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 3). The table in the temple of Belus is described by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 9) as being of beaten gold, 40 feet long, 15 wide, and weighing 500 talents. On it were placed two drinking cups (*καρχήσια*) weighing 30 talents, two censers of 300 talents each, and three golden goblets, that of Jupiter or Bel weighing 1200 Babylonian talents. The couch and table of the god in the temple of Zeus Triphylius at Patara in the island of Panchaea are mentioned by Diodorus (v. 46). Cp. also Virg. *Aen.* ii. 763:

> "Huc undique Troïa gaza
> Incensis erepta adytis, *mensaeque deorum*
> *Crateresque auro solidi*, captivaque vestis
> Congeritur."

Other, now obsolete, opinions upon Gad may be seen in the first edition of this Dictionary. See the commentaries on Isaiah (*l. c.*) by Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann,[5] and the monographs noted there and by Baudissin in Herzog's *RE.*[2] s. n. "Gad." [W. A. W.] [F.]

GAD, RIVER OF (R. V. "valley of [marg., *toward*; see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco] Gad"), 2 Sam. xxiv. 5. From its mention in connexion with Aroer, and "the city that lieth in the midst of the river," it is evident that the river Arnon is intended. Riehm, however (*HWB.* s. v. Gad), identifies it with the Jabbok. [ARNON; AROER.] [W.]

GAD'ARA (Γάδαρα; Eth. Γαδαρεύς, fem. Γαδαρίς) is not mentioned in the Bible, but is evidently referred to in the expression "country of the Gadarenes," χώρα or περίχωρος τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν (Mark v. 1; Luke viii. 26, 37). The town would appear, from its name (Gadara = Geder, Gederah, Gederoth, Gedor), to have been of Jewish or earlier origin, and, according to a tradition preserved in the Mishna (*Erakhin*, ix. 6), it was fortified by Joshua. The first historical notice of Gadara is its surrender to Antiochus "the Great," after his victory, B.C. 198, over Scopas, the general of Ptolemy, at the sources of the Jordan (Polyb. v. 71; Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 3, § 3). But, like other cities in the debateable provinces of Phoenicia and Coele-Syria, it must previously have undergone many vicissitudes during the long war between the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies. It was taken from the Syrians by Alexander Jannaeus, early in his reign (B.C. 105–79), after a siege of ten months (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 3; *B. J.* i. 4, § 2), and its inhabitants were apparently enslaved (*B. J.* i. 4, § 3), and compelled to accept the religion of the Jews (*Ant.* xiii. 15, § 4). Possibly it was the scene of Alexander's defeat by the Arabs (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5); but cp. *B. J.* i. 4, § 4, in which this battle is said to have taken place near Golan. Gadara remained in the possession of the Jews for many years, apparently until it was destroyed by them (*B. J.* i. 7, § 7) during the civil war between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. Shortly afterwards Pompey, having taken Jerusalem (B.C. 63), rebuilt Gadara to gratify his freedman Demetrius, who was a Gadarene, and at the same time made it a free city and restored it to its own citizens. Like all the other cities to which Pompey granted self-government, and freedom and immunity from taxation, it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Syria, and counted from the era of Pompey, B.C. 64 (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4; *B. J.* i. 7, § 7). When Gabinius, who was Proconsul of Syria, B.C. 57–55, instituted five Sanhedrin for the government of the Jews, he seated one of them at Gadara (*Ant.* xiv. 5, § 4; *B. J.* i. 8, § 5).[a] Augustus gave the city to Herod the Great (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 3), whose government does not seem to have given complete satisfaction to the Gadarenes

[a] Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*, i. 275, n. 5, ii. 89 sq., partly on the ground that a Sanhedrin would hardly be located in a free city, proposes to read Gazara for Gadara, and to place the seat of the Sanhedrin at Gezer in Judaea.

(*Ant.* xv. 10, §§ 2, 3). On Herod's death it was transferred back to Syria (*Ant.* xvii. 11, § 4; *B. J.* ii. 6, § 3).

At the very commencement of the Jewish insurrection, the Jews, enraged at the massacre of their kinsmen at Caesarea, ravaged the country round Gadara, and set fire to the villages that belonged to it. Upon this the Syrian residents put the most troublesome Jews to death, and imprisoned others (*Vit.* § 9; *B. J.* ii. 18, §§ 1, 2, 5). Not long afterwards the Gadarenes, with the people of Gabara, Sogane, and Tyre, would appear to have attacked and captured Gischala, where the Jews had declared against the Romans (*Vit.* § 10); and at a later period Gadara was taken by Josephus (*Vit.* § 15). It opened its gates to Vespasian[b] when he marched against it after having crushed the insurrection in Galilee, and the people pulled down its walls to show that they desired peace (*B. J.* iv. 7, § 3). The coins of Gadara are autonomous and imperial; and cover the period from the year 8 (B.C. 56) to the year 303 (A.D. 239). The types are: a female head with mural crown; cornucopiae; the figure of Astarte crowned; Jupiter seated in a tetrastyle temple; Hercules; Pallas; and a trireme with the legend ΓΑΔΑΡΕΩΝ ΝΑΥΜΑ. The surname Pompeianus appears first on a coin of Antoninus; the Naumachia must have been held either near the hot springs or on the Sea of Galilee. Several

Coin of Gadara.

bishops of Gadara are mentioned as having been present at the General Councils of the Church: Cajanus at Nicaea, Eusebius at Antioch, Theodorus at Ephesus, &c. The Latins in the Middle Ages called the place Kedar (John of Würzburg, xxv.); and the Arab writer Dimashki (A.D. 1300) calls it *Jedar*, i.e. Gadara—a name which Seetzen, who discovered the ruins in the present century, found attached to the steep hillside below them.

Gadara was a strongly fortified city (*Ant.* xiii. 3, § 3; *B. J.* iv. 7, § 3); situated near the Hieromax, *Gadara Hieromace praefluente* (Plin. *H. N.* v. 16); east of Jordan, and over against Scythopolis and Tiberias. It stood on a hill, at the foot of which, at a place called Amatha (Ἐμμαθά), 3 M. P. from the city, there were warm springs and baths (Eusebius and Jerome, *OS.*[2] p. 248, 11; p. 219, 78; p. 130, 15; p. 91, 26; *Itin. Ant. Mart.* vii.). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (*Erubin*, v. 7) Hamthan (Amatha) was a Sabbath day's journey from the city Josephus calls Gadara, at the time of the Jewish War, the capital of Peraea; and Polybius says that it was one of the most strongly fortified cities in the country (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 7, § 3; Polyb. v. 71). It was one of the cities of Decapolis (Plin. v. 16); and had a district, called Gadaritis, under its jurisdiction, which, on the west, had a common boundary with Galilee (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1; 10, § 10). This district is referred to by Strabo (xvi. 2, 45), and apparently corresponds to the "country of the Gadarenes" in the N. T. Ptolemy (v. 15) and Steph. Byz. (254) call Gadara a city of Coele-Syria; and the latter says that it once bore the names of Seleucia and Antiochia. The position of the city was one of great strategic importance, for the roads from Tiberias and Scythopolis to Damascus and Gerasa passed through it. Gadara was 16 M. P. from Scythopolis and 16 from Capitolias (*Itin. Ant.* ed. Wess. pp. 197, 198), 16 from Tiberias (*Tab. Peut.*), and 12 from Abila (*OS.*[2] p. 243, 8). Josephus (*Vit.* 65) places it 60 stadia from Tiberias, but this is evidently wrong.

Like all the other cities of Decapolis, Gadara had a mixed population. After it was rebuilt and made a free city by Pompey, the governing and wealthy classes were probably of Greek origin, whilst the greater part of the people, urban and rural, were Aramaeans, more or less Hellenised. Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 11, § 4; *B. J.* ii. 6, § 3) calls it a Greek city, and it may be inferred from what he says that this was the cause of its retransfer to Syria on the death of Herod. The coins bear Greek legends, and the Greek inscriptions, found on the site, contain such names as Theodoros, Pamphilos, &c. Strabo (xvi. 3) mentions several learned Greek Gadarenes: *e.g.* Philodemas, the Epicurean; Menippus; Theodorus, the Sophist, who was tutor to the Emperor Tiberius; Apsines, the Rhetorician, &c. There was, however, a strong Jewish element in the population, and possibly many Judaised Aramaeans. The Midrash (*Esther*, ch. 1, 2) speaks of a "hall of justice," perhaps that in which the Sanhedrin sat; and there is said to have been an important school at Migdal Gadar (Tal. Bab. *Taanith*, 2 a). According to the Talmudists, Mount Gadar was one of the physical subdivisions of the hill-country of Peraea, and the site of one of the fire signal-stations (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, pp. 40, 243). Gadara owes its celebrity to its hot springs and baths, which were reckoned second only to those at Baiae (Eunap. Sardian. *ap.* Reland, *Palaest.* p. 775), and are praised by Origen (iv. 140) and by Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* i. 131). They are mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr (vii.), who calls them the "Baths of Elias," and by the early Arab historians and geographers.

The ruins of Gadara, now called *Umm Keis*,

[b] In *B. J.* iii. 7, § 1, Vespasian is said to have taken Gadara immediately after his arrival at Ptolemais; but the place intended is evidently Gabara, *Kh. Kabra*, which it was necessary to occupy before attacking Jotapata. Reland (p. 771), who is followed by Robinson, Milman, and Schürer, also reads Gabara for Gadara in *Vit.* §§ 10, 15.

cover a hill on the S. side of the Hieromax, *Sheri'at el-Mandhûr*, about 6 Eng. miles S.E. of the Sea of Galilee. The ruins include two theatres, a basilica, a temple, a fine street with a colonnade on each side, of which the columns are prostrate, the city wall and gates, an aqueduct, and other buildings. On the pavement of the main street the ruts formed by the chariot wheels can still be seen. On the eastern side of the city, the ground bears the name *Jedûr Umm Keis*, and here there are numerous rock-hewn tombs, with their stone doors still swinging on their hinges, and a large number of basalt sarcophagi (for descriptions of the ruins, see Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 270 sq.; Schumacher, *Northern 'Ajlûn*, p. 46 sq.; Wilson, *Recovy. of Jerusalem*, p. 373 sq.; Sepp, *Jerusm. u. d. heilige Land*, ii.

Tomb at Gadara.

216 sq.; Porter, *Hbk. for Syr. & Pal.*). About 2½ Eng. miles N. of the ruins, on the right bank of the *Sheri'at el-Mandhûr*, are the hot springs. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur, and has a temperature of 110° Fahr.; its medicinal qualities are highly valued by the Bedawîn. The ruins of baths and houses cover a large area (Schumacher, *The Jaulân*, p. 149 sq., and authorities cited above).

It was in the "land of the Gadarenes" that, according to the A. V. of Mark v. 1 (R. V. "Gerasenes") and Luke viii. 26, 37 (R. V. "Gerasenes"), our Lord healed the demoniac and permitted the devils to enter into a herd of swine. In Matt. viii. 28, however, the same miracle is said (A. V.) to have been performed in the "land of the Gergesenes" (R. V. "Gadarenes"). There is a remarkable difference in the readings of the most ancient MSS. in these verses: א. reads Γαζαρηνῶν in Matt., Γερασηνῶν in Mark, and Γεργεσηνῶν in Luke; in Matt. and Mark the readings have been altered by a later hand to agree with Luke; B., which is followed by R. V., has Γαδαρηνῶν in Matt. and Γερασηνῶν in Mark and Luke; A., which is followed by A. V., has Γεργεσηνῶν in Matt. and Γαδαρηνῶν in Mark and Luke. Of these readings Γερασηνῶν is manifestly wrong, for Gerasa is about 35 miles from the Sea of Galilee, and is never mentioned in connexion with it. The question therefore lies between Gadara and Gergesa. The miracle took place "on the other side of the sea," "over against Galilee," *i.e.* on the eastern shore of the lake, near the spot where Jesus and His disciples landed (Mark v. 2), in close proximity to a town, and not very far from ground sloping steeply down to the margin of the lake (Matt. viii. 32; Mark v. 13; Luke viii. 32, 33). The only place on the E. shore of the lake which fulfils these conditions is a spot near the mouth of *Wâdy Semakh*. There are here the ruins of a town called *Kersa*, and about a mile to the south "the hills, which everywhere else on the eastern side are recessed from a half to three-quarters of a mile from the water's edge, approach within forty feet of it; they do not terminate abruptly, but there is a steep even slope" (*Recovy. of Jerusalem*, p. 368: cp. Macgregor, *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, p. 422 sq.; Thomson, *Land and the Book*, ed. 1869, p. 315 sq.). The pronunciation of the word *Kersa* by the Bedawîn is so similar to Gergesa as to suggest its identification with that place. The word Γεργεσηνῶν seems to be the same as the Hebrew גִּרְגָּשִׁי (LXX. Γεργεσαῖος) in Gen. xv. 21 and Deut. vii. 1—the name of an old Canaanitish tribe [GIRGASHITES], which Jerome (*in Comm.* ad Gen. xv.) locates on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias. Origen says (*Opp.* iv. 140) that there was an ancient city called Gergesa on the shore of the lake, and that bordering on the water there was a precipitous descent which it appears that the swine descended. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*² p. 256, 14; p. 162, 18) also allude to Gergesa, which was then a village on a hill above the lake. Gadara, situated on a hill 6 m. from the shore of the lake, cannot be the city referred to by the Evangelists (the opinion followed by Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.); and, though the land of the Gadarenes probably extended to the lake, there is

no topographical feature south of *Wâdy Fik* such as that indicated in the narrative. It is also remarkable that the reading Γαδαρηνῶν does not occur once in the Sinaitic MS. (א). The possibility that the land at the mouth of *Wâdy Semakh* was under the jurisdiction of Gadara is slight, for the district of Hippos, *Sûsiyeh*, which ran down to the lake (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1), intervened. It is more probable that Gergesa, *Kersa*, was in Gaulanitis. An interesting discussion between Mr. Gladstone and Professor Huxley on the nationality of the swine-herds, the character of the miracle, and the place at which it took place will be found in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, 1890 and 1891. [W.]

GAD'DI (גַּדִּי = *my happiness* or *fortunate*; Γαδδί; *Gaddi*), son of Susi; representative of the tribe of Manasseh among the spies sent by Moses to explore Canaan (Num. xiii. 11).

GAD'DI-EL (גַּדִּיאֵל = *God is my happiness*; Γουδιήλ; *Geddiel*), son of Sodi; representative of the tribe of Zebulun on the same occasion (Num. xiii. 10).

GA'DI (גָּדִי; B. Γαδδεί, A. Γεδδεί, and [*v.* 17] Γαλλειτιά; *Gadi*), father of Menahem, who seized the throne of Israel from Shallum (2 K. xv. 14, 17).

GAD'ITES, THE (הַגָּדִי; *ὁ* Γάδ, *ὁ* Γαδδί, *οἱ υἱοὶ* Γάδ; *Gad, Gaditae, Gaddi*). The descendants of Gad and members of his tribe. Their character is described under GAD. In 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 for "the Gadite" B. has Γαλααδδεί (A. Γαδδί), and the Vulg. *de Gadi*.

GA'HAM (גָּחָם; *A.D.* Ταάμ; *Gaham*), son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, by his concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 24). No light has yet been thrown on this tribe. The name perhaps signifies *sunburnt* or *swarthy* (see MV.[11]).

GA'HAR (גָּחַר; Γαάρ; *Gaher*). The Bene-Gachar were among the families of Nethinim who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 47; Neh. vii. 49). In 1 Esd. the name is given as GEDDUR. [W. A. W.] [F.]

GAI'US. [JOHN, SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF.]

GAL'AAD (Γαλαάδ), 1 Macc. v. 9, 55; Judith i. 8, xv. 5; and THE COUNTRY OF GALAAD (ἡ Γαλααδῖτις; *Galaaditis*), 1 Macc. v. 17, 20, 25, 27, 36, 45; xiii. 22, the Greek form of the word GILEAD.

GA'LAL (גָּלָל; B. Γαλαάδ, A. Γωλήλ; *Galal*). **1.** A Levite, one of the sons of Asaph (1 Ch. ix. 15). **2.** Another Levite of the family of Elkanah (1 Ch. ix. 16). **3.** A third Levite, son of Jeduthun (Neh. xi. 17; BNA. om., א[c. amg sup.] Γαλέλ; *Galal*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

GALA'TIA (Γαλατία, Γαλατική, Γαλλογραικία), a central district of Asia Minor, lying north of Phrygia and Cappadocia, and consisting of a broad strip of country about 200 miles in length, stretching from south-west to north-east. On the south-west it bordered on Phrygia, Pessinus being the chief town; on the north-east it bordered on Pontus and Cappadocia, the chief town being Tavium; in the centre was Ancyra, generally regarded as the capital of the whole district (Ramsay, *Histor. Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 221–254).

It derives its name from Gallic tribes, who made a settlement there. The name Galatia was that by which the country which the Romans called Gallia was known to the Greeks, and they gave the same name to the Asiatic country in which the Gallic tribes settled. In a time somewhat later than that to which the Books of Scripture belong, Greek writers made a distinction between European and Asiatic Gaul, adopting the Latin names Gallia for the former and Gallograecia for the latter; but so late as the lifetime of St. Paul, the name Galatia was ambiguous and might denote either country. Consequently when St. Paul says (2 Tim. iv. 10) that he had sent Crescens to Galatia, the phrase does not absolutely determine whether it was to European or Asiatic Galatia that Crescens had been sent; and so in the margin of the Revised Version of the New Testament, the alternative rendering "Gaul" is given. Several ancient writers suppose that what we call Gaul was intended. Thus Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 4; cp. note in loco, edd. Wace and Schaff) certainly understood Gaul to be meant in 2 Timothy. So also Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 11), who boldly pronounces it to be an error to understand Galatia. Theodoret (in loco) reads Galatia, but interprets, "that is to say, Gaul, for that was the ancient name of the country, and so it is still called by those acquainted with foreign literature." When Christianity came to be the predominant religion in Gaul, there was a natural desire of the inhabitants to connect the origin of their Churches with apostolic times by claiming Crescens as one of their founders, and it might be expected that French writers should take the same view. But Tillemont (*St. Paul*, Art. 52 and note 81, vol. i. pp. 312, 584) understands the passage of the Eastern Galatia, and gives strong reasons for thinking that the conversion of Gaul belongs to a later date, and that there is no trace of the work of Crescens in that country. Accordingly modern commentators generally reject the interpretation "Gaul."

In the inscription of the First Epistle of St. Peter, "to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia," &c., the collocation of the words leaves no doubt that the Asiatic Galatia is intended.

But there is an earlier passage where Galatia is mentioned and where some have claimed for the word the meaning "Gaul." In 1 Macc. viii. 2, among the reasons why Judas Maccabaeus sent an embassy to the Romans it is stated that he had heard of their wars with the Galatians, and how they had conquered them and brought them under tribute. Here the margin of the English Version for "Galatians" has "Frenchmen"; and in support of the view that the Western country is intended, it is urged that in the next verse (1 Macc. viii. 3), immediately after the mention of the victories of the Romans over the Galatians, their conquest of Spain is spoken of; and further that, although the Romans under Manlius Vulso gained a great victory over the Galatians (B.C. 189), it does not

appear that he brought them under tribute; whence it is contended that the Galatians intended must be the Gauls of Northern Italy. Yet notwithstanding these arguments, it seems more natural to think of those Galatians whom Manlius had conquered less than thirty years before the embassy of Judas Maccabaeus. The Jews would hear with interest of this victory of Manlius; for Jews had themselves been in conflict with these Galatians, and could boast of a victory over them. This we learn from a reference made in the Second Book of Maccabees (viii. 20) to a great victory gained in Babylonia by Jews over Galatians, and there can be no doubt that Eastern Galatians are intended, though we have no other information as to the battle in question. It has been conjectured that it may have been fought by Jews serving under Antiochus, king of Syria, who gained the name of Soter by his victories over the Galatians.

There can be no doubt that the repression of Gallic brigandage was a public service which well deserved recognition. It would not be relevant to this article to describe what Southern Europe suffered from successive waves of Gallic invasion from the time of the burning of Rome in 390 B.C. to the subjugation of Gaul by Julius Caesar. Here we are only concerned with Asia, which had its first experience of the rapacity of the Gauls in B.C. 278, when a large body of them crossed the Hellespont in search of plunder. For some fifty years they and those who followed them levied contributions widely on the unwarlike inhabitants of Asia Minor. The first great check was given them, as already stated, by Antiochus Soter; but it was Attalus, the ruler of Pergamum, who first refused to pay them tribute, and, having defeated them in a great battle, confined them to the district which derived its name from them. The date of the victory of Attalus is not exactly known, but he ruled from B.C. 241 to 197, and 230 may be set down as an approximate date. The Gallic invaders had consisted of three distinct tribes, and so the country in which they settled was divided into three cantons,—the Trocmi occupying the north-eastern extremity next Pontus, having Tavium for their capital; the Tolistoboii being at the opposite or south-western extremity, having Pessinus for their capital, and the Tectosages at Ancyra in the centre. These Eastern Gauls preserved much of their ancient character, and something of their ancient language (see Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, i. 341, Eng. tr.). At least Jerome says that in his day the same language might be heard at Ancyra as at Trèves: and he is a good witness; for he himself had been at Trèves. The prevailing speech, however, of the district was Greek. Hence the Galatians were called Gallograeci ("Hi jam degeneres sunt: mixti, et Gallograeci vere, quod appellantur:" Manlius in Livy, xxxviii. 17). The inscriptions found at Ancyra are Greek, and St. Paul wrote his Epistle in Greek.

These warlike people had more than once given their services as mercenaries to Syrian kings in their wars with their neighbours, and they fought on the side of Antiochus the Great in his war with the Romans, and took part in the last great battle in which he was defeated. This drew the attention of the Romans on them, and the Consul Manlius invaded their country in B.C. 189, and succeeded in bringing them to complete submission. The account of his campaign is given in the 38th book of Livy, who also has a reference (xxxiii. 21) to the previous victory of Attalus.

We have here no concern with the history of Galatia in the years immediately following; but it is important to note that Amyntas, the last of the independent rulers of the country, had through favour, first of M. Antonius, afterwards of Augustus, been in possession not only of Galatia, but of a good deal of adjacent territory. So, when on the death of Amyntas (B.C. 25) Galatia was made into a Roman province by Augustus, the province included, in addition to Galatia proper, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and a good deal of Phrygia. The result is to introduce a new ambiguity into the word Galatia, obliging us to consider, when we meet the word in the New Testament, whether it is to be understood as a geographical or as a political term. In particular, St. Paul speaks (1 Cor. xvi. 1) of the churches of Galatia, and he addresses an Epistle to the Galatians, and some have thence inferred that among the travels of the Apostle must have been one of which St. Luke in the Acts gives no particulars, in which he evangelized the whole country of Galatia proper, even, as some would have it, travelling from Pessinus to Tavium and back; others understand the word Galatia in its political sense, and contend that we are not bound to think of any churches of Galatia but those whose foundation by St. Paul is recorded in the Acts, such as Derbe and Lystra, Antioch in Pisidia, &c., which, though not belonging to Galatia proper, were included in the Roman province of Galatia. The question thus raised will be more conveniently discussed in the next article, THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. [G. S.]

GALATIANS, THE EPISTLE TO THE.

I. *Authorship.*—In the case of the Epistle to the Galatians, we are able to touch lightly on discussions as to its authorship which require more serious consideration in the case of other New Testament Books. That this is a genuine letter of the Apostle Paul may be accounted as a fact acknowledged by the best critics of all schools. It is true that the acknowledgment is not absolutely universal, but the exceptions are not important enough to deserve much regard, for it would evidently be impossible in this Dictionary to discuss every paradox in maintaining which critics have exhibited their ingenuity.

The absence of controversy as to the authorship of this Epistle is not to be ascribed to its possessing any great superiority in respect of external attestation over other New Testament Books. It is true that it is formally quoted towards the end of the 2nd century by Irenaeus (III. vii. 2, xvi. 2; v. xxi. 1, &c.), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 15, &c.), Tertullian (*De Monog.* vi., &c.), the citations by each writer being so numerous, that it would be inconvenient to give a complete list. Somewhat earlier Celsus, writing against the Christians, quotes this Epistle as being in general use among them; this being, as Origen remarks, Celsus's only quotation from St. Paul's Epistles (Orig. *adv.*

Cels. v. 64). Celsus had been speaking of the variety of sects among the Christians and their mutual hostility; but all of them, he says, you will hear saying, "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world" (Gal. vi. 14). The Clementine Homilies, a work exhibiting bitter hostility to St. Paul, show a knowledge of this Epistle in a spiteful reference (xvii. 19) to St. Paul's having withstood St. Peter (Gal. ii. 11). There are besides distinct proofs of knowledge of the Epistle, though without formal quotation of it, by Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, 95, 96), Tatian (Hieron. *in Ep. Gal.* vi. 8), Polycarp (cc. 3, 5, 12), and Ignatius (*Magnes.* 8). The Epistle formed part of the heretic Marcion's *Apostolicon*, or collection of apostolic letters, in the early part of the 2nd century. This mass of external attestation, the enumeration of which does not profess to be complete, might certainly be held to afford sufficient evidence of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle, if it were not that similar testimony has not been accepted as conclusive in the case of other New Testament Books.

But what has silenced controversy is the note of early date stamped on the Epistle by the character of its contents. It deals with the question whether or not it was obligatory on Gentile converts to Christianity to submit to the rite of circumcision. St. Luke has informed us (Acts xv.) that this question did give rise to warm controversy in the Christian Church at an early period of its history; but from the nature of the case it was inevitable that this question must give rise to violent controversy the first time that heathens were proposed for admission in any numbers into the Church. To become a Christian was not merely to acknowledge Jesus of Nazareth as a Divine Teacher, it was also to become one of a society the members of which were bound together by close bonds of brotherly association and mutual love; and the partaking of a common meal, which was a familiar institution in friendly societies at the time, came to possess in the Christian societies the highest religious significance. That Jews should enter into such intimate association with uncircumcised persons was opposed to all their prejudices. St. Luke represents St. Peter as telling Cornelius, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company or come unto one of another nation," and as afterwards having to excuse himself to his countrymen "because he had gone in to men uncircumcised and had eaten with them" (Acts x. 28, xi. 2). Of heathen testimonies to this feature of Jewish exclusiveness it is enough to cite the description of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5): "adversus omnes alios hostile odium: separati epulis, discreti cubilibus." Jewish converts to Christianity had been largely made from the Pharisees, the most exclusive of the Jewish sects, and the most rigid in its observance of the Mosaic Law. Thus it might beforehand have seemed impossible to unite Jews and Gentiles in such close fraternity as that which was the rule of the Christian societies; for the demand of circumcision as a condition of communion was certain to be made by the Jews, while very few Gentiles would consent to submit to an ordinance which was not only painful, but was regarded as degrading.

Yet, as we know that Gentile Churches were formed in a number of places at a very early period in the history of Christianity, we can certainly infer that the controversy concerning the necessity of circumcision must have been one of short duration. For this was no speculative question about which men might go on disputing for years; it was an urgent practical one which demanded immediate decision: Was the Church at Jerusalem to recognise as daughter Churches those new communities in which uncircumcised persons predominated? Now all our authorities give what is clearly independent testimony to the fact that the relations between the Jerusalem Church and the Churches founded by Paul were not only friendly, but were cemented by pecuniary obligations; that just as Jews residing in foreign countries contributed their half-shekel to the support of the Temple service, so the Christian converts among the Gentiles made contributions for the necessities of the parent Church at Jerusalem. We are told in the Acts of two journeys made by St. Paul to Jerusalem as the bearer of such contributions: we find in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (cc. viii., ix.; see also 1 Cor. xvi. 1, Rom. xv. 25) St. Paul making elaborate arrangements for the collection of such contributions from different Churches; this Epistle to the Galatians represents St. Paul's mission to the Gentiles as recognised by the leading Apostles, and describes this collection for the Jewish poor as having been a condition agreed on at the time of that recognition. The inference that the admissibility of uncircumcised persons to Christian membership was recognised at a very early period of the Church's history is confirmed by the fact that there is no trace of controversy on this subject in any documents that have come down to us of later date than that claimed for the Epistle to the Galatians. It may well be believed that there were some among the original Jewish members of the Church to whom the decision to admit uncircumcised persons to their fellowship was altogether distasteful, and who were shocked at St. Paul's teaching that compliance with the obligations of the Mosaic Law was a matter of indifference as regards man's salvation. We learn therefore without surprise that hostility to St. Paul's teaching was not quite extinct in Jewish circles at the end of the 2nd century. But at that date the attempt to impose circumcision on Gentiles had been long abandoned as hopeless. In the account of St. Peter's preaching given in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, which of all extant documents represent to us anti-Paulinism in its strongest form, Peter's converts are always merely baptized, not circumcised; nor is there any trace in the story that Clement himself, the hero of the romance, was ever circumcised. It is evident how early must be the date of a document written when the admissibility of an uncircumcised person to the Church was the burning question of the day.

When the document is recognised to be as early as the time when St. Paul was in activity, there is no temptation to look for any other authorship for it than that which itself claims. But even if we left out of sight the consideration that the Epistle deals with a controversy which must have ceased to be disputed long before St. Paul was dead, it makes such a revelation of the feelings and character of the writer that a critic makes an exhibition of

incompetence if he fancies that the St. Paul whom this letter presents to us is no real person, but the imaginary creation of a disciple of a later generation.

What the letter discloses as to the circumstances under which it would seem to have been written is, that the persons addressed had been originally heathen (iv. 8), and had been converted by St. Paul at a time when his bodily weakness might have seemed likely to interfere with his usefulness; that he had notwithstanding been most successful in his preaching to them, and had been regarded by them with the warmest affection (iv. 13-15); that these converts had accepted from St. Paul a Gospel which taught that faith in Christ was the one necessary and sufficient condition for salvation; that after St. Paul's departure other teachers had come among them, claiming to speak with higher authority than his, namely, with that of the original Apostles, and that they had been successful in largely persuading the Galatians that St. Paul's teaching was imperfect, and that faith in Christ alone would not suffice for their salvation unless they were also circumcised and observed the other precepts of the Mosaic Law. Now we may pronounce it unlikely that a later Paulinist would invent such a history as that of a revolt from the Apostle of his first converts; but quite impossible that he should so succeed in giving adequate expression to the feelings of surprise, grief, and indignation with which St. Paul received the news of the defection of his disciples.

This letter has points of contact with two other of the Epistles ascribed to St. Paul, which, though in many respects unlike each other, have such features in common with this that we may confidently say that all are the work of the same author, and that we cannot reject one without rejecting all three. The polemic of the Epistle to the Galatians divides itself into two principal parts: (*a*) the writer vindicates his apostolic authority, claiming to be entirely independent of those who had been Apostles before him, not being indebted to themeither for his knowledge of the Gospel which he preached, or for his apostolic commission, but having received them by direct revelation from Jesus Christ; (*b*) he expounds the principles on which he resisted the inculcation of the necessity of circumcision, showing that the enforcement of the Mosaic Law as obligatory was subversive of the whole Gospel which he taught. Now, the Epistle to the Romans contains a quite similar exposition of principles, not only akin to that given in the Epistle to the Galatians in its general line of argument, but so full of verbal coincidences with it that we may safely conclude not only that the two Epistles are the work of the same author, but also that the composition of the two could not have been separated by any great interval of time. But it would seem that St. Paul's apostolic authority was not disputed by those to whom the Epistle to the Romans was addressed; for that Epistle contains nothing corresponding to the section in the Epistle to the Galatians which asserts and justifies St. Paul's claim to apostleship. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, on the other hand, the controversial exposition of the non-necessity of circumcision is entirely wanting, nor are there nearly so many verbal coincidences with the Epistle to the Galatians as in the Epistle to the Romans. But it has close affinity with the Epistle to the Galatians in all that regards the personal relations of St. Paul with his disciples. In both cases the Apostle addresses children in the faith, who owed their knowledge of the Gospel to himself, and whom he regards with a father's affection; and in both cases he is disappointed by finding that his love is but coldly returned, and that newly-arrived teachers threaten to supersede him in his converts' esteem. The letters written under these circumstances prove their own genuineness by making a revelation of the character of the writer, beyond the skill of any forger to produce. The letters show the writer to have been a proud man to whom self-assertion and self-vindication are altogether distasteful, and one of such warm affections as to feel acutely pained that the necessity of asserting his rightful claims should have arisen from the defection of disciples whom he loved and from whom he had deserved more confidence. The identity of character exhibited in the letters to the Corinthian and to the Galatian Churches is even a stronger proof of common authorship than coincidence in forms of expression.

Although the internal evidence for the genuineness of these letters is decisive on the grounds already stated, there are some other considerations that it is worth while to mention.

(1.) We have a note of early date in the fact that so much of the Epistle to the Galatians is taken up with an assertion of St. Paul's independent authority. With the multiplication of Churches claiming him as their founder, his authority ceased to be disputed within the pale of the Christian Church; nay, from a very early period he came to be spoken of as *the* Apostle, a title which no doubt he owed to the fact that his letters soon ceased to be the exclusive property of the several Churches to which they were addressed, and became the manual of apostolic instruction used in the public reading of widely separated Churches. It is true that the Pseudo-Clementine writings show that there was a small body of persons calling themselves Christians (though reckoned by the bulk of Christians as outside their community) who did not recognise St. Paul's authority; but these counted St. Paul, not only as no Apostle, but as a deceiver and an enemy. The polemic in the Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians is not directed against such a view as this, but only labours to show that St. Paul was entitled to claim perfect equality with the elder Apostles. The controversy, therefore, concerning St. Paul's apostleship, in the form in which we find it in the Epistle to the Galatians, is like the controversy concerning circumcision, one which could only have been disputed in the very earliest age of the Church.

(2.) An argument may be founded on the agreement between the attitude towards Judaism and the Old Testament held by the Churches which claim St. Paul for their founder, and that presented in the Epistles under consideration. Any one who studies the history of the rise of Christianity out of Judaism must be struck by the paradox that there should be such complete continuity between the two religions and yet such an entire break between them. All the rites and institutions on which the Jews prided

themselves, as placing them on a higher level than the surrounding Gentiles, are abandoned; the wall of separation between Jew and Gentile is altogether thrown down, yet the authority of the great Jewish lawgiver is kept unimpaired, and the sacred books which ordain the Jewish institutions are held in the highest reverence. Now among those who, in the 2nd century, resisted the obligations of Judaism, there was a disposition to take a less favourable view of the older religion. The great majority of the Gnostic sects rejected the Old Testament altogether, and even denied that the God of the Jews was the same as He by whom Jesus had been sent. In the system of Marcion hostility to Judaism received its fullest development, and assumed the form which gained the widest acceptance. In one of the oldest of the Christian documents not received into the Church's Canon, the epistle which bears the name of Barnabas, though the authority of the Old Testament is fully acknowledged, yet the Jewish rites are rejected, not merely as not now binding on Christians, but as never having been binding on the Jews themselves. They are represented as having adopted them through a misunderstanding of the Divine precepts, under the influence of an evil angel. The fact that the opinion concerning the Old Testament which was held by the Pauline Churches is that which we hold ourselves, ought not to prevent us from seeing how singular, and even inconsistent, it must have appeared when it was first put forward. It must have seemed strange that men should side with the Jews in opposing those who impugned the Divine authority of the Old Testament, and yet refuse to regard the institutions which it ordained, as binding on them. We are bound to account historically for the wide acceptance in the Christian Church of such a view. We have the explanation at once if we acknowledge the genuineness of the group of Epistles of which that to the Galatians is one. For it would then appear that the Pauline Churches but followed the teaching of their founder, who, in the very letters in which he resisted most strenuously the attempt to impose Jewish ordinances on Gentiles, yet fully acknowledged the authority of the Jewish Scriptures, and quoted them more largely than in any other writings ascribed to him. The historical problem remains without solution if we reject these Epistles.

But perhaps more has been said than was necessary in defence of the genuineness of the Epistle to the Galatians and of the other three Epistles (Romans and the two Corinthians) which must stand or fall with it. The arguments urged against these Epistles by extreme followers of Baur have no force except as *ad hominem*; and though they may prove successfully that it is inconsistent to accept these Epistles and reject those to the Philippians and the First to the Thessalonians, yet those who cannot accept both of Baur's decisions will generally choose to adopt the first rather than the second.

II. *Persons addressed.*—The Epistle to the Galatians differs from the rest of Paul's Epistles to Churches, in being addressed, not, like those, to the Church of some leading city, but to the Churches of a district; and in the article GALATIA it is explained that there is an ambiguity in this word which may denote either the geographical district of Galatia, or the Roman province of that name, which included besides a good deal of adjacent territory. We turn, then, to the Acts of the Apostles in order to discover whether the history therein contained enables us to determine the question.

Now, although the Book of the Acts is in accordance with the Epistle to the Galatians in the testimony which it bears to the existence in the very early Church of a controversy on the subject of circumcision which soon came to be forgotten, yet these two witnesses are clearly independent. We must presently discuss whether the variation between the accounts of St. Paul's history, as given in the Acts and as inferred from the Epistle to the Galatians, is such as to impair the credibility of either witness, but certainly the unlikeness is such that we can say with confidence that the author of either document could not possibly have seen the other. From the 2nd century downwards, St. Paul has been mainly known to the Christian world as the author of documents used in the public reading of the Church. To the writer of the Book of the Acts St. Paul is known only as an active missionary, and it is not so much as mentioned that he ever wrote a letter to a distant Church. Signs of acquaintance with any of the extant letters are very doubtful, and it may be pronounced as certain that the Epistle to the Galatians was not known to the author of the Acts. It is evident what an early date this obliges us to assign to the latter Book, viz. the time before St. Paul's Epistles had passed, from being the exclusive possession of the Churches to which they were severally addressed, into general Church use. It is needless to discuss the untenable hypothesis that the writer of the Epistle to the Galatians could have known the Book of the Acts.

In the account of St. Paul's first missionary journey given in Acts xiv. we are told of his having preached the Gospel in Antioch in Pisidia, in Iconium, in Derbe and Lystra, cities which belonged to the Roman province of Galatia. St. Luke never uses the word Galatia in speaking of these cities: on the contrary, he describes Derbe and Lystra geographically as cities of Lycaonia; but we must admit the possibility that St. Paul's use of language may have been different from St. Luke's.

If St. Paul visited Galatia proper, it must have been on his second missionary journey, recorded in Acts xvi.; but the very scantiest account is there given of the Apostle's labours in the Galatian district. It strengthens our belief in the reliance to be placed on the accuracy of St. Luke's history, when we find how silent he is as to occurrences at which he was not either actually present or had means of full information. He does give a pretty full account of St. Paul's first missionary journey: but there is good reason to think that St. Luke was a resident at Antioch, and he tells how St. Paul and St. Barnabas on their return gathered the Church of that city together and rehearsed all that God had done with them. But St. Luke was not St. Paul's companion in the first part of the Apostle's second missionary journey: for we find from his use of the pronoun "we" that he did not join the Apostle until his arrival at Troas (Acts xvi. 10). Accordingly, of all that previously took place on that tour he only

relates one incident at length, and for his knowledge of that we can easily account. When St. Paul's company arrived at Troas, it included a member with whom St. Luke appears to have had no previous acquaintance, viz. Timothy. He would naturally inquire something as to the history of this new companion, and accordingly he relates how St. Paul on his visit to Derbe and Lystra had found this disciple and chosen him to be his travelling companion; but the details of St. Paul's work before he himself had joined him he does not attempt to record. What we learn is that on this visit St. Paul's work in Asia Minor began with Cilicia, and, it is natural to think, with Tarsus. Then, as has been just mentioned, we find St. Paul in Derbe and Lystra. We are next told that as St. Paul went through the cities he delivered the decrees which had been ordained by the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem. We cannot say with absolute certainty that among these cities were Iconium and Antioch in Pisidia, for St. Luke does not expressly say so. But it is not likely that St. Paul would have been in such close neighbourhood of churches which he had founded on his previous tour, and omit to deliver to them the apostolic decrees. There was a reason for St. Luke's special mention of Derbe and Lystra because the call of Timothy had to be related. St. Luke next tells of the missionary party, that "they went through the Phrygian and Galatian country, having been hindered by the Holy Ghost from speaking the Word in Asia. And when they were come over against Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia, and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not. And passing by Mysia they came down to Troas" (cp. Acts xvi. 6, 7, R. V.).

It appears from this that it had been St. Paul's original intention to travel westward from Antioch through the Roman province of Asia, meaning probably to reach the sea at Ephesus. We do not know in what way the Divine intimation was given which caused him to alter his course in a northerly direction, but we may reasonably conjecture that hindrances to his journey westward presented themselves which either he or some other prophetic member of the party instructed the rest to regard as providential guidance. We are tempted to connect with this the statement in Gal. iv. 13, the most obvious meaning of which is that St. Paul's work in the Galatian district arose out of an illness of his. Such an illness may have caused arrangements which had been made for his journey into Proconsular Asia to fall through (and possibly more than once). The question with which we are immediately concerned is, What was the country to which St. Paul next directed his course, and which St. Luke describes as the "Phrygian and Galatian country"? Renan concludes that because St. Luke next tells of St. Paul's being in Mysia, which lies far to the north-west of Antioch or Iconium, his journey must have been altogether in that direction, and that we cannot suppose him to have gone to Galatia proper, which would be much to the east of his way. But we have no right to assume, that when St. Paul's intention to go into Asia was frustrated, he at once determined to make for Mysia. He was evidently prepared to follow God's providential guidance, whithersoever it might lead him. We cannot tell what invitations to join their party he may have received from Jewish acquaintances proceeding in the Galatian direction, or what assurances of hospitable reception when they reached their destination, such as might indicate that this was where God had opened a door to him. All that St. Luke tells us is that St. Paul ultimately arrived on the borders of Mysia; but as to whether he reached that point by a direct or a circuitous route, he gives us no information.

Other biographers of St. Paul, influenced by the fact that he wrote an Epistle to the Galatians, and anxious to find a place in his history for a complete evangelization of Galatia, represent him as having been detained by illness, if not at Antioch in Pisidia, at Synnada, where the road to Asia branched off, and that he then travelled to Pessinus, the nearest town of Galatia proper. So far the suggested route corresponds sufficiently with St. Luke's narrative. But they go on to represent him as proceeding north-eastward from Pessinus to Ancyra, thence in the same direction to Tavium, and then of necessity back again to Ancyra and Pessinus. But certainly St. Luke's statement that "they went through the Phrygian and Galatian country, and came over against Mysia," is one from which we should never have gathered that we were to put a great loop on the course of St. Paul's travels, or think of him as having made a prolonged stay in Galatia. When we observe, moreover, that St. Luke carefully avoids saying that St. Paul went through "Galatia," not only in the verse already cited (xvi. 6), but also in the verse (xviii. 23) which describes another visit of St. Paul to the same region, and where again the phrase used is "the Galatian and Phrygian country," we are led to think of this phrase as meaning not so much Galatia proper as rather the country which was geographically Phrygia but politically Galatia. The result is that St. Luke's narrative does not warrant us to conclude with any certainty that St. Paul made any prolonged stay in Galatia proper, or did much work in founding Churches there; though if there be other evidence that he did, no presumption to the contrary arises from the silence of a narrative so concise as that in the Acts.

We turn therefore to St. Paul's Epistles, and first inquire what is meant by the "Churches of Galatia" (1 Cor. xvi. 1): "Concerning the collection for the saints, as I gave order to the Churches of Galatia, so also do ye." We are not entitled to conclude that because St. Luke, when historically relating the course of St. Paul's journeys, describes the places visited by their precise geographical designations, St. Paul may not have used the word Galatia in a wide sense when in want of a word to include all the Churches which he had founded in the Roman province of Galatia. In fact, if he had wished to include under one designation the Churches of Antioch, Iconium, Derbe and Lystra, together possibly with others in the adjacent district, it is hard to say what other term he could have used. There is, as we have said, no certain evidence that St. Paul founded Churches in Galatia proper; if he did, these of course would be included among the Churches of Galatia. But the question is, whether we are bound to understand St. Paul's use of the word as excluding all Churches save those of Galatia proper? Now it is not likely either that, when he was organ-

izing a collection for the poor Christians of Jerusalem, he would omit to appeal to the Churches in the Galatian province with which his relations were so intimate, or that he would leave those Churches unmentioned when writing to Corinth. Thus the word as used in the Epistle to the Corinthians will very well bear the wider sense.

We turn then to its use in the inscription of the Epistle to the Galatians. There is some temptation to understand the word here too in the wider sense. The occasion of the Epistle was the temporary success of emissaries from the Pharisaic section of the Church at Jerusalem, who inculcated circumcision as necessary for all Christians. We know from the Acts that such teachers had gone to Antioch in Syria, and it is easy to believe that similar efforts were made elsewhere; but it is strange if the only place we hear of their success should be the most remote corner of Asia Minor that St. Paul ever reached. It is therefore a tempting supposition that the Jewish teachers starting from Antioch may have followed St. Paul's own course, and made converts in the Churches of Derbe, Lystra, Antioch, and Iconium, which he had founded. We could then understand the Apostle's passionate indignation on learning the falling away of men who had once held him in such love, that "if it had been possible they would have plucked out their own eyes and have given them to him." It may also be taken in favour of this hypothesis, that if we adopt a common interpretation of Gal. iv. 13, and understand the verse to imply that St. Paul's evangelization of the "Galatians" was owing to his having been detained by sickness in their country, we must suppose this sickness to have befallen St. Paul when it had been his intention to go to some other district. But we cannot with much probability imagine him to have gone into Galatia proper merely with such an intention, whereas it would harmonize well with the story in the Acts if we could apply the word "Galatians" to the people of the place where the road to Ephesus branched off, and where the Apostle was constrained, not improbably by illness, to abandon his intention of proceeding in that direction.

On the other hand, the strongest argument for believing the Apostle to have been in Galatia proper is his exclamation (iii. 1) "O foolish Galatians!"—a phrase which it is not easy to regard as used to people of different nationalities. There is no difficulty in imagining routes for St. Paul which would have brought him into Galatia proper. Thus he might have struck north from Iconium to Ancyra, or perhaps more probably from Synnada to Pessinus. With each of these Galatian cities Jews had commercial relations; so that it is easy to conceive that the Apostle might have received an invitation to visit either place, and equally to conceive that other Jews, advocates of the necessity of circumcision, might have followed in the same track. But all this is so purely matter of conjecture, that in the absence of any positive information from St. Luke we find ourselves unable to assert with any confidence that St. Paul was ever in Galatia proper.

We could not arrive at this negative conclusion if we attached much weight to explanations which have accounted for the suddenness of the Galatian abandonment of the Gospel as taught by St. Paul, by the fact that these people were largely of Celtic extraction,—a race proverbial for fickleness. It may be doubted whether Celts formed the predominant element in the Churches of Galatia, even taking that word to denote the specially Gallic country. Its population must have contained a great mixture of races. The native Phrygian element long survived; and the Consul Manlius on his invasion was welcomed by priests of Cybele. There long continued to be among them Gauls speaking their own language, for St. Jerome tells in the Preface to the second book of his Commentary on the Galatians that he himself recognised the language which he heard spoken there as the same that he had heard spoken at Trèves. But the name Gallograecia attests how powerful the Greek element had become, consisting partly no doubt of Gauls who had learned the language, but in a great measure also of the numerous Greek settlers who had taught it to them; and lastly, the Jewish element was, as already stated, by no means inconsiderable. It must have been among the Greeks and Jews that St. Paul's converts were made, and it may be doubted whether among the Christian converts there was any very large proportion of Celtic blood.

But it is more important to observe that men of different countries share in a common nature, and that people often make mistakes in fancying they see tokens of national peculiarity in what is but the result of the working of the common human nature. Thus Bishop Lightfoot thinks it worth while to point out that the Epistle to the Galatians enumerates among the "works of the flesh," drunkenness and revellings, and that drunkenness was a darling sin of Celtic peoples; that it condemns strife and vainglory, and that the Gauls were a very irritable people; that it exhorts to liberality in almsgiving, advice much needed by Gauls, who were proverbial for avarice. But if these indications could be accepted as proofs, they would establish that the Epistle to the Ephesians also was addressed to Gauls (see v. 18; iv. 31, 28). And the Corinthians, too, are convicted of Gallic fickleness; for they also, though St. Paul's children in the faith, largely transferred their allegiance to new teachers.

But it needs no theory as to the race extraction of St. Paul's converts to account for some change in their feelings towards him. When the Galatians were first converted, they knew no other Christian teacher than St. Paul; but they learned from him to recognise Jerusalem as the head-quarters of the religion, and they heard of the Twelve as having received apostleship from Christ Himself. No wonder that they were profoundly impressed when teachers came among them claiming to speak with the authority of the parent Church, and informing them that new conditions still must be complied with before they could be recognised as perfect Christians. Nor is it strange if, when they pleaded that St. Paul who had founded their Church had never insisted on these conditions, they were staggered at being told that St. Paul himself was but a new convert, and was not one whose authority could be set in opposi-

tion to that of the Apostles whom Christ had appointed.

With regard to the persons addressed, there remains still the question whether they were Jews or Gentiles; but it is plain from the whole drift of the Epistle that the writer had Gentiles principally in view. He protests (vi. 12) against those who would force circumcision on them, and declares (v. 2) that if they were circumcised Christ would profit them nothing. This clearly does not apply to men who, like himself, had been circumcised in infancy. And (iv. 8) he expressly speaks of the time when his readers, "not knowing God, did service to them which by nature are no gods." The phrase too "in mine own nation" (i. 14) implies that those whom he addressed were of a different nation. On the other hand, we may reasonably believe that the bulk of the Gentile converts had entered the Gentile Church through the road of Judaism. St. Paul's invariable practice was to commence his missionary work in each city by preaching in the Jewish synagogue or place of worship (Acts xiii. 14; xiv. 1; xvi. 13; xvii. 1, 10, 17; xviii. 4); and, as at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 43) the first Gentile converts would always be made from among the "devout persons" who were in the habit of attending the Jewish worship. That reverence for the Old Testament which was common to both "Jews and proselytes," and was shared by St. Paul himself, would be taught by him to all the converts which he made. Consequently, though appeals to the Old Testament, as a book familiarly known and held in authority by all his readers, are frequent in the Epistle to the Galatians, this affords no ground for doubting the predominance of the Gentile element in the Galatian Churches.

III. *Date of the Epistle.*—The most generally accepted chronology of the part of St. Paul's life with which we are here concerned, is as follows:—The second missionary journey, in which the Apostle went through the "Phrygian and Galatian country," is assigned to the years 51 and 52; the third journey, in which he visited the same district again, to the year 54. Then succeed three years at Ephesus; shortly before leaving which place in 57, he writes the First Epistle to the Corinthians. From Ephesus he travels through Macedonia, and arrives at Corinth; before leaving which place in 58, he writes the Epistle to the Romans. For our present purpose it is immaterial whether we are wrong in accepting these dates as approximately correct, since we are concerned to determine, not in what year of our Lord the Epistle to the Galatians was written, but in what part of St. Paul's life.

In St. Paul's first missionary tour we read (Acts xiv.) of his having evangelized Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch; and it has been already explained that the Churches so formed might in a certain sense be described as Churches of Galatia. It has been suggested that, by thus understanding the phrase, we could account for the illness which led to the Apostle's work in Galatia, as resulting from injuries sustained by him when he was stoned in Lystra. If we could imagine the Epistle to the Galatians to have been written from Antioch after his return from his first tour, we could account for the absence in the letter of any reference to the conclusions come to at Jerusalem, as recorded in Acts xv. But the attempt to assign so early a date collapses in face of the mention in the Epistle (ch. ii.) of a visit made by St. Paul to Jerusalem, at least 14 years, perhaps 17 years, after his conversion. The visit, recorded in Acts xi. 30, took place before any of St. Paul's missionary journeys, and at a time when controversy concerning the necessity of circumcision is not likely to have arisen. St. Luke places it before the death of Herod; that is to say, before the year 44, and this would leave no room for the 14 or 17 years. We are therefore constrained to agree with the great majority of commentators in identifying the visit referred to in Gal. ii. with that recorded in Acts xv. This would oblige us to place the letter after A.D. 51; and on other grounds we have come to the conclusion that the Churches addressed had been formed on St. Paul's second missionary journey, A.D. 52. Thus, then, we have a limit in one direction to the date of the Epistle.

Expressions in the Epistle which have been used to fix the date more closely cannot be relied on as decisive. Thus it has been held that the words (i. 6) "I marvel that ye are *so soon* removed [" so quickly removing," R. V.] from him that called you into the grace of God," oblige us to assign the earliest possible date to the Epistle. But "soon" is an indefinite phrase, and the limits within which the date of the Epistle must lie are narrow; so that Paul might conceivably have spoken of the Galatian apostasy as rapid, even at the latest date we can assign to the letter.

On the other hand, the words (iv. 13) "how I preached the Gospel *at the first*" (*τὸ πρότερον*) are translated in the Revised Version "the first time" or "the former time," and it has been inferred that St. Paul refers to two visits to Galatia; in other words, that his Epistle was written after his second visit. The argument is not absolutely decisive, because in view of the passages, John vi. 62, ix. 8, 1 Tim. i. 13, it must be admitted that *τὸ πρότερον* need not necessarily mean, on the former of two occasions, but might mean simply "formerly." Yet, if we suppose the Epistle to have been written after the first visit and before the second, the period of which he is speaking could not have been more than a year or two previously, and *τὸ πρότερον* is not a phrase which we should expect to be used in referring to it. Thus the presumption remains that the Epistle was written after the second visit. Another ambiguous passage bearing on the present question is (i. 8, 9): "though we or an Angel from heaven should preach unto you any Gospel other than that which you received, let him be anathema. *As we have said before*, so say I now again, If any man preach unto you any Gospel other than that which you received, let him be anathema." The question is, Do the words in *v.* 9, "as we have said before," refer merely to what has been said in *v.* 8, or do they refer to something said by word of mouth when the Apostle was in Galatia? Against the former supposition may be urged, that if the Apostle thought it necessary for greater emphasis to repeat a second time what he had said, we should expect him to speak rather more strongly the second time than the first. Thus, after he

had bidden them not to receive *any one* who preached a different Gospel, we could understand his going on to say, "Yea, if even an Angel from heaven were to preach a different Gospel, let him be anathema." But there is something of an anticlimax when the "Angel from heaven" occurs in the first verse, "any one" in the second. Again, it is to be noted that after the opening salutation, in which "all the brethren that are with me" are included, St. Paul, in *v.* 6, uses the first person singular, I, and continues it throughout the Epistle. Therefore, if in *v.* 9 he were merely repeating what had been said in *v.* 8, we should expect him to say, "as *I* have said before." There are therefore grounds for considering the "we" of *v.* 9 to be really used in a collective sense, and for supposing that reference is made to a warning given by the missionary party when present in Galatia. If this be so, this warning is more likely to have been given on the second visit than on the first evangelization of the Church, at which time there would be no rival teachers against whom warning would be necessary.

In order to determine more accurately the place of the Epistle to the Galatians in the series of St. Paul's letters, it is necessary to compare it with other letters written about the same period, as we may judge from their exhibiting the Apostle's mind occupied with the same controversies.

The Epistle to the Romans.—This Epistle not only has coincidences with that to the Galatians in a number of phrases and statements common to both, but the exposition of the Apostle's reasons for resisting the imposition of circumcision as necessary to salvation is so much alike in the two that we might equally draw an account of these reasons from one or the other. The choice his readers had to make was whether they would seek for justification through the works of the Law or through faith in Christ. Now by the former method success was impossible. The Law demanded complete obedience. The conditions on which it offered life were stated in words of Moses, quoted in both Epistles (Gal. iii. 12, Rom. x. 5): "The man that doeth these things shall live in them." It pronounced a curse on all who came short of complete obedience: "Cursed is every one who continueth not in all things that are written in the Book of the Law to do them" (Gal. iii. 10). In point of fact no one, either Jew or Gentile, has succeeded in yielding this perfect obedience. The detailed proof of this occupies the first three chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. And the conclusion is given in almost identical words in the two Epistles: "By the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified" (Rom. iii. 20; Gal. ii. 16).

The Apostle does not content himself with the negative statement that justification could not be obtained through the Law of Moses; he shows that the Old Testament had pointed out a different way: "That no man is justified by the Law in the sight of God, it is evident, for 'The just shall live by faith'" (Gal. ii. 11; Rom. i. 17). And this way was the earlier. The covenant of promise was made with Abraham because of his faith. "Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness" (Rom. iv. 3; Gal. iii. 6). That promise was 430 years earlier than the giving of the Law to Moses, and could not be disannulled by an institution so much later (Gal. iii. 17). Nay, it was anterior to the institution of the rite of circumcision; for the statement that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness refers to an earlier period of Abraham's life, and he only received the sign of circumcision as a seal of the righteousness which he had had before he was circumcised (Rom. iv. 11).

But the promise made to Abraham was not to himself alone. It was to him and *to his seed.* That seed was Christ, and they are to be accounted the true seed of Abraham who are Christ's, and who have the faith of Abraham (Gal. ii. 16). For Abraham was not the father of the Jews only. It is written that he was to be the father of many nations; and so he was the father not of the circumcision only, but of all them that believe, circumcised or not (Rom. iv. 11). Nay, those Israelites after the flesh who were under bondage to the Mosaic Law, though they might be children of Abraham, were not heirs of the promises to Abraham. Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a free woman: the one born after the flesh, the other through the promise. As then, so now, he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit. But what saith the Scripture? "Cast out the bondmaid and her son, for the son of the bondmaid shall not be heir with the son of the free woman" (Gal. iv. 28–30).

But if it has been proved that the Law is ineffectual as a means of justification, does it follow that it was useless and not divinely instituted? Nay, there was a time when it had served an important use. The heir, as long as he is a child, is under subjection to tutors and governors appointed by the father. Such a tutor had the Law been to the heirs of promise. It had made them conscious of sin, and pronounced a curse on disobedience from which itself was powerless to deliver; and thus trained those who were under its tutorship to look for justification through faith in Christ, Who has redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us. This reconciliation of the rejection of the Mosaic Law with an acknowledgment of its excellence and of the uses which it served is common to Rom. vii. and Gal. iii. 21–26. And, lastly, the Apostle protests that the liberty to which his disciples were called must not degenerate into licence; teaching them, in words common to both Epistles, how the love which springs from faith in Christ secures the complete fulfilment of the Law, "For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Gal. v. 14; Rom. xiii. 8–10).

Besides the general agreement in the exposition of theory, the two Epistles are full of coincidences in phrases and forms of expression. Notice has already been taken that the same passages from the Old Testament are quoted in both (Gen. xv. 5; Lev. xviii. 5; Ps. cxliii. 2; Heb. ii. 4); and it may be added that in both occurs the same formula of Old Testament citation, "what saith the Scripture?" (Rom. iv. 3; Gal. iv. 30,) and that in the quotation of Ps. cxliii. 2 there are variations from the LXX. in which both Epistles agree; viz., the phrase "the works of the Law" is

introduced, and "no flesh" is substituted for "no man living."

We add two or three out of a great number of parallel passages:

ROM. viii. 14–17. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God. For ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit Himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ."	GAL. iv. 5–7. "That we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. So that thou art no longer a bond-servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir through God."
ROM. vi. 6–8. "Our old man was crucified with Him. . . . But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him."	GAL. ii. 20. "I have been crucified with Christ: yet I live; yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me"
ROM. vii. 4. "Ye also were made dead to the Law . . . that we might bring forth fruit unto God."	GAL. ii. 19. "For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God."
ROM. vii. 23–25. "I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind . . . I myself with the mind serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin."	GAL. v. 17. "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: for these are contrary the one to the other: that ye may not do the things that ye would."
ROM. vii. 15. "Not what I would, that do I practise; but what I hate, that I do."	

It is needless to multiply quotations; for the proofs already alleged amount to a demonstration of the common authorship of the two Epistles. And writers are generally agreed that the Epistle to the Galatians must be the earlier of the two. This Epistle is a vehement argument struck out under the immediate needs of a pressing controversy; the other is a calm presentation of the same argument in a complete and systematic form. We may then take the year 58, to which the Epistle to the Romans is commonly assigned, as a lower limit to the date of the Epistle to the Galatians.

The great resemblance in phraseology between the Epistles gives us a right to infer that they could not have been separated by any long interval of time. This argument is not so strong as in the case of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, which we otherwise know to have been written at the same time and sent by the same messenger, and where the nature of the topics is not such as to make it likely that the same thoughts would for a long time so occupy the writer's mind as to find expression in the same words. But as long as the controversy concerning circumcision was going on, the Apostle would be likely on different occasions to use the same arguments, and perhaps without much variety of expression. Still, when we observe what great variety of style there is in St. Paul's letters,—even in the four letters written while the controversy concerning circumcision was going on; how different these are from the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and these again from the Epistle to the Philippians, from the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, and from the Pastoral Epistles,—it becomes hard to believe that long time could have passed over without producing more change of style and topics than we find between the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians.

There is no necessity to believe that the controversy concerning circumcision was of long duration: we can even see that it was dying out when the Epistle to the Romans was written. If the Epistle to the Galatians had been the only one to come down to us, the verse (v. 2) "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing," might lead us to think that the Apostle altogether condemned the observance of the Mosaic Law by Christians. Yet in the Epistle to the Romans (chs. xiv., xv.) we find the observance of Jewish distinctions of days and of meats treated as a matter of indifference, with regard to which it is a duty to be tolerant, and even to abstain from using our own liberty in such a way as to lead others to do what their consciences condemn, though in our eyes it might be innocent. On looking more closely at the Epistle to the Galatians, we find that what the Apostle condemns (ch. v.) is not the observance of Jewish ordinances, but the insisting on them as necessary to justification. To seek for justification in such a way was an abandonment of the only possible way of justification, that through faith in Christ; for if we attempted it by the Law we made ourselves debtors to observe the whole of it, an undertaking in which success must be impossible. But though the more tolerant attitude of the Epistle to the Romans is quite reconcilable with the doctrine of that to the Galatians, it would scarcely have been assumed until the strain of the conflict with the Judaizers had somewhat relaxed.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians.—On the other hand, that conflict appears hardly to have begun when the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written. Considering the great variety of topics dwelt on in that letter, it is quite remarkable that that topic which was uppermost in the Apostle's thoughts when he wrote the Galatian letter is altogether in the background in the Corinthian letter. There are many traces that the Apostle's view of the way of salvation was at both times the same (1 Cor. i. 30; vi. 11; xv. 3, 56). In the Corinthian as well as in the Galatian letter he treats circumcision or uncircumcision as a matter of complete indifference as far as salvation is concerned (1 Cor. vii. 19; Gal. v. 6). But in the Corinthian letter this is taken for granted, and is not the subject of laborious argumentation: he is there occupied less with exposition of dogma than with questions of practical morality. It is true that St. Paul's authority at Corinth seems already to have suffered something from the rivalry of other teachers; but only because they were imagined to outshine him in eloquence or learning, and there is no trace that they differed from him in doctrine, seeing that he feels himself under no necessity to enter on the task of refuta-

tion. There is very little parallelism between 1 Corinthians and Galatians, beyond that between the verses (1 Cor. vii. 19; Gal. v. 6) just quoted, and the fact that in both Epistles the proverb is quoted, "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (1 Cor. v. 6; Gal. v. 9).

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians.—But parallels are extremely numerous between Galatians and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians; and the fact that the Galatian letter is so much more akin to the Second Corinthian letter than to the First, is a strong argument for placing it in order of time later than the First. During the interval between the two Corinthian letters the influence of teachers in that Church rival to St. Paul appears to have largely increased; for while in the First Epistle the Apostle contents himself with deprecating schisms, and protesting against making the reception of the Gospel depend on the excellence of the human teachers who promulgated it, in the Second Epistle he finds himself under the necessity of vindicating his own authority, and comparing his claims on his disciples' regards with those of the teachers who had been put forward as his rivals. But the necessity of this self-vindication gives the Apostle much pain, and that chiefly on account of the contrast between the affection his disciples had formerly borne him and their present withdrawal of confidence. In the exhibition of the writer's pain at ill-returned affection we have the closest affinity between the Epistle to the Galatians and the Second to the Corinthians. In the former the Apostle recalls (iv. 15) how the Galatians had first received him as an Angel of God, when if it had been possible they would have plucked out their own eyes and have given them to him; in the latter (xii. 15) their distrust forces from him the bitter complaint, "The more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved." Other coincidences enumerated by Lightfoot, some of them very striking, are Gal. i. 6, 2 Cor. xi. 4; Gal. i. 9, 2 Cor. xiii. 2; Gal. i. 10, 2 Cor. v. 11; Gal. iii. 3, 2 Cor. viii. 6; Gal. iii. 13, 2 Cor. v. 21; Gal. iv. 17, 2 Cor. xi. 2; Gal. v. 15, 2 Cor. xi. 20; Gal. vi. 15, 2 Cor. v. 17.

In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians St. Paul relies entirely on his personal authority for suppressing the rivalry of other teachers, and does not give, as he does in the Epistle to the Galatians, an argumentative refutation of their teaching. Possibly he had received no full report of their teaching at the time when he wrote the former letter. But whereas in 1 Cor. the tendency of the Corinthians to form parties in their Church is merely rebuked, without any hint as to doctrinal differences between the parties, we find traces in 2 Cor. that the Apostle's most formidable rivals belonged to the Jewish section of the Church. We gather this from his appeal (xi. 22): "Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I." And it seems not improbable that both in the case of the Churches of Corinth and of Galatia the rival teachers had come down with some mission from the Church of Jerusalem which authorized them to describe themselves as ἀπόστολοι. This title had been given among the Jews to emissaries sent to collect the Temple tribute, and we learn from the *Didaché* that it continued to be used in the Christian society of representatives sent by one Church to another. In this sense the word occurs (2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25). If we suppose the rival teachers to have been able to claim this title, we have the explanation why the Apostle, in the opening of the Epistle to the Galatians, claims to be himself an Apostle, but one sent not by men, but by Jesus Christ Himself; and we may conjecture a reference to these teachers in those who are described (2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11) as *οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι*. On the whole, then, we seem to have the most probable account of the origin of the Galatian letter by supposing that some little time after the Apostle had written the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and while he was still uneasy as to the result of the attempts to undermine his authority at Corinth, his anxieties were brought to a climax by tidings that Judaizing emissaries had penetrated so far as to the remote Churches which he had founded in Galatia, who, disparaging his authority in comparison with that of the Apostles whom they claimed to represent, had succeeded in causing among those simple disciples a large defection from the Gospel which St. Paul had preached, of salvation through faith in Christ without the works of the Law. The actual letter well corresponds with what might have been written under the tumult of feelings excited by this intelligence.

Galatians and the Acts of the Apostles.—In the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians, which contain the Apostle's vindication of his personal authority, he gives an autobiographical sketch of his previous history, differing in so many respects from the account given in the Acts of the Apostles, that we have already pronounced it to be impossible that the author of that Book could have seen the Galatian letter. But there are those who have contended that the discrepancies are so great that the account in the Acts cannot be accepted as truthful, and must be regarded as the dishonest attempt of a writer of the 2nd century to suppress the true history of early dissensions in the Church. But it is scarcely possible that a writer of the 2nd century could be so unacquainted with the Epistle to the Galatians as the author of the Acts manifestly is. And it is certainly inconsistent that objectors who hold no theory of verbal inspiration should apply different rules in their judgment of the New Testament Books and of other books of like character. If we had to compare the account given by a veteran statesman of transactions in which he had taken part fourteen years or more previously with an independent history of the same transactions written by a younger member of his party several years still later, it is likely enough that we should find discrepancies which we might attribute either to imperfect recollection in the one case or imperfect information in the other, yet feel no inclination to doubt either the authorship of either document or its importance to any one desirous to study the history of the period. For example, the authenticity of the Acts has been impugned because the Book makes no mention of St. Paul's retirement to Arabia, of which he tells in Gal. i. 17. But, in the parallel case we have imagined

the fact that the younger writer appeared to be unacquainted with some incidents in the early life of his leader would not be felt as a reason for doubting his ability to give a trustworthy account of those public acts which came under the narrator's cognizance. On the other hand, the Acts (xi. 30) relate a visit to Jerusalem made by St. Paul and St. Barnabas as bearers of a money contribution, of which visit no mention is made in the Epistle to the Galatians. But in that Epistle the writer's object is to prove his independence of the elder Apostles, and for this purpose to tell how little in point of fact he had seen of them. Now it appears from the narrative in the Acts that the Apostles were absent from Jerusalem at the time of this visit, and that the contribution was handed not to them, but to "the Elders." If this were profane history, we should not trouble ourselves much to speculate how the two accounts were to be reconciled; whether it was that St. Paul thought it irrelevant to mention a very short visit to Jerusalem in which he had no interview with Apostles, or that he had even forgotten that visit when he was writing, or that the contribution, though entrusted to St. Paul and St. Barnabas, had actually been delivered by the latter.

Again, there seems every reason to believe that the visit to Jerusalem, of which St. Paul speaks in Gal. ii., is the same as that of which St. Luke tells in Acts xv.: but there are discrepancies. St. Paul says that he went up "by revelation," St. Luke that he went up by appointment of the brethren at Antioch: St. Luke only tells of a public meeting of the Church at Jerusalem, St. Paul of private consultation between himself and the elder Apostles. Yet there is no difficulty in receiving both accounts and regarding them as supplementary. We can accept the statement of St. Luke that St. Paul appeared in Jerusalem as commissioned by the Church of Antioch, and also St. Paul's own statement that it was by revelation the idea had been suggested to him that the way to put an end to the dissensions raised at Antioch by emissaries who claimed to speak with the authority of the Church at Jerusalem, was to send a deputation to the parent Church in order to ascertain whether that claim was well founded. It appears from Acts xv. 3 that in order that the report of the deputation might be above all suspicion "certain others" were joined on it with St. Paul and St. Barnabas. Again, we can readily believe on the authority of Gal. ii., that before the public meeting of which St. Luke tells, St. Paul had, as prudence would suggest, held a conference with the leading Apostles, and had come to an agreement with them as to the line that was to be taken. There would be nothing surprising if St. Luke were not acquainted with what had taken place in such private conference; and, on the other hand, St. Paul's words (Gal. ii. 2) do not exclude allusion to a conference with the Church generally, though it is most to his purpose to dwell on the sanction given to his course of action by the leading Apostles. Clearly discrepancies of the kind here noticed, though they would need to be carefully considered if we were discussing whether the inspiration granted to the sacred writers was such as to preclude the possibility of the smallest inaccuracy, and though the possibility of diversely reconciling them may leave room for doubt or difference of opinion as to some details of the history, yet afford no grounds for suspicion of the good faith of the narrator of either of the accounts we are comparing.

But the criticism which is really worth considering is that which, not content with striving to make capital out of small discrepancies, endeavours to show that the Book of the Acts entirely misrepresents St. Paul's method of preaching the Gospel and his relations to the elder Apostles. In the Acts St. Paul is represented as following the fixed rule of addressing himself to the Jews first, and never feeling himself at liberty to go to the heathen until the Jews have rejected him. In every city he comes to he makes his first visit to the Jewish synagogue, and only turns to the Gentiles when repulsed there (Acts xiii. 45, xviii. 6). Nor even do we find him adopting a different method at Athens (see Acts xvii. 17), where there were facilities for entering into direct discussion with heathen philosophers such as did not exist elsewhere. But we are told that "the real Paul" was from the first profoundly conscious of being distinctly Apostle to the heathen (Gal. i. 15), and would not hear of any distinction of Jew from Gentile, or any privilege of the former over the latter. Again, St. Paul is represented in the Acts as only solicitous to relieve the Gentiles from the yoke of submission to the Jewish Law, but as quite willing that that Law should be observed by those who were Jews by birth; nay, as observing it himself. He goes up to Jerusalem to attend the Jewish feasts (Acts xviii. 21, xx. 16); he circumcises Timothy (xvi. 3); he makes a vow and shaves his head at Cenchrea (xviii. 18); and he finally loses his liberty in consequence of having shown himself in the Temple joining in the offerings made by four other men who had a vow. But we are told that such concessions could never have been made by "the real Paul," who held that men even of Jewish birth ought not to observe the Law, circumcision and salvation being incompatible, for he had told his disciples that if they should be circumcised Christ should profit them nothing. Finally, the sermons ascribed to St. Paul in the Acts only treat of the Messiahship of Jesus and of the doctrine of the Resurrection, and are silent on the topic of which St. Paul's mind was full, viz. justification by faith without the works of the Law, while the language put in the mouth of St. Peter is thoroughly Pauline. And generally the representation given in the Acts of the friendly attitude of St. Peter and St. James towards St. Paul and his preaching is said to be incredible in view of what the Epistle to the Galatians reveals as to the hostility between St. Paul and the elder Apostles.

Now, if we had to admit the interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians to be correct, which represents St. Paul as from the first conceiving his mission to be exclusively to the Gentiles, we should be forced to agree with the extreme critics of Baur's school, who, holding with their master that the representations in the Acts and in the Galatians are irreconcilable with each other, declare that the former are so much the more credible that if we have to reject one or other we must reject the latter. In fact

the method of preaching ascribed to St. Paul by St. Luke, namely that of beginning by preaching in the Jewish synagogues, is exactly that which a Christian missionary might have been expected to adopt. Even if he had the conversion of Gentiles solely in view, it was in the synagogues that he would find Gentiles already convinced of the folly of polytheism, and acquainted with the Jewish prophecies, and thus prepared to follow the proof that these prophecies were fulfilled in Jesus. But it is not credible that one who loved his own nation so ardently as St. Paul (Rom. ix. 3) would make no effort for the conversion of at least some of them; and the rule of preaching ascribed to him in Acts xiii. 46, "It was necessary that the word of God should first be preached to you," is in perfect harmony with Rom. i. 16, "to the Jew first and also the Gentile." In any case, we can assert with certainty that the Gentile converts, addressed in the Galatian letter, had been made through the road of Judaism. They are all assumed to be well acquainted with the Old Testament and to acknowledge its authority, nor could the success with them of the Jewish inculcators of circumcision be credible if they had not been previously well affected towards Judaism. They were then exactly such converts as would have been made if St. Paul's method of preaching had been such as St. Luke describes.

Again St. Luke's account that St. Paul was led on to realize his commission as Apostle to the Gentiles only gradually, and through the providential leading of events, is far more credible than that he assumed this attitude at once on his conversion. Surely the transition to becoming a preacher from having been a persecutor of Jesus Christ was startling enough to fill one period of the Apostle's life, and we ought in all reason to allow him a considerable time to familiarize himself with his new position before expecting him to make a second change equally startling, that from having been a bigoted Jew to one who rejected all the rules of Judaism, and made no difference between circumcised and uncircumcised. If St. Paul had made this change at once, he would have found himself in a position of complete isolation and without a single sympathizer. But no one could less afford to dispense with sympathy than St. Paul. His Epistles reveal him as a man of the strongest affections, always accompanied in his missionary travels by a band of fellow-workers, unhappy when left alone by them, and, we may well believe, roused to the highest indignation against the Judaizers, through his strong affection for his Gentile converts, on whom it was proposed to lay an intolerable burden.

Again, it is a complete misunderstanding of the doctrine of St. Paul's Epistles to imagine that he censured the observance of Jewish rites by men of Jewish birth. His doctrine all through is that such observance is, as far as salvation is concerned, a thing indifferent; that compliance with national customs is not a duty and not a sin. Those who had not been circumcised need not be circumcised; those who had were not to obliterate the mark of circumcision (1 Cor. vii. 18). He himself (1 Cor. ix. 20) gives direct confirmation to St. Luke's account of his conduct, declaring that to the Jews he had become as a Jew, to those under the Law as under the Law, becoming all things to all men that he might by all means save some. It is quite intelligible that a man holding these principles should refuse to circumcise Titus when the rite was insisted on as a necessity, but be willing to circumcise Timothy, who by the mother's side was of Jewish birth, when his uncircumcision put a bar to his usefulness as a preacher of the Gospel. It may be added that no statement in the Acts is more trustworthy than that of the circumcision of Timothy, since, as we have already remarked, an attentive study of the whole section shows that St. Luke must have got his information from Timothy himself.

Lastly, with regard to St. Luke's report of St. Paul's preaching, surely no wise missionary to heathen would begin by entangling them in controversies internal to Christians. Men must be made to believe that Jesus was the Messiah and that He rose from the dead before they could be expected to take interest in the question whether or not he had included in his Gospel the condition of compliance with Mosaic ordinances. St. Luke's narrative might justly have been suspected if he had represented St. Paul as pursuing a different course in such sermons as he has reported. For St. Paul himself has named these two fundamental points as the essential conditions of salvation, "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved" (Rom. x. 9). Since the Epistle to the Galatians reports that James, Cephas, and John had acquiesced in St. Paul's mission to the heathen, no apology is necessary if St. Luke in his report of their public utterances represents them as in accordance with St. Paul.

The Council of Jerusalem. — Although St. Luke's narrative in Acts xv. admits of easy reconciliation with Gal. ii., there remains the difficulty that no mention is made in Galatians of the letter which St. Luke reports as sent to different Churches, stating the obligations to which it was agreed on at the Jerusalem conference that Gentiles should be subjected; and further that when St. Paul himself (1 Cor. viii. x.; Rom. xiv.) discusses the lawfulness of eating meat offered to idols, he completely disregards the injunctions of that apostolic letter. Here it must be owned that the Pauline Epistles enable us to correct the impression which the narrative in the Acts, if it stood alone, would convey. It has been common with Church writers to speak of the meeting related in Acts xv. as the "first general council;" and, one might thence infer, as having made ordinances binding on the Church in all times and all places. But in point of fact the prohibition against eating blood is not only obsolete among ourselves, but had become so in the time of St. Augustine (*Cont. Faust.* xxxii. 13), where he tells that those who were scrupulous in this matter were then only laughed at. And he explains the prohibition as one temporarily necessary when Jewish members of the Church were numerous, who could not join in a common meal with those that did not observe it, but as needless where Jewish Christians were scarcely to be found. Yet in the 2nd century this prohibition was observed, and probably derived its authority from this very chapter of the Acts. One of the Lyons martyrs of the year 177 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. i. 27), when

questioned concerning the stock calumny that Christians at their meetings drank human blood, exclaimed, "How could we drink the blood of men, who do not think it lawful to drink the blood of beasts!" (see also Tert. *Apol.* 9.) The juxtaposition also in Rev. ii. 14, 20, of committing fornication and eating things sacrificed to idols, falls in completely with St. Luke's account, that an apostolic letter containing these two prohibitions in close sequence had been widely circulated. The letter itself, however, as given by St. Luke, is only addressed to the "brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia"; and it appears from St. Paul's Epistles that he did not think himself bound to give it a wider application. While he gladly accepted the relief from the necessity of circumcision which that letter gave to Gentile converts, he himself regarded the use of meat offered to idols as a thing in itself indifferent, and which only became unlawful on account of the scandal which it might cause.

We must be struck with the modernness of the Apostle's views on this subject. The opinions widely current at the time are most fully exhibited in the Pseudo-Clementine writings. They teach that food offered in an idol temple was taken possession of by the demon who really was the divinity there worshipped: that consequently that food became so changed in its character that any one who partook of it, whether he knew what had befallen it or not, was liable to be taken possession of by the same demon. These ideas passed into the Christian Church, and the benediction of food before use was felt by many to be not merely, as we regard it, an act of thanksgiving to God for His bounty, but also a protection against demonic power. Thus Gregory the Great in his Dialogues tells of a nun who in a garden inadvertently ate a lettuce without crossing herself, and so became possessed by a demon who chanced to be on the lettuce at the time (*Dial.* i. 4). To our feelings the advice given by St. Paul to his converts commends itself as what would naturally be given by a man wise and sensible as well as pious, and as not involving any matter of controversy. His advice in substance was, "Do not trouble yourself with anxious scrupulosity about the food you eat. Meat will not make you better or worse. If it has even been brought into the idol temple, it cannot communicate to you any pollution it may have received there. But if it appears that your partaking of these dedicated meats will be construed by your heathen hosts into homage or adherence to false gods; or if, though intending no such homage yourselves, you influence by your example brother Christians, not so well instructed as yourselves, to do what to their mind implies adherence to idolatry, then what had before been indifferent becomes unlawful." This advice takes for granted that meat offered to idols has not in itself the power of communicating pollution or causing injury to the recipient, and that, if we are bound to abstain, it is not for our own sake but for that of others. But, however readily we might grant this, it was no matter of course that it should be conceded in St. Paul's time. In fact the opposite theory is maintained in books written not long after his time by men of good natural gifts, well acquainted with the philosophy of their day, of varied knowledge and considerable intellectual acuteness. Our Lord however, when asked about certain foods supposed to be polluting, threw His answer into a pointed form well adapted to fix itself on the memory of the hearers: "Not that which goeth into the mouth, but that which cometh out of the mouth, defileth a man." Though St. Paul was not a personal hearer of our Lord, this maxim of His could scarcely have been unknown to him, and it may well have influenced the advice he gave his converts. Looking on the question in the light he did, it is intelligible that he would not care to extend the absolute prohibition of the Jerusalem conference further than to the Churches to which it was addressed, and that he would feel himself free to permit Christians elsewhere to use their liberty provided it were so done as to cause no hurt to others.

The Conflict with St. Peter.—Although it would be impossible in this article to discuss all the passages in the Epistle on which serious controversy has arisen, it would not be right to leave unnoticed a passage which has attracted so much attention as that (ii. 11 sq.) which reveals the fact that at one time two leading Apostles were at open variance with each other. Porphyry used it to undermine the credit of both Apostles, arguing that either St. Peter is convicted of ignorance of the religion which he professed to teach, or St. Paul of gross disrespect towards an elder Apostle. The Pseudo-Clementine romance of which St. Peter is the hero, regards opposition to him as only possible to have been made by an enemy; and though in referring to the transaction it suppresses St. Paul's name and substitutes that of Simon Magus, yet coincidences of language with the Epistle to the Galatians clearly show that St. Paul was intended. Clement of Alexandria appears to have felt that disagreement between Apostles was impossible; and he solved the difficulty by the hypothesis that Cephas, under which name the teacher rebuked by St. Paul is designated in the Galatians, was not Peter the Apostle, but only one of the seventy disciples (Luke x.). The arguments in favour of this view were that St. Peter had in the case of Cornelius eaten with men uncircumcised, and would be unlikely afterwards to be ashamed to act in the same way; that the Acts make no mention of any public difference between St. Paul and St. Peter; and that the words in Gal. ii. 13, "even Barnabas was carried away by their dissimulation," imply that the Cephas spoken of was a person inferior to St. Barnabas, since if St. Peter had been intended we should not have expected to read "not only Peter, but even Barnabas." However much such a solution had to recommend it to Church writers, it was found impossible to maintain it when it was fairly compared with the context in the Epistle. Origen then devised a new way of understanding the transaction, which for a couple of centuries or more held its ground in the East as the true explanation of what had taken place. Origen's work has been lost, but we have a full exposition of his theory in a sermon by St. Chrysostom on the passage. We can well adopt his account of the circumstances of the case. The Apostles in Judaea would not run the risk of disturbing the infant faith of their disciples by a premature pulling up of the

practices in which they had been rooted from their earliest years. It was otherwise with St. Paul when he preached to the Gentiles, who had never been accustomed to such rules. Thus quite naturally St. Peter and his Churches in Judaea observed the Jewish practices; St. Paul and his Gentile converts did not. When St. Peter came down to Antioch, he naturally conformed to the practices which he found established there, as St. Paul conformed to Jewish practices when he went to Jerusalem. But when Jerusalem Jews came down to Antioch, St. Peter, not to shock their weak faith, went back to the mode of living which they had always known him to use; and then certain of the permanent members of the Church of Antioch were led to follow St. Peter's new example, and thus gave rise to the scene described in the Epistle. St. Chrysostom will not believe that there was any real disagreement between the Apostles; but he regards St. Paul's public rebuke and St. Peter's submission to it as a scene arranged between them in order that St. Peter might be justified in the eyes of the Jerusalem visitors. Just, he says, as those whose duty it is to collect taxes shrink from the odium attending the disagreeable task of pressing severely on their debtors, and have recourse to the expedient of getting their superiors publicly to press them for what they are bound to bring in, and to bitterly revile them for their remissness, so that they can then do their work without offence, it being plain to all that the rigour they exercise is forced on them and not their own choice. Thus we are to understand the scene between St. Peter and St. Paul as an arranged apology to excuse the former for a change in his course of action, which would have given great offence if supposed to be made altogether of his own choice.

St. Jerome, who adopts this theory, adds a more offensive illustration. He tells how often he had seen in the Roman law courts two counsel reviling each other with the utmost bitterness, who yet might be seen a little after out of court walking together the best possible friends. To this illustration St. Jerome added a more questionable defence of the lawfulness of temporary simulation; and it is not wonderful that this line of exposition grated harshly on the deep religious feeling of St. Augustine, whose correspondence with St. Jerome about this passage constitutes one of the most interesting specimens of patristic Biblical criticism. St. Augustine reduces the question to this: Is it better to maintain that the Apostle Paul wrote something that was not true or that the Apostle Peter did something that was not right? To say that St. Peter on this occasion did no wrong is to give the lie to St. Paul, who tells that "Peter walked not uprightly after the truth of the Gospel." And if we can imagine this statement of St. Paul to be false, we lose all confidence in the truth of any passage of Scripture.

The result of this controversy was to bring about a general agreement that there was a real difference of opinion between the Apostles, and that St. Paul was justified in rebuking St. Peter, not as erroneous in his doctrine, but as faulty in his practice. But it must be mentioned that the earliest Western writer who dealt with the passage had taken St. Peter's side. Marcion had justified his rejection of the authority of the elder Apostles by quoting St. Paul's accusation of St. Peter as having walked "not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel;" and Tertullian, whose impulse in controversy always is to catch at the first weapon near at hand, replies: "True, but this was when St. Paul was still young in the faith, still uncertain whether he had run or might be still running in vain. His expostulation with Peter was but the outbreak of the zeal against Judaism of a new convert, which Paul himself retracted when he became older and had learned to become all things to all men, and even to the Jews to become a Jew" (*Adv. Marc.* i. 4). But when Tertullian recurs to the subject, he drops this apology, which is hardly consistent with the reverence for St. Paul which he always exhibits, and takes the usual ground that it was only St. Peter's practice which was faulty, and that no question of doctrine was involved.

Modern critics who contend that St. Peter's conduct manifests a real difference of doctrine from St. Paul, exhibit inability to enter into the feelings of the people of the time. Some help towards this is given by our knowledge of the caste system of our Indian Empire. Different views have been taken by missionaries as to whether they ought to tolerate the observance of caste by their converts, as a mere national custom, belonging to the secular sphere with which religion has no concern, or whether they should demand of their converts the abandonment of caste on pain of rejection or excommunication. Evidently the possibility of carrying out the former plan depends much on whether or not there is a mixture of races in the Church. In Palestine in the first age of Christianity the members of the Church were all Jews, and there seemed no reason why they should forsake their national customs. By compliance with them (if that can be called compliance which was not so much a concession to the feelings of others as a satisfaction to the feelings and prejudices in which they themselves had been brought up), Jews in Palestine, who believed in the Messiahship of Jesus, could preserve the friendship and esteem of their unconverted brethren. This, we are told, was the case with St. James the Just. But it was otherwise where races were mixed; and the Indian caste system enables us to understand the difficulties felt by a Christian Jew on finding himself obliged to mix with Gentiles as brethren and on the most intimate terms. A Jew like St. Paul, who quite cast off his national exclusiveness, would be looked on as having lost caste, and so would be regarded by unbelieving Jews as a renegade more deserving of hatred than a Gentile; while even Christian Jews could not conquer their dislike at such laxity, feeling towards it much as Queen Elizabeth and other non-Romanists did to a married priesthood. Feelings cannot be altered in a moment, and the heart will still revolt at what the intellect can give no good reason for condemning.

English residents abroad who have persuaded themselves that there is no harm in conforming to some foreign customs condemned by the code of English propriety, will still feel uncomfortable when their laxity comes under the eye of their own countrymen. And nothing can be more natural than that St. Peter, though convinced in

theory that there was nothing wrong in his conforming to the practices of the Church of Antioch in associating with Gentiles, should feel much ashamed when detected in his laxity by visitors from Jerusalem. On the other hand, the natural effect of his conduct was that the Gentile converts, whom so great an Apostle pronounced to be unfit for his society, were put under strong temptation to do whatever might be necessary to raise themselves to the higher level; and this naturally drew strong remonstrance from St. Paul. But there is no reason to understand the "compulsion" spoken of in his question, "Why *compellest* thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" as of any other kind than that necessarily exercised by his practice and example. [G. S.]

IV. *Bibliography.*—For comm. which embrace the whole of the Pauline Epp., see 2 CORINTHIANS *sub fin.* Patristic comm. on Galatians abound: a valuable notice of them is given in an app. to his com. by Bp. Lightfoot, who refers to Cave, *Script. Eccles. Hist. Liter.*, Oxon. 1740; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graeca;* Schröckh, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte;* Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.*, 1693; Rosenmüller, *Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum*, 1795–1814; and Augustin in Nösselt, *Opusc.* iii. p. 321. The earlier patristic comm. "have for the most part an independent value; the later are mere collections or digests of the labours of preceding writers." *Greek:* Of Origen's vast comm. on Galatians only three fragments remain in a Latin tr. of Pamphilus' *Defence* of him; but probably "all subsequent writers are directly or indirectly indebted to him to a very large extent." St. Chrysostom's com. (*c.* A.D. 390) is less homiletic and more continuous than his other treatises on the N. T., Eng. tr. in *Library of the Fathers*, Oxf. 1840. The com. of Theodore of Mopsuestia (*c.* 420), the best representative of the School of Antioch, is extant in a Latin version: Dom Pitra, *Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 49, 1852; Swete, Camb. 1880–82. Theodoret's (*c.* 450) is avowedly a reproduction of St. Chrysostom and Theodore: but it is highly praised. *Latin:* The com. of Victorinus Afer (*c.* 360), like that of the unknown Hilary commonly called Ambrosiaster (*c.* 375), supplies valuable material for criticism of the Old Latin text of the Bible; but while Hilary's is one of the best Latin comm., that of Victorinus is one of the worst: its obscurity is universally condemned. St. Jerome's com. (*c.* 387) was written in haste (Pref. to B. iii.), like most of his works, and is partly a digest of previous expositions. "Though abounding in fanciful and perverse interpretations, violations of good taste and good feeling, faults of all kinds, this is nevertheless the most valuable of all the patristic comm. on the Ep. to the Gal." St. Augustine's *Expositio* of the Ep. is thought to be all his own; but it does not rank among his best works. As a sample of later comm. that of Claudius of Turin (*c.* 815) may be taken. He professes merely to compare; and his choice is determined by his fondness for allegorical interpretation. Of the N. T. *catenae* that on Gal. alone is printed entire; Paris, 1542; *Bibl. PP. max.* xiv. p. 139; *Magn. Bibl. Vet. Patr.* ix. p. 66; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* civ. p. 838. For a good list of comm., from Luther onwards, see Meyer's Com. Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1873, and add to it the following:—*Latin:* Lorentz, Arg. 1747; Semler, Halae, 1779; Fischer, Long. 1808; Niemayer, Gott. 1827. *English:* B. Jowett, Murray, 1859; J. Venn, Nesbit, 1878; H. Cowles, New York, 1879; W. Sanday in Ellicott's N. T., Cassells, 1879; J. S. Howson in *Speaker's Comm. on N. T.*, Murray, 1881; A. Beet, Hodder, 1885; J. S. Exell, Nisbet, 1889; E. Huxtable in *Pulpit Com.*, Kegan Paul, 1889; Findlay, Hodder, 1889; Sadler, Bell, 1890 (homiletic and devotional). *German:* Zschokke, Halle, 1834; Baumgarten-Crusius, Leip. 1846; Ewald, Götting. 1857; Vömel, 1865; Besser, Halle, 1869; Brandes, Wiesbaden, 1869; Sieffert, Götting. 1886; Steck, 1888; Zimmer (on the Old Latin text), 1888; Schaefer (Roman Catholic), Münster, 1890; Völter, *Die Comp. d. Paulin. Hauptbriefe:* I. "Der Römer und Galaterbrief," Tübingen, 1890, 175 S., reviewed by Holtzmann in the *Theol. Literaturztg.*, Aug. 23, 1890, "Der Galaterbrief ist ihm vollständig unecht. Auch sind Interpolationen häufig;" Lipsius, Freiburg i. B. 1891. *French:* Rieu, Paris, 1829; Barrau, Mont. 1842. The student will derive great help from Ellicott, Longmans, 1867 (grammatical and exegetical, with criticism of editions in the preface); Lightfoot, Macmillan, 1887 (indispensable); Meyer; Wieseler, Götting. 1850 (historical and chronological; chief defender of the Teutonic origin of the Galatians); Sieffert; and Lipsius. In Field, *Otium Norvicense*, iii., Oxf. 1881, are notes on ii. 11, vi. 10, 11; in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* ii. p. 188, Lipsius on vi. 6–10. The literature on the relation of Gal. ii. to Acts xv. is considerable; for references, see Reuss, *Gesch. d. heil. Schr. N. T.*, Braunschweig, 1887, § 65, Eng. tr. Clark, 1884, p. 58. The literature on iii. 20 is immense; for references, see Meyer in loco. *Expositor*, 1st Series: Gal. i. 19 in vol. x. p. 162; ii. 3–5 in xi. 201; ii. 18 in ix. 392; ii. 20 in iii. 62; vi. 1–5 in x. 81. 2nd Series: Ep. in ii. 287; iii. 8 in vi. 98. 3rd Series: Ep. in iv. 131; the Judaizers in x. 52, 107; ii. 1–5 in vi. 435; iii. 16 in ix. 18; iii. 19, 20 in x. 52, 107. [A. P.]

GALBANUM (חֶלְבְּנָה, *chelb'náh*), one of the perfumes employed in the preparation of the sacred incense (Ex. xxx. 34). The similarity of the Hebrew name to the Greek χαλβάνη and the Latin *Galbanum* has led to the supposition that the substance indicated is the same. The galbanum of commerce is brought chiefly from India and the Levant. It is a resinous gum of a brownish yellow colour, and strong, disagreeable smell, usually met with in masses, but sometimes found in yellowish tear-like drops. The ancients believed that when burnt the smoke of it was efficacious in driving away serpents and gnats (Plin. xii. 56, xix. 58, xxiv. 13; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 415). But, though galbanum itself is well known, the plant which yields it has not been exactly determined. Dioscorides (iii. 87) describes it as the juice of an umbelliferous plant growing in Syria, and called by some μετώπιον (cp. i. 71). Kühn, in his commentary on Dioscorides (ii. p. 532), is in favour of the *Ferula ferulago* (L.), which grows in North Africa, Crete, and Asia Minor. According to Pliny (xii. 56) it is the resinous gum of a plant called

staqonitis, growing on Mount Amanus in Syria; while the *metopion* is the product of a tree near the oracle of Ammon (xii. 49). The testimony of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix. 7), so far as it goes, confirms the accounts of Pliny and Dioscorides. It was for some time supposed to be the product of the *Bubon galbanum* of Linnaeus, a native of the Cape of Good Hope. Don found in the galbanum of commerce the fruit of an umbelliferous plant of the tribe Silerinae, which he assumed to be that from which the gum was produced, and to which he gave the name of *Galbanum officinale*.[a] But his conclusion was called in question by Dr. Lindley, who received from Sir John Macneil the fruits of a plant growing at Durrood, near Nishapore, in Khorassan, which he named *Opoidia galbanifera*, of the tribe Smyrneae. This plant has been adopted by the Dublin College in their Pharmacopoeia, as that which yields the galbanum (Pereira, *Mat. Med.* ii. pt. 2, p. 188). M. Buhse, in his Persian travels (quoted in Royle, *Mat. Med.* pp. 471, 472), identified the plant producing galbanum with one which he found on the Demawend mountains. It was called by the natives *Khassuch*, and bore a very close resemblance to the *Ferula erubescens*, but belonged neither to the genus Galbanum nor to Opoidia. It is believed that the Persian galbanum, and that brought from the Levant, are the produce of different plants. But the question remains undecided.

If the galbanum be the true representative of the *chelb'nâh* of the Hebrews, it may at first sight appear strange that a substance which, when burnt by itself, produces a repulsive odour, should be employed in the composition of the sweet-smelling incense for the service of the Tabernacle. We have the authority of Pliny that it was used, with other resinous ingredients, in making perfumes among the ancients; and the same author tells us that these resinous substances were added to enable the perfume to retain its fragrance longer. "Resina aut gummi adjiciuntur ad continendum odorem in corpore" (xiii. 2). Galbanum was also employed in adulterating the opobalsamum, or gum of the balsam plant (Plin. xii. 54). [W. A. W.]

GAL-EED (גַּלְעֵד =*heap of witness*; A. *βουνὸς μάρτυς*; *Acervus testimonii Galaad*). The name given to the heap which Jacob and Laban made on Mount Gilead, in witness of the covenant between them (Gen. xxxi. 47, 48; cp. *vv.* 23, 25). [GILEAD; JEGAR-SAHA-DUTHA.]

GAL'GALA (Γάλγαλα; *Galgala*), the ordinary equivalent in the LXX. for Gilgal. In the E. V. it is named only in 1 Macc. ix. 2, as designating the direction of the road taken by the army of Demetrius, when they attacked Masaloth in Arbela—"the way to Galgala" (*ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς* Γάλγαλα). The army, as we learn from the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, § 1), was on its way from Antioch, and there is no reason to doubt that by Arbela is meant the place of that name in Galilee now surviving as *Irbid.* [ARBELA.] The ultimate destination of the army was Jerusalem (1 Macc. ix. 3), and Galgala may therefore be either the upper Gilgal near Bethel, or the lower one near Jericho, as the route through the Ghor or that through the centre of the country was chosen (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 370). Josephus omits the name in his version of the passage. It is a gratuitous supposition of Ewald's that the Galilee which Josephus introduces is a corruption of Galgala; on the other hand, Galilee may be the correct reading in 1 Macc. ix. 2. [G.] [W.]

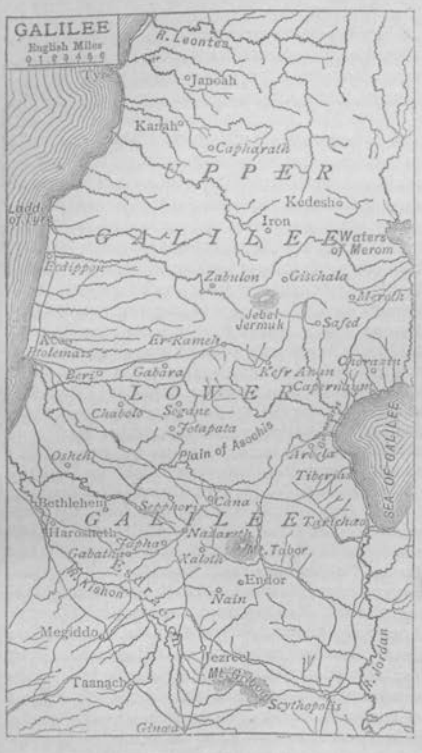
GALILAE'AN (Γαλιλαῖος; *Galilaeus*), an inhabitant of Galilee (Matt. xxvi. 69 in R. V. only; Mark xiv. 70; Luke xiii. 1, 2, xxii. 59, xxiii. 6; John iv. 45; Acts ii. 7; also in the Greek in Acts i. 11, v. 37). [W.]

GALILEE (Γαλιλαία). The Hebrew word גָּלִיל, *Galil*, rendered "Galilee" (LXX. Γαλιλαία) in the O. T.—probably to keep up the correspondence with the N. T.—is derived from a root גָּלַל, "to roll." In the plural form, GELILOTH (A. V. "borders," "coasts;" R. V. "regions"), it occurs five times in the O. T., and is applied on each occasion to level or slightly undulating districts, such as Philistia and the Jordan Valley near Jericho. *Galil* would appear then to signify level or undulating ground, and was perhaps used in this sense in Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 32, 1 Ch. vi. 76, to indicate the plain in which Kadesh Naphtali was situated. At a later period the word was apparently used in a wider sense to denote a district. The "land of Galilee," which probably lay close to the borders of Hiram's kingdom, contained twenty cities (1 K. ix. 11–13); and, in 2 K. xv. 29, Galilee is mentioned as a distinct locality, whence the people were carried away captive to Assyria. The expression "Galilee of the nations," or "of the Gentiles" (גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, Is. ix. 1; in Matt. iv. 15, Γαλιλαία *τῶν ἐθνῶν*; in 1 Macc. v. 15, Γαλιλαία *ἀλλοφύλων*), indicates a still more extended area; but it is by no means clear that it refers to a region with fixed geographical limits.

The northern tribes established themselves slowly in their possessions, and did not drive out the Canaanites, who continued to dwell amongst them (Judg. i. 30–33; iv. 2). Even under the monarchy the heathen element in the population was strong; the cities given by Solomon to Hiram must have been heathen cities; and Isaiah (ix. 1) uses the term "Galilee of the nations." After the people of Upper Galilee had been taken captive by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 29; Jos. *Ant.* ix. 11, § 1), the country was probably occupied by heathen, and there is no record of its having been re-settled by Hebrews after the return from the Captivity. The period at which Galilee was constituted a separate administrative district is uncertain, but it was possibly during the time of the Persian domination. It is first mentioned, with Judaea and Samaria, in the letter from Demetrius to Jonathan Maccabaeus (1 Macc. x. 30; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2, § 3); and was then a toparchy, having approximately the same limits as the later district under the Herods. In Judith i. 8 there is an indication of the topographical division into

[a] I have not been able to discover either *Galbanum officinale* or *Opoidia galbanifera* growing in Syria. There is a specimen of the latter in the Herbarium at Cambridge from Northern Persia, which is probably the true home of the plant.—[H. B. T.]

Upper and Lower Galilee. At the commencement of the Asmonaean revolt the number of Jews in Galilee must have been small. They took no part in the rebellion, and it was only after Judas Maccabaeus had established himself in Judaea, and had restored the Temple service, that the war spread to Galilee. The Galilaean Jews, being oppressed by the heathen amidst whom they lived, appealed to Judas for protection, and Simon Maccabaeus was sent to their assistance. After a successful campaign Simon returned to Judaea, taking with him the Jews he had rescued, "with their wives and their children, and all that they had" (1 Macc. v. 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 23, 55; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 2). The object of this deportation was probably to strengthen the position of the insurgent Jews in the hill-



country of Judaea. Under Jonathan Maccabaeus the power of the Asmonaeans rapidly increased and apparently extended over Galilee (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2, § 3; 4, § 9; 5, § 6). Jonathan defeated the generals of Demetrius at Kadesh in Galilee (1 Macc. xi. 63–74; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 6); and it was in Galilee that he fell into the fatal snare laid for him by Tryphon (1 Macc. xii. 47, 49; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6, § 2). Galilee formed part of the Jewish state founded by the Asmonaeans, and no doubt partook of the general prosperity under the rule of Hyrcanus. It was perhaps at this time that the Jews began to settle in Galilee; and the richness of the country and the facilities it offered for trade must have attracted large numbers of emigrants from the less fertile hills of Judaea, for, during the Herodian period, Jews and Judaised Aramaeans formed a large majority of the population. In B.C. 47 Antipater, having been made procurator of Judaea by Julius Caesar, entrusted the government of Galilee to his son Herod (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 2); and the district afterwards, B.C. 40, formed part of the dominion over which Herod was made king. On Herod's death, B.C. 4, Herod Antipas was made tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1), and he retained the government until his banishment in A.D. 39—a period that included the whole life of Christ (Luke xxiii. 7). Galilee now passed to Herod Agrippa I. (*Ant.* xviii. 7, § 2), who died suddenly, A.D. 44, at Caesarea; it was then placed under the Roman procurator of Judaea, and, with the exception of Tiberias, Tarichaeae, and a small adjoining district, which were given to Herod Agrippa II. (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 4), so remained until the outbreak of the final war in A.D. 66.

Galilee, in the time of Christ, was the most northern of the three districts into which Palestine west of the Jordan was divided (Luke xvii. 11; Acts ix. 31; Jos. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 1); and included, roughly speaking, the territories assigned to Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali. It was bounded on the S. by Samaria, and stretched from the foot of the Samaritan hills northwards to the river Leontes; on the W. it was separated from the sea by the territories of Ptolemais and Tyre, and on the E. it extended to the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee or Tiberias. Its limits were at one time close to Ptolemais (1 Macc. v. 55), Carmel once belonged to it (Jos. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 1), and according to the Talmudists (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, pp. 236, 240, 242) it embraced Caesarea Philippi, Gamala, and the country above Gadara. Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1) divides Galilee into "Lower Galilee," which extended from Tiberias, on the E., to Zebulun, perhaps *Sh'aib*, on the W., and from Xaloth, *Iksal*, on the plain of Esdraelon, to Bersabe; and "Upper Galilee," which stretched northwards from Bersabe to Baca, on the Tyrian frontier, and from Meloth, perhaps *M'alia*, on the W., to Thella, near the Jordan. We learn, incidentally, that Lower Galilee extended as far as the village of Ginaea, the modern *Jenîn*, on the extreme southern side of the plain of Esdraelon (*Ant.* xx. 6, § 1; *B. J.* iii. 3, § 4); that Chabolo, *Kabul*, was on the confines of Ptolemais (*Vit.* 43); and that Arbela (*Irbid*) and Jotapata (*Jef'at*) were in Lower Galilee (*Vit.* 37; *B. J.* ii. 20, § 6). The Mishna (*Shebâth*, ix. 2) adds a third division, "the valley" or district of Tiberias; and defines Upper Galilee as the country beyond Kefr Hananiah, *Kefr 'Anân*, in which the sycamore does not grow, and Lower Galilee as the district, below that village, in which it flourishes. The division is a natural one, and easily understood, for, beyond *Kefr 'Anân*, the range of *Jebel Jurmuk* rises, almost like a wall, for about 2,000 feet, and separates the rugged hills of *Jebel Safed* and the *Belad Besharah* from the rich open country to the south. The Mishna (*Gittin*, vii. 8) places Kefr Utheni, or Uthnai, perhaps *Kefr Adân*, N.W. of *Jenîn*, on the frontier between Galilee and Samaria; and, according to Tal. Bab. *Gittin*, 7 *b*, Kezib (*ez-Zîb*) was the last town of Galilee towards the north-west. Eusebius (*O.S.*[2] p. 256, 90) appears to call Upper Galilee "Galilee of

the nations," in which he places Capernaum (*OS.*[2] p. 272, 96).

Upper Galilee is a mountainous district, "the mount Naphtali" of the O. T. (Josh. xx. 7), parted from the lofty range of Mount Lebanon, of which it is a southern prolongation, by the deep ravine of the Leontes. The highland plateau is diversified by picturesque, deeply-cut valleys, small but rich upland plains, and steep hills, clad with brushwood, that often attain an altitude of over 3,000 feet, and culminate in *Jebel Jermuk*, 3,934 feet. It is in places well wooded with dwarf oak, intermixed with tangled shrubberies of hawthorn and arbutus; but it is above all "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills" (Deut. viii. 7). On the E. the plateau ends with an abrupt descent to the Jordan valley, and the rich plain of *Ard el-Kheit* that borders the *el-Hûleh* Lake; and on the W. it gradually breaks down to the Phoenician plain. It was once covered with fruitful fields and vines; and its fruits were renowned for their great sweetness (Tal. Bab. *Megilla*, 6*a*); and it is still well cultivated by a numerous and industrious population. The plateau is so cut up by an intricate system of valleys that no important trade routes could ever have crossed it, and communication must always have been difficult. The ancient main roads were: (1) from Tyre by *Kul'at Mârûn* and *Abrikha* to Dan and Caesarea Philippi; (2) from the Sea of Galilee up the Jordan Valley; and (3) from Safed by *Kades*, Kedesh Naphtali, and *Hunin* to the bridge over the Leontes. On the plateau are the ruins of Kedesh (Josh. xx. 7, apparently the "Nephthali in Galilee" of Tobit i. 2); of Gischala, *el-Jish*, a city fortified by Josephus, and the last place in Galilee to hold out against the Romans (*B. J.* ii. 20, § 6; iv. 1, § 1; 2, §§ 1–5); and of several towns with large synagogues. The chief town is now *Safed*, which has a large population of Jews, and is one of the four holy Jewish cities of Palestine.

Lower Galilee is characterised by the number and richness of its plains, and is one of the most beautiful and fertile districts in Palestine. The soil is especially favourable to agriculture, and here and there are spots well wooded with oak and other trees. The hills sink down in graceful slopes to broad winding vales of the richest green; the outlines are varied, the colours soft; and the whole landscape is one of picturesque luxuriance. Renan describes it in glowing terms as "un pays très-vert, très-ombragé, très-souriant, le vrai pays du Cantique des cantiques et des chansons du bien-aimé" (*Vie de Jésus*, p. 43). The plains commence with that of *er-Rameh*, 1250 feet above the sea, at the foot of *Jebel Jermuk*. To the south of this is the *Sahel el-Buttauf*, the "great plain of Asochis" (Jos. *Vit.* 41), from the eastern end of which there is a rapid descent to the plain of Gennesareth, celebrated alike for its beauty and the fruitfulness of its soil (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 8). Above Tiberias is the *Sahel el-Ahma*, with its rich volcanic soil; and, towards the southern extremity of the district, the hills fall rapidly to the great plain of Esdraelon, to enjoy which Issachar was content to become "a servant unto tribute" (Gen. xlix. 15). The blessings promised to Zebulun and Asher (Gen. xlix. 13, 20; Deut. xxiii. 18, 19, 24) seem to be inscribed on the features of the country; it is "a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey" (Deut. viii. 8). Josephus describes the soil of Galilee as "universally rich and fruitful, and planted with trees of all sorts, so that by its fruitfulness it invites even the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation" (*B. J.* iii. 3, §§ 2, 3). According to the Talmudists, the country for 16 miles round Sepphoris was fertile, "flowing with milk and honey" (Tal. Bab. *Megilla*, 6 *a*); and the fruits of Gennesareth were so luscious that they were not sent to Jerusalem at the time of Feasts, lest men should be tempted to go up to the Feasts for the sake of eating them (Tal. Bab. *Pesakhim*, 8*b*). The productions of Galilee were of the most varied description; oil was plentiful (Jos. *Vit.* 13, 30; *B. J.* ii. 21, § 2); and the climate was so favourable to the growth of the olive-tree, that according to the Talmud it was easier to raise a forest of olive-trees in Galilee than a child in Judaea (Neubauer, *Géog. du Tal.* p. 180). At Achabara pheasants were raised; Arbela was noted for its cloth; Bethshean, "the gate of Paradise," for its linen, its olives, and its exuberant fertility; Capernaum and Chorazin were celebrated for their wheat, Safed for its honey, Shikmonah for its pomegranates, Sigona for its wine, and Kefr Hananiah for its pottery. The indigo plant was cultivated near Magdala; in the spring the ground was carpeted with flowers, and the vine, the fig, the walnut, the almond, the oleander, the myrtle, the balsam, the palm, and many other trees, shrubs, and aromatic plants flourished in this "garden that has no end" (Neubauer, pp. 180–240; Jos. *B. J.* iii. 3, §§ 2, 3; 10, § 8). The fisheries of the Sea of Galilee provided occupation for large numbers of fishermen; Tarichaeae, "the salting station," supplied the best fish for salting (Strabo, xvi. 2, § 45); and the salt fish was sent to all parts of the country, especially to Jerusalem at the time of the great Feasts, when it was possibly sold outside the "Fish Gate." Lower Galilee was well provided with roads: one ran from *Acre* to *er-Râmeh*, and then, climbing the high hills, joined the road northwards from Safed through Upper Galilee; another ran from *Acre* by Sepphoris to Tiberias and the Jordan valley; and a third, over which grain was brought down from the fertile plains east of Jordan to the sea, crossed the great plain of Esdraelon to Jezreel, and passed on by Scythopolis and Gadara to the *Haurân*. The great trade route that connected Egypt with Damascus and Syria entered Lower Galilee at Megiddo, and running on past the Sea of Galilee, crossed the Jordan at *Jisr Benat Yakûb*. No small portion of the commerce between the east and the west passed over these roads, of which one was known as the "way of the sea," the *via maris* of the Middle Ages, and added to the wealth of the district. The chief towns of Lower Galilee were Tiberias, Tarichaeae, Sepphoris, Gabara, Gischala, Zebulun; the fortresses of Jotapata and Mount Tabor; and those mentioned in N. T. history, Nazareth, Cana, Capernaum, and Chorazin.

It is evident from the Gospels and also from Josephus, that, in the time of Christ, Galilee was densely populated and thickly covered with towns and villages. Josephus states that there were

204 cities and villages, the very least of which contained more than 15,000 inhabitants (*Vit.* 45; *B. J.* iii. 3, § 2); that on one occasion 100,000 armed men assembled in a single night (*B. J.* ii. 21, § 3); and that Herod Antipas had armour for 70,000 men in his armoury (*Ant.* xviii. 7, § 2). The Sea of Galilee was covered with ships and boats: Josephus collected 230 on one occasion at Tarichaeae (*B. J.* ii. 21, § 8); and "the whole basin must have been a focus of life and energy; the surface of the lake constantly dotted with the white sails of vessels, flying before the mountain gusts, as the beach sparkled with the houses and palaces, the synagogues and the temples of the Jewish or Roman inhabitants" (Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 376). The numbers of Josephus are possibly exaggerated, but apart from these the extensive ruins at *Tell Hûm*, *Kerâzeh*, and other places, and the numerous ruined synagogues, such as those at *Kefr Birim*, *Meiron*, &c., attest the former prosperity of the district. Jews and Aramaeans and others who had accepted the Law of Moses, formed a large majority of the population; but there were numbers of Greeks, Egyptians, Arabs, and Phoenicians intermingled with them (Jos. *Vit.* 6, 12; Strabo, xvi. 2, § 34). The people were industrious and enterprising, and engaged in agriculture and commerce. They were courageous and warlike, a heritage of olden times (Judg. v. 18), and regarded honour more than money (Tal. Jer. *Ketuboth*, iv. 14). Cowardice was never a failing of the Galilaeans, who were inured to war from infancy (Jos. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 2); and during their last struggle with the Romans, they constantly showed a supreme contempt for death. The independent spirit of the Galilaeans sometimes showed itself in armed opposition to the constituted authority (*B. J.* i. 16, § 5); and the people of Tiberias are described as being "by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions" (*Vit.* 17). During the disorders that followed the death of Herod the Great, Judas, son of Hezekiah, raised some men and seized Sepphoris (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 5). Judas the Galilaean, the founder of the sect of the Galilaeans, who taught that God alone was Lord and Master, and that no one should submit to mortal men as masters, raised a revolt in Judaea, whilst Coponius was procurator (Acts v. 37; Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, §§ 1, 6; *B. J.* ii. 8, § 1). They were Galilaeans, perhaps rebels, who were put to death by Pilate at the time of the sacrifice (Luke xiii. 1); and, at a later period, Galilee was the centre of the rebellion which ended in the capture and destruction of Jerusalem. Some of the most noted of the defenders of the Holy City during the last siege were Galilaeans, as Eleazar, who perished at Masada, and John of Gischala. The Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. du Tal.* p. 182) mentions certain differences between the religious ceremonies as practised in Galilee and Judaea; and it would seem, from Matt. xv. 1, where the Pharisees appear as emissaries from the dominant party of Jerusalem, that the Galilaeans lacked the narrow prejudices of the people of Judaea, and maintained a certain independence in religious matters. They also differed in speech. A Galilaean was known by his accent, or dialect (Matt. xxvi. 73; Mark xiv. 70; Acts ii. 7; Tal. Bab. *Erubin*, 53 *a*; Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 141), and appears in the Talmud as a lout or boor (*Erubin*, 53 *b*). There seems to have been a settled belief that Galilee could produce no prophet (John vii. 52); and the reputation of Nazareth may be inferred from the question, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" (John i. 46). It is possible that Galilee was regarded as a subject or inferior district, by the descendants of the men who had risen and won their freedom under the Asmonaeans, and that the Jews of Judaea and Jerusalem considered themselves superior to the Galilaeans. But there is no evidence in the Bible or in Josephus to show that Galilee and the Galilaeans were, as is sometimes stated, looked upon with contempt. That such feelings arose and were freely expressed at a later date, when Christianity was spreading amongst Jews and Gentiles, is very probable, for the new religion was often connected with the home of its Founder. The Emperor Julian is said to have called the Christians "Galilaeans" in his edicts, in order to cast dishonour on them, and to have cried out on receiving his death-wound, "Galilaean! thou hast conquered!" (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 8, 21, 25. The accounts about his death and of his last words are, however, very diverse. See *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* s. n.)

Galilee first acquired a world-wide interest through "Jesus the Galilaean" (Matt. xxvi. 69, R. V.). It was at Nazareth that the child Jesus "grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom;" and at Cana that He performed His first miracle (John ii. 11). It was the scene of the greater part of our Lord's private life and public acts; here were Capernaum, "His own city," in which He dwelt (Matt. iv. 13; ix. 1), and "the cities wherein most of His mighty works were done" (Matt. xi. 20); and here He showed himself to His disciples after His Resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 7, 16; John xxi. 1). The Apostles were also either by birth or residence chiefly Galilaeans (Acts i. 11; ii. 7).

It may be remarked that the first three Gospels are chiefly taken up with our Lord's ministrations in Galilee; while the Gospel of St. John dwells more upon those in Judaea. The nature of our Lord's parables and illustrations was greatly influenced by the peculiar features and products of the country. The vineyard, the fig-tree, the shepherd, and the desert in the parable of the Good Samaritan, were all appropriate in Judaea; while the corn-fields (Mark iv. 28), the fisheries (Matt. xiii. 47), the merchants (Matt. xiii. 45), and the flowers (Matt. vi. 28), are no less appropriate in Galilee. After the destruction of Jerusalem Galilee became the chief seat of Jewish schools of learning, and the residence of their most celebrated Rabbins. The National Council or Sanhedrin was taken for a time to Jabneh in Philistia, but was soon removed to Sepphoris, and afterwards to Tiberias (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. p. 141). The Mishna was here compiled by Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh (*c.* A.D. 109–220); and a few years afterwards the Gemara was added (Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, p. 19). Remains of splendid synagogues still exist in many of the old towns and villages, showing that from the 2nd to the 7th century the Jews were as prosperous as they were numerous (*PEF. Mem.* vol. i.; Conder, *Handbook to Bible*, pp. 301–314; Porter, *Handbook*;

Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 361–387; Merrill, *Galilee in the time of Christ;* Riehm, *s. v.*; Guérin, *Galilée*). [W.]

GALILEE, MOUNTAIN IN (Matt. xxviii. 16), where Jesus manifested Himself to His disciples after His Resurrection. The particular mountain referred to is unknown. It may possibly have been the "Mount of Beatitudes" (Matt. v. 1), or the high mountain of the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1). The view that it was one of the knolls on the ridge of Olivet is evidently wrong, for it is distinctly stated that the disciples went into Galilee. Some have supposed that St. Paul refers to this manifestation of Christ in 1 Cor. xv. 6. [W.]

GALILEE, SEA OF. [GENNESARETH.]

GALL, the representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *mĕrêrâh* or *mĕrôrâh*, and *rôsh*.

1. *Mĕrêrâh* or *mĕrôrâh* (מְרֵרָה or מְרֹרָה); χολή; *fel, amaritudo, viscera mea*) denotes etymologically "that which is bitter"; see Job xiii. 26, "thou writest bitter things against me." Hence the term is applied to the "bile" or "gall" from its intense bitterness (Job xvi. 13; xx. 25); it is also used of the "poison" of serpents (Job xx. 14), which the ancients erroneously believed was their gall; see Pliny, *N. H.* xi. 37, "No one should be astonished that it is the gall which constitutes the poison of serpents."

2. *Rôsh* (רֹאשׁ or רוֹשׁ; χολή, πικρία, ἄγρωστις; *fel, amaritudo, caput*), generally translated "gall" by the A. V., is in Hos. x. 4 rendered "hemlock": in Deut. xxxii. 33, and Job xx. 16, *rôsh* denotes the "poison" or "venom" of serpents. From Deut. xxix. 18, "a root that beareth *rôsh*" (margin "a poisonful herb"), and Lam. iii. 19, "the wormwood and the *rôsh*," compared with Hos. x. 4, "judgment springeth up as *rôsh*," it is evident that the Hebrew term denotes some bitter and perhaps poisonous plant, though it may also be used, as in Ps. lxix. 21, in the general sense of "something very bitter." Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. pp. 46–52) thinks that hemlock (*Conium maculatum*) is intended, and quotes Jerome on Hosea in support of his opinion, though it seems that this commentator had in view the couch-grass (*Triticum repens*) rather than "hemlock." Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 118) is inclined to think that the *Lolium temulentum* best agrees with the passage in Hosea, where the *rôsh* is said to grow "in the furrows of the field."

Other writers have supposed, and with some reason (from Deut. xxxii. 32, "their grapes are grapes of *rôsh*"), that some berry-bearing plant must be intended. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1251) understands "poppies"; Michaelis (*Suppl. Lex. Heb.* p. 2220) is of opinion that *rôsh* may be either the *Lolium temulentum*, or the *Solanum* ("night-shade"). Oedmann (*Verm. Sam.* pt. iv. c. 10) argues in favour of the *Colocynth*. The most probable conjecture, for proof there is none, is that of Gesenius: the capsules of the *Papaveraceae* may well give the name of *rôsh* ("head") to the plant in question, just as we speak of poppy-*heads*. The various species of this family spring up quickly in corn-fields, and the juice is extremely bitter. At least nine species of poppy are found in Palestine: our corn-field red poppy (*Papaver rhoeas*) is as abundant and universal there as in Britain. The opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) is only there found cultivated. A steeped solution of poppy-heads may be "the water of gall" of Jer. viii. 14, unless, as Gesenius thinks, the מֵי רֹאשׁ may be the poisonous extract, *opium*; but nothing definite can be learnt.

The passages in the Gospels which relate the circumstance of the Roman soldiers offering our Lord, just before His crucifixion, "vinegar mingled with gall," according to St. Matthew (xxvii. 34), and "wine mingled with myrrh," according to St. Mark's account (xv. 23), require some consideration. The first-named Evangelist uses χολή, which is the LXX. rendering of the Heb. *rôsh* in the Psalm (lxix. 21) which foretells the Lord's sufferings. St. Mark explains the bitter ingredient in the sour vinous drink to be "myrrh" (*οἶνος ἐσμυρνισμένος*), for we cannot regard the transactions as different. "St. Matthew, in his usual way," as Hengstenberg (*Comment.* in Ps. lxix. 21) remarks, "designates the drink theologically: always keeping his eye on the prophecies of the O. T., he speaks of gall and vinegar for the purpose of rendering the fulfilment of the Psalms more manifest. St. Mark again (xv. 23), according to *his* way, looks rather at the *outward* quality of the drink." Bengel takes quite a different view; he thinks that *both* myrrh *and* gall were added to the sour wine: "myrrha conditus ex more; felle adulteratus ex petulantia" (*Gnom. Nov. Test. Matt.* l. c.). Hengstenberg's view is far preferable; nor is "gall" (χολή) to be understood in any other sense than as expressing the bitter nature of the draught. As to the intent of the proffered drink, it is generally supposed that it was for the purpose of deadening pain. It was customary to give criminals just before their execution a cup of wine with frankincense in it, to which reference is made, it is believed, by the *οἶνος κατανύξεως* of Ps. lx. 3; see also Prov. xxxi. 6. This, the Talmud states, was given in order to alleviate the pain. See Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* p. 2131), who thus quotes from the Talmud (*Sanhed.* fol. 43, 1): "Qui exit ut occidatur (ex sententia judicis) potant eum grano thuris in poculo vini ut distrahatur mens ejus." Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 163) is of opinion that the myrrh was given to our Lord, not for the purpose of alleviating His sufferings, but in order that He might be sustained until the punishment was completed. He quotes from Apuleius (*Metamorp.* viii.), who relates that a certain priest "disfigured himself with a multitude of blows, having previously strengthened himself by taking myrrh." How far the frankincense in the cup, as mentioned in the Talmud, was supposed to possess soporific properties, or in any way to induce an alleviation of pain, it is difficult to determine. The same must be said of the *οἶνος ἐσμυρνισμένος* of St. Mark; for it is quite certain that neither of these two drugs in question, both of which are the produce of the same natural order of plants (*Amyridaceae*), is ranked among the hypnopoietics by modern physicians. It is true that Dioscorides (i. 77) ascribes a soporific property to myrrh, but it does not seem to have been so regarded by any other author. Notwithstanding, there-

fore, the almost concurrent opinion of ancient and modern commentators that the "wine mingled with myrrh" was offered to our Lord as an anodyne, we cannot readily come to the same conclusion. Had the soldiers intended a mitigation of suffering, they would doubtless have offered a draught drugged with some substance having narcotic properties. The drink in question was probably a mere ordinary beverage of the Romans, who were in the habit of seasoning their various wines—which, as they contained little alcohol, soon turned sour—with various spices, drugs, and perfumes, such as myrrh, cassia, myrtle, pepper, &c. (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, art "Vinum"). [W. H.]

GALLERY, an architectural term, describing the porticoes or verandahs which are not uncommon in Eastern houses. It is doubtful, however, whether the Hebrew words, so translated, have any reference to such an object. (1.) In Cant. i. 17 (A. V. and R. V. "rafters," A. V. marg. *galleries*), the word *rāchīṭ* (רָהִיט) means "panelling," or "fretted work," and is so understood in the LXX. and Vulg. (*φάτνωμα, laqueare*). The sense of a "gallery" appears to be derived from the marginal reading *rāhīṭ* (רָהִיט, *Keri*), which contains the idea of "running," and so of an ambulatory, as a place of exercise: this sense is, however, rejected by most commentators. (2.) In Cant. vii. 6 (E. V. *v.* 5. A. V. "The king is held in the galleries"; R. V. "... held captive in the tresses *thereof*," *i.e.* of the hair), *rāhīṭ* is applied to the hair; the regularly arranged, flowing, locks being compared by the poet to the channels of running water seen in the pasture-grounds of Palestine. [HAIR.] (3.) In Ezek. xli. 15, 16; xlii. 3, 5, the word *attīḳ* (אַתִּיק, A. V. text and R. V. "gallery," A. V. marg. *v.* 15, *several walks* or *walks with pillars*: Cornill [in loco] has a different reading) seems to mean a pillar, used for the support of a floor. The LXX. and Vulg. give in xlii. 3 *περίστυλον* and *porticus*, but a comparison of *vv.* 5 and 6 shows that the "galleries" and "pillars" were identical; the reason of the upper chambers being shorter is ascribed to the absence of supporting pillars, which allowed an extra length to the chambers of the lower story (see R. V.). The space thus included within the pillars would assume the corner of an open gallery. [W. L. B.]

GALLEY. [SHIP.]

GAL'LIM (גַּלִּים = *heaps*, or possibly *springs*; Γαλλείμ [Is.]; *Gallim*), a place which is twice mentioned in the Bible:—(1.) As the native place of the man to whom Michal, David's wife, was given—"Phalti the son of Laish, who was from Gallim" (מִגַּלִּים, 1 Sam. xxv. 44). The LXX. has B. Ῥομμά, A. Γαλλεί, A*(?). Γαδδεί, and Josephus Γεθλά; but there is no clue in either to the situation of the place. In 2 Sam. iii. 15, 16, where Michal returns to David at Hebron, her husband is represented as following her as far as Bahurim, *i.e.* on the road between the Mount of Olives and Jericho (cp. 2 Sam. xvi. 1). But even this does not necessarily point to the direction of Gallim, because Phalti may have been at the time with Ishbosheth at Mahanaim, the road from which would naturally lead past Bahurim. (2.) The name occurs again in the catalogue of places terrified at the approach of Sennacherib (Is. x. 30): "Lift up thy voice, O daughter (*i.e.* O inhabitant) of Gallim! attend, O Laish! poor Anathoth!" The other towns in this passage — Aiath, Michmash, Ramah, Gibeah of Saul—are all, like Anathoth, in the tribe of Benjamin, a short distance north of Jerusalem. It should not be overlooked that in both these passages the names Laish and Gallim are mentioned in connexion. Possibly the *Ben-Laish* in the former implies that Phalti was a native of Laish, that being dependent on Gallim.

Among the names of towns added by the LXX. to those of Judah in Josh. xv. 59, Galem (Γαλέμ, A. Γαλλίμ) occurs, between Karem and Thether. In Is. xv. 8, the Vulgate has Gallim for Eglaim, among the towns of Moab.

The name of Gallim has not been met with in modern times. Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 20) proposes to identify it with *Beit Jâla*, near Rachel's Tomb, to the south of Jerusalem; but this is too far from the other towns mentioned in Is. x. 30. Eusebius, from hearsay (λέγεται), places it near Akkaron (Ekron). [G.] [W.]

GAL'LIO (Γαλλίων; *Gallio*), proconsul of Achaia when St. Paul was at Corinth, probably A.D. 53. "Proconsul" (*ἀνθύπατος*, A. V. deputy) was the title of the governor of senatorial provinces, and is therefore used by St. Luke of the governors of (1) Cyprus, Acts xiii. 7; (2) Asia, Acts xix. 38; and (3) Achaia, Acts xviii. 12. Achaia had been an imperial province, but was restored to the senate by Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* xxv.). [See ACHAIA.] The description of Gallio as proconsul (R. V.) is therefore an important instance of St. Luke's historical accuracy.

When the Jews accused St. Paul, Gallio, without asking for his defence, dismissed the charge. Encouraged by the action of the proconsul, the Greek bystanders fell on Sosthenes (one of the accusers) and beat him in the precincts of the court. Gallio took no notice of this. The indifference ascribed to him in the words "Gallio cared for none of these things," is not an indifference to religious questions as such, but to the outbreak of Greek spite against the Jews. For another view of the incident, see Ewald, *Hist. Isr.* vii. p. 380. No stress must be laid on the words "the Greeks" (*v.* 17, A. V.) in determining the sense; for although probably correct as an explanation of "all" (*πάντες*), they have no right to stand in the text, and are omitted by R. V. [See SOSTHENES.]

Gallio belonged to a great literary family. He is known to Roman history as the brother of L. Annaeus Seneca, the tutor of Nero. His father, a famous professor of rhetoric, was a Spaniard from Corduba. His nephew Lucan has left us the great poem of the *Pharsalia*. Gallio's original name was Marcus Annaeus Novatus, and he took the names of Junius Gallio on adoption by L. Junius Gallio, a friend of his father's, and, like him, a great rhetorician. Gallio's brother Seneca speaks most affectionately of him. In a striking passage (Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* iv. praef.) he describes the extraordinary charm of his disposition and manner, and the gentle firmness with which he always put aside flattery. There is nothing in the temperate

words with which Gallio rejects the Jewish accusation which is inconsistent with this character. A Tertullus would have had no chance with him. Some writers (*e.g.* Kreyher, *Seneca und seine Beziehungen zum Urchristenthum*) have seen in Gallio's favour to St. Paul a link in the supposed connexion between St. Paul and Seneca; but see Bp. Lightfoot, *Philippians*,[2] "St. Paul and Seneca," p. 299. Gallio's conduct is only one among the many illustrations which the Book of the Acts collects to show the friendly, or at worst the impartial, attitude of the Roman authorities towards Christianity in its early days. Hausrath with some reason considers that the course taken by Gallio opened the way for the rapid and extraordinary growth of the Church of Corinth. The trial before Gallio was a crisis in its history. See his very full article "Gallio" in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lex.*

For other notices of Gallio in Roman literature, see Seneca, *Ep.* 104, where his residence in Achaia is mentioned, and Plin. *N. H.* xxxi. 33. For his character and Spanish origin, see Statius, *Silvae*, II. vii. 32. He was involved in the ruin of his brother Seneca under Nero, and though spared at first (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 73) perished later, probably by his own hand (Dio Cass. lxii. 25; and Euseb. *Chron. Ol.* 211). Wieseler uses what is known of Gallio as evidence to strengthen his system of chronology (Wieseler, *Chron. Apost. Zeit.* pp. 119–20).

[E. R. B.]

GALLOWS. [PUNISHMENT.]

GAM'A-EL (B. Γάμηλος, A. Γαμαήλ; *Amenus*), 1 Esd. viii. 29. [DANIEL, 3.]

GAMA'LIEL (גַּמְלִיאֵל = *God's recompense* or *care*; Γαμαλιήλ; *Gamaliel*), son of Pedahzur; prince or captain (נָשִׂיא) of the tribe of Manasseh at the census at Sinai (Num. i. 10; ii. 20; vii. 54, 59), and at starting on the march through the wilderness (x. 23). [W. A. W.]

GAMA'LIEL (Γαμαλιήλ; *Gamaliel:* for the Hebrew equivalent, see preceding article), described in Acts v. 34 as "a Pharisee, a doctor of the Law, had in honour with all the people." This description exactly corresponds with that given in the Mishna of Rabban Gamaliel I., who died about A.D. 57, and was at the height of his influence at the time of the trial described in Acts v. He belonged to the milder and more liberal school of Hillel, whose grandson he is said to have been. Some of his decisions are quoted by Hamburger, *Real Encyc. Talmud.*; but though all on the side of relaxation, yet they relate to such trifling details that it is difficult to gain from them any picture of the man. They are more fully given in Jost, *Geschichte d. Judenthums*, i. 281 sq. However, the ascription to him (Hamburger, *l. c.*) of the following precepts, is of interest when we remember that he was the teacher of St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles (Acts xxii. 3). He is said to have taught that the poor of the heathen should share with Israelites the gleaning and the corn left standing in the corners of the fields; and that it was a duty for Israelites to inquire after their welfare, sustain them, visit their sick, and bury them. He is described as president of the Sanhedrin, but this is probably a late and untrustworthy tradition (see Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. II. vol. i. p. 181); and in the narrative of Acts v. he appears as an ordinary member, though having great weight. The influence which enabled him to carry the Sanhedrin with him (Acts v. 40) is illustrated also by the proviso that a certain decision of the Sanhedrin passed in his absence should only have force if it obtained his approval (*Edaioth*, 77, quoted by Hamburger). With the exaggeration of eulogy, it was said that at his death reverence for the Thora ceased, and the observance of the laws of purity and separation came to nought. He was the earliest teacher to whom the title of Rabban was given, a higher degree than Rab or Rabbi. His discourse in Acts v. 35–39 seems to regard the question of "this counsel" being from men or from God, as an open one, without betraying a leaning to one side or the other. Still the syntactical connexion of "let them alone," with the words "lest haply ye be found fighting against God," may be held to show an inclination to the Christian side, which is not inconsistent with the probable attitude of the Pharisees at this period as contrasted with the active persecuting zeal of the Sadducees. Ecclesiastical mythology has seized with its usual eagerness on this indication, and Clem. *Recog.* i. 65 represents him as a Christian. "He was secretly our brother in the faith, but by our advice kept his place among them," *i.e.* the Sanhedrin. It is unnecessary to follow here the development of this legend, so inconsistent with the honour in which he was held by Jewish tradition; but full references are given in Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. II. vol. i. p. 364. Besides authorities already quoted, see Derenbourg, *Hist. et Geog. Pal.* xv. [E. R. B.]

GAMES. Of the three classes into which games may be arranged,—juvenile, manly, and public,—the first two alone belong to the Hebrew life; the latter, as noticed in the Bible, being either foreign introductions into Palestine or the customs of other countries. With regard to juvenile games, the notices are very few. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the Hebrew children were without the amusements adapted to their age. The toys and sports of childhood claim a remote antiquity; and if the children of the ancient Egyptians had their dolls of ingenious construction, and played at ball (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 197 [1878]), and if the children of the Romans amused themselves much as those of the present day—

> "Aedificare casas, plostello adjungere mures,
> Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longâ"
> (Hor. 2 *Sat.* iii. 247)—

we may imagine the Hebrew children doing the same, as they played in the streets of Jerusalem (Zech. viii. 5). The only recorded sports, however, are keeping tame birds (Job xli. 5; cp. Catull. ii. 1, *Passer, deliciae meae puellae*) and playing at marriages or funerals (Matt. xi. 16).

With regard to manly games, they were not much followed up by the Hebrews; the natural earnestness of their character and the influence of the climate alike indisposed them to active exertion. The chief amusement of the men appears to have consisted in conversation and

joking (Jer. xv. 17; Prov. xxvi. 19). A military exercise seems to be noticed in 2 Sam. ii. 14, but the term under which it is described (שַׂחַק) is of too general an application to enable us to form an idea as to its character: if intended as a sport, it must have resembled the *G'rîd*, with the exception of the combatants not being mounted; but it is more consonant to the sense of the passage to reject the notion of sport and give *sichêk* the sense of *fencing* or *fighting* (Thenius, *Comm.* in loc.). In Jerome's day the usual sport consisted in lifting weights as a trial of strength, as also practised in Egypt (Wilkinson, i. 207 [1878]). Dice are mentioned by the Talmudists (Mishna, *Sanhedr.* 3, 3; *Shabb.* 23, 2), probably introduced from Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 424 [1878]); and if we assume that the Hebrews imitated, as not improbably they did, other amusements of their neighbours, we might add such games as odd and even, *mora* (the *micare digitis* of the Romans), draughts, hoops, catching balls, &c. (Wilkinson, i. 188 [1878]). If it be objected that such trifling amusements were inconsistent with the gravity of the Hebrews, it may be remarked that the amusements of the Arabians at the present day are equally trifling, such as blind man's buff, hiding the ring, &c. (Wellsted's *Arabia*, i. 160).

Public games were altogether foreign to the spirit of Hebrew institutions: the great religious Festivals supplied the pleasurable excitement and the feelings of national union which rendered the games of Greece so popular, and at the same time inspired the persuasion that such gatherings should be exclusively connected with religious duties. Accordingly the erection of a *gymnasium* by Jason, in which the discus was chiefly practised, was looked upon as a heathenish proceeding (1 Macc. i. 14; 2 Macc. iv. 12–14), and the subsequent erection by Herod of a theatre and amphitheatre at Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 8, § 1), as well as at Caesarea (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 6; *B. J.* i. 21, § 8) and at Berytus (*Ant.* xix. 7, § 5),—in each of which a quinquennial festival in honour of Caesar was celebrated with the usual contests in gymnastics, chariot-races, music, and with wild beasts,—was viewed with the deepest aversion by the general body of the Jews (*Ant.* xv. 8, § 1).

The entire absence of verbal or historical reference to this subject in the Gospels shows how little it entered into the life of the Jews: some of the foreign Jews, indeed, imbibed a taste for theatrical representations; Josephus (*Vita*, 3) speaks of one Aliturus, an actor of farces (μιμολόγος), 'who was in high favour with Nero. Among the Greeks the rage for theatrical exhibitions was such that every city of any size possessed its theatre and stadium. At Ephesus an annual contest (ἀγὼν καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικός, Thucyd. iii. 104) was held in honour of Diana, which was superintended by officers named Ἀσιάρχαι (Acts xix. 31; R. V. "chief officers of Asia"). [ASIARCHAE.] It is probable that St. Paul was present when these games were proceeding, as they were celebrated in the month of May (cp. Acts xx. 16; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, ii. 81). A direct reference to the exhibitions that took place on such occasions is made in the term ἐθηριομάχησα (1 Cor. xv. 32). The θηριομάχοι were sometimes professional performers, but more usually criminals (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 8, § 1), who were exposed to lions and other wild beasts without any means of defence (Cic. *Pro Sext.* 64; Tertull. *Apol.* 9). Political offenders were so treated, and Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 3, § 1) records that no less than 2,500 Jews were destroyed in the theatre at Caesarea by this and similar methods. The expression as used by St. Paul is usually taken as metaphorical, both on account of the qualifying words κατ' ἄνθρωπον, the absence of all reference to the occurrence in the Acts, and the rights of citizenship which St. Paul enjoyed (cp. Evans in *Speaker's Comm.*, Schnedermann in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*). Certainly St. Paul was exposed to some extraordinary suffering at Ephesus, which he describes in language borrowed from, if not descriptive of, a real case of θηριομαχία; for he speaks of himself as a criminal condemned to death (ἐπιθανατίους, 1 Cor. iv. 9; ἀπόκριμα τοῦ θανάτου ἐσχήκαμεν, 2 Cor. i. 9), exhibited previously to the execution of the sentence (ἀπέδειξεν, 1 Cor. *l. c.*), reserved to the conclusion of the games (ἐσχάτους), as was usual with the *theriomachi* ("novissimos elegit, velut bestiarios," Tertull. *de Pudic.* 14), and thus made a spectacle (θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν). Lightfoot (*Exercit.* on 1 Cor. xv. 32) points to the friendliness of the Asiarchs at a subsequent period (Acts xix. 31) as probably resulting from some wonderful preservation which they had witnessed. Nero selected this mode of executing the Christians at Rome, with the barbarous aggravation that the victims were dressed up in the skins of beasts (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44). St. Paul may possibly allude to his escape from such torture in 2 Tim. iv. 17. Cp. *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* art. "Bestiarii."

St. Paul's Epistles abound with allusions to the Greek contests, borrowed probably from the Isthmian games, at which he may well have been present during his first visit to Corinth (Conybeare and Howson, ii. 206). These contests (ὁ ἀγών—a word of general import, the *fight*, as the R. V. has it, 2 Tim. iv. 7; 1 Tim. vi. 12) were divided into two classes, the *pancratium*, consisting of boxing and wrestling, and the *pentathlon*, consisting of leaping, running, quoiting, hurling the spear, and wrestling. The competitors (ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος, 1 Cor. ix. 25; ἐὰν ἀθλῇ τις, 2 Tim. ii. 5) required a long and severe course of previous training (cp. σωματικὴ γυμνασία, 1 Tim. iv. 8), during which a particular diet was enforced (πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, δουλαγώγω, 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27). In the Olympic contests these preparatory exercises (προγυμνάσματα) extended over a period of ten months, during the last of which they were conducted under the supervision of appointed officers. The contests took place in the presence of a vast multitude of spectators (περικείμενον νέφος μαρτύρων, Heb. xii. 1), the competitors being the spectacle (θέατρον=θέαμα, 1 Cor. iv. 9; θεαζόμενοι, Heb. x. 33). The games were opened by the proclamation of a herald (κηρύξας, 1 Cor. ix. 27), whose office it was to proclaim the name and country of each candidate, and especially to announce the name of the victor before the assembled multitude. Certain conditions and rules were laid down for the different contests, as, that no bribe be offered to a competitor; that in boxing the combatants should not lay hold of one another, &c.: any infringement of

these rules (ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ, 2 Tim. ii. 5) involved a loss of the prize, the competitor being pronounced disqualified (ἀδόκιμος, 1 Cor. ix. 27; *indignus brabeo*, Bengel). The judge was selected for his spotless integrity (ὁ δίκαιος κριτής, 2 Tim. iv. 8): his office was to decide any disputes (βραβενέτω, Col. iii. 15; A. V. and R. V. "rule," R. V. marg. Gr. *arbitrate*) and to give the prize (τὸ βραβεῖον, 1 Cor. ix. 24; Phil. iii. 14), consisting of a crown (στέφανος, 2 Tim. ii. 5, iv. 8) of leaves of wild olive at the Olympic games, and of pine or, at one period, ivy at the Isthmian games. These crowns, though perishable (φθαρτόν, 1 Cor. ix. 25; cp. 1 Pet. v. 4), were always regarded as a source of unfailing exultation (Phil. iv. 1; 1 Thess. ii. 19): palm

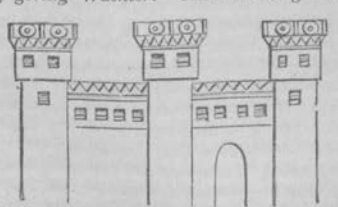
Isthmian crowns.

branches were also placed in the hands of the victors (Rev. vii. 9). St. Paul alludes to two only out of the five contests, boxing and running, more frequently to the latter. In boxing (πυγμή; cp. πυκτεύω, 1 Cor. ix. 26), the hands and arms were bound with the *cestus*, a band of leather studded with nails, which very much increased the severity of the blow, and rendered a bruise inevitable (ὑπωπιάζω, 1 Cor. *l. c.*; ὑπώπια = τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς ὤπας τῶν πληγῶν ἴχνη, Pollux, *Onom.* ii. 4, 52). The skill of the combatant was shown in so avoiding the blows of his adversary that they were expended on the air (οὐκ ὡς ἀέρα δέρων, 1 Cor. *l. c.*). The foot-race (δρόμος, 2 Tim. iv. 7, a word peculiar to St. Paul; cp. Acts xiii. 25, xx. 24, rendered "course" by A. V. and R. V.) was run in the *stadium* (ἐν σταδίῳ; A. V. and R. V. "race" [R. V. marg. Gr. *race-course*]; 1 Cor. ix. 24), an oblong area, open at one end and rounded in a semicircular form at the other, along the sides of which were the raised tiers of seats on which the spectators sat.

The Race.

The race was either from one end of the *stadium* to the other, or, in the δίαυλος, back again to the starting-post. There may be a latent reference to the δίαυλος in the expression ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτήν (Heb. xii. 2); Jesus being, as it were, the starting-point and the goal, the *locus a quo* and the *locus ad quem* of the Christian's course. The judge was stationed by the "goal" (R. V. σκοπόν; A. V. "mark"; Phil. iii. 14), which was clearly visible from one end of the *stadium* to the other, so that the runner could make straight for it (οὐκ ὡς ἀδήλως, 1 Cor. ix. 26). St. Paul brings vividly before our minds the earnestness of the competitor, having cast off every encumbrance (ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα), especially any closely-fitting robe (εὐπερίστατον, Heb. xii. 1; cp. Conybeare and Howson, ii. 543), holding on his course uninterruptedly (διώκω, Phil. iii. 12), his eye fixed on the distant goal (ἀφορῶντες, ἀπέβλεπε, Heb. xii. 2, xi. 26; ἀπὸ notat *longe*, Bengel), unmindful of the space already past (τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος, Phil. *l. c.*), and stretching forward with bent body (τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος), his perseverance (δι' ὑπομονῆς, Heb. xii. 1), his joy at the completion of the course (μετὰ χαρᾶς, Acts xx. 24), his exultation as he not only receives (ἔλαβον, Phil. iii. 12) but actually grasps (καταλάβω, "apprehend," in A. V. and R. V. Phil.; ἐπιλαβοῦ, 1 Tim. vi. 12, 19) the crown which had been set apart (ἀπόκειται, 2 Tim. iv. 8) for the victor. Cp. Dean Howson's 4th Essay on "The Metaphors of St. Paul" (*Sunday Magazine*, 1866–7). [W. L. B.]

GAMMA'DIMS (גַּמָּדִים). This word occurs only in Ezek. xxvii. 11, where it is said of Tyre, "the Gammadims were in thy towers." A variety of explanations of the term (some obsolete, like the Vulg. *Pygmaei*; see first edit. of this work) have been offered. (1.) Some treat it as a geographical or local term; reading (a) גמרים (Gen. x. 2, Cappadocians; so Lagarde), or (b) עמרים (Gen. x. 18, a Canaanitish people; so Cornill). (2.) Others retain the present reading and give a more general sense to the word. Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 292) connects it with גָּמָד, *a staff*, whence the sense of brave warriors, *hostes arborum instar caedentes*; and Roediger supports the signification of warriors from the Syriac ܓܡܕ (*Add. ad* Gesen. *Thes.* p. 79). After all, the rendering in the LXX., φύλακες, furnishes the simplest explanation: and the Lutheran translation has followed this, giving *Wächter*. The following words of



Castle of a maritime people, with the shields hanging upon the walls. (From a bas-relief at Kouyunjik. Layard.)

the verse—"they hanged their shields upon the walls round about"—are illustrated by one of the bas-reliefs found at Kouyunjik (see preceding cut). [W. L. B.] [F.]

GA'MUL (גָּמוּל = *weaned*; B. ὁ Γαμούλ, A. Ἰαχείν; *Gamul*), a priest; the leader of the 22nd course in the service of the sanctuary (1 Ch. xxiv. 17).

GAR (Γάς; *Sasus*). "Sons of Gar" are named among the "sons of the servants of Solomon" in 1 Esd. v. 34. There are not in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah any names corresponding to the two preceding and the six succeeding this name. The form of the name in the A. V. is derived from the Aldine text (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [F.]

GARDEN (גַּן, גַּנָּה, גִּנָּה; κῆπος). Gardens in the East, as the Hebrew word indicates, are inclosures, on the outskirts of towns, planted with various trees and shrubs. From the allusions in the Bible we learn that they were surrounded by hedges of thorn (Is. v. 5), or walls of stone (Prov. xxiv. 31). For further protection lodges (Is. i. 8; Lam. ii. 6) or watch-towers (Mark xii. 1) were built in them, in which sat the keeper (נֹצֵר, Job xxvii. 18) to drive away the wild beasts and robbers, as is the case to this day. Layard (*Nin. & Bab.* p. 365) gives the following description of a scene which he witnessed:—"The broad silver river wound through the plain, the great ruin cast its dark shadows in the moonlight, the lights of 'the lodges in the gardens of cucumbers' flickered at our feet, and the deep silence was only broken by the sharp report of a rifle fired by the watchful guards to frighten away the wild boars that lurked in the melon beds." The scarecrow also was an invention not unknown (προβασκάνιον, Bar. vi. 70).

The gardens of the Hebrews were planted with flowers and aromatic shrubs (Cant. vi. 2, iv. 16), besides olives, fig-trees, nuts, or walnuts (Cant. vi. 11), pomegranates, and others for domestic use (Ex. xxiii. 11; Jer. xxix. 5; Amos ix. 14). The quince, medlar, citron, almond, and service trees are among those enumerated in the Mishna as cultivated in Palestine (*Kilaim*, i. § 4). Gardens of herbs, or kitchen-gardens, are mentioned in Deut. xi. 10 and 1 K. xxi. 2. Cucumbers were grown in them (Is. i. 8; Bar. vi. 70), and probably also melons, leeks, onions, and garlic, which are spoken of (Num. xi. 5) as the productions of a neighbouring country. In addition to these, the lettuce, mustard-plant (Luke xiii. 19), coriander, endive, one of the bitter herbs eaten with the Paschal lamb, and rue, are particularised in the precepts of the Mishna, though it is not certain that they were all, strictly speaking, cultivated in the gardens of Palestine (*Kilaim*, i. §§ 2, 8). It is well known that, in the time of the Romans, the art of gardening was carried to great perfection in Syria. Pliny (xx. 16) says, "Syria in hortis operosissima est; indeque proverbium Graecis, 'Multa Syrorum olera;'" and again (xii. 54) he describes the balsam plant as growing in Judaea alone, and there only in two royal gardens. Strabo (xvi. p. 763), alluding to one of these gardens near Jericho, calls it ὁ τοῦ βαλσάμου παράδεισος. The rose-garden in Jerusalem, mentioned in the Mishna (*Maaseroth*, ii. § 5), and said to have been situated westward of the Temple-mount, is remarkable as having been one of the few gardens which, from the time of the Prophets, existed within the city walls (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xxvi. 36). They were usually planted without the gates, according to the gloss quoted by Lightfoot, on account of the fetid smell arising from the weeds thrown out from them, or from the manure employed in their cultivation.

The gate Gennath, mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2), is supposed to have derived its name from the rose-garden already mentioned, or from the fact of its leading to the gardens without the city. It was near the garden-ground by the Gate of the Women that Titus was surprised by the Jews while reconnoitring the city. The trench by which it was surrounded cut off his retreat (Jos. *B. J.* v. 2, § 2). But of all the gardens of Palestine none is possessed of associations more sacred and imperishable than the garden of Gethsemane, beside the oil-presses on the slopes of Olivet. Eight aged olive-trees mark the site which tradition has connected with that memorable garden-scene, and their gnarled stems and almost leafless branches attest an antiquity as venerable as that which is claimed for them. [GETHSEMANE.]

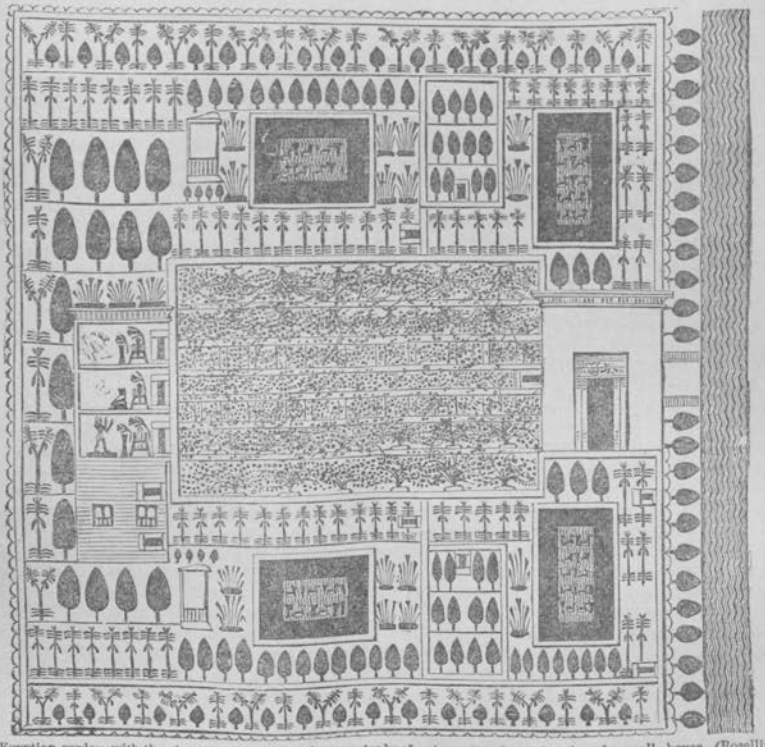
In addition to the ordinary productions of the country, we are tempted to infer from Is. xvii. 10, that in some gardens care was bestowed on the rearing of exotics. To this conclusion the description of the gardens of Solomon in the Targum on Eccles. ii. 5, 6 seems to point: "I made me well-watered gardens and paradises, and sowed there all kinds of plants, some for use of eating, and some for use of drinking, and some for purposes of medicine; all kinds of plants of spices. I planted in them trees of emptiness (*i.e.* not fruit-bearing), and all trees of spices which the spectres and demons brought me from India, and every tree which produces fruit; and its border was from the wall of the citadel, which is in Jerusalem, by the waters of Siloah. I chose reservoirs of water, which behold! are for watering the trees and the plants, and I made me fish-ponds of water, some of them also for the plantation which rears the trees to water it."

In a climate like that of Palestine the neighbourhood of water was an important consideration in selecting the site of a garden. The nomenclature of the country has perpetuated this fact in the name En-gannim—"the fountain of gardens"—the modern *Jenin* (cp. Cant. iv. 15). To the old Hebrew poets "a well-watered garden," or "a tree planted by the waters," was an emblem of luxuriant fertility and material prosperity (Is. lviii. 11; Jer. xvii. 8, xxxi. 12); while no figure more graphically conveyed the idea of dreary barrenness or misery than "a garden that hath no water" (Is. i. 30). From a neighbouring stream or cistern were supplied the channels or conduits by which the gardens were intersected, and the water was thus conveyed to all parts (Ps. i. 3; Eccles. ii. 6; Ecclus. xxiv. 30). It is matter of doubt what is the exact meaning of the expression "to water with the foot" in Deut. xi. 10. Niebuhr (*Descr. de l'Arabie*, p. 138) describes a wheel which is employed for irrigating gardens where the water is not deep, and which is worked by the hands and feet after the manner of a treadmill, the men "pulling the upper part towards them with their hands, and pushing with their feet upon the lower part" (Robinson, ii. 226). This mode of irrigation might be described as "watering with

the foot." But the method practised by the agriculturists in Oman, as narrated by Wellsted (*Trav.* i. 281), answers more nearly to this description, and serves to illustrate Prov. xxi. 1: "After ploughing, they form the ground with a spade into small squares with ledges on either side, along which the water is conducted . . . When one of the hollows is filled, the peasant stops the supply by turning up the earth with his foot, and thus opens a channel into another."

The orange, lemon, and mulberry groves which lie around and behind Jaffa supply, perhaps, the most striking peculiarities of Oriental gardens—gardens which Maundrell describes as being "a confused miscellany of trees jumbled together, without either posts, walks, arbours, or anything of art or design, so that they seem like thickets rather than gardens" (*Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 416). The Persian wheels, which are kept ever working, day and night, by mules, to supply the gardens with water, leave upon the traveller's ear a most enduring impression (Lynch, *Exp. to Jordan*, p. 441; Siddon's *Memoir*, p. 187).

The law against the propagation of mixed species (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9, 11) gave rise to numerous enactments in the Mishna to ensure its observance. The portions of the field or garden, in which the various plants were sown, were separated by light fences of reed, ten palms in height, the distance between the reeds being



An Egyptian garden, with the vineyard and other inclosures, tanks of water, a temple or chapel, and a small house. (Rosellini.)

not more than three palms, so that a kid could enter (*Kilaim*, iv. §§ 3, 4).

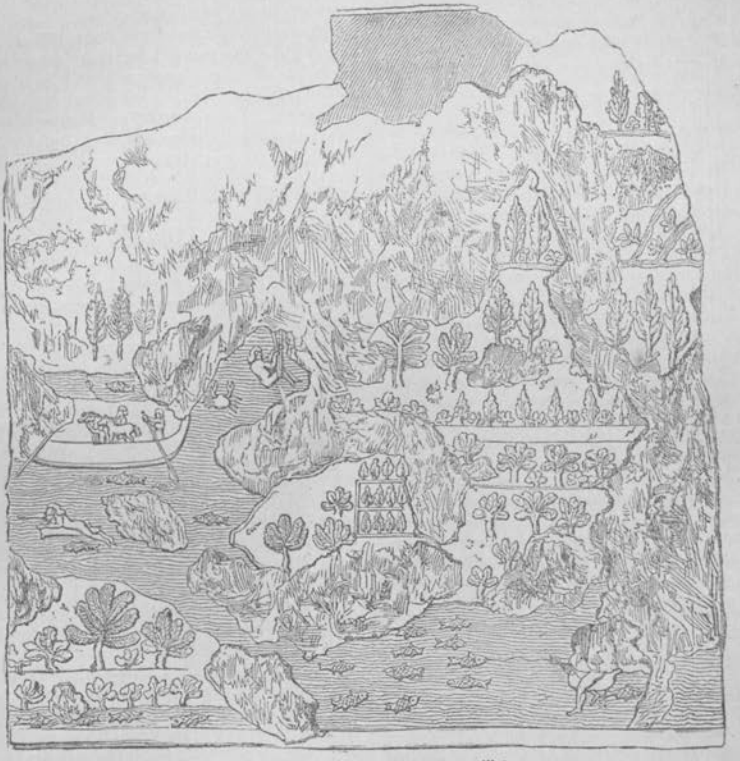
The kings and nobles had their country-houses surrounded by gardens (1 K. xxi. 1; 2 K. ix. 27), and these were used on festal occasions (Cant. v. 1). So intimately, indeed, were gardens associated with festivity that horticulture and conviviality are, in the Talmud, denoted by the same term (cp. Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. אריסות). It is possible, however, that this may be a merely accidental coincidence. The garden of Ahasuerus was in a court of the palace (Esth. i. 5), adjoining the banqueting-hall (Esth. vii. 7). In Babylon the gardens and orchards were inclosed by the city-walls (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 246). Attached to the house of Joachim was a garden or orchard (Sus. *v.* 4)—"a garden inclosed" (Cant. iv. 12)—provided with baths and other appliances of luxury (Sus. *v.* 15; cp. 2 Sam. xi. 2).

In large gardens the *orchard* (פַּרְדֵּס, *παράδεισος*) was probably, as in Egypt, the inclosure set apart for the cultivation of date and sycamore trees, and fruit-trees of various kinds (Cant. iv. 13; Eccles. ii. 5). Schroeder, in the preface to his *Thesaurus Linguae Armenicae*, asserts that the word "pardes" is of Armenian origin, and denotes a garden near or round a house, planted with herbs, trees, and flowers (see MV.[11]). It is applied by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 10) and Berosus (quoted by Jos. *Ant.* x. 2, § 1) to the famous hanging gardens of Babylon. Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2, § 7) describes the "paradise" at Celaenae in Phrygia, where Cyrus had a palace,

as a large preserve full of wild beasts; and Aulus Gellius (ii. 20) gives "*vivaria*" as the equivalent of παραδείσος (cp. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* i. 38). The officer in charge of such a domain was called "the keeper of the paradise" (Neh. ii. 8).

The ancient Hebrews made use of gardens as places of burial (John xix. 41). Manasseh and his son Amon were buried in the garden of their palace, the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 18, 26; ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παραδείσοις, Jos. *Ant.* x. 3, § 2). The retirement of gardens rendered them favourite places for devotion (Matt. xxvi. 36; John xviii. 1; cp. Gen. xxiv. 63). In the degenerate times of the monarchy they were selected as the scenes of idolatrous worship (Is. i. 29; lxv. 3; lxvi. 17), and images of the idols were probably erected in them.

Gardeners are alluded to in Job xxvii. 18 and John xx. 15. But how far the art of gardening was carried among the Hebrews we have few means of ascertaining. That they were acquainted with the process of grafting is evident from Rom. xi. 17, 24, as well as from the minute prohibitions of the Mishna;[a] and the of method propagating plants by layers or cuttings was not unknown (Is. xvii. 10). Buxtorf says that אריסין, *'ărīsin* (Mishna, *Biccurim*, i. § 2), were gardeners who tended and looked after gardens on consideration of receiving some portion of the fruit (*Lex. Talm.* s. v.). But that gardening was a special means of livelihood is clear from a



Assyrian garden and fishpond. (Kouyunjik.)

proverb which contains a warning against rash speculations: "Who hires a garden eats the birds; who hires gardens, him the birds eat" (Dukes, *Rabbin. Blumenlese*, p. 141).

The traditional gardens and pools of Solomon, supposed to be alluded to in Eccles. ii. 5, 6, are shown in the *Wâdy Urtâs* (i.e. Hortus), about an hour and a quarter to the south of Bethlehem (cp. Jos. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 3). The Arabs perpetuate the tradition in the name of a neighbouring hill, which they call "*Jebel-el-Fureidis*," or "Mountain of the Paradise" (Stanley, *Sin. & Pal.* p. 166). Maundrell is sceptical on the subject of the gardens (*Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 457), but they find a champion in Van de Velde, who asserts that they "were not confined to the *Wâdy Urtâs;* the hill-slopes to the left and right also, with their heights and hollows, must have been covered with trees and plants, as is shown by the names they still bear, as 'peach-hill,' 'nut-vale,' 'fig-vale,'" &c. (*Syria & Pal.* ii. 27).

The "king's garden," mentioned in 2 K. xxv. 4, Neh. iii. 15, Jer. xxxix. 4, lii. 7, was near the pool of Siloam, at the mouth of the Tyropoeon, north of Bir Eyub, and was formed by the meeting of the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Ben Hinnom (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 498).

[a] It was forbidden to graft trees on trees of a different kind, or to graft vegetables on trees or trees on vegetables (*Kilaim*, i. §§ 7, 8).

Josephus places the scene of the feast of Adonijah at En-rogel, "beside the fountain that is in the royal paradise" (*Ant.* vii. 14, § 4; cp. also ix. 10, § 4). [W. A. W.]

GA'REB (גָּרֵב; Γαρέβ), one of the heroes of David's army (2 Sam. xxiii. 38). He is described as *the* (A. V. "an") Ithrite; *et ipse Jethrites*, Vulg. This is generally explained as a patronymic = son of Jether, a family of Kirjath-jearim. It may be observed, however, that Ira, who is also called the Ithrite in this passage, is called the Jairite in 2 Sam. xx. 26, and that the readings of the LXX. vary in the former passage (see Swete in loco). These variations support the sense given in the Syriac Version, which reads in 2 Sam. xx. 26 יַעְתִּרִי, *i.e.* an inhabitant of Jattir in the mountainous district of Judah (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco). [W. L. B.] [F.]

GA'REB, THE HILL (גִּבְעַת גָּרֵב = *scabbed, leprous*, Ges., Fürst; βουνὸς Γαρήβ; *collis Gareb*), named only in Jer. xxxi. 39. A hill outside Jerusalem, mentioned next to "the gate of the corner" as a point on the boundary of the restored city in the latter times. From the context it must have been on the north side of Jerusalem, for the Prophet, in describing the limits of the city, commences at the N.E. (*v.* 38), and then goes round to the N. and N.W. (*v.* 39), and the S.W., S., and E. (*v.* 40). Possibly in Jeremiah's time it was the dwelling-place of the lepers (Lev. xiii. 46). Riehm (s. *v.*) places it to the S.W. of Jerusalem, and Graf, quoted by Riehm, identifies it with the hill which separated the valleys of Hinnom and Rephaim (Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16). Gesenius (*Add. ad Thesaur.* p. 80) thinks it may have been Bezetha. Ewald (*Gesch. Christus*, p. 485) identifies it with Golgotha. It is very possibly the hill above *Jeremiah's grotto*, outside the *Damascus Gate*, which is supposed by some authorities to be Golgotha, and near which there appears to have been, at an early period, a leper's hospital, and perhaps the houses of the lepers. [W.]

GARIZ'IM (T^r. Γαριζίν, A. Γαριζείν; *Garizin*), 2 Macc. v. 23; vi. 2. [GERIZIM.]

GARLANDS (στέμματα). The wreaths brought with oxen by the priest of Jupiter at Lystra, when the people were about to worship Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiv. 13). Priests, altars, victims, and votaries were all decked with them. Cp. Tertullian, *de Corona*, x.; and see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco. [F.]

GARLICK (שׁוּם, *shūm*; τὰ σκόρδα; *allia*; Arab. ثوم, *thūm*; Num. xi. 5) is mentioned among the vegetables and good things of Egypt which the Israelites remembered with regret and murmuring at Taberah in the wilderness (Num. xi. 5). The cultivated garlic of Egypt is identical with our own *Allium sativum*, which is grown throughout the world, but especially in semi-tropical regions. Its importance as an article of food, or rather as a condiment, in Egypt, is shown by the statement of Herodotus (ii. 125), that an inscription on the Great Pyramid recorded that 1600 talents of silver were expended on radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen employed in its construction. The outer casing of the Pyramid having been long ago stripped off, there is now no means of proving or disproving the historian's statement, which, however, contains nothing improbable. The fondness of the Jews for garlic was proverbial among the ancients, and was cast in their teeth as a reproach. Rabbi Solomon, as quoted by Celsius, says: "Hoc proprium genti Ebraeae cacoëthes esse solet, ut comesto allio hircorum more incredibilem foetorem exhalent." Another commentator on the Talmud, Salomon Zevi, pleads in reply that the taste for garlic had come down from their ancestors in the wilderness, and that the Talmud had decided it to be a most wholesome food. Besides the cultivated garlic, no less than 36 species of this family of plants have been enumerated as found wild in various parts of Palestine (see MV.[11]). The roots of all of them have the same character, but of many the blossoms are very handsome, pink as well as white, and a few exhale a very grateful perfume. [H. B. T.]

GARMENT. [DRESS.]

GAR'MITE, THE (הַגַּרְמִי; LXX. [ed. Swete] is altogether different; *Garmi*). Keilah the Garmite, *i.e.* the descendant of Gerem (see the Targum on this word), is mentioned in the obscure genealogical lists of the families of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 19). Keilah is apparently the place of that name; but there is no clue to the reason of the soubriquet here given it. [G.]

GARRISON. The Hebrew words so rendered in the A. V. are derivatives from the root *nāṣab*, "to place, erect," which may be applied to a variety of objects. (1.) *Maṣṣāb* and *maṣṣābāh* (מַצָּב, מַצָּבָה) undoubtedly mean "a garrison" (A. V. and R. V.), or fortified post (1 Sam. xiii. 23, xiv. 1, 4, 12, 15; 2 Sam. xxiii. 14). (2.) *Nēṣib* (נְצִיב) is also used for "a garrison" (A. V. and R. V. in 1 Sam. x. 5, xiii. 3; 1 Ch. xi. 16); but some prefer the sense of a "column" erected in an enemy's country as a token of conquest, like the *stelae* erected by Sesostris (Her. ii. 102, 106; cp. the LXX. ἀνάστημα in 1 Sam. x. 5): and think that what Jonathan broke in pieces was a column which the Philistines had erected on a hill (1 Sam. xiii. 3). (3.) The same word is elsewhere taken to mean "officers" placed over a vanquished people (2 Sam. viii. 6, 14; 1 Ch. xviii. 13; 2 Ch. xvii. 2); but there seems no necessity for departing in these cases from the larger term "garrison" (A. V. and R. V.), if the translation "officers" be adopted in 1 K. iv. 17, 19. (4.) The A. V. translates by "garrisons" the מצבות of Ezek. xxvi. 11, but the R. V. "pillars" (marg. Or, *obelisks*) expresses more accurately the reference to those monolithic pillars which were visible symbols or embodiments of the presence of the deity. Thus Melcarth was worshipped at Tyre in the form of two pillars (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. pp. 186 sq., 190–1), and the beautiful pillars of the Tyrian temples attracted the attention of Herodotus (ii. 44).

In the Book of the Acts a garrison evidently occupied the "castle," or barracks connected

with the Tower of Antonia at Jerusalem (xxi. 34, 37). Its officer and soldiers were the means of rescuing St. Paul, and in its prison he found refuge. On very nearly the same site the present Turkish garrison stands. Some have thought that this garrison was Pilate's praetorium, and therefore the place where Jesus Christ was arraigned before the Roman governor.

In Acts xi. 32 the A. V. "the governor kept the city . . . with a garrison" is more correctly rendered by the R. V. "guarded (ἐφρούρει) the city." See *B. D.*, Amer. ed. [W. L. B.] [F.]

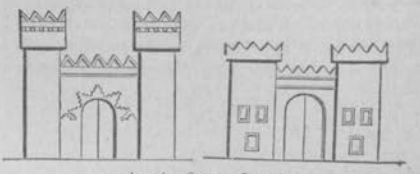
GASH'MU (גַּשְׁמוּ; *Gossem*), Neh. vi. 6. Assumed by all the lexicons to be a variation of the name of GESHEM (see *vv.* 1, 2). The words "and Gashmu saith" are omitted in BA., but occur in $\aleph^{c.a\ mg}$, καὶ Γοσὲμ εἶπεν. [F.]

GA'TAM (גַּעְתָּם; Γοθόμ [Gen.], B. Γοωθάμ, A. Γοθάμ [Ch.]; *Gatham, Gathan*), the fourth son of Eliphaz the son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 11; 1 Ch. i. 36), and one of the "dukes" of Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 16). Nothing is known about him. [F.]

GATE. 1. שַׁעַר, from שָׁעַר, *to divide*, Gesen. p. 1458; πύλη; *porta, introitus.* 2. פֶּתַח, from פָּתַח, *to open*, Ges. p. 1138; θύρα, πύλη; *ostium*, a "doorway." 3. סַף, a vestibule or gateway; αὐλή, σταθμός; *limen, postes.* 4. תְּרַע, Chald., only in Ezra and Daniel; αὐλή, θύρα; *ostium, fores.* 5. דֶּלֶת, from דָּלָה, *to hang down*; Gesen. p. 339, *a door*; θύρα; *valva, ostium, fores*, the "door" or valve.

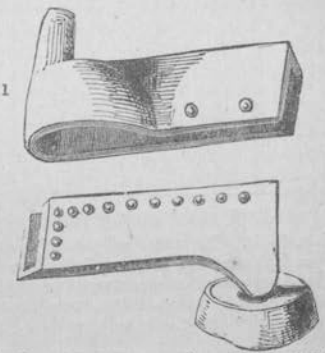
The gates and gateways of Eastern cities anciently held, and still hold, an important part, not only in the defence, but in the public economy of the place. They are thus sometimes taken as representing the city itself (Gen. xxii. 17, xxiv. 60; Deut. xii. 12, xvi. 5; Judg. v. 8; Ruth iv. 10; Ps. lxxxvii. 2, cxxii. 2). Among the special purposes for which they were used may be mentioned—1. As places of public resort, either for business, or where people sat to converse and hear news (Gen. xix. 1, xxiii. 10, xxxiv. 20, 24; 1 Sam. iv. 18; 2 Sam. xv. 2, xviii. 24; Ps. lxix. 12; Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 207). 2. Places for public deliberation, administration of justice, or of audience for kings and rulers, or ambassadors (Deut. xvi. 18, xxi. 19, xxv. 7; Josh. xx. 4; Judg. ix. 35; Ruth iv. 1; 2 Sam. xix. 8; 1 K. xxii. 10; Job xxix. 7; Prov. xxii. 22, xxiv. 7; Jer. xvii. 19, xxxviii. 7; Lam. v. 14; Amos v. 12; Zech. viii. 16; Polyb. xv. 31). Hence came the usage of the word "Porte" in speaking of the government of Constantinople (*Early Trav.* p. 349). 3. Public markets (2 K. vii. 1; cp. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1243, ed. Bekk.; Neh. xiii. 16, 19). [CITIES.] In heathen towns the open spaces near the gates appear to have been sometimes used as places for sacrifice (Acts xiv. 13; cp. 2 K. xxiii. 8).

Regarded therefore as positions of great importance, the gates of cities were carefully guarded and closed at nightfall (Deut. iii. 5; Josh. ii. 5, 7; Judg. ix. 40, 44; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 2 Sam. xi. 23; Jer. xxxix. 4; Judith i. 4: see Rev. xxi. 25). They contained chambers over the gateway, and probably also chambers or recesses at the sides for the various purposes to which they were applied (2 Sam. xviii. 24; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 57, and note).



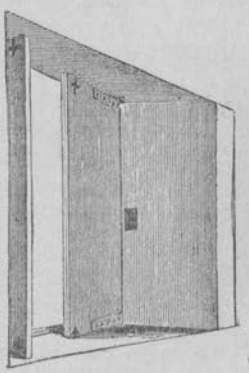
Assyrian Gates. (Layard.)

The gateways of Assyrian cities were arched or square-headed entrances in the wall, sometimes flanked by towers (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 388, 395, *Nin. & Bab.* 231, *Mons. of Nin.* Pt. 2, pl. 49; see also Assyrian bas-reliefs in Brit. Mus. Nos. 49, 25, 26). In later Egyptian times, the gates of the temples seem to have been intended as places of defence, if not the principal fortifi-



Egyptian Doors.—Fig. 1. The upper pin, on which the door turned. Fig. 2. Lower pin. (Wilkinson.)

cations (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 409 [1878]). The doors themselves of the larger gates mentioned in Scripture were two-leaved, plated with metal, closed with locks and fastened with metal

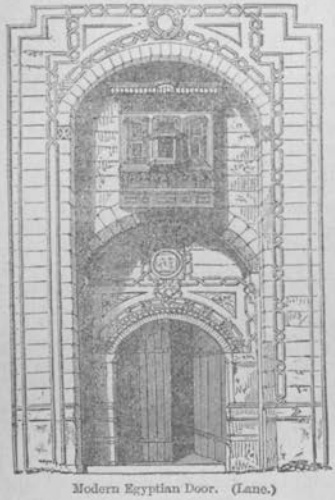


An Egyptian Folding-door.

bars (Deut. iii. 5; Judg. xvi. 3; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 1 K. iv. 13; 2 Ch. viii. 5; Neh. iii. 3–15; Ps. cvii. 16; Is. xlv. 1, 2; Jer. xlix. 31). Gates not defended by iron were of course liable to be set on fire by an enemy (Judg. ix. 52).

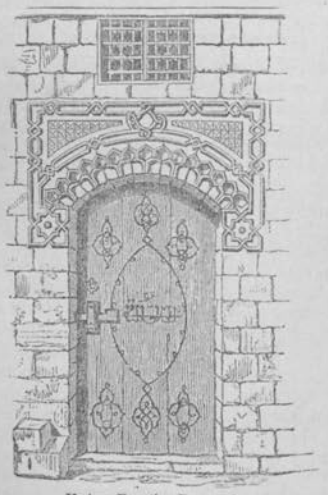
The gateways of royal palaces and even of

private houses were often richly ornamented. Sentences from the Law were inscribed on and above the gates, as in Mohammedan countries sentences from the Kurán are inscribed over doorways and on doors (Deut. vi. 9; Is. liv. 12; Rev. xxi. 21; Maundrell, *E. T.* p. 488; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 29; Rauwolff, *Travels*, Pt. iii. c. 10;



Modern Egyptian Door. (Lane.)

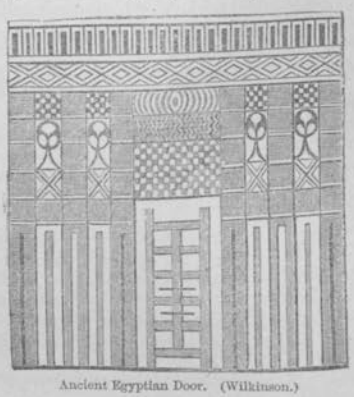
Ray, ii. p. 278). The principal gate of the royal palace at Ispahan was in Chardin's time held sacred, and served as a sanctuary for criminals (Chardin, vii. 368), and petitions were presented to the sovereign at the gate (see Esth. iv. 2,



Modern Egyptian Door. (Lane.)

and Herod. iii. 120, 140). The gateways of Nimroud and Persepolis were flanked by colossal figures of animals.

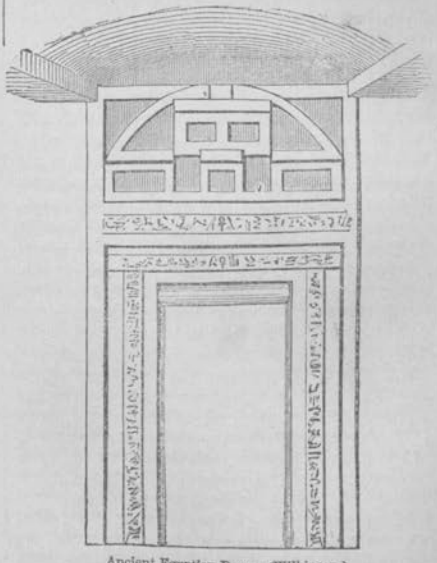
The gates of Solomon's Temple were very massive and costly, being overlaid with gold and carvings (1 K. vi. 34, 35; 2 K. xviii. 16). Those of the Holy Place were of olive-wood, two-leaved, and overlaid with gold; those of the Temple of fir (1 K. vi. 31, 32, 34; Ezek. xli. 23, 24). Of the gates of the outer court of Herod's temple, nine were covered with gold and silver, as well as the posts and lintels, but the outer one, the Beautiful Gate (Acts iii. 2), was made entirely of Corinthian brass, and was considered far to surpass the others in costliness (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5, § 3). This gate, which was



Ancient Egyptian Door. (Wilkinson.)

so heavy as to require twenty men to close it, was unexpectedly found open on one occasion shortly before the close of the siege (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 5, § 3; c. *Ap.* 9).

The figurative gates of pearl and precious stones (Is. liv. 12; Rev. xxi. 21) may be regarded as having their types in the massive



Ancient Egyptian Door. (Wilkinson.)

stone doors which are found in some of the ancient houses in Syria. These are of single slabs several inches thick, sometimes 10 feet high, and turn on stone pivots above and below (Maundrell, *Early Trav.* p. 447; Shaw, p. 210; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 58, 74; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 22, 192; Ray, *Coll. of Trav.* ii. 429).

Egyptian doorways were often richly orna-

mented. The parts of the doorway were the threshold (סַף, Judg. xix. 27; *πρόθυρον, limen*) the sideposts (מְזוּזוֹת; *σταθμοί; uterque postis*), the lintel (מַשְׁקוֹף; *φλιά, superliminare*, Ex. xii. 7). It was on the lintel and side-posts that the blood of the Passover lamb was sprinkled (Ex. xii. 7, 22). A trace of some similar practice in Assyrian worship seems to have been discovered at Nineveh (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 256).

The camp of the Israelites in the desert appears to have been closed by gates (Ex. xxxii. 27).

The word "door" in reference to a tent expresses the opening made by turning up the cloths in front of the tent, or dispensing with them altogether, and the tent is then supported only by the hinder and middle poles (Gen. xviii. 2; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 42; Robinson, ii. 571).

In the Temple this duty was discharged by Levites; and in the houses of the wealthier classes, and in palaces, persons were especially appointed to keep the door (2 K. xii. 9, xxv. 18; 1 Ch. ix. 18, 19; Esth. ii. 21; Jer. xxxv. 4; שֹׁעֲרִים; *θυρωροί, πυλωροί; portarii, janitores*). In the A. V. these are frequently called "porters," a word which has now acquired a different meaning. The chief steward of the household in the palace of the Shah of Persia was called chief of the guardians of the gate (Chardin, vii. 369). [CURTAIN; HOUSE; TEMPLE.] [H. W. P.]

GATE, BEAUTIFUL, of the Temple (Acts iii. 2). [TEMPLE; JERUSALEM.]

GATH (גַּת; Γέθ [1 Sam.], Josephus Γίττα), one of the five Philistine strongholds (Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 17). The name is usually rendered "wine press" (cp. Joel iv. 13; Neh. xiii. 15; Lam. i. 15), an abbreviated form of גִּתִּית, according to Gesenius (*Lex.*). The ethnic form is גִּתִּי, "Gittite" (2 Sam. vi. 10, &c.); in the feminine, גִּתִּית (Ps. viii. 1, &c.). In Arabic the name might be expected to survive as *Jett* or *Jenneta*, but no site is known in the required position bearing such a name; and the position of Gath is still a matter of uncertainty. The generally accepted view is that advocated by Dr. Porter in 1857 and by others, which places this stronghold at the important fortress of *Tell es-Sâfi*, north of Beit Jibrîn (see *PEF. Mem.* ii. p. 415, sheet 16). According to Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22) Gath was in the territory of Dan and in the vicinity of Jamnia. It is not enumerated in the geographical chapters of the Book of Joshua as belonging to any tribe in particular, and in one passage (Josh. xi. 22) it appears to have remained unconquered in the hands of the Anakim. In the time of David it was still an important Philistine fortress, the native place of the giant Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 4). After the battle in the Valley of Elah (*Wâdy Surrâr*) the Philistines fled "by the way to Shaaraim ('gates') even unto Gath and unto Ekron." This expression seems to agree with the passage from Josephus already quoted, in placing Gath near the northern limits of the Philistine region, and Gath is enumerated next to Ekron in an earlier passage (1 Sam. vi. 17; cp. 2 Sam. i. 20). Obed-edom the Gittite (2 Sam. vi. 10) was no doubt a native of Gath, but there is nothing to show that he was a Philistine. The Gittites who followed David from Gath (2 Sam. xv. 18) are mentioned with the Pelethithes and Cherethites, who appear also to have come from Philistia, but of whose nationality nothing is known. Achish, king of Gath in David's earlier days (1 Sam. xxi. 10), bears a name perhaps not Semitic, and having no known Semitic derivation—a remark which applies to other Philistine names as well. His father's name was Maoch (1 Sam. xxvii. 2, 3) or Maachah (1 K. ii. 39), and he was still independent in Solomon's time. Whether the Philistine Gath was the city taken by Hazael, king of Syria (2 K. xii. 17), may be doubtful, though not improbable. According to 1 Ch. xviii. 1, David himself took Gath, but his conquest, like those of many other monarchs, Assyrian or Egyptian, had little effect on the permanent history of the town. In the corresponding passage in Samuel (2 Sam. viii. 1; see Wellhausen in loco) Metheg-Ammah stands instead of Gath. Rehoboam is said to have fortified Gath (2 Ch. xi. 8) with other cities on the borders of his kingdom. These works are not mentioned in the parallel passage in Kings (1 K. xii. 21). Uzziah "brake down the wall of Gath" (2 Ch. xxvi. 6) when pushing his conquests over Philistia; but Amos, writing in the same reign (Amos vi. 2), still speaks of Gath as a Philistine city. In the later prophets (Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. ix. 5, 6), when Philistine cities are enumerated Gath is not among them. It may have been ruined in the later invasions from Babylon, or by the Persians, but during the days of the Hebrew kings it was always a thorn in the side of Israel.

The references to Gath in monumental records are as yet few and doubtful. In the list of towns in Palestine conquered by Thothmes III. about 1600 B.C. one bears the name Kenetu (No. 93), but this may be the modern *Jennata*, much further south; No. 63 Jenet is *Kefr Jennis*, which is again too far north; No. 70 Jenet is more possibly Gath. In the time of Amenophis IV., about 1450 B.C., a city named *Gimti* is noticed in one of the letters from Tell Amarna, and in an inscription of Sargon's it is connected with Ekron. It is mentioned in the above letter with Gedor and Keilah, and may perhaps, as Delitzsch supposes, be Gath. It appears to have been a place of importance, since the "forces of the city of Gimti" were commanded by a prince who successfully drove out the Egyptian garrison. Such notices, however, do not aid us to fix the exact site. Nor is it certain that the true site was known in the time of Eusebius. In the *Onomasticon*, however (*OS.*[2] p. 254, 20), he states that Gath was 5 miles from Eleutheropolis, on the way to Diospolis. Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 159, 15) adds nothing to this, but in another work (*Com. ad Mic.* i., in Reland, *Pal.* ii. p. 286) he says that Gath was still a large village, on the way from Eleutheropolis to Gaza. We may suspect that Gazara, or Gezer, should here stand for Gaza, in which case Jerome's notice would agree with that of Eusebius, which he accepts in translating in the *Onomasticon*. Under the head of Gath-Rimmon (Γεθρεμμών), Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 255, 38) speaks of the town so called in Dan as being 12 miles from Diospolis (Lydda) on the way to Eleutheros

polis. If the same site is intended, the distance from Eleutheropolis to Diospolis is made to be 17 Roman miles in all. The true distance is 24 English miles; but as this route is not one of the great Roman highways, it is possible that we have to deal with mere estimates of distance. There is no remarkable site 5 Roman miles north of Eleutheropolis, Tell es-Sâfi being 7 English miles distant from the site of Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrîn*). Thus, though the indications favour the usually accepted site, there is no absolute identification, as yet, of Gath. The *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 255, 73) makes a false distinction between the Philistine stronghold and the Gath to which the Ark was taken from Ashdod (1 Sam. v. 8) on the way to Ekron. This site is said by Eusebius, and by his translator Jerome, to be between Antipatris (*Râs el 'Ain*) and Jamnia (*Yebna*)—a vague indication, but one which does not agree with the site already more carefully defined. The authors of the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 255, 76) add that there was "another place called Geththim," perhaps meaning Gittaim (Neh. xi. 33).

The site at Tell es-Sâfi is remarkably strong and important. A white chalk cliff stands up on the south 300 feet above the open valley of Elah, and nearly 700 feet above the Mediterranean. The modern village is on the top with a sacred place outside. The name تل الصافي signifies "white (or shining) hill,"* and the cliff is conspicuous at a considerable distance. The houses are of mud; the water supply is from a well in the valley to the north. A few foundations with drafted stones remain, being traces of the important mediaeval castle of Blanchegarde (Alba Specula), which was erected in 1144 A.D. by Fulke of Anjou. It was dismantled by Saladin (Will. of Tyre, xv. 25), and had four towers of equal size. It is mentioned as a castle in 1191 A.D. (*Itin. Ric. IV.* xxiii. xxxii.), when three hundred Saracens formed the garrison. If this identification of Gath be correct, it seems to have long retained its importance. A good account of the site is given by Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 29–32). El Mukaddasi (11th cent. A.D.) says the place had a governor of its own. Yâkût (14th cent.) also speaks of it as an important place (see Le Strange, *Palestine under Moslems*, pp. 41, 544). No antiquities of importance have, however, as yet been found at the site. [C. R. C.]

GATH-HEPHER or GITTAH-HEPHER (גַּת הַחֵפֶר, 2 K. xiv. 25). The second spelling, גִּתָּה חֵפֶר (Josh. xix. 13), is merely the locative case of the name, and is correctly changed to Gath-hepher in the R. V. The name is usually translated "vine press of the pit." This town was on the border of Zebulun and Naphtali, and was the home of Jonah. The site is not identified in the *Onomasticon*, but Jerome (*Comm. on Jonah*, quoted by Reland, *Pal.* ii. p. 786) places it in the second mile from Saphorim, or Diocaesarea, on the road to Tiberias. He says it was a small village where the tomb of Jonah was still shown. Benjamin of Tudela (12th cent.) also says that the tomb of Jonah was shown in his time near Sepphoris (*Early Travels in Pal.* p. 89); and Isaac Chelo (14th cent.) says that the modern name of Gath-hepher in his time was Mesh-had (Carmoly, *Itin.* p. 256): it was then a small place, inhabited by a few poor Moslems, but he appears to confound it with Kefr Kenna, where he says that a mosque covered the tomb of Jonah, one of the seven prophets buried in Palestine whose tombs were known. In the Talmud (Tal. Jer. *Shebuith*, vi. 1; Neubauer, *Géog. du Tal.* p. 201) it is apparently the same site that is mentioned as חֲפַר, in connexion with Sepphoris (cp. *Bereshith Rabba*, 98), as a place standing high, and apparently 3 miles distant.

There is no doubt that these references all point to the present village *el Mesh-hed* (*PEF. Mem.* i. pp. 363, 367, sheet vi.), where one of several supposed tombs of Jonah is still venerated. It is now a small village with a Makâm, or sacred place, surmounted by two domes, and with a population of some 300 Moslems. Sepphoris (Seffûrieh) is about 2½ English miles to the west; Kefr Kenna is half a mile to the north-east. The tomb of Neby Yunis stands high (1250 feet above the Mediterranean), overlooking the plain on the north. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 350) adopts the traditional view as possible. The site is of great importance as defining the boundary of Zebulun. [C. R. C.]

GATH-RIMMON (גַּת רִמּוֹן), "wine press of the pomegranate," according to Gesenius (*Lex.*), but perhaps connected with the name of Rimmon, "high" (cp. Gesenius *s. v.*). There are two places so called in the Bible.

1. A city in the territory of Dan (Josh. xxi. 24; 1 Ch. vi. 69), situated in the vicinity of Bene Berak and Jehud (Josh. xix. 45) or north-east of Joppa. It is with this town that the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 255, 58) identifies a village 21 miles south of Lydda [GATH]. The site is quite unknown.

2. A city of Manasseh west of Jordan (Josh. xxi. 25). The LXX. reads Βαιθσὰν or Bethshean, and in the parallel passage (1 Ch. vi. 70) we read Bileam. There is thus great uncertainty as to the text. Within the limits of the tribe of Manasseh we have the name of Rimmon at the village of *Kefr Rummân*, north of Shechem, and of Gath at *Jett*, an important site on the edge of the Sharon plain, where the main valley, running N.W. from Shechem, debouches into the lowlands. This latter is probably the Gitta which, according to Justin Martyr, was the home of Simon Magus, but its identity with Gath-rimmon is purely a matter of conjecture (see *PEF. Mem.* ii. 163–201; and for Kefr Rummân, ii. 45). The site of *Jett* is the only one known in Southern Palestine, where the name Gath appears to survive. [C. R. C.]

GAZA (עַזָּה; Γάζα; Arabic, غَزَّة, *Ghŭzzeh*, "strong" or "fortified," Gesenius, *Lex.* In Deut. ii. 23, 1 K. iv. 24, and Jer. xxv. 20, the A. V. reads AZZAH, which the R. V. corrects

* In literary notices of this town it is always spelt تل الصافية; but the name as taken down from the peasantry omits the last letter, which is not a radical.

into accordance with the general spelling. In cuneiform texts the name is spelt with a guttural, which may be pronounced *kh* or *gh*. There is no certainty as to the early pronunciation, since the two sounds which in Arabic are represented by ع and غ are represented by only a single letter [ע] in the Hebrew and Phoenician alphabets, down to a very late date; but the exact sound does not affect the radical meaning). One of the most important cities in Palestine, the frontier fortress on the Egyptian highway, and in all ages a place of great strength, barring the road to the south. It is mentioned in Genesis (x. 19) as the limit of the Canaanite territory, and frequently as one of the five great Philistine cities. The latest Biblical notice is in Acts (viii. 26); and both in monumental and classical history the name is familiar. It was the limit of Hebrew conquest (Josh. x. 41), but was apparently not at first reduced, as the Anakim survived in it (xi. 22), though assigned as one of the provincial capitals to Judah (xv. 47). It was taken by the Hebrews in the next generation after Joshua (Judg. i. 18), though in Samson's time (Judg. xvi. 1, 21) it was in the hands of the Philistines. Perhaps it may have been lost during the Midianite incursions (Judg. vi. 4). In David's time it was a Philistine fortress (1 Sam. vi. 17). Hezekiah smote the Philistines as far as Gaza (2 K. xviii. 8). An Egyptian conquest of the city is mentioned by Jeremiah (xlvii. 1, 5), and Amos in earlier times speaks of its approaching desolation (i. 6, 7), but it survived in Zephaniah's time (ii. 4), and Zechariah yet later speaks of it as an inhabited city (ix. 5). Its position on one of the main trade routes along the shore secured its prosperity, in spite of constantly recurring sieges and demolitions. In the N. T. Gaza is mentioned (Acts viii. 26) as reached by a road through deserts, and the region round it has always been very deficient in water supply—a fact which added considerably to its importance.

The earliest account on monuments of this city is found in one of the recently discovered Tell Amarna letters, written by a local governor to the king of Egypt, probably about 1450 B.C. The city was then held by Egypt—probably about the time of the earlier Judges; but the letter speaks of a revolt apparently in favour of the *'Abiri* or "Hebrews" (see *PSBA.* June 1889, p. 345): "The city of Gaza, belonging to the king, which is on the shore of the sea westwards of the cities of Gath and Carmel (of Judah), fell away to Urgi and to the men of the city of Gath" (*Gimti*). The Egyptian governor appears to have been taken captive, since the same letter (now in the Boulak Museum) states that he was then "in his house in the city of Gaza." About a century later Gaza is also mentioned in the *Travels of a Mohar*, at a time when Rameses II. had re-established Egyptian supremacy, during the days of Canaanite oppression under Sisera. The possession of Gaza was always that of a secure base for advance into Palestine; and it appears to have been almost always in the power of Egypt, until that power was overthrown by the Babylonians. We have, however, no account of any siege by Nebuchadnezzar, or by Darius, on their way to Egypt. The city may have surrendered, or have been simply guarded by the invaders. Cambyses is said to have stored his treasures there (Pomp. Mela, i. 11); and according to Arrian (*Exped. Alex.* ii. 26) the city resisted Alexander the Great for five months, and was finally taken by storm, the men being slain and the women and children sold as slaves, while a new population was taken from the surrounding country. It subsequently acknowledged the sway of the Greek kings of Egypt and of Syria in turn: it was fortified by Bacchides, its environs burned by Jonathan the Hasmonean, and the town itself taken by his successor Simon (1 Macc. xi. 61, 62, xiii. 43; Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 5). Simon imposed the Law on its inhabitants. Other passages (1 Macc. ix. 52, xiv. 7, xv. 28, xvi. 1) which speak of Gazara have been wrongly supposed to refer to Gaza, when in fact Gezer is clearly intended. Strabo is apparently incorrect in supposing Gaza to have remained in ruins in the times succeeding Alexander's siege (xvi. 2, 30), other notices of which occur in Quintus Curtius (4, 6), Plutarch (*Alex.* ch. 25), Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 3, 4), as noted by Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. p. 41). About 96 B.C. Alexander Jannaeus destroyed the town after a year's siege (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 13, § 3, and xiv. 5, § 3). It was restored by the Roman general Gabinius, and given to Herod the Great by Augustus, and after his death assigned to Syria (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 3, and xvii. 11, § 4). The Jews in rebellion against Florus laid it in ruins (*Wars*, ii. 18, § 1), but it recovered after the fall of Jerusalem, and coins of Titus, Adrian, and later emperors were struck at Gaza (Rel. *Pal.* pp. 788, 797). The notices of Gaza by later classical writers are extracted by Reland, but do not add materially to our information. Pliny speaks (vi. 28) of the trade routes from Petra and Palmyra which met at this frontier city. Arrian (lib. ii.) makes the distance from the sea to be 20 stadia. The surrounding country, he says, was sandy, and the sea shallow. The city itself was large and placed on a hill with a strong wall. This account clearly refers to the present site of the town, although the distance is slightly overstated, the city being 2 English miles from the shore. Gaza had a small port called the *Majuma* of Gaza, or in the Greek of Julianus λιμένα τῆς Γάζης. The word Majuma is apparently a corruption of an Aramaic word (מוֹחִין) and signifies a "seaside" place, but the Greek term was very early adopted among the Jews (in Greek or Roman times) as a designation for the small ports, or rather landing-places, near cities on the Palestine coast, and it survives in the modern Arabic *El Mîneh* (المينه), applied to the ruins at the present landing-place. Sozomen (*Hist.* v. 3; cp. Reland, *Pal.* p. 791) mentions this port or Limen of Gaza as called Majuma in Constantine's time, and as containing a population favourable to Christianity. The distance between the two he also gives as 20 stadia. Several other writers quoted by Reland (Evagrius; Marco Diacano, *Vita S. Porphyrii*, &c.) notice the shore town as distinct from the city itself. According to Eusebius, a Bishop Silvanus

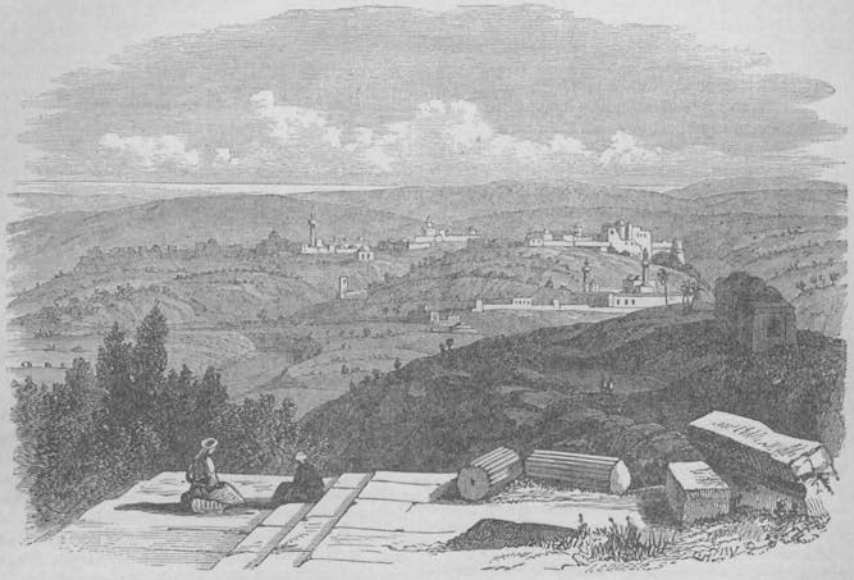
of Gaza was martyred in 285 A.D. under Diocletian; and of other Bishops enumerated, no less than six appear, down to 536 A.D., subscribing their names in councils (Euseb. *H. E.* 8, 13; cp. Rob. *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 41). In later times there appear to have been Bishops both of the town and of the Majuma (cp. Reland, *Pal.* ii. p. 209). In the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 252, 62) we learn that the city was important in the 4th cent. A.D. (*est usque hodie insignis civitas Palestinae* are the words of Jerome's translation), and in the Talmud it is mentioned as still given to idolatry in the same ages (Tal. Jer. *Abodah Sarah*, i. 4; Tal. Bab., same treatise, 11 *b*; Neubauer, *Géog. Tal.* p. 68), but inhabited nevertheless by Jews. That pagan idolatry long survived in Gaza we learn from the Life of St. Porphyry, who is said in 406 A.D. to have been made Bishop, and instructed to demolish the temples, funds being granted by Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Arcadius, for the erection of a church. There were at this time eight temples to the gods in Gaza; and if this account is correct, they must have been recently restored, since Jerome (*Comm. in Esa.* xvii. 3; cp. Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 42) speaks of the destruction, in his own time, of the temple of Marnion, and apparently of the building of an earlier church. The eight deities are said to have been Venus, Apollo, Proserpine, Hecate, the Sun, Fortune, and Juno, with Marnas, who was the chief deity and who is compared to the "Cretan Jove."[a] His name is usually translated "our lord," and it is possible that the great statue of Jupiter, discovered some twelve years ago near Gaza and now in the Constantinople Museum, represents Marnas (see Conder's *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 287, for a drawing of this statue, which is 15 feet high): the temple of Marnas is said to have been circular, with two rows of pillars. Gaza does not seem to have been frequently visited by the early pilgrims, although the trade relations of its population rendered them favourable to visitors. Antoninus in the 6th cent. A.D. speaks of Gaza and its Majuma as a mile apart. He calls the city magnificent and delightful, its inhabitants most respectable, eminent for all kinds of liberality, and friendly to pilgrims (ch. xxxiii.). In the 9th century Bernard the Wise speaks of the richness of the town, which meantime had fallen into the hands of the Moslems, having been conquered by Abu Bekr, the first Khalif in 634 A.D. At the close of the 8th century (796 A.D.) it had, however, been desolated during civil wars among the Arabs. It appears always to have recovered rapidly from its misfortunes. In 985 A.D. El Mukaddasi speaks of the city as containing a beautiful mosque, a monument of Omar, and the tomb of Hâshem, Muhammad's father. In the struggles between the Moslem rulers of Egypt and Syria, the possession of Gaza was always very important; and after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Franks, Gaza with Ascalon formed the bulwarks of Egypt against the Christians. In 1152 A.D. the Franks erected a fortress on the hill, which was then apparently deserted, and so cut the communication of Egypt with Ascalon; the fortress was entrusted to the Templars (Will. of Tyre, xvii. 12). Saladin vainly attacked this fortress in 1170 A.D., but it surrendered after the fatal day of Hattin in 1187 (Will. of Tyre, xv. 21, and Boha ed Din); it was entered by king Richard, according to Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 43), but, if so, soon retaken; and great Christian defeats occurred in its vicinity in 1239 and 1244 A.D. In the following century Sir John Maundeville speaks of the town as "a gay and rich city, and as very fair and full of people." The Arab historians and geographers often refer to Gaza, but their notes, as in most other cases, are brief. Ibn Haukal (10th cent.) speaks of the city as a great market for the Hejjâz, and as the place where the Khalif Omar obtained his early wealth. In the 13th century, however, Abu el-Feda speaks of it as a city only of medium size, with a small castle and gardens. In another century it had again become prosperous, with many mosques, as noted by Ibn Batûta (Le Strange, *Palestine under Moslems*, p. 442). This short review of its history suffices to show that, from the earliest times to our own, the geographical position of the town has secured a constantly returning prosperity, in spite of continual assaults from the north and south, and also in spite of the absence of a port. Its trade was always a caravan trade, and the products of Arabia came to it (through Petra) as well as those of Palestine and of Egypt. It remains the starting-place for the journey to Egypt across the desert, which Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and later warriors accomplished along the same narrow track, which was also followed by Napoleon in 1799, on his way to and from Syria.

Modern Gaza is one of the chief cities of Palestine, and the largest frontier town on the side of Egypt. A full account is given in the *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine* (iii. 234, 235, 248–251). The town itself occupies the greater part of the isolated hill, which rises 180 feet above the sea and 60 to 100 feet above the surrounding plain. The site is almost as large as that of the city of Jerusalem, but is not fully occupied on the north. Considerable scattered suburbs occur on each side on the lower ground. The greater part of the houses are of mud and wood. There are no city walls, but great mounds visible on the sides of the hill mark the site of ancient fortifications, the date and character of which are at present unknown in default of excavation. They may perhaps belong to Crusading or even later times. On the south, near the quarantine building, the name *Bâb ed Dârûn* is given to a road crossing, preserving probably the name of the "Gate of Darum," named from the Crusading fort of Darum (now Deir el-Belâh) on the road to Egypt. The population of Gaza is believed to be about 18,000 souls, the large majority being Moslems, with some 200 Greek orthodox Christians. About a century ago the Samaritans, who then also resided in Egypt, had a synagogue in Gaza,

[a] Marna was also in Egyptian a word for "Lord" (Pierret, *Vocab.* p. 195). In Gaza he was the rain-giving god. There was a place in the town called Tetramphodos, "the cross roads;" and here stood the altar and nude statue of Venus, before which lamps were lighted and incense offered by women. The statue answered by dreams those about to marry, as the worshippers stated (*Vita Porph.*).

but they have now died out, and the Jewish population is small. A few missionaries and government officials, in charge of the telegraph, &c., form the only European element. The town is divided into four quarters, called—(1) The quarter "of the Steps" on the west, (2) "of the Prison" on the north, (3) "of the mud houses" on the east, (4) "of the olives" on the south. The town is surrounded with beautiful gardens. A few palms occur, and figs, olives, lentils, apricots, mulberries, melons, cucumbers, and dates are grown, with a little cotton. The bazaar provides the Arab nomads of the south with clothing, soap is manufactured, and on the west are potteries, where a black pottery, similar to that used in very early times, is made. The place is reported very healthy, on account of its dry desert air. The sand dunes steadily encroach on the west and south over the cultivated ground. The water supply is from *Beiyârahs*, or deep wells like those of Jaffa, of which there are many in the gardens. The names of fifteen of these were collected by the Survey party. On the north a long avenue of very ancient olives extends for about 4 miles to the next villages, and the site generally is picturesque and truly Oriental, being little spoilt by the sordid Levantine imitations of Western civilisation, found in parts more frequented by tourists. The costume of the natives is Egyptian rather than Syrian—as is noticeable in other Philistine towns; and the early population succeeding the Avites (cp. Deut. ii. 23) was also Egyptian, for the Philistines—according to the Book of Genesis—were of Egyptian derivation, though of what stock is as yet uncertain (x. 14); while, as already seen, the Egyptians still held Gaza in the 14th cent. B.C. and probably much later.

The principal buildings in Gaza are the *Serai*



Gaza.

or Government office, and the mosques. There are five lofty minarets on the hill. The great mosque is the Crusading Church of St. John Baptist, and there is a second large mosque with several smaller. The shrine of 'Aly el Merwân is the traditional prison, or tomb, of Samson (Judg. xvi. 30), and is on the east side of the town. It appears to be a modern building. The tomb of Hâshem, father of Muhammad (already noticed), is shown near the brow of the hill on the north-west. There is also a Greek church in Gaza, which contains two Byzantine columns, and appears to be ancient. A register therein preserved is said by the priests to be a thousand years old. On the south side of the town is an isolated hillock called *El Muntâr*, "the watch tower," and now crowned with a shrine sacred to a certain 'Ali. It is surrounded by a Moslem cemetery, and is traditionally the place to which Samson carried the gates of Gaza (cp. Judg. xvi. 3), though it is doubtful whether this agrees with the expression "before Hebron." The hill is about 270 feet above sea-level at the top.

The ruined site at *El Mîneh* representing the Majuma of Gaza is north-west of the town on the shore; it bears the name *El Kishâni* ("the painted tiles"). It now consists of gardens, with a few wells, surrounded by a bank; but is clearly the site of a small town. Marble slabs and other fragments have here been dug up by the peasantry. In the plain, rather more than a mile to the east of the town, is an ancient race-course, called *Meidân ez Zeid*, said to have been made by the Saracens some 700 years ago. The corners are marked by pillars, stolen from the headstones of Christian graves. On two of these there are Greek inscriptions, which appear to be of the Byzantine age, cut on the grey granite. One is the epitaph of the son of Domesticus, set up by his father. The other contains the words of Psalm xxiv. 1, "The earth is the Lord's

and the fulness thereof," with the name of Deacon Alexander, who "faced" some "monument" with stone in "February 640" (no doubt of the Christian era). Both were found by the Rev. W. D. Pritchett in 1875 and 1877 respectively. The distance between these goals was 1,000 *b'aa*, or about 2,000 yards east and west. With the exception of the great statue of Jupiter already noticed, these are the oldest remains as yet found at Gaza. The Church of St. John was built in the latter half of the 12th century, and is a fine and massive specimen of Crusading work. The west door is remarkably fine, with pointed arches. The church had a nave and two aisles, with clerestory windows to the nave. A slab with a representation of the golden candlestick and a short Greek text is built in to the wall of this clerestory. The apses have been destroyed, and the building much injured by the Moslems. An inscription of Kalawûn (13th cent. A.D.) occurs over the courtyard door; and a later text over the Mihrab, by Musa Pasha, dates 1074 A.H. Small pottery figures (Teraphim), like those common in Phoenicia and Cyprus, have been discovered at Gaza; but are not of necessity very ancient, though certainly specimens of the native pagan art, common to the whole of Syria. It is possible that very interesting discoveries might here result from excavation on the hill-side, but very ancient remains cannot be expected to survive on the surface. Gaza is the capital of the Turkish province bearing the same name, and subject to the Jerusalem governor. [C. R. C.]

GAZ'ARA (ἡ Γάζαρα and τὰ Γάζαρα; *Gazara*), a place frequently mentioned in the wars of the Maccabees, and of great importance in the operations of both parties. Its first introduction is as a stronghold (ὀχύρωμα), in which Timotheus took refuge after his defeat by Judas, and which for four days resisted the efforts of the infuriated Jews (2 Macc. x. 32–36). One of the first steps of Bacchides, after getting possession of Judaea, was to fortify Bethsura and Gazara and the citadel (ἄκρα) at Jerusalem (1 Macc. ix. 52; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1, § 3); and the same names are mentioned when Simon in his turn recovered the country (1 Macc. xiv. 7, 33, 34, 36, xv. 28; Jos. *B. J.* i. 2, § 2). So important was it, that Simon made it the residence of his son John as general-in-chief of the Jewish army (1 Macc. xiii. 53; xvi. 1, 19, 21).

There is every reason to believe that Gazara was the same place as the more ancient GEZER or GAZER, now *Tell Jezer*. The name is the same as that which the LXX. use for Gezer in the O. T.; and, more than this, the indications of the position of both are very much in accordance. As David smote the Philistines from Gibeon to Gezer, so Judas defeated Gorgias at Emmaus and pursued him to Gazera (1 Macc. iv. 15). Gazara also is constantly mentioned in connexion with the sea-coast—Joppa and Jamnia (xv. 28, 35; iv. 15), and with the Philistine plain, Azotus, Adasa, &c. (iv. 15; vii. 45; xiv. 34). [GEZER.] [G.] [W.]

GA'ZATHITES, THE (הָעַזָּתִי, accur. "the Azzathite;" τῷ Γαζαίῳ; *Gazaeos;* R. V. Gazites), Josh. xiii. 3; the inhabitants of GAZA. Elsewhere the same name is rendered GAZITES in the A. V.

GAZELLE. By this word the Revisers have rendered צְבִי, צְבִיָּה, *ṣĕbī, ṣĕbiyāh*, in the text of the Pentateuch, and in the margin elsewhere. The A. V. everywhere renders the Hebrew by "roe," or "roebuck;" LXX. δορκάς, δόρκων, δορκάδιον; Vulg. *caprea, damula;* Arab. ظبي, *ẓabī*. There can be no question as to the accuracy of the Revisers' translation; the Hebrew and Arabic names being identified by Arabic writers with غزال, *ghazāl*, the gazelle, and the names being frequently interchanged in poetry. The gazelle is by far the most abundant of all the antelope tribes in Palestine, as it is along the whole of North Africa and South-Western Asia. Its flesh was much esteemed among the Jews: "The unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the roebuck (צְבִי, R. V. "gazelle"), and as of the hart" (Deut. xii. 15, 22, &c.). Its venison was among the delicacies of Solomon's table: "harts, and gazelles, and roebucks, and fatted fowls" (1 K. iv. 23, R. V.). But the gazelle is more frequently mentioned in Scripture as an emblem of loveliness, grace, gentleness, and swiftness: "swift as the roes upon the mountains" (1 Ch. xii. 8). Its beauty rendered it a favourite term of admiration in love: "My beloved is like a roe or a young hart" (Song ii. 9, v. 17, and viii. 14). "Thy breasts are like two young roes that are twins" (Song iv. 5). Asahel, the brother of Joab, "was as light of foot as a wild roe." To the present day, the black-eyed gazelle supplies the Arab poet with his favourite similes for the fair object of his admiration. Naturally the word, as expressive of beauty, became a favourite female name, "Tabitha" in its Aramaic form, or "Dorcas" in its Greek rendering (Acts ix. 36).

The common gazelle of Palestine is the *Gazella dorcas* (Pall.), and is the only species west of the Jordan. It is the only wild animal of the chase which an ordinary traveller is pretty certain to meet with. Small herds of gazelle are to be found in every part of the country, and when water is scarce they congregate at their favourite drinking places in large numbers. I have seen a herd of about 100 at the southern end of the Jebel Usdum, south of the Dead Sea, where they had congregated to drink at 'Ain Beida (*i.e.* the white spring), the only fresh spring within several miles. Though generally considered an inhabitant of the deserts and the plains, the gazelle appears to be everywhere at home. It shares the rocks of Engedi with the wild goats; it dashes over the wide expanse of the desert beyond Beersheba; it canters in single file under the monastery of Marsaba. I have found it in the glades of Carmel, before they were ruthlessly stripped to make charcoal; it often springs from its leafy covert behind Mount Tabor, and screens itself under the thorn bushes of Gennesaret. Among the grey hills of Galilee we still find "the roe upon the mountains of Bether," and I have seen a little troop of gazelles feeding on the Mount of Olives, close to Jerusalem itself. In the open ground it is the wildest of game, and can scarcely ever be captured; but, once in cover or among trees, it

is very easily approached. The Arabs capture it generally by concealing themselves near the well-known watering places. In the rocky districts the hunters lie in wait in the sides of the steep ravines, down which the gazelles are known to pass. The Druses of the Hauran contrive decoy enclosures, with pitfalls in which they sometimes capture a whole herd. But the horseman of the desert despises these devices, and the true Arab sheikh will only pursue the gazelle with the Persian greyhound, or the falcon, or with both conjointly. If the greyhound be alone, the roe often "delivers itself from the hand of the hunter." If falcons are used alone, generally two are thrown off, the birds employed being the sakker (*Falco saker*, Gm.). The birds do not attempt to seize their victim, but repeatedly swoop at its head, and so arrest its speed till the horseman can come up. If falcons and greyhound are used together, the poor animal can scarcely ever escape, as the birds repeatedly swoop at it until the dog comes up and seizes it. Dean Stanley was much interested by seeing the peasants chasing the gazelle in the valley of Ajalon, *i.e.* "of stags," proving the appropriateness of the name down to the present day.

A different species of gazelle is found in Gilead and on the wide plains and deserts eastward, which has generally been considered to be the *Gazella arabica*, Ehrenb. It is larger than the common species, and of a darker fawn colour on the back, and is known as the Ariel gazelle. It extends from Syria across Persia as far as Scinde. The Persian *Gazella subgutturosa* and *Gazella Bennetti* are distinct. Sir Victor Brooke, after examining my specimens from Gilead, whilst agreeing that they are distinct from *Gazella dorcas*, is inclined to believe that they are of another race differing from the Ariel gazelle of South Arabia, and more nearly approaching the western species. But the different races or species of gazelle are very numerous and difficult to discriminate. [H. B. T.]

GA'ZER (גֶּזֶר; *Gazer*), 2 Sam. v. 25 [Γαζηρά]; 1 Ch. xiv. 16 [B. Γάζαρα, ℵ. -αν, A. -ηρα]. The same place as GEZER, the difference arising from the emphatic Hebrew accent; which has been here retained in the A. V., though disregarded in several other places where the same form occurs. [GEZER.] From the uniform practice of the LXX., both in the O. T. and the books of Maccabees, Ewald infers that the original form of the name was Gazer; but the punctuation of the Masorets is certainly as often the one as the other. (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 427, note.) [G.] [W.]

GAZE'RA. **1.** (Τ.ᵀ τὰ Γάζηρα, A. Γάσηρα; Joseph. τὰ Γάδαρα; *Gezeron, Gazara*), 1 Macc. iv. 15; vii. 45. The place elsewhere given as GAZARA.

2. (B. Καζηρά, A. Γαζηρά; *Gaze*), one of the "servants of the Temple," whose sons returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 31). In Ezra and Nehem. the name is GAZZAM.

GA'ZEZ (גָּזֵז = *shearer*; BA. ὁ Γεζουέ; *Gezez*), a name which occurs twice in 1 Ch. ii. 46: (1) as son of Caleb by Ephah, his concubine; and (2) as son of Haran, the son of the same woman: the second is possibly only a repetition of the first. At any rate there is no necessity for the assumption of Houbigant, that the second Gazez is an error for Jahdai. In some MSS. and in the Peshitto the name is given as Gazen. The Vat. LXX. omits the second occurrence.

GA'ZITES, THE (הַעַזָּתִי; τοῖς Γαζαίοις; *Philisthiim*), inhabitants of Gaza (Judg. xvi. 2). Elsewhere given as GAZATHITES.

GAZ'ZAM (גַּזָּם, ? = *the devourer*; Γαζέμ [Ezra], Γηζάμ [Neh.]; *Gazam, Gezem*). The Bene-Gazzam were among the families of the Nethinim who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 48; Neh. vii. 51). In 1 Esd. the name is altered to GAZERA.

GE'BA (גֶּבַע, often with the definite article, =*the hill*; Γαβαά [usually]; *Gabaë, Gabee, Gabaa, Geba*), a city of Benjamin, with "suburbs," allotted to the priests (Josh. xxi. 17; 1 Ch. vi. 60). It is named amongst the first group of the Benjamite towns, and was apparently near the north boundary (Josh. xviii. 24). Here the name is given as GABA, a change due to the emphasis required in Hebrew before a pause; and the same change occurs in Ezra ii. 26, Neh. vii. 30 and xi. 31, 2 Sam. v. 25, 2 K. xxiii. 8; the last three of these being in the A.V. (and all in the R. V.) Geba. In one place Geba is used as the northern landmark of the kingdom of Judah and Benjamin, in the expression "from Geba to Beersheba" (2 K. xxiii. 8), and also as an eastern limit in opposition to Gazer (2 Sam. v. 25; Γαβάων). In the parallel passage to this last, in 1 Ch. xiv. 16 the name is changed to Gibeon. During the wars of the earlier part of the reign of Saul, Geba was held as a garrison by the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 3), but they were ejected by Jonathan—a feat which, while it added greatly to his renown, exasperated them to a more overwhelming invasion. Later in the same campaign we find it referred to in order to define the position of the two rocks which stood in the ravine below the garrison of Michmash, in terms which fix Geba on the south and Michmash on the north of the ravine (1 Sam. xiv. 5, Γαβαέ: the A. V. has here Gibeah; R. V. correctly Geba). Exactly in accordance with this is the position of the modern village of *Jeb'a*, which stands picturesquely on the top of its steep terraced hill, on the very edge of the great *Wâdy Suweinît*, looking northwards to the opposite village, which also retains its old name of *Mûkhmâs* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 9, 94; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 68). The names, and the agreement of the situation with the requirements of the story of Jonathan, make the identification certain; and it is still further confirmed by the invaluable list of Benjamite towns visited by the Assyrian army on their road through the country southward to Jerusalem, which we have in Is. x. 28-32; where the minute details—the stoppage of the heavy baggage (A. V. "carriages"), which could not be got across the broken ground of the *wâdy* at Michmash; then the passage of the ravine by the lighter portion of the army, and the subsequent bivouac ("lodging," מָלוֹן = rest for the night) at Geba on the opposite side—are in exact accordance with

the nature of the spot. Standing as it does on the south bank of this important *wâdy*—one of the most striking natural features of this part of the country—the mention of Geba as the northern boundary of the lower kingdom is very significant. Thus commanding the pass, its fortification by Asa (1 K. xv. 22, *βουνόν*; 2 Ch. xvi. 6) *is* also quite intelligible. It continues to be named with Michmash to the very last (Neh. xi. 31).

Geba is probably intended by the "Gibeah-in-the-field" of Judg. xx. 31, to which its position is very applicable. [GIBEAH, 6.] The "fields" are mentioned again as late as Neh. xii. 29.

It remains to notice a few places in which, from the similarity of the two names, or possibly from some provincial usage,[a] "Geba" is perhaps used for "Gibeah." These are:—(1.) Judg. xx. 10: here the A. V. and R. V., probably anxious to prevent confusion, have "Gibeah." (2.) Judg. xx. 33: "the meadows," or more probably "the cave of Geba." In this case A. V. has "Gibeah," and R. V. "Maareh-Geba," marg. *the meadow of Geba* or *Gibeah*. The meaning seems to be that the "liers in wait" were concealed in the cave or caves of Geba, and brake forth when the men of Benjamin had been drawn away from Gibeah (cp. *vv.* 33, 36, 37). For the existence of caves at *Jeb'a*, see *PEF. Mem.* iii. 9. Owing to the word occurring here at a pause, the vowels are lengthened, and in the Hebrew it stands as *Gâba*. (3.) 1 Sam. xiii. 16: here the A. V. has altered the name, whilst R. V. retains the reading "Geba." Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 6, § 2) has Γαβαών, Gibeon, in this place; for which perhaps compare 1 Ch. viii. 29, ix. 35.

2. The Geba (B. Γαιβαί, A. Ταιβᾶ, ℵ. Γαιβάν), named in Judith iii. 10, where Holofernes is said to have made his encampment—"between Geba and Scythopolis"—must be the place of the same name, *Jeb'a*, on the road between Samaria and *Jenîn*, about 3 miles from the former (Rob. ii. 440; *PEF. Mem.* ii. 155). The Vulgate has a remarkable variation here—*venit ad Idumaeos in terram Gabaa.* [G.] [W.]

GE'BAL (גְּבַל, *G'bal*, from גָּבַל, *gâbal*, to twist; thence גְּבוּל, *gĕvûl*, a line; thence جبل, *Gebal*, a line of mountains as a natural boundary; in Ps., A. Γεβάλ, ℵB. Ναιβάλ; *Gebal:* in Ezek. *βίβλιοι, Giblii*), a proper name, occurring in Ps. lxxxiii. 7 (Vulg. lxxxii.) in connexion with Edom and Moab, Ammon and Amalek, the Philistines and the inhabitants of Tyre. The mention of Assur, or the Assyrian, in the next verse, is with reason supposed to refer the date of the composition to the latter days of the Jewish kingdom. It is inscribed moreover with the name of Asaph. Now, in 2 Ch. xx. 14, it is one of the sons or descendants of Asaph, Jahaziel, who is inspired to encourage Jehoshaphat and his people, when threatened with invasion by the Moabites, Ammonites, and others from beyond the sea, and from Syria (as the LXX. and Vulg.: it is unnecessary here to go into the obscurities and varieties of the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic Versions). It is impossible therefore not to recognise the connexion between this Psalm and these events; and hence the contexts both of the Psalm and of the historical records will justify our assuming the Gebal of the Psalms to be one and the same city with the Gebal of Ezekiel (xxvii. 9), a maritime town of Phoenicia, and not another, as some have supposed, in the district round about Petra, which is by Josephus, Eusebius, and St. Jerome called Gebalene. Jehoshaphat had, in the beginning of his reign, humbled the Philistines and Arabians (2 Ch. xvii. 9, 10), and still more recently had assisted Ahab against the Syrians (ibid. ch. xviii.). Now, according to the poetic language of the Psalmist, there were symptoms of a general rising against him: on the south, the Edomites, Ishmaelites, and Hagarenes; on the south-east, Moab and north-east Ammon; along the whole line of the western coast (and, with Jehoshaphat's maritime projects, this would naturally disturb him most: see 2 Ch. xx. 36) the Amalekites, Philistines, and Phoenicians, or inhabitants of Tyre, to their frontier town Gebal, with Assur, *i.e.* the Syrians or Assyrians, from the more distant north. It may be observed that the Ashurites are mentioned (*v.* 6) in connexion with Gebal no less in the prophecy than in the Psalm. But, again, the Gebal of Ezekiel was evidently no mean city. From the fact that its inhabitants are written "Giblians" in the Vulg., and "Biblians" in the LXX., we may infer their identity with the Giblites, spoken of in connexion with Lebanon by Joshua (xiii. 5), and that of their city with the "Biblus" (or Byblus) of profane literature—so extensive that it gave name to the surrounding district (see a passage from Lucian, quoted by Reland, *Palest.* lib. i. c. xlii. p. 269). It was situated on the frontiers of Phoenicia, somewhat to the north of the mouth of the small river Adonis, so celebrated in mythology (cp. Ezek. viii. 13). Meanwhile the Giblites, or Biblians, seem to have been pre-eminent in the arts of stone-carving (1 K. v. 18) and ship-calking (Ezek. xxvii. 9); but, according to Strabo, their industry suffered greatly from the robbers infesting the sides of Mount Lebanon. Gebal or Gubal is frequently mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions; its king, Sibitti-bahali, paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser II.; under Sennacherib its king was Urumelik; and under Esarhaddon, Milki-asapa (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften u. d. A. Test.* p. 185). Enylus, king of Byblus, joined the Macedonian fleet, with his vessels, after the town was taken by Alexander (Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 15, § 8; 20, § 1). Pompey not only destroyed the strongholds from whence these pests issued, but freed the city from a tyrant (Strabo, xvi. 2, 18). Some have confounded Gebal, or Biblus, with the Gabala of Strabo, just below Laodicea, and consequently many leagues to the north, the ruins and site of which, still called *Jebileh*, are so graphically described by Maundrell (*Early Travellers in Pales.* by Wright, p. 394). By Moroni (*Dizion. Eccles.*) they are accurately distinguished under their respective names. Finally, Biblus became a Christian see in the patriarchate of Antioch, subject to the metropolitan see of Tyre (Reland, *Palest.* lib. i. p. 214 sq.). It shared the usual vicissitudes of Christianity in these parts; and even now furnishes episcopacy with a title. It is called *Jebeil* by the Arabs, thus reviving the old Biblical name (*Dict. Gk. and Rom. Geog.*, s. v.

[a] As with us, Barkshire for Berkshire, Darby for Derby, &c.

Byblos). Extensive excavations were carried out, in and near *Jebeil*, by M. Renan, who discovered numerous tombs and sarcophagi, the substructions of a large temple, perhaps that of Adonis, and many interesting Phoenician remains (*Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 153–359).

[E. S. Ff.] [W.]

GEBALITES, 1 K. v. 18 (R. V.). [GEBAL.]

GE'BER (גֶּבֶר = *a strong man*), a name occurring twice in the list of Solomon's commissariat officers, and there only. **1.** (BA. Γαβέρ; *Bengaber*). The son of Geber (*Ben-Geber*) resided in the fortress of Ramoth-Gilead, and had charge of Havoth-Jair and the district of Argob (1 K. iv. 13). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 3) gives the name as Γαβάρης. **2.** (Γαβέρ, B. omits; *Gaber*). Geber the son of Uri had a district south of the former—the "land of Gilead," the country originally possessed by Sihon and Og, probably the modern *Belka*, the great pasture-ground of the tribes east of Jordan (1 K. iv. 19). The conclusion of this verse as rendered in the A. V. and R. V. (text) is to some unsatisfactory—"and he was the only officer which was in the land"—when two others are mentioned in *vv.* 13 and 14. A more accurate interpretation is, "and one officer who was in the land" (R. V. marg.), that is, a superior (נָצִיב), a word of rare occurrence, but used again for Solomon's "officers" in 2 Ch. viii. 10) over the three. Josephus has ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων εἷς πάλιν ἄρχων ἀποδέδεικτο, the πάλιν referring to a similar statement just before that there was also one general superintendent over the commissaries of the whole of Upper Palestine. [G.] [W.]

GE'BIM (הַגֵּבִים, with the article, = probably *the ditches*; the word is used in that sense in 2 K. iii. 16, and elsewhere; Γιββείρ; *Gabim*), a village north of Jerusalem, in the neighbourhood of the main road, and apparently between Anathoth (the modern *'Anâta*) and the ridge on which Nob was situated, and from which the first view of the city is obtained. It is named nowhere but in the enumeration by Isaiah of the towns whose inhabitants fled at Sennacherib's approach (x. 31). Judging by those places the situation of which is known to us, the enumeration is so orderly that it is impossible to entertain the conjecture of either Eusebius (Γηβείν, *Gebin*, *OS.*[2] p. 256, 2; p. 162, 5), who places it at Geba, 5 miles north of Gophna; or of Schwarz (p. 131), who would have it identical with Gob or Gezer: the former being at least 10 miles north, and the latter 20 miles west, of its probable position. The site is unknown, but it may perhaps be *el-'Aisâwiyeh*, on the eastern slope of the ridge of Olivet. [G.] [W.]

GECKO. The rendering in R. V. of אֲנָקָה, *'anâkâh*; but in A. V. FERRET, which see.

GEDALI'AH (גְּדַלְיָה and גְּדַלְיָהוּ, *i.e.* Gedaliahu = *Jah is great*; Γοδολίας; *Godolias*). **1.** GEDALIAH, the son of Ahikam (Jeremiah's protector, Jer. xxvi. 24), and grandson of Shaphan the secretary of king Josiah. After the destruction of the Temple, B.C. 588, Nebuchadnezzar departed from Judaea, leaving Gedaliah with a Chaldaean guard (Jer. xl. 5) at Mizpah, a strong (1 K. xv. 22) town, 6 miles N. of Jerusalem, to govern, as a tributary (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, § 1) of the king of Babylon, the vine-dressers and husbandmen (Jer. lii. 16) who were exempted from captivity. Jeremiah joined Gedaliah; and Mizpah became the resort of Jews from various quarters (Jer. xl. 6, 11), many of whom, as might be expected at the end of a long war, were in a demoralized state, unrestrained by religion, patriotism, or prudence. The gentle and popular character of Gedaliah (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §§ 1, 3), his hereditary piety (Rosenmüller in Jer. xxvi. 24), the prosperity of his brief rule (Jer. xl. 12), the reverence which revived and was fostered under him for the ruined Temple (xli. 5), fear of the Chaldaean conquerors, whose officer he was,—all proved insufficient to secure Gedaliah from the foreign jealousy of Baalis king of Ammon, and the domestic ambition of Ishmael, a member of the royal family of Judah (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, § 3). This man came to Mizpah with a secret purpose to destroy Gedaliah. Gedaliah, generously refusing to believe a friendly warning which he received of the intended treachery, was murdered, with his Jewish and Chaldaean followers, two months after his appointment. After his death, which is still commemorated in the Jewish Calendar (Prideaux, *Connexion*, *anno* 588; Zech. vii. 19; Friedländer, *Text Book of the Jewish Religion*, p. 33) as a national calamity, the Jews in their native land, anticipating the resentment of the king of Babylon, gave way to despair. Many, forcing Jeremiah to accompany them, fled to Egypt under Johanan (see Stanley, *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, ii. Lect. xl.; Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*,[4] i. 403). **2.** GEDALIAHU; a Levite, one of the six sons of Jeduthun who played the harp in the service of Jehovah (1 Ch. xxv. 3 [B. om.], 9 [A. Γοδολίας, B. Γαλουιά]). **3.** GEDALIAH; a priest in the time of Ezra (Ezra x. 18 [BA. Γαδαδειά, ℵ. Γαλαδεαά]). [JOADANUS.] **4.** GEDALIAHU; son of Pashur (Jer. xxxviii. 1; ℵ[1]. Γολίας), one of those who caused Jeremiah to be imprisoned. **5.** GEDALIAH; grandfather of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. i. 1). [W. T. B.] [F.]

GED'DUR (B. Κεδδούρ, A. Γεδδούρ; *Geddu*), 1 Esd. v. 30. [GAHAR.]

GED'EON (Γεδεών; *Gedeon*). **1.** The son of Raphaim; one of the ancestors of Judith (Judith viii. 1). The name is omitted in BℵA.

2. The Greek form of the Hebrew name GIDEON (Heb. xi. 32); retained in the N. T. by A. V. (R. V. "Gideon") in company with Elias, Eliseus, Osee, Jesus (=Joshua), and other Grecised Hebrew names, to the confusion of the ordinary reader.

GE'DER (גֶּדֶר = *wall*; A. Γαδέρ, B. Ἀσει; *Gader*). The king of Geder was one of the thirty-one kings who were overcome by Joshua on the west of the Jordan (Josh. xii. 13), and mentioned in that list only. Being named with Debir, Hormah, and Arad, Geder was evidently in the extreme south: this prevents our identifying it with Gedor (Josh. xv. 58), which lay between Hebron and Bethlehem; or with hag-Gederah in the low country (xv. 36). It is possible, however, that it may be the Gedor

named in connexion with the Simeonites (1 Ch. iv. 39). [G.] [W.]

GEDE'RAH (הַגְּדֵרָה, with the article = *the sheepcote*; Γάδηρα; *Gedera*), a town of Judah in the Shefelah or lowland country (Josh. xv. 36), mentioned next after ADITHAIM, *Hadîtheh*. It is probably the Gedour (Γεδοὺρ) of Eusebius, which was in his time called Gedrus (Γεδρούς), and was 10 miles from Diospolis (Lydda) on the road to Eleutheropolis (*OS.*[2] p. 254, 39). This place is now *Kh. Jedireh*, 9 Eng. miles south of *Ludd* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 43). The name (if the interpretation given be correct), and the occurrence next to it of one so similar as GEDEROTHAIM, seem to point to a great deal of sheep-breeding in this part. [G.] [W.]

GEDE'RATHITE, THE (הַגְּדֵרָתִי; B. ὁ Γαδαραθειείμ, א. ὁ Γαδαρά, A. ὁ Γαδηρωθί; *Gaderothites*), the native of a place called Gederah, but not of that in the Shefelah of Judah, for Josabad the Gederathite (1 Ch. xii. 4) was one of Saul's own tribe—his "brethren of Benjamin" (*v.* 2). It is now apparently the village *Jedireh*, near *el-Jîb*, Gibeon (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 9). [G.] [W.]

GEDE'RITE, THE (הַגְּדֵרִי; B. ὁ Γεδωρείτης, A. ὁ Γεδώρ; *Gederites*), *i.e.* the native of some place named Geder or Gederah. Baal-hanan the Gederite had charge of the olive and sycamore groves in the low country (Shefelah) for king David (1 Ch. xxvii. 28). He possibly belonged to GEDERAH, a place in this district, the very locality for sycamores. [G.] [W.]

GEDE'ROTH (גְּדֵרוֹת = *sheepcotes*, but in Ch. with the article; in Ch. B. Γαληρώ, A. Γαδηρώθ, in Josh. Γεδδώρ; *Gideroth, Gaderoth*), a town in the Shefelah or low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 41; 2 Ch. xxviii. 18). It is not named in the same group with GEDERAH and GEDEROTHAIM in the list in Joshua, but with Beth-dagon, *Dajûn*, Naahmah, *Nâ'aneh*, and Makkedah, *el-Mughâr*. Sir C. Warren proposes to identify it with *Katrah*, the CEDRON of 1 Macc. xv. 39, which is close to *el-Mughâr* (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 410). [G.] [W.]

GEDEROTHA'IM (גְּדֵרֹתַיִם = *two sheepfolds*; *Gederathaim*), a town in the low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 36), named next in order to Gederah. The LXX. render it καὶ αἱ ἐπαύλεις αὐτῆς. [GEDERAH.] [G.] [W.]

GEDO'R (גְּדוֹר = *a wall*; *Gedor*). **1.** (B. Γεδδών, A. Γεδώρ), a town in the mountainous part of Judah, named with Halhul, Bethzur, and Maarath (Josh. xv. 58), and therefore a few miles north of Hebron. It seems to be the place Γάδειρα, *Gaddera*, described by Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 254, 37; p. 160, 30) as being in the boundaries of Jerusalem (Aelia), near the Terebinth, and there called Γιδωρά, *Gadora*. It is now probably represented by *Kh. Jedûr*, which lies to the north of *Beit Sûr*, Bethzur, and about 2 miles west of the road from Hebron to Bethlehem (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* iii. 283; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 313).

2. The town—apparently of Benjamin, and, if so, perhaps *Jedireh*—to which "Jeroham of Gedor" belonged, whose sons Joelah and Zebadiah were among the mighty men, "Saul's brethren of Benjamin," who joined David in his difficulties at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 7). The name has the definite article to it in this passage (מִן־הַגְּדוֹר; οἱ τοῦ Γεδώρ). If this be a Benjamite name, it is very probably connected with

3. (Γεδούρ; in 1 Ch. viii. 31, B. Δούρ; in ix. 37, Bא. Ἰεδούρ.) A man among the ancestors of Saul; son of Jehiel, the "father of Gibeon" (1 Ch. viii. 31; ix. 37).

4. The name occurs twice in the genealogies of Judah—1 Ch. iv. 4 and 18—(in both shortened to גְּדֹר; Γεδώρ). In the former passage Penuel is said to be "father of Gedor," while in the latter Jered, son of a certain Ezra by his Jewish wife (A. V. "Jehudijah," R. V. "the Jewess"), has the same title. In the Targum, Jered, Gedor, and other names in this passage are treated as being titles of Moses, conferred on him by Jehudijah, who is identified with the daughter of Pharaoh.

5. In the records of the tribe of Simeon, in 1 Ch. iv. 39, certain chiefs of the tribe are said to have gone, in the reign of Hezekiah, "to the entrance of Gedor, unto the east side of the valley" (הַגַּיְא), in search of pasture-grounds, and to have expelled thence the Hamites, who dwelt there in tents, and the Maonites (A. V. "habitations," R. V. Meunim). Simeon lay in the extreme south of Judah, and therefore this Gedor must be a different place from that noticed above—No. 1. If what is told in *v.* 42 was a subsequent incident in the same expedition, then we should look for Gedor between the south of Judah and Mount Seir, *i.e.* Petra. No place of the name has yet been met with in that direction. The LXX. (both MSS.) read Gerar for Gedor (ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν Γεράρα); which agrees well both with the situation and with the mention of the "pasture," and is adopted by Ewald (i. 322, note). The "valley" (*Gai*, i.e. rather the "ravine"), from the presence of the article, would appear to be some well-known spot; but in our present limited knowledge of that district, no conjecture can be made as to its locality. *Nachal* (=wady), and not *Gai*, is the word elsewhere applied to Gerar. [G.] [W.]

GEHA'ZI (גֵּחֲזִי, of uncertain meaning; Γιεζί; *Giezi*), the servant or boy of Elisha. He was sent as the Prophet's messenger on two occasions to the good Shunammite (2 K. iv.); obtained fraudulently in Elisha's name money and garments from Naaman; was miraculously smitten with incurable but non-infectious leprosy; and was dismissed from the Prophet's service (2 K. v.). Later in the history he is mentioned as being engaged in relating to king Joram all the great things which Elisha had done, when the Shunammite whose son Elisha had restored to life appeared before the king, petitioning for her house and land of which she had been dispossessed in her seven years' absence in Philistia (2 K. viii.). [W. T. B.]

GEHEN'NA, the Greek representative of גֵּי־הִנֹּם, Josh. xv. 8, Neh. xi. 30 (rendered by B. Γαιέννα, A. Γαὶ Ἐννδμ in Josh. xviii. 16); more fully, גֵּי בְנֵי־הִנֹּם or גֵּי בֶן־הִנֹּם (2 K. xxiii. 10, 2 Ch. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6, Jer. xix. 2), the "valley

of Hinnom," or "of the son" (usually), or "children (one reading of 2 K.) of Hinnom," a deep narrow glen to the S. of Jerusalem, where, after the introduction of the worship of the fire-gods by Ahaz, the idolatrous Jews offered their children to Molech (2 Ch. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Jer. vii. 31, xix. 2–6). In consequence of these abominations the valley was polluted by Josiah (2 K. xxiii. 10); subsequently to which it became the common lay-stall of the city, where the dead bodies of criminals, and the carcases of animals, and every other kind of filth were cast, and, according to late and somewhat questionable authorities, the combustible portions consumed with fire. From the depth and narrowness of the gorge, and perhaps its ever-burning fires, as well as from its being the receptacle of all sorts of putrefying matter, and all that defiled the holy city, it became in later times the image of the place of punishment (cp. *The Book of Enoch*, chs. xxvi., xxvii., with Dillmann and Schodde's notes in loco), "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;" in which the Talmudists placed the mouth of hell: "There are two palm-trees in the V. of H., between which a smoke ariseth; . . . and this is the door of Gehenna" (Talmud, quoted by Barclay, *City of Great King*, p. 90; Lightfoot, *Centur. Chorograph. Matt. proem.* ii. 200. Cp. Riehm, *HWB.*, and Hamburger, *RE.* s. nn. "Hölle," "Hinnom"; Weber, *System d. altsynag. Palüst. Theologie*, p. 326 sq. [and Index s. v.]).

In this sense the word is used by our blessed Lord, Matt. v. 29, 30, x. 28, xxiii. 15, 33; Mark ix. 43, 45; Luke xii. 5: and with the addition *τοῦ πυρός*, Matt. v. 22, xviii. 9; Mark ix. 47; and by St. James, iii. 6. [HINNOM, VALLEY OF; TOPHET.] [E. V.] [F.]

GELI'LOTH (גְּלִילוֹת = *circuit*; B. *Γαλιαώθ*, A. *Ἀγαλλιλώθ*, as if the definite article had been originally prefixed to the Hebrew word; *ad tumulos*), a place named among the marks of the south boundary line of the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 17). The boundary went from Enshemesh towards Geliloth, which was "over against" (נֹכַח) the ascent of Adummim. In the description of the north boundary of Judah, which was identical at this part with the south of Benjamin, we find Gilgal substituted for Geliloth, with the same specification as "over against" (נֹכַח) the ascent of Adummim (Josh. xv. 7). The name Geliloth never occurs again in this locality, and it therefore seems probable that Gilgal is the right reading. Many glimpses of the Jordan valley are obtained through the hills in the latter part of the descent from Olivet to Jericho, along which the boundary in question appears to have run; and it is very possible that, from the ascent of Adummim, Gilgal appeared through one of these gaps in the distance, "over against" the spectator, and thus furnished a point by which to indicate the direction of the line at that part.

But though Geliloth does not again appear in the A. V., it is found in the original bearing a peculiar topographical sense. The following extract from the Appendix to Dean Stanley's *S. & P.* (1st edit.), § 13, contains all that can be said on the point:—"This word is derived from a root גָּלַל, 'to roll' (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 287 *b*). Of the five times in which it occurs in Scripture, two are in the general sense of boundary or border: Josh. xiii. 2, 'All the *borders* of the Philistines' (*ὅρια*); Joel iii. 4, 'All the *coasts* of Palestine' (R. V. Philistia) (*Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων*); and three specially relate to the course of the Jordan: Josh. xxii. 10, 11, 'The *borders* of Jordan' (in xxii. 10, B. *Γάλγαλα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*; in *v.* 11, B. *Γαλαὰδ τ. Ἰ.*; in *vv.* 10, 11, A. *Γαλιλὼθ τ. Ἰ.*); Ezek. xlvii. 8, 'The east *country*' (*εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*). In each case R. V. renders by *region* or *regions*. It has been pointed out in ch. vii. p. 278, note, that this word is analogous to the Scotch term 'links,' which has both the meanings of Geliloth, being used of the snake-like windings of a stream, as well as with the derived meaning of a coast or shore. Thus Geliloth is distinguished from *Ciccar*, which will rather mean the circle of vegetation or dwellings gathered round the bends and reaches of the river."

It will not be overlooked that the place Geliloth, noticed above, is in the neighbourhood of the Jordan. [G.] [W.]

GEMAL'LI (גְּמַלִּי; B. *v.* 13 *Γαμαί*, A. *Γαμαλί*; *Gemalli*), the father of Ammiel, who was the "ruler" (*Nasi*) of Dan, chosen to represent that tribe among the spies who explored the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 12).

GEMARI'AH (גְּמַרְיָה = *Jehovah hath completed*; *Γαμαρίας*; *Gamarias*). **1.** Son of Shaphan the scribe, and father of Michaiah. He was one of the nobles of Judah, and had a chamber in the house of the Lord, from which (or from a window in which, Prideaux, Michaelis) Baruch read Jeremiah's alarming prophecy in the ears of all the people, B.C. 606 (Jer. xxxvi.). Gemariah with the other princes heard the Divine message with terror, but without a sign of repentance; though Gemariah joined two others in intreating king Jehoiakim to forbear destroying the roll which they had taken from Baruch.

2. Son of Hilkiah, being sent B.C. 597 by king Zedekiah on an embassy to Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon, was made the bearer of Jeremiah's letter to the captive Jews (Jer. xxix.). [W. T. B.]

GEMS. [STONES, PRECIOUS.]

GENEALOGY (*Γενεαλογία*), literally the act or art of the *γενεαλόγος*, *i.e.* of him who treats of birth and family, and reckons descents and generations. Hence by an easy transition it is often (like *ἱστορία*) used of the document itself in which such series of generations is set down. In Hebrew the term for a genealogy or pedigree is סֵפֶר הַיִּחֻשׂ and תּוֹלְדוֹת, "the book of the generations," Greek Venet. *γενεήσεις*; and because the oldest histories were usually drawn up on a genealogical basis, the expression often extended to the whole history, as is the case with the Gospel of St. Matthew, where "the book of the generation of Jesus Christ" includes the whole history contained in that Gospel. So Gen. ii. 4, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth," seems to be the title of the history which follows (see Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[6] in

loco). Gen. v. 1, vi. 9, x. 1, xi. 10, 27, xxv. 12, 19, xxxvi. 1, 9, xxxvii. 2, are other examples of the same usage, and these passages seem to mark the existence of separate histories from which the Book of Genesis was compiled. Nor is this genealogical form of history peculiar to the Hebrews, or the Semitic races. The earliest Greek histories were also genealogies. Thus the histories of Acusilaus of Argos and of Hecataeus of Miletus were entitled Γενεαλογίαι; and the fragments remaining of Xanthus, Charon of Lampsacus, and Hellanicus, are strongly tinged with the same genealogical element,[a] which is not lost even in the pages of Herodotus. The frequent use of the patronymic in Greek; the stories of particular races, as Heraclides, Alcmaeonidae, &c.; the lists of priests and kings, and conquerors at the Games, preserved at Elis, Sparta, Olympia, and elsewhere; the hereditary monarchies and priesthoods, as of the Branchidae, Eumolpidae, &c., in so many cities in Greece and Greek Asia; the division, as old as Homer, into tribes, *fratriae* and γένη, and the existence of the *tribe*, the *gens* and the *familia* among the Romans; the Celtic clans, the Saxon families using a common patronymic, and their royal genealogies running back to the Teutonic gods,—these are among the many instances that may be cited to prove the strong family and genealogical instinct of the ancient world. Coming near to the Israelites, it will be enough to allude to the hereditary principle, and the vast genealogical records of the Egyptians, as regards their kings and priests, and to the passion for genealogies among the Arabs, mentioned by Layard and others, in order to show that the attention paid by the Jews to genealogies is in entire accordance with the manners and tendencies of their contemporaries. In their case, however, it was heightened by several peculiar circumstances. The promise of the land of Canaan to the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob successively, and the separation of the Israelites from the Gentile world; the expectation that Messiah would spring from the tribe of Judah; the exclusively hereditary priesthood of Aaron with its dignity and emoluments; the long succession of kings in the line of David; and the whole division and occupation of the land upon genealogical principles by the tribes, families, and houses of fathers, gave a deeper importance to the science of genealogy among the Jews than perhaps any other nation. We have already noted the evidence of the existence of family memoirs even before the Flood, to which we are probably indebted for the genealogies in Gen. iv., v.; and Gen. x., xi., &c. indicate the continuance of the same system in the times between the Flood and Abraham. But with Jacob, the founder of the nation, the system of reckoning by genealogies (הִתְיַחֵשׂ, or in the language of Moses, Num. i. 18, הִתְיַלֵּד) was much further developed. In Gen. xxxv. 22–26, we have a formal account of the sons of Jacob, the patriarchs of the nation, repeated in Ex. i. 1–5. In Gen. xlvi. we have an exact genealogical census of the house of Israel at the time of Jacob's going down to Egypt. The way in which the former part of this census, relating to Reuben and Simeon, is quoted in Ex. vi., where the census of the tribe of Levi is all that was wanted, seems to show that it was transcribed from an existing document. When the Israelites were in the wilderness of Sinai, in the second month of the second year of the Exodus, their number was taken by Divine command, "after their families, by the house of their fathers," tribe by tribe, and the number of each tribe is given "by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, by their polls" (Num. i., iii.). This census was repeated thirty-eight years afterwards, and the names of the families added, as we find in Num. xxvi. According to these genealogical divisions they pitched their tents, and marched, and offered their gifts and offerings, and chose the spies. According to the same they cast the lots by which the troubler of Israel, Achan, was discovered, as later those by which Saul was called to the throne. Above all, according to these divisions, the whole land of Canaan was parcelled out amongst them. But then of necessity that took place which always has taken place with respect to such genealogical arrangements, viz. that by marriage, or servitude, or incorporation as friends and allies, persons not strictly belonging by birth to such or such a family or tribe were yet reckoned in the census as belonging to them, when they had acquired property within their borders, and were liable to the various services in peace or war which were performed under the heads of such tribes and families. Nobody supposes that all the Cornelii, or all the Campbells, sprang from one ancestor, and it is in the teeth of direct evidence from Scripture, as well as of probability, to suppose that the Jewish tribes contained absolutely none but such as were descended from the twelve patriarchs.[b] The tribe of Levi was probably the only one which had no admixture of foreign blood. In many of the Scripture genealogies, as *e.g.* those of Caleb, Joab, Segub, and the sons of Rephaiah, &c., in 1 Ch. iii. 21, it is quite clear that birth was not the ground of their incorporation into their respective tribes. [BECHER; CALEB.] However, birth was, and continued to be throughout their whole national course, the *foundation* of all the Jewish organisation, and the reigns of the more active and able kings and rulers were marked by attention to genealogical operations. When David established the Temple-services on the footing which continued till the time of Christ, he divided the priests and Levites into courses and companies, each under the family chief. The singers, the porters, the trumpeters, the players on instruments, were all thus genealogically distributed. In the active stirring reign of Rehoboam, we have the work of Iddo concerning genealogies

[a] ὅσα Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσιλάῳ περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν (Joseph. c. *Apion.* i. 3).

[b] Jul. Africanus, in his *Ep. to Aristides*, expressly mentions that the ancient genealogical records at Jerusalem included those who were descended from proselytes, and γειώραι, as well as those who sprang from the patriarchs. The registers in Ezra and Nehemiah include the Nethinim, and the children of Solomon's servants.

(2 Ch. xii. 15). When Hezekiah re-opened the Temple, and restored the Temple-services which had fallen into disuse, he reckoned the whole nation by genealogies. This appears from the fact of many of the genealogies in Chronicles terminating in Hezekiah's reign [AZARIAH, 13], from the expression "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies" (1 Ch. ix. 1), immediately following genealogies which do so terminate, and from the narrative in 2 Ch. xxxi. 16–19 proving that, as regards the priests and Levites, such a complete census was taken by Hezekiah. It is indicated also in 1 Ch. iv. 41. We learn too incidentally from Prov. xxv. that Hezekiah had a staff of scribes, who would be equally useful in transcribing genealogical registers, as in copying out Proverbs. So also in the reign of Jotham king of Judah, who among other great works built the higher gate of the house of the Lord (2 K. xv. 35), and was an energetic as well as a good king, we find a genealogical reckoning of the Reubenites (1 Ch. v. 17), probably in connexion with Jotham's wars against the Ammonites (2 Ch. xxvii. 5). When Zerubbabel brought back the Captivity from Babylon, one of his first cares seems to have been to take a census of those that returned, and to settle them according to their genealogies. The evidence of this is found in 1 Ch. ix., and the duplicate passage Neh. xi.; in 1 Ch. iii. 19; and yet more distinctly in Neh. vii. 5 and xii. In like manner Nehemiah, as an essential part of that national restoration which he laboured so zealously to promote, gathered "together the nobles, and the rulers and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy" (Neh. vii. 5, xii. 26). The abstract of this census is preserved in Ezra ii. and Neh. vii., and a portion of it in 1 Ch. iii. 21–24. That this system was continued after their times, so far at least as the priests and Levites were concerned, we learn from Neh. xii. 22; and we have incidental evidence of the continued care of the Jews still later to preserve their genealogies in such passages of the apocryphal books as 1 Macc. ii. 1–5, viii. 17, xiv. 29, and perhaps Judith viii. 9, Tob. i. 1, &c. Passing on to the time of the birth of Christ, we have a striking incidental proof of the continuance of the Jewish genealogical economy in the fact that when Augustus ordered the census of the empire to be taken, the Jews in the province of Syria immediately went each one to his own city, *i.e.* (as is clear from Joseph going to Bethlehem the city of David) to the city to which his tribe, family, and father's house belonged. So that the return, if completed, doubtless exhibited the form of the old censuses taken by the kings of Israel and Judah.

Another proof is the existence of our Lord's genealogy in two forms as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke. [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.] The mention of Zacharias, as "of the course of Abia," of Elisabeth, as "of the daughters of Aaron," and of Anna the daughter of Phanuel, as "of the tribe of Aser," are further indications of the same thing. And this conclusion is expressly confirmed by the testimony of Josephus in the opening of his *Life*. There, after deducing his own descent, "not only from that race which is considered the noblest among the Jews, that of the priests, but from the first of the 24 courses" (the course of Jehoiarib), and on the mother's side from the Asmonean sovereigns, he adds, "I have thus traced my genealogy, as I have found it recorded in the public tables" (*ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην*); and again (*contr. Apion.* i. § 7), he states that the priests were obliged to verify the descent of their intended wives by reference to the archives kept at Jerusalem; adding that it was the duty of the priests after every war (and he specifies the wars of Antiochus Epiph., Pompey, and Q. Varus) to make new genealogical tables from the old ones, and to ascertain what women among the priestly families had been made prisoners, as all such were deemed improper to be wives of priests. As a proof of the care of the Jews in such matters he further mentions that in his day the list of successive high-priests preserved in the public records extended through a period of 2,000 years. From all this it is abundantly manifest that the Jewish genealogical records continued to be kept till near the destruction of Jerusalem. Hence we are constrained to disbelieve the story told by Africanus concerning the destruction of all the Jewish genealogies by Herod the Great, in order to conceal the ignobleness of his own origin. His statement is, that up to that time the Hebrew genealogies had been preserved entire, and the different families were traced up either to the patriarchs, or the first proselytes, or the *γειώραι* or mixed people. But that on Herod's causing these genealogies to be burnt, only a few of the more illustrious Jews who had private pedigrees of their own, or who could supply the lost genealogies from memory, or from the Books of Chronicles, were able to retain any account of their own lineage—among whom he says were the Desposyni, or brethren of our Lord, from whom was said to be derived the scheme (given by Africanus) for reconciling the two genealogies of Christ. But there can be little doubt that the registers of the Jewish tribes and families perished at the destruction of Jerusalem, and not before. Some partial records may, however, have survived that event, as it is probable, and indeed seems to be implied in Josephus's statement, that at least the priestly families of the Dispersion had records of their own genealogy. We learn too from Benjamin of Tudela, that in his day the princes of the Captivity professed to trace their descent to David, and he also names others, *e.g.* R. Calonymos, "a descendant of the house of David, as proved by his pedigree" (*i.* 32), and R. Eleazar Ben Tsemach, "who possesses a pedigree of his descent from the prophet Samuel, and knows the melodies which were sung in the Temple during its existence" (*ib.* p. 100, &c.). He also mentions descendants of the tribes of Dan, Zebulun, and Naphtali, among the mountains of Khasvin, whose prince was of the tribe of Levi. The patriarchs of Jerusalem, so called from the Hebrew רֹאשֵׁי אָבוֹת, claimed descent from Hillel, the Babylonian, of whom it is said that a genealogy, found at Jerusalem, declared his descent from David and Abital. Others, however, traced his descent from Benjamin, and from David only through a daughter of Shephatiah[e] (Wolf, *H. B.* iv. 380). But however

[e] Some further information on these modern Jewish

tradition may have preserved for a while true genealogies, or imagination and pride have coined fictitious ones, it may be safely affirmed that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish genealogical system came to an end. Essentially connected as it was with the tenure of the land on the one hand, and with the peculiar privileges of the houses of David and Levi on the other, it naturally failed when the land was taken away from the Jewish race, and when the promise to David was fulfilled, and the priesthood of Aaron superseded, by the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God. The remains of the genealogical *spirit* among the later Jews (which might of course be much more fully illustrated from Rabbinical literature) has only been glanced at to show how deeply it had penetrated into the Jewish national mind.[d] It remains to be said that just notions of the nature of the Jewish genealogical records are of great importance with a view to the right interpretation of Scripture. Let it only be remembered that these records have respect to political and territorial divisions, as much as to strictly genealogical descent, and it will at once be seen how erroneous a conclusion it may be, that all who are called "sons" of such or such a patriarch, or chief father, must necessarily have been his very children. Just as in the very first division into tribes Manasseh and Ephraim were numbered with their uncles, as if they had been sons instead of grandsons (Gen. xlviii. 5) of Jacob, so afterwards the names of persons belonging to different generations would often stand side by side as heads of families or houses, and be called the sons of their common ancestor. For example, Gen. xlvi. 21 contains grandsons as well as sons of Benjamin [BELAH], and Ex. vi. 24 probably enumerates the son and grandson of Assir as heads, with their father, of the families of the Korhites. And so in innumerable instances. If any one family or house became extinct, some other would succeed to its place, called after its own chief father. Hence of course a census of any tribe drawn up at a later period, would exhibit different divisions from one drawn up at an earlier. Compare, *e.g.*, the list of courses of priests in Zerubbabel's time (Neh. xii.) with that of those in David's time (1 Ch. xxiv.).[e] The same principle must be borne in mind in interpreting any particular genealogy. The sequence of generations may represent the succession to such or such an inheritance or headship of tribe or family, rather than the relationship of father and son.[f] Again, where a pedigree was abbreviated, it would naturally specify such generations as would indicate from what chief houses the person descended. In cases where a name was common the father's name would be added for distinction only. These reasons would be well understood at the time, though it may be difficult now to ascertain them positively. Thus in the pedigree of Ezra (Ezra vii. 1–5), it would seem that both Seraiah and Azariah were heads of houses (Neh. x. 2); they are both therefore named. Hilkiah is named as having been high-priest, and his identity is established by the addition "the son of Shallum" (1 Ch. vi. 13); the next named is Zadok, the priest in David's time, who was chief of the sixteen courses sprung from Eleazar, and then follows a complete pedigree from this Zadok to Aaron. But then as regards the chronological use of the Scripture genealogies, it follows from the above view that great caution is necessary in using them as measures of time, though they are invaluable for this purpose whenever we can be sure that they are complete. What seems necessary to make them trustworthy measures of time is, either that they should have special internal marks of being complete, such as where the mother as well as the father is named, or some historical circumstance defines the several relationships, or that there should be several genealogies, all giving the same number of generations within the same termini. When these conditions are found, it is difficult to overrate the value of genealogies for chronology. In determining, however, the relation of generations to time, some allowance must be made for the station in life of the persons in question. From the early marriages of the princes, the average of even 30 years to a generation will probably be found too long for the kings.[g]

Another feature in the Scripture genealogies which it is worth while to notice is the recurrence of the same name, or modifications of the same name, such as Tobias, Tobit, Nathan, Mattatha, and even of names of the same signification, in the same family. This is an indication of the carefulness with which the Jews kept their pedigrees (as otherwise they could not have known the names of their remote ancestors); it also gives a clue by which to judge of obscure or doubtful genealogies.

The Jewish genealogies have two forms, one giving the generations in a descending, the other in an ascending scale. Examples of the descending form may be seen in Ruth iv. 18–22, or 1 Ch. iii.; of the ascending, 1 Ch. vi. 33–43 (A. V.), Ezra vii. 1–5. The descending form is expressed by the formula A begat B, and B begat C, &c.; or, the sons of A, B his son, C his son, &c.; or, the sons of A, B, C, D; and the sons of B, C, D, E; and the sons of C, E, F, G, &c. The ascending is always expressed in the same way. Of the two, it is obvious that the descending scale is the one in which we are most likely to find collateral descents, inasmuch as it implies

genealogies is given in a note to p. 32 of Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 6.

[d] Thus in the Targum of Esther we have Haman's pedigree traced through twenty-one generations to the "impious Esau;" and Mordecai's through forty-two generations to Abraham. The writer makes thirty-three generations from Abraham to king Saul!

[e] The Jews say that only four courses came back with Zerubbabel, and that they were subdivided into twenty-four, saving the rights of such courses as should return from Captivity. See Selden, *Opp.* v. i. t. i. p. x.

[f] "The term 'son of' appears to have been used throughout the East in those days, as it still is, to denote connexion generally, either by descent or succession" (Layard's *Nin. & Bab.* p. 613). The observation is to explain the inscription "Jehu the son of Omri."

[g] Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, in a paper read before the Chronolog. Instit., endeavours to show that a generation in Scripture language = 40 years; and that St. Matthew's three divisions of fourteen generations, consequently, equal each 560 years; a calculation which suits his chronological scheme exactly, by placing the Captivity in the year B.C. 563.

that the object is to enumerate the heirs of the person at the head of the stem; and if direct heirs failed at any point, collateral ones would have to be inserted. In all cases too where the original document was preserved, when the direct line failed, the heir would naturally place his own name next to his immediate predecessor, though that predecessor was not his father, but only his kinsman. Whereas in the ascending scale there can be no failure in the nature of things. But neither form is in itself more or less fit than the other to express either proper or imputed filiation.

Females are named in genealogies when there is anything remarkable about them, or when any right or property is transmitted through them. See Gen. xi. 29, xxii. 23, xxv. 1–4, xxxv. 22–26; Ex. vi. 23; Num. xxvi. 33; 1 Ch. ii. 4, 19, 35, 50, &c.

The genealogical lists of names are peculiarly liable to corruptions of the text, and there are many such in the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, &c. Jerome speaks of these corruptions having risen to a fearful height in the LXX.: "Sylvam nominum quae scriptorum vitio confusa sunt." "Ita in Graec. et Lat. Codd. hic nominum liber vitiosus est, ut non tam Hebraea quam barbara quaedam et Sarmatica nomina conjecta arbitrandum sit." "Saepe tria nomina, subtractis è medio syllabis, in unum vocabulum cogunt, vel . . . unum nomen . . . in duo vel tria vocabula dividunt" (*Praefat. in Paraleip.*). In like manner the lists of high-priests in Josephus are so corrupt, that the names are scarcely recognisable. This must be borne in mind in dealing with the genealogies. See Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*[2], ii. 166 sq.

The Bible genealogies give an unbroken descent of the house of David from the Creation to the time of Christ. The registers at Jerusalem must have supplied the same to the priestly and many other families. They also inform us of the origin of most of the nations of the earth, and carry the genealogy of the Edomitish sovereigns down to about the time of Saul. Viewed as a whole, it is a genealogical collection of surpassing interest and accuracy. Cp. Rawlinson's *Herodot.* i. ch. 2; Burrington's *Geneal. Tab.*; Selden's *Works*, passim; *Benj. of Tudela's Itin.*, by A. Asher. [A. C. H.]

GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST. The New Testament gives us the genealogy of but one person, that of our Saviour. The priesthood of Aaron having ceased, the possession of the land of Canaan being transferred to the Gentiles, and there being under the N. T. dispensation no difference between circumcision and uncircumcision, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free, there is but One Whose genealogy it concerns us as Christians to be acquainted with, that of our Lord Jesus Christ. Him the prophets announced as the seed of Abraham and the son of David, and the Angel declared that to Him should be given the throne of His father David, that He might reign over the house of Jacob for ever. His descent from David and Abraham being therefore an essential part of His Messiahship, it was right that His genealogy should be given as a portion of Gospel truth. Considering, further, that to the Jews first He was manifested and preached, and that His descent from David and Abraham was a matter of special interest to them, it seems likely that the proof of His descent would be one especially adapted to convince them; in other words, that it would be drawn from documents which they deemed authentic. Such were the genealogical records preserved at Jerusalem. [GENEALOGY.] And when to the above considerations we add the fact that the lineage of Joseph was actually made out from authentic records for the purpose of the civil census ordered by Augustus, it becomes morally certain that the genealogy of Jesus Christ was extracted from the public registers. Another consideration adds yet further conviction. It has often excited surprise that the genealogies of Christ should both give the descent of Joseph, and not of Mary. But if these genealogies were those contained in the public registers, it could not be otherwise. In them Jesus, the son of Mary, the espoused wife of Joseph, could only appear as Joseph's son (cp. John i. 45). In transferring them to the pages of the Gospels, the Evangelists only added the qualifying expression "as was supposed" (Luke iii. 23, and its equivalent, Matt. i. 16).

But now to approach the difficulties with which the genealogies of Christ are thought to be beset. These difficulties have seemed so considerable in all ages as to drive commentators to very strange shifts. Some, as early as the second century, broached the notion, which Julius Africanus vigorously repudiates, that the genealogies are imaginary lists designed only to set forth the union of royal and priestly descent in Christ. Others on the contrary, to silence this and similar solutions, brought in a *Deus ex machinâ*, in the shape of a tradition derived from the Desposyni, in which by an ingenious application of the law of Levirate to two *uterine* brothers, whose mother had married first into the house of Solomon, and afterwards into the house of Nathan, some of the discrepancies were reconciled, though the meeting of the two genealogies in Zerubbabel and Salathiel is wholly unaccounted for. Later, and chiefly among Protestant divines, the theory was invented of one genealogy being Joseph's, and the other Mary's; a theory in direct contradiction to the plain letter of the Scripture narrative, and leaving untouched as many difficulties as it solves. The fertile invention of Annius of Viterbo forged a book in Philo's name, which accounted for the discrepancies by asserting that all Christ's ancestors, from David downwards, had two names. The circumstance, however, of one line running up to Solomon, and the other to Nathan, was overlooked. Other fanciful suggestions have been offered; while infidels, from Porphyry downwards, have seen in what they call the contradiction of St. Matthew and St. Luke a proof of the spuriousness of the Gospels; and critics like Professor Norton, a proof of such portions of Scripture being interpolated. Others, like Alford, content themselves with saying that solution is impossible, without further knowledge than we possess. But it is not too much to say that after all, in regard to the main points, there is no difficulty at all, if only the documents in question are dealt with reasonably, and after the analogy of similar Jewish documents in the O. T. —and that the clues to a right understanding of them are so patent, and so strongly marked,

that it is surprising that so much diversity of opinion should have existed. The following propositions will explain the true construction of these genealogies:—

1. They are both the genealogies of Joseph, *i.e.* of Jesus Christ, as the reputed and legal son of Joseph and Mary. One has only to read them to be satisfied of this. The notices of Joseph as being of the house of David, by the same Evangelists who give the pedigree, are an additional confirmation (Matt. i. 20; Luke i. 27, ii. 4, &c.); and if these pedigrees were extracted from the public archives, they must have been Joseph's.

2. The genealogy of St. Matthew is, as Grotius most truly and unhesitatingly asserted, Joseph's genealogy as legal successor to the throne of David, *i.e.* it exhibits the successive heirs of the kingdom ending with Christ, as Joseph's reputed son. St. Luke's is Joseph's private genealogy, exhibiting his real birth, as David's son, and thus showing why he was heir to Solomon's crown. This is capable of being almost demonstrated. If St. Matthew's genealogy had stood alone, and we had no further information on this subject than it affords, we might indeed have shought that it was a genealogical stem in the strictest sense of the word, exhibiting Joseph's forefathers in succession, from David downwards. But immediately we find a second genealogy of Joseph—that in St. Luke's Gospel—such is no longer a reasonable opinion. Because if St. Matthew's genealogy, tracing as it does the successive generations through the long line of Jewish kings, had been Joseph's real paternal stem, there could not possibly have been room for a second genealogy. The steps of ancestry coinciding with the steps of succession, one pedigree only could in the nature of things be proper. The mere existence therefore of a second pedigree, tracing Joseph's ancestry through private persons, by the side of one tracing it through kings, is in itself a proof that the latter is not the true stem of birth. When, with this clue, we examine St. Matthew's list, to discover whether it contains in itself any evidence as to when the lineal descent was broken, we fix at once upon Jechonias, who could not, we know, be literally the father of Salathiel, because the word of God by the mouth of Jeremiah had pronounced him *childless*. It had also declared that none of his seed should sit upon the throne of David, or rule in Judah (Jer. xxii. 30). The same thing had been declared concerning his father Jehoiakim in Jer. xxxvi. 30. Jechonias therefore could not be the father of Salathiel, nor could Christ spring either from him or his father. Here then we have the most striking confirmation of the justice of the inference drawn from finding a second genealogy, viz. that St. Matthew gives the *succession*, not the strict birth; and we conclude that the names after the childless Jechonias are those of his next heirs, as also in 1 Ch. iii. 17. One more look at the two genealogies convinces us that this conclusion is just; for we find that the two next names following Jechonias, Salathiel and Zorobabel, are actually taken from the other genealogy, which teaches us that Salathiel's real father was Neri, of the house of Nathan. It becomes therefore perfectly certain, that Salathiel of the house of Nathan became heir to David's throne on the failure of Solomon's line in Jechonias, and that as such he and his descendants were transferred as "sons of Jeconiah" to the royal genealogical table, according to the principle of the Jewish Law laid down in Num. xxvii. 8–11. The two genealogies then coincide for two, or rather for four generations, as will be shown below. There then occur six names in St. Matthew which are not found in St. Luke; and then once more the two genealogies coincide in the name of Matthan or Matthat (Matt. i. 15; Luke iii. 24), to whom two different sons, Jacob and Heli, are assigned, but one and the same grandson and heir, Joseph the husband of Mary, and the reputed father of Jesus, Who is called Christ. The simple and obvious explanation of this is, on the same principle as before, that Joseph was descended from Joseph, a younger son of Abiud (the Juda of Luke iii. 26), but that, on the failure of the line of Abiud's eldest son in Eleazar, Joseph's grandfather Matthan became the heir; that Matthan had two sons, Jacob and Heli; that Jacob had no son, and consequently that Joseph, the son of his younger brother Heli, became heir to his uncle, and to the throne of David. Thus the simple principle that one Evangelist exhibits that genealogy which contained the successive heirs to David's and Solomon's throne, while the other exhibits the paternal stem of him who was the heir, explains all the anomalies of the two pedigrees, their agreements as well as their discrepancies, and the circumstance of there being two at all. It must be added that not only does this theory explain all the phenomena, but that that portion of it which asserts that Luke gives Joseph's paternal stem receives a most remarkable confirmation from the names which compose that stem. For if we begin with Nathan, we find that his son, Mattatha, and four others, of whom the last was grandfather to Joseph, had names which are merely modifications of Nathan (Matthat twice, and Mattathias twice); or if we begin with Joseph, we shall find no less than three of his name between him and Nathan: an evidence, of the most convincing kind, that Joseph was lineally descended from Nathan in the way St. Luke represents him to be (cp. Zech. xii. 12).

3. Mary, the mother of Jesus, was in all probability the daughter of Jacob, and first cousin to Joseph her husband.[a] So that in point of *fact*, though not of *form*, both the genealogies are as much hers as her husband's.

But besides these main difficulties, as they have been thought to be, there are several others which cannot be passed over in any account, however concise, of the genealogies of Christ. The most startling is the total discrepancy between them both and that of Zerubbabel in the O. T. (1 Ch. iii. 19–24). In this last, of seven sons of Zerubbabel not one bears the name, or anything like the name, of Rhesa or Abiud. And of the next generation not one bears the name, or anything like the name, of Eliakim or Joanna, which are in the corresponding generation in St. Matthew and St. Luke. Nor can any subsequent generations be identified. But this

[a] Hippolytus of Thebes, in the 10th century, asserted that Mary was granddaughter of Matthan, but by her mother (Patritius, *Dissert.* ix. &c., *De Gen. Jes. Christi*).

difference will be entirely got rid of, and a remarkable harmony established in its place, if we suppose Rhesa, who is named in St. Luke's Gospel as Zerubbabel's son, to have slipped into the text from the margin. *Rhesa* is in fact not a name at all, but it is the Chaldee title of the princes of the Captivity, who at the end of the second, and through the third century after Christ, rose to great eminence in the East, assumed the state of sovereigns, and were considered to be of the house of David (see preceding article, p. 1143). These princes then were exactly what Zerubbabel was in his day. It is very probable therefore that this title, רֵישָׁא, *rēshā*, should have been placed against the name of Zerubbabel by some early Christian Jew, and thence crept into the text. If this be so, St. Luke will then give Joanna, Ἰωαννᾶς, as the son of Zerubbabel. But Ἰωαννᾶς is the very same name as *Hananiah*, חֲנַנְיָה, the son of Zerubbabel according to 1 Ch. iii. 19. [HANANIAH.] In St. Matthew this generation is omitted. In the next generation we identify Matthew's Ab-jud (Abiud), אֲבִיהוּד, with Luke's Juda, in the Hebrew of that day יְהוּד (Jud), and both with Hodaiah, הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, of 1 Ch. iii. 24 (a name which is actually interchanged with Juda, יְהוּדָה, Ezra iii. 9; Neh. xi. 9, compared with Ezra ii. 40; 1 Ch. ix. 7), by the simple process of supposing the Shemaiah, שְׁמַעְיָה, of 1 Ch. iii. 22 to be the same person as the Shimei, שִׁמְעִי, of *v.* 19: thus at the same time cutting off all those redundant generations which bring this genealogy in 1 Ch. iii. down some 200 years later than any other in the Book, and long after the close of the Canon.

The next difficulty is the difference in the number of generations between the two genealogies. St. Matthew's division into three fourteens gives only 42, while St. Luke, from Abraham to Christ inclusive, reckons 56; or, which is more to the point (since the generations between Abraham and David are the same in both genealogies), while St. Matthew reckons 28 from David to Christ, St. Luke reckons 43, or 42 without Rhesa. But the genealogy itself supplies the explanation. In the second tessarodecade, including the *kings*, we know that three generations are omitted—Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah—in order to reduce the generations from 17 to 14: the difference between these 17 and the 19 of St. Luke being very small. So in like manner it is obvious that the generations have been abridged in the same way in the third division to keep to the number 14. The true number would be one much nearer St. Luke's 23 (22 without Rhesa), implying the omission of about seven generations in this last division. Dr. Mill has shown that it was a common practice with the Jews to distribute genealogies into divisions, each containing some favourite or mystical number, and that, in order to do this, generations were either repeated or left out. Thus in Philo the generations from Adam to Moses are divided into two decads and one hebdomad, by the repetition of Abraham. But in a Samaritan poem the very same series is divided into two decads only, by the omission of six of the least important names (*Vindication*, pp. 110–118).

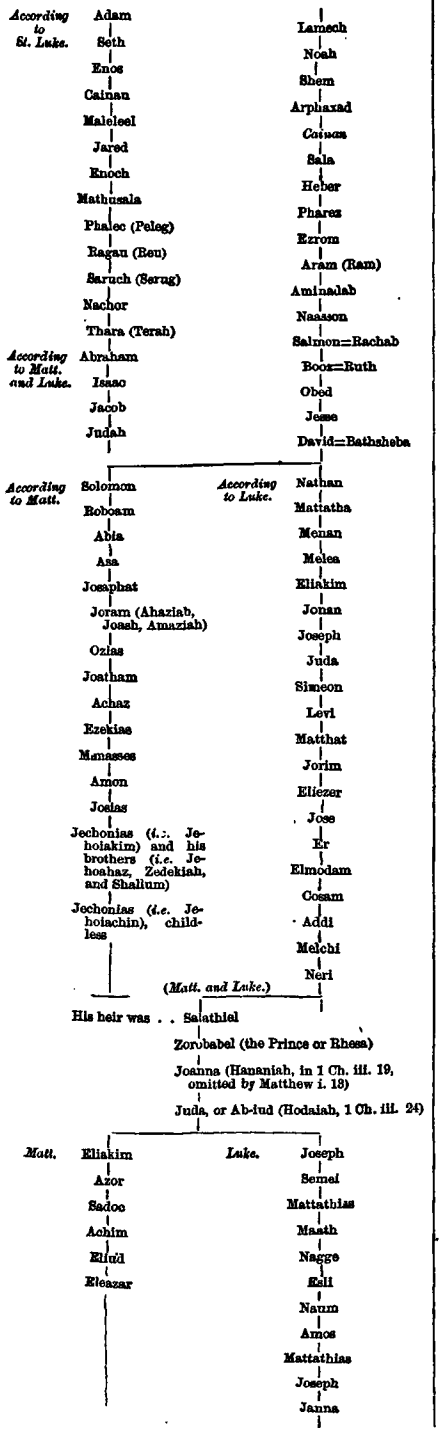
Another difficulty is the apparent deficiency in the number of the last tessarodecad, which seems to contain only 13 names. But the explanation of this is, that either in the process of translation, or otherwise, the names of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin have got confused and expressed by the one name Jechonias. For that Jechonias, in *v.* 11, means Jehoiakim, while in *v.* 12 it means Jehoiachin, is quite certain, as Jerome saw long ago. Jehoiachin had no brothers, but Jehoiakim had three brothers, of whom two at least sat upon the throne, if not three,[b] and were therefore named in the genealogy. The two names are very commonly considered as the same, both by Greek and Latin writers, *e.g.* Clemens Alex., Ambrose, Africanus, Epiphanius, as well as the author of 1 Esd. (i. 37, 43), and others. Irenaeus also distinctly asserts that Joseph's genealogy, as given by St. Matthew, expresses both Joiakim and Jechonias. It seems that his identity of name has led to some corruption in the text of very early date, and that the clause Ἰεχονίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεχονίαν has fallen out between αὐτοῦ and ἐπὶ τῆς μετ. Βαβ., in *v.* 11. The Cod. Vat. (B.) contains the clause only after Βαβυλῶνος in *v.* 12, where it seems less proper (see Alford's *G. T.*; and Westcott and Hort in loco).

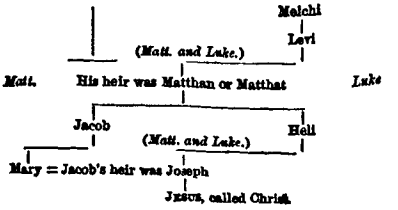
The last difficulty of sufficient importance to be mentioned here is a chronological one. In both the genealogies there are but three names between Salmon and David—Boaz, Obed, Jesse. But, according to the common chronology, from the entrance into Canaan (when Salmon was come to man's estate) to the birth of David was 405 years, or from that to 500 years and upwards. Now for about an equal period, from Solomon to Jehoiachin, St. Luke's genealogy contains 20 names. Obviously therefore either the chronology or the genealogy is wrong. But it cannot be the genealogy (which is repeated four times over without any variation), because it is supported by *eight* other genealogies,[c] which all contain about the same number of generations from the Patriarchs to David as David's own line does: except that, as was to be expected from Judah, Boaz, and Jesse being all advanced in years at the time of the birth of their sons, David's line is one of the shortest. The number of generations in the genealogies referred to is 14 in five, 15 in two, and 11 in one, to correspond with the 11 in David's line. There are other genealogies where the series is not complete, but not one which contains more generations. It is the province therefore of Chronology to square its calculations to the genealogies. It must suffice here to assert that the shortening the interval between the Exodus and David by about 200 years, which brings it to the length indicated by the genealogies, does in the most remarkable manner bring Israelitish history into harmony with Egyptian, with the traditional Jewish date of the Exodus, with the fragment of Edomitish history preserved in Gen. xxxvi. 31–39, and with the internal evidence of the Israelitish history itself. The

[b] See Jer. xxii. 11.

[c] Those of Zadok, Heman, Ahimoth, Asaph, Ethan, in 1 Ch. vi.; that of Abiathar, made up from different notices of his ancestors in 1 Sam.; that of Saul, from 1 Ch. viii. ix., and 1 Sam. ix.; and that of Zabad in 1 Ch. ii.

following pedigree will exhibit the successive generations as given by the two Evangelists:—





Thus it will be seen that the whole number of generations from Adam to Christ, both inclusive, is 74, without the second Cainan and Rhesa. Including these two, and adding the name of GOD, Augustine reckoned 77, and thought the number typical of the forgiveness of all sins in Baptism by Him Who was thus born in the 77th generation, alluding to Matt. xviii. 22; with many other wonderful speculations on the hidden meaning of the numbers 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, and their additions and multiplications (*Quaest. Evang.* lib. 11). Irenaeus, who probably, like Africanus and Eusebius, omitted Matthat and Levi, reckoned 72 generations, which he connected with the 72 nations into which, according to Gen. x. (LXX.), mankind was divided, and so other Fathers likewise.

For an account of the different explanations that have been given, both by ancient and modern commentators, the reader may refer to the elaborate Dissertation of Patritius in his 2nd vol. *De Evangeliis;* who, however, does not contribute much to elucidate the difficulties of the case. The opinions advanced in the foregoing article are fully discussed in the writer's work on the *Genealogies of our Lord Jesus Christ;* and much valuable matter will be found in Dr. Mill's *Vindication of the Geneal.*, and in Grotius' note on Luke iii. 23. Other treatises are, Gomarus, *De Geneal. Christi;* Hottinger, *Dissert. duae de Geneal. Christi;* G. G. Voss, *De J. Chr. Geneal.;* Yardley, *On the Geneal. of J. Chr.*, &c. [A. C. H.]

GENERATION. 1. *Abstract:*—time, either definite or indefinite. The primary meaning of the Heb. דּוֹר is revolution; hence *period* of time: cp. *περίοδος, ἐνιαυτος,* and *annus.* From the general idea of a period comes the more special notion of an age or generation of men, the ordinary period of human life. In this point of view the history of the word seems to be directly contrasted with that of the Latin *saeculum;* which, starting with the idea of breed or race, acquired the secondary signification of a definite period of time (Censorin. *de Die Nat.* c. 17).

In the long-lived Patriarchal age a generation seems to have been computed at 100 years (Gen. xv. 16; cp. *v.* 13 and Ex. xii. 40: see Delitzsch [1887] and Knobel's note in Dillmann[6] on Gen. *l. c.*); the later reckoning, however, was the same which has been adopted by other civilised nations, viz. from thirty to forty years (Job xlii. 16). For *generation* in the sense of a *definite* period of time, see Gen. xv. 16; Deut. xxiii. 3, 4, 8, &c.

As an indefinite period of time:—for time *past*, see Deut. xxxii. 7, Is. lviii. 12; for time *future*, see Ps. xlv. 17, lxxii. 5, &c.

2. *Concrete:*—the men of an age, or time. So generation = *contemporaries* (Gen. vi. 9;

Is. liii, 8; see Lowth ad loc.; Ges. *Lex.*; better than "aeterna generatio," or "multitudo creditura." Cp. the commentaries of Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[5]); *posterity*, especially in legal formulae (Lev. iii. 17, &c.); *fathers*, or *ancestors* (Ps. xlix. 19; Rosenm. *Schol.* ad loc., and modern comm.; cp. 2 Ch. xxxiv. 28). Dropping the idea of time, generation comes to mean a *race*, or *class* of men: *e.g.* of the righteous (Ps. xiv. 5, &c.); of the wicked (Deut. xxxii. 5; Jer. vii. 29, where "generation of his wrath" = against which God is angry).

In A. V. of N. Test. three words are rendered by *generation*:—

γένεσις, γεννήματα, γενεά.

γένεσις, properly *generatio*; but in Matt. i. 1 βίβλος γενέσεως = סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת = a genealogical scheme.

γεννήματα, pl. of γέννημα, Matt. iii. 7, &c., A. V. *generation*; more properly *brood*, as the result of generation in its primary sense.

γενεὰ in most of its uses corresponds with the Heb. דּוֹר.

For the abstract and indefinite, see Luke i. 50, Eph. iii. 21 (A. V. "ages," R. V. "generations" [see R. V. marg.]), *future*: Acts xv. 21 (A. V. "of old time," R. V. "from generations of old"), Eph. iii. 5 (A. V. "ages," R. V. "generations"), *past*.

For concrete, see Matt. xi. 16.

For generation without reference to time, see Luke xvi. 8, "in their generation," *i.e.* in their disposition, "indoles, ingenium, et ratio hominum," Schleusner; Trench, "in worldly things" (*Notes on the Parables*, in loco); *Speaker's Comm.* "in relation to their kindred"; Nösgen, "their contemporaries" (Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco). Matt. i. 17, "all the generations;" either *concrete* use, sc. "familiae sibi invicem succedentes;" or *abstract* and *definite*, according to the view which may be taken of the difficulties connected with the genealogies of our Lord. [GENEALOGY.] [T. E. B.] [F.]

GENES'ARETH. In this form the name appears in the edition of the A. V. of 1611, in Mark vi. 53 and Luke v. 1, following the spelling of the Vulgate. In Matt. xiv. 34, where the Vulg. has *Genesar*, the A. V. originally followed the Received Greek Text—Genesaret. The oldest MSS. have, however, Γεννησαρὲτ in each of the three places. [GENNESARET.]

GENESIS (Γένεσις, from the LXX. rendering of ii. 4a, αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς: called by the Jews, like the other Books of the Pentateuch, from its first word, בְּרֵאשִׁית, *Bĕrēshith*), the first Book in the great historical series, Gen.—2 Kings, or, more immediately, in the Hexateuch (Gen.—Josh.).

§ 1. The general aim of the Hexateuch is to describe in their origin the fundamental institutions of the Theocracy (the civil and ceremonial law), and to trace from the earliest past the course of events which issued ultimately in the establishment of Israel in Canaan. The Book of Genesis comprises the introductory period of this history, embracing the lives of the ancestors of the Hebrew nation, and ending with the death of Joseph in Egypt,—the close of the term of migration and the beginning of the period during which the clan that accompanied Jacob into Egypt grows insensibly into a nation. It recounts the fortunes of the Patriarchs as they were handed down by tradition; it represents them as patterns, in that remote age, of a higher faith among mankind, and as providentially commissioned to be the founders of a community inspired by the principles of a true religion, and destined ultimately to become the cradle of a faith that should embrace the world. It shows us ABRAHAM, privileged to be the "Friend of God," migrating from the distant east, and entering Canaan as his adopted home, treated by the native princes with honour and respect, and receiving from God promises of an august future for his descendants. It shows us ISAAC, living a quieter, less eventful life, but otherwise re-enacting the experiences of his father. It describes next the chequered career of JACOB; the *ruse* by which he wrests the supremacy from Esau; his strange contest with Laban; his return, an altered man, after the wrestling at Peniel; the reunion, so little expected, with his sons in Egypt. We trace the hand of Providence in the vicissitudes which befel JOSEPH; and the circumstances are related which made Egypt for a while the home of the ancestors of Israel. In the course of the narrative many points interesting to a later age are incidentally noticed and explained: for example, local antiquities (*e.g.* xvi. 14; xix. 22; xxi. 31; xxiii.; xxvi. 33; xxviii. 19; xxxi. 47; xxxvi. 24, &c.), current proverbs or customs (x. 9; xvii.; xxii. 14; xxviii. 22; xxxii. 32 [Heb. 33]; xlvii. 26), the contrasted character or condition of neighbouring nations (ix. 25–7; xvi. 12; xvii. 20 sq.; xix. 37 sq.; xxv. 23 sqq.; xxvii. 27–9, 39, 40; xlviii. 19). And in ch. xlix. the political character, or geographical position, of the tribes of Israel is prefigured in their father's blessing.

§ 2. To recount, however, the ancestry of Israel alone would leave an unsatisfactory blank in the picture; the place occupied by it among other nations must also be defined. Accordingly the line of its ancestors is traced back beyond Abraham to the first appearance of man upon earth; and by means of a genealogical scheme, developed sometimes with surprising minuteness, the degree of affinity uniting the principal nations known to the Hebrews, to one another, and to Israel is indicated. Thus to the *History of the Patriarchs* in particular, chs. xii.—l., is prefixed, chs. i.–xi., a general view of the *Early History of Mankind*, from the Creation inclusive, explaining the presence of evil in the world (ch. iii.), sketching the beginnings of civilization (ch. iv.), accounting for the existence of separate nations (ch. x., xi. 1–9), and determining the position occupied by the Hebrews among them (x. 1, 21, 22; xi. 10–26).

§ 3. The framework into which the whole is cast is marked by the recurring formula *These are the generations* (lit. *begettings*) *of* . . . . The phrase is strictly one proper to genealogies, implying that the person to whose name it is prefixed is of sufficient importance to mark a break in the genealogical series, and that he and his descendants will form the subject of the record which follows, until another name is reached prominent enough to form the commencement of a new section. By this means the Book of Genesis is articulated as follows:—

Chs. i.–iv.[a] (Creation; Fall of man; Progress of invention in the line of Cain to Lamech).
„ v. 1[b]–vi. 8 (Adam and his descendants, through Seth, to Noah).
„ vi. 9–ix. 29 (History of Noah, and of his sons, till their father's death).
„ x. 1–xi. 9 (Sons of Noah, and nations sprung from them).
„ xi. 10–26 (Line of Shem to Terah).
„ xi. 27–xxv. 11 (Terah and his descendants, Abram and Lot).
„ xxv. 12–18 (Ishmael and Arab tribes claiming descent from him).
„ xxv. 19–xxxv. 29 (Life of Isaac, with history of his sons till Isaac's death).
„ xxxvi. 1–43 (Esau and his descendants, with a digression, *vv.* 20–30, on the aboriginal inhabitants of Edom).
„ xxxvii. (see v. 2)–l. (Life of Jacob subsequent to Isaac's death, and history of his sons to death of Joseph).[c]

To this scheme the narrative of Genesis is accommodated. The attention of the reader is fixed upon Israel, which is gradually disengaged from the nations with which it is at first confused: at each stage in the history, a brief general account of the collateral branches having been given, they are dismissed, and the narrative is limited more and more to the immediate line of Israel's ancestors. Thus after ch. x. all the descendants of Noah disappear, except the line of Shem (xi. 10 sqq.): after xxv. 18 Ishmael disappears, and Isaac only remains: similarly after ch. xxxvi. Jacob alone is left. The same method is adopted in the intermediate parts: thus xix. 30–38 the relation to Israel of the collateral branches of Moab and Ammon is explained: xxii. 20–24 (family of Abraham's brother Nahor), xxv. 1–4 (children of Keturah), those of other kindred tribes.

A similar plan governs the *promises* and *blessings* given to, or by, the Patriarchs: they become gradually more definite, and their scope is progressively narrowed. Addressed first in general terms to Adam, they are repeated to Noah, then limited to Shem among his descendants, afterwards brought down to Jacob, till finally among his sons the promise of royalty is bestowed upon Judah alone. They may be grouped in two series, which, however, whether taken separately or together, exhibit in this respect the same principle. Thus (*a*) i. 28–30; ix. 1–7; xvii. 6–8; xxviii. 3 sq.; xxxv. 11 sq. (quoted, xlviii. 3): (*b*) iii. 15; ix. 26; xii. 1–3 (Abraham: also xiii. 14–17; xv. 5, 13–16; xviii. 18; xxii. 15–18); xxvi. 2–5, 24 (Isaac); xxvii. 27–29; xxviii. 13–15 (Jacob); xlix. 10 (Judah).

The unity of plan thus established (and traceable in numerous other details) has been long recognised by critics: the hypothesis that the Book of Genesis is a collection of "fragments" belongs to the infancy of criticism.

§ 4. Unity of plan, however, is not synonymous with unity of structure. The Book of Genesis shows clear marks of the one, but not of the other. Like the rest of the Pentateuch, and indeed like the historical Books generally, it is composed of distinct documents or sources, which a later editor or redactor has welded together into a continuous whole, subordinating them to the aim with which he wrote, but leaving them in the main with their distinctive literary and other characteristics unchanged. Although (for reasons which will appear) there are points which remain, and probably will continue to remain, uncertain, the fundamental distinctions between these documents or sources have been ascertained by critics, and the general limits of each determined, with sufficient clearness to enable us to picture, at least approximately, the process by which the Pentateuch assumed its present shape. The question of the relative *date* of its several component parts is discussed in the art. PENTATEUCH: we shall confine ourselves here to an indication of the general grounds upon which—in the Book of Genesis in particular—the distinction of sources is inferred, and an exposition of the structure of the Book as analysed by the best and most recent critics.

§ 5. When the Pentateuch is read attentively, two facts amongst others attract the reader's notice: (1) the same event is doubly recorded; (2) the style and language in different sections vary. In Genesis we have thus a double narrative of the origin of man upon earth, i. 1–ii. 4 a, and ii. 4 b–25. It is true, ii. 4 *b* sqq. might apparently be regarded as merely a more detailed account of what is described succinctly in i. 26–30; but a more attentive examination reveals differences which preclude the supposition that both sections are the work of the same hand. It *is* clear that in ch. ii. the order of creation is 1. man (*v.* 7), 2. vegetation (*v.* 9; cp. *v.* 5), 3. animals (*v.* 19),[d] 4. woman (*v.* 21 sq.). The separation made between the creation of woman and man *is*, indeed, fairly explicable upon the hypothesis that ii. 4 b sqq. describes in detail what is stated summarily in i. 27 b; but the order in the other cases forms part of a progression evidently intentional on the part of the narrator here, and as evidently opposed to the order indicated in ch. i. (vegetation, animals, man). Not only, however, are there *material* differences between the two narratives: they differ also in *form*. The style of i. 1–ii. 4 a is unornate, measured, precise, and particular phrases frequently recur; that of ii. 4 b sqq. is freer and more varied; the recurring phrases are less marked, and not the same as those of i. 1–ii. 4 a. Ch. xix. 29, again, where it stands, interrupts the narrative and repeats the substance of *vv.* 1–25: the presumption, hence derived, that it is a briefer account of the same event, incorporated from another source, is confirmed by the style, which resembles that of other sections similarly distinguished from the narrative in which they are embedded.[e] In chs.

[a] The formula is here applied *metaphorically* to "heaven and earth," and stands at ii. 4 a. Elsewhere it always relates to what *follows*: inasmuch as in this place it can scarcely refer to ii. 4 b sqq. (for this narrative is silent as to the *heavens*), it must refer exceptionally to what precedes. Perhaps, as some critics have conjectured, it originally stood as the superscription to i. 1, and owes its present position to the compiler of the Book of Genesis.

[b] The formula here is slightly different: "This is the book (*or* roll) of the generations," &c.

[c] The formula occurs next in Num. iii. 1 (of Aaron and Moses): see also Ruth iv. 18; 1 Ch. i. 29 (all).

[d] The rendering *had formed* is against idiom.

[e] Observe *God*, *Jehovah* having been regularly used

xxi. 31 and xxvi. 33 we have two explanations of the origin of the name *Beersheba;* xxviii. 19 and xxxv. 15, two of the name *Bethel;* xxxii. 28 and xxxv. 10, two of *Israel;* xxxii. 3 and xxxiii. 16, Esau is described as already resident in Edom, while in xxxvi. 6, 7 his settlement there is attributed to causes which could only have come into operation subsequently. In the narrative of the Deluge vi. 9–13 is a duplicate of vi. 5–8, and vii. 1–5 of vi. 18–22, the latter with the difference that of every clean beast seven are to be taken into the ark, while in vi. 19 two of every sort indiscriminately are prescribed: there are also accompanying differences of phraseology.[f] Even the genealogies exhibit two distinct types (below, § 10, I., note). Other sections conspicuously distinguished both by phraseology and manner of treatment are ix. 1–17, xvii., xxiii.: where, as in these cases, the differences are at once *numerous, recurrent,* and *systematic,* they may be regarded as conclusive evidence that the narratives in which they occur are not the work of one and the same author.

§ 6. The sections homogeneous in style and character with i. 1–ii. 4 a recur at intervals to the close of Joshua, and, when disengaged from the rest of the narrative and read consecutively, are found to constitute a tolerably complete whole, containing a systematic account of the *origines* of Israel, marked by definite literary characteristics, prominent amongst which is the use of *God* rather than *Jehovah* (till Ex. vi. 3), written in the unornate style of an annalist, displaying a methodical regard for chronological data which entitles it to be regarded as the framework of our present Hexateuch, and treating with particular minuteness the regulations for sacrifice and other ritual institutions (Sabbath, circumcision, passover, tabernacle, priesthood, feasts, &c.) of the ancient Hebrews. From these several characteristics the source in question (or its author) has been differently styled the Book of Origins[g] (Ewald), the Elohist (Hupfeld, Bleek, &c.), the Annalistic narrator (Schrader), the "Grundschrift" (Tuch, Nöldeke), the Priests' Code (Wellhausen, Kuenen, Delitzsch). Of these designations the last is in strictness applicable only to the legal parts; these, however, form such a distinctive and central element, that it may not unsuitably be extended so as to embrace the entire source; and it may be represented conveniently, for the sake of brevity, by the letter P.[h]

§ 7. In Genesis, as regards the limits of P, there is virtually no difference of opinion amongst critics. It embraces i. 1–ii. 4 a (creation of heaven and earth, with God's rest upon the Sabbath);—v. 1–28, 30–32 (line of Adam's descendants through Seth to Noah);—vi. 9–22; vii. 6, 7–9 (in parts), 11, 13–16 a, 18–21, 24; viii. 1–2 a, 3 b–5, 13 a, 14–19; ix. 1–17, 28, 29 (the Flood and the subsequent covenant with Noah);—x. 1–7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32 (sons of Japheth, Ham, and Shem[i]);—xi. 10–26 (descendants of Shem to Terah);—xi. 27, 31, 32; xii. 4 b–5; xiii. 6, 11 b–12 a; xvi. 1 a, 3, 15, 16 (history of Abram to birth of Ishmael);—xvii. (circumcision); xix. 29 (destruction of the cities of the Plain);—xxi. 1 b, 2 b–5 (birth of Isaac);—xxiii. (purchase of cave of Machpelah);—xxv. 7–11 a (death of Abraham);—xxv. 12–17 (descendants of Ishmael);—xxv. 19, 20, 26 b; xxvi. 34, 35; xxvii. 46–xxviii. 9 (history of Isaac: Esau's wives: reason why Jacob goes to Paddan-aram);—xxix. 24, 29; xxxi. 18 b; xxxiii. 18 a; xxxiv.[k] 1, 2 a, 4, 6, 8–10, 13–18, 20–24, 25 (partly), 27–29; xxxv. 9–13, 15, 22 b–29 (return of Jacob from Paddan-aram to Shechem: his sons' refusal to sanction intermarriage with the Shechemites: change of name at Bethel: death of Isaac);—xxxvi. [in the main[l]] (history of Esau);—xxxvii. 1–2 a (to *Jacob*); xli. 46; xlvi. 6–27; xlvii. 5–6 a,[m] 7–11, 27 b–28; xlviii. 3–6; xlix. 1 a, 28 b, 29–33; l. 12, 13 (history of Joseph). The passages present an outline of the antecedents, and patriarchal history, of Israel, in which only important occurrences—such as the Creation, the Flood, the covenants with Noah and Abraham—are described with minuteness, but which is sufficient to form an introduction to the systematic view of the theocratic institutions which it was the main object of the author of this source to exhibit. A few omissions are apparent (*e.g.* that of the events of Jacob's life in Paddan-aram, presupposed by xxxi. 18, and probably others); but these may be naturally ascribed to the redactor, who, in combining P with his other source, gave a preference not unfrequently to the fuller and more picturesque narrative of the latter. Only very seldom does the language of P appear to have been modified by the redactor: thus in xvii. 1, xxi. 1 b, *Jehovah* has been substituted for *Elohim;* in xlvi. 8–27 also slight modifications appear to have been made by him. As a rule, however, the language of the narrator is unchanged; and many of the peculiarities of his style are apparent even in a translation. His language is that of a jurist rather than a historian: it is circumstantial, formal, and precise; a subject is developed methodically, and completeness of detail, even at the risk of some repetition, is regularly observed: sentences cast

before (e.g. *vv.* 13, 14, 16, 24), and *remembered* (see viii. 1; Ex. ii. 22): also notice the *general* statement that Lot dwelt in "the cities of the Plain," as in xiii. 12 (P), which would fall naturally from a writer compiling a summary account of the occurrences, but hardly so from one who had just before named repeatedly Sodom as the *particular* city in which Lot was dwelling.

[f] See the art. PENTATEUCH (by the present Bishop of Worcester), ii. 776 (1st ed. of this Dict.) where what has been stated above is further illustrated.

[g] *Urspränge* — Ewald's rendering of the Heb. תּוֹלְדוֹת ("generations"): see his *Hist. of Israel,* i. pp. 74–96.

[h] Dillmann uses the letter A. Wellhausen uses Q (so Delitzsch), on account of the *four* (Quatuor) covenants described in it (with Adam, i. 28–30; Noah, ix. 1–17; Abraham, xvii.; Israel, Ex. vi. 2 sqq.). But the first of these is not strictly a covenant, but a blessing.

[i] Cp. below, § 10, I.

[k] See, however, below, § 10, III., n. 6.

[l] For parts of this ch. appear to contain an element foreign to P (see the commentators).

[m] As read in LXX., viz.: "And Jacob and his sons came into Egypt to Joseph, and Pharaoh king of Egypt heard of it. And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: behold, the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell." Then follows v. 7. Cp. below, § 10, IV., n. 3.

in the same type constantly recur.[n] Particular formulae are repeated with great frequency, especially such as articulate the progress of the narrative,[o] or note the orderly observance of prescribed forms. The author pays consistent attention to numbers, chronology, and other statistical data. A love of system governs his whole treatment of the history. These peculiarities become even more marked in those portions of the subsequent Books of the Hexateuch which belong to the same source.

§ 8. It may be worth while here to anticipate an objection that may be felt. It has been said that the sections which have been designated by P, when compared with other parts of the narrative, betray differences of style which argue a difference of authorship. As many of these sections consist of brief formal notices, the differences, it may be thought, could be accounted for by the not unreasonable hypothesis that one and the same author, having to make such formal notices, adopted spontaneously a similar style throughout. It is true that, did the sections in question consist solely of such notices, the explanation suggested would be a plausible one; when, however, we find sections, often of considerable length, dealing with varied subject-matter, occurring not in Genesis merely, but throughout the Hexateuch, and marked uniformly by the same distinctive and stereotyped phraseology, it cannot be accepted as adequate. It should be added, to preclude a not unfrequent misconception, that the use of *God* (till Ex. vi. 3) instead of *Jehovah*, is but *one* feature in the style of P, not, in fact, more conspicuous than many others, which regularly accompany it.[p]

§ 9. Is, however, what remains, after the separation of P, homogeneous in structure? It would appear not. Especially from ch. xx. onwards, the narrative exhibits marks of composite structure; and the component parts, though not differing from one another in diction or style so widely as either differs from P, and being so welded together that the lines of demarcation between them cannot frequently be fixed with certainty, seem nevertheless, in their broader outlines, to be distinctly recognisable. Thus xx. 1–17 is distinguished by the use of *God*, while in chs. xviii.–xix. (except xix. 29 P), and in the similar narrative xii. 10–20, *Jehovah* is regularly employed. The same phenomenon is repeated, xxi. 6–31, xxii. 1–13, and elsewhere, noticeably in xl.–xlii., xlv. For such a variation in consecutive and similar chapters it is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation except diversity of authorship: where it occurs, it is moreover often accompanied by differences of representation, which point to the same conclusion. At the same time, the fact that *Elohim* is not here attended by the other criteria of P's style, forbids our assigning the sections thus characterised to that source. An independent source must therefore be postulated: and in fact all critics who have examined carefully the text of Genesis have satisfied themselves that the parts which remain after the separation of P, consist of excerpts from *two* narratives covering in the main the same ground, but independent of each other, which have been welded together into a single whole. One of these sources, from its use of the name *Jahweh*,[q] is now generally designated by the letter J: the other, which has just been alluded to and which uses chiefly the name *Elohim*, is denoted by E. The composite work thus produced may be referred to by the double letters JE.[r] The precise manner in which these two sources were combined together has been disputed, and can hardly be said to be entirely certain; but critics generally agree with Wellh., who supposes that it was effected by the independent hand of a compiler. The method usually followed by the compiler was to extract an entire narrative, without appreciable alteration, from either of these sources, as the plan of his work required (*e.g.* xx. 1–17 from E; xxiv. from J); sometimes, however, it would seem as if in a narrative derived as a whole from one source particular notices borrowed from the other were incorporated, and sometimes a narrative appears to be composed of elements derived from each in nearly equal proportions. Occasionally the compiler appears to have introduced slight additions of his own. In order to gain an intelligent insight into the redactor's method, the reader should be careful to fix his attention on the *main* source followed in each section, treating mentally the passages incorporated in it as subordinate.[s]

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[n] As v. 6–8, 9–11, 12–14, &c.; xl. 10–11, 12–13, &c.; xii. 4 b, xvi. 16, xvii. 24, 25, xxi. 5, xxv. 20, xli. 46 a, Ex. vii. 7; &c.

[o] As i. 5 b, 8 b, 13, &c.; x. 5 [see *QPB.*[3]], 20, 31, 32, xxv. 16, xxxvi. 40, &c.

[p] Undoubtedly *Jehovah* and *God* express different aspects of the Divine nature; but the theory of Keil (*Einl.*, § 33) and others, that a sense of this distinction ruled the choice in each case, will be felt, if the passages are examined in detail, to be artificial and inadequate. Even were the case otherwise, the other variations would still remain unexplained. The statement in the *Speaker's Commentary*, i. p. 28 a, that the peculiarities of the Elohistic phraseology "have been greatly magnified, even if they exist at all," is not in accordance with the facts. See the present writer's *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.* (1891), pp. 122–128.

[q] In passages, viz. in which the Divine name is used *absolutely*. Where it has to be qualified by a genitive, or possessive pronoun (as "God of Abraham," "thy God"), *Elohim* is naturally used quite freely in J, the personal name *Jahweh*, as is well known, not admitting of being thus qualified.

[r] This is the nomenclature introduced by Wellhausen and now generally adopted (*e.g.* by Delitzsch). The author of the original source J is often called by Wellhausen the *Jahvist*, the author of E the *Elohist*, and the compiler who united the two the *Jehovist* (a name which combines the letters of JaHWeH with the vowels of ElOhIm). But it is preferable to employ symbols exclusively, using J, E, P, to denote indifferently the documents or their authors. Dillmann uses B and C for E and J respectively.

[s] The following *practical* method is recommended. In a Bible—Hebrew or English—printed, if possible, with one column in a page, let a line be drawn on the *right*-hand side of the text, along the edge of the parts assigned to J, and a similar line on the *left*-hand side of the text along the parts assigned to E: *two* lines, one on each side of the text, may then be used to indicate the parts belonging to P: additions belonging more specially to a redactor may be underlined. By this plan, a far clearer view of the structure of the narrative will be obtained than can be given by any mere tabular analysis. For those who are acquainted with German, however, all such mechanical aids have been now

§ 10. The analysis of JE, as accepted generally by critics at the present day (including in most cases Delitzsch), is exhibited in the following series of tables; the notes appended indicate—so far as the available space will permit—the general nature of the grounds upon which it rests. Minor differences of opinion and unimportant redactional additions are disregarded; but the more important cases in which the criteria are indecisive, and in which consequently opinion is not unanimous, have usually been noted. E cannot be recognised with certainty before ch. xx. (or perhaps ch. xv.).

I. Chs. i.–xi. *The beginnings of history.*

J: ii. 4 b–iii. 24; iv. 1–26; v. 29; vi. 1–4, 5–8[1]; vii. 1–5, 7–10[1] (in the main), 12, 16 b, 17, 22–23[1]; viii 2 b–3 a, 6–12, 13 b, 20–22; ix. 18–27; x. 8–19, 21, 24–30; xi. 1–9, 28–30.

[1] With slight insertions, especially in vi. 7, vii. 3, 9, 23, due to the compiler.

The rest belongs to P (§ 7), or, in a few subordinate passages, is the work of the compiler. On the question whether the parts here assigned to J are perfectly homogeneous, it must suffice to refer to Dillmann (ed. 1886), pp. 88–90, 128, 199 sq., with the references there given. In J the line of Seth has been preserved imperfectly (iv. 25 sq.); the compiler having preferred the genealogy in the form in which it was given by P (v. 1–28, 30–31), only incorporating v. 29 from J (notice the difference in style of this verse from the rest of ch. v., and the similarity in form to iv. 25, 26, as well as the reference to iii. 16 sq.). The names in these two chapters are borrowed, it is plain, from ancient popular tradition: in J this tradition is exhibited in its more primitive form; in P it has been divested of every feature in any way suggestive of what was mythical, and reduced to little more than a list of names and chronological data. In reading ch. iv. (J), it is difficult not to be reminded of the Phoenician narrative of Sanchoniathon (preserved in the Greek translation of Philo of Byblus[t]), where, in a very similar style, the origin of various institutions and inventions is connected similarly with a series of prehistoric names. The Hebrew and Phoenician narratives are both, it would seem, derived from the same cycle of old Semitic tradition.

In the account of the Flood, the main narrative is that of P, which has been enlarged by the addition of elements derived from J. Here, however, the elements contributed by J form a tolerably complete narrative, though there are omissions: *e.g.* between vi. 8 and vii. 1, of the instructions for making the ark, in place of which the compiler has preferred the account in P; and between vii. 5 and viii. 6 the extracts from J for a similar reason do not form an entirely complete narrative. The distinguishing characteristics of the two accounts are well exhibited by Delitzsch (p. 164 sq.): each is marked by a series of *recurring features* which are absent from the other, and by which it is connected with other sections of the Book belonging respectively to the same source. There are, moreover, differences of detail in the two narratives: thus the distinction between clean and unclean animals is peculiar to J; and while in J the entire duration of the Flood is 40 + (7 + 7 + 7) = 61 days (vii. 4, 12, 17; viii. 6, 10 ["*other* seven days," implying seven between *v.* 7 and *v.* 9], 12), in P it extends over a year and 11 days (vii. 11; viii. 14). The form which the tradition took in Babylonia should be compared,[u] though it cannot be maintained that the Biblical accounts are simply *borrowed* thence. In the Babylonian account (which on the whole has greater affinities with the narrative of J than with that of P), the duration is "6 days and 7 nights" + 7 days.

In ix. 20–27, some critics are of opinion that the form has been modified, and that in the original narrative Canaan, not Ham, was the author of the misdeed. Certainly the existing text (*v.* 22, compared with *v.* 25) presents a difficulty which has not been satisfactorily explained.

On ch. x. the masterly analysis of Wellhausen should be read. The scheme of P may be learnt from the passages ascribed to him in § 7: here, as elsewhere, his plan is, having dealt first with the collateral branches, to dismiss them, and so to pass on to the line which leads directly to Israel. Thus xi. 10 sq. is the natural sequel in P to x. 22–23. The parts of ch. x. not ascribed to P exhibit a different style: contrast e.g. *vv.* 21, 25, 26 with *vv.* 22, 23. *Vv.* 21, 22 are the opening words of two parallel accounts (P and J respectively) of the descendants of Shem; *vv.* 24, 25 are J's account of Eber and Peleg, parallel to P's in xi. 14–16 (cp. iv. 25, 26 J, beside v. 2–8 P). Notices in J of the nations descended from Noah have thus been combined by the final redactor with the more systematic scheme of P.

On xi. 28–30, cp. Budde [§ 14], pp. 220–223, who shows that the genealogies of J are *cast in a different mould* from those of P, and points out the similarities of expression in iv. 17–26; x. 8–19, 21, 24–30; xix. 37 sq.; xxii. 20–24; xxv. 1–6 (*e.g.* ילד [not הוליד, which is used by P] of the father, גם הוא [so besides only Judg. viii. 21], *the father of* . . ., &c.).

(Aug. 1888) superseded by *Die Genesis mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellenschriften übersetzt*, von E. Kautzsch und A. Socin (ed. 2, 1891). In this very convenient volume, by the use of different kinds of type, the literary structure of the Book is exhibited with great distinctness to the eye. Another work of similar character, but more elaborate, is B. W. Bacon's *The Genesis of Genesis* (Hartford, U.S.A., 1892). It should, however, be recollected in using either of these books (cp. below, § 12) that the distribution of parts between J C E can frequently not claim more than a *relative* probability.

[t] Quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* i. 10 (ed. Heinichen). Cp. the translation, with notes, by Lenormant, *Les Origines*, &c. [see § 14], i. 536 sqq.

[u] Schrader, *KAT.*[2], p. 46 sqq. The *Excursus* of Paul Haupt, pp. 55–79, containing a transcription and translation of the entire Babylonian narrative, is unfortunately omitted in the English translation.

II. Chs. xii.–xxvi. *Abraham and Isaac.*

J xii. 1–4a, 6–20. xiii. 1–5, 7–11a, 12b–18. xv. (mainly).[1] xvi. 1b–2, 4–14. xviii. 1–xix. 28, 30–38.
E

J xxi. 1a, 2a. xxi. 33, xxii. 15–18,
E xx.[2] 1–17, (18). xxi. 6–32a, (32b[3]). (34). xxii. 1–14. 19,,

J xxii. 20–24. xxiv.[4] xxv. 1–6, 11b, 18, 21–26a, 27–34. xxvi.[5] 1–14, (15), 16–17, (18), 19–33.[6]
E

The verses enclosed in parentheses appear to be due to the compiler of JE. The parts not included in the Table belong to P, with the exception of ch. xiv., which seems to have been taken from an independent source.

[1] Ch. xv. shows signs of composition; but the criteria are not entirely decisive, though the main narrative is generally considered to be that of J. See Wellh., *Comp.*, p. 23 sq.; Dillm. p. 242; Budde, p. 416 sqq.; Kautzsch and Socin, p. 27 sq.; B. W. Bacon in the American journal *Hebraica*, vii. (1890), 75 sq. Wellh. supposed *vv.* 1–6 to be derived (with slight modifications) from E, *vv.* 7–11, 17–18 from J; but both Kautzsch and Socin and Bacon follow Budde in recognising J in *vv.* 2a, 3b, 4, 6, if not in *v.* 1 as well.

[2] Chs. xx.–xxii. form a long section, with the exception of very few verses, entirely from E. The predominance of *God* will be noticed; the neighbouring J-sections have regularly *Jehovah*.

[3] In chs. xx. and xxi. 22, Abraham and Abimelech dwell *together:* this half-verse represents Abraham as not resident in the land of the Philistines at all. The notice is attributed to the compiler, who "transfers here the situation implied in xxvi. 23, 36 (J)." *V.* 34 seems intended as preparatory to ch. xxii., where Isaac appears as a grown-up lad.

[4] Probably with one or two glosses at the end. The strange syntax of האהלה שרה אמו, *v.* 67, is best explained by the supposition that שרה אמו is a gloss.

[5] In xxvi. 1 the words "beside . . . to Abraham" have probably been added by the compiler. *Vv.* 3b–5 (on grounds of style: see Delitzsch) appear to have been expanded or re-cast by the compiler. The same may have been the case with xxii. 15–18 (cp. Dillm.).

[6] It is probable that in chs. xxiv.–xxvi. a transposition has taken place, and that the original order was xxv. 1–6, 11b, xxiv. (where *v.* 36, for instance, presupposes xxv. 5), xxvi. 1–3a, 6–33, xxv. 21–26a, 27–34, of which ch. xxvii. is now the natural sequel.

III. Chs. xxvii.–xxxvi. *Jacob and Esau.*

J xxvii. 1–45.[1] xxviii.[2] 10, 13–16, 19, 2–14,[3]
E 11–12, 17–18, 20–22. xxix. 1, 15–23, 25–28, 30,

J xxix. 31–35. 3b–5, 7, 9–16, 20b, 24[4]–xxxi. 1,
E xxx. 1–3a (to *knees*), 6, 8, 17–20a, 20c–23,

J 3, 46, 48–50, xxxii. 3–13a (Heb. 4–14a),
E xxxi. 2, 4–18a, 19–45,[5] 47, 51–xxxii. 2 (Heb. 3).

J 22 (Heb. 23), 24–32 (Heb. 25–33). xxxiii. 1–17,
E xxxii. 13b–21 (Heb. 14b–22), 23 (Heb. 24), 18b–20.

J xxxiv.[6] 2b, 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 19, 25 (partly), 26, 30, 31. 14,[7] 21–22a.
E xxxv. 1–8, 16–20,

[1] According to some critics, with traces of E (as *vv.* 21–23 beside *vv.* 24–27; *vv.* 33–34 beside *vv.* 35–38); but it is doubtful if this opinion is correct. Cp. however B. W. Bacon, *Hebraica*, vii. 143 sqq.

[2] In ch. xxviii. the main narrative is E; *vv.* 13–16 being, as it seems (cp. the similar promise in xiii. 14–16; xii. 3), introduced from the parallel narrative of J. *V.* 17 connects with *v.* 12. It is probable that in the original context עליו in *v.* 13 meant *by him* (*i.e.* by Jacob): cp. R. V. marg., and (for the Hebrew) xviii. 2.

[3] So Dillm., Del. In the narrative of the births of Jacob's children, xxix. 31 sq., notice *God* interchanging with *Jehovah*, and the *double* etymologies, xxx. 16 and 18; 20; 23 and 24.

[4] In the narrative of the separation of Jacob and Laban (xxx. 25 sq.), it is to be observed that the two sources give a different account of the understanding with Laban, and of the manner in which Jacob evaded it (so Del.). At the same time, as it seems, each account contains notices incorporated by the compiler from the parallel narrative (see Dillm. or Del.; also Bacon, *Hebraica*, vii. 226 sqq.).

[5] In xxxi. 45 sq. there seem to be *two* accounts of the covenant between Jacob and Laban (notice that the *terms* of the covenant in *v.* 50 differ from those in *v.* 52), which have been combined by the compiler of JE, with slight additions or glosses.

[6] On this chapter, see (besides the Commentaries of Dillm. and Del.) Kuenen in the *Th. Tijdschr.* xiv. (1880), p. 257 sqq.; Wellh. in the 'Nachträge' to his *Composition*, pp. 312 sqq., 353 sq.; and Cornill in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1891, pp. 1–15. The ch. presents considerable difficulties; and the analysis is in some particulars uncertain. The two narratives differ partly in phraseology, and still more in representation. In J the entire transaction partakes of a *domestic* character: Shechem is the spokesman; his aim is the *personal* one of securing Dinah as his wife; and only the *two* sons of Jacob are engaged in the act of vengeance (cp. xlix. 6). In the other narrative, Hamor, head of the clan, is the spokesman; his aim is to secure an amalgamation between his own people and Jacob's; and "the sons of Jacob" generally, *i.e.* Israel as a whole (cp. xxxv. 5, xlviii. 22), fall upon the Shechemites. As regards the parts assigned (§ 7) to P, observe the similar phraseology in *vv.* 15b, 22b, 24b, and in xvii. 10b (P), and in *v.* 24 and xxiii. 10b, 18b (also P). It is, however, true that the passages referred above to P do not *throughout* exhibit P's characteristics; and hence Wellh. and Cornill may be right in supposing them to be based in part upon excerpts from E. That E contained some account of a conquest of Shechem by Jacob may be reasonably inferred from xxxv. 5, xlviii. 22.

[7] On this verse, see also Cornill, *l. c.* p. 15 sq.

IV. Chs. xxxvii.–l. *Joseph.*

J 12–21, 25–27, 28b (to *silver*), 31–35,
E xxxvii. 2b–11, 22–24, 28a (to *pit*), 28c–30, 36.

J xxxviii. xxxix. xlii. 38–xliv. 34.[2]
E xl.[1] xli.[1] 1–45, 47–57. xlii. 1–37. xlv.[1] 1–xlvi. 5.

J xlvi. 28–xlvii. 4, 6b,[3] 12–26, 27a (to *Goshen*), 29–31. xlix. 1b–28a. l. 1–11, 14,
E xlviii. 1–2, 8–22.[4] 15–26.

[1] With (as critics generally suppose) traces of J, as xl. 1b, 3b, 15b; xli. 14 ("and they brought him quickly from the dungeon"); xlii. 27–28; xlv. 4 ("whom ye sold into Egypt"), 5 ("that ye sold me hither"); xlv. 28.

[2] With traces of E (xliii. 14, 23b).

[3] As read in LXX., viz. (directly answering *v.* 4), "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Let them dwell in the land of Goshen; and if thou knowest that there are able men amongst them, then make them," &c. Then follow *vv.* 5, 6a (P), as given above, § 7.

[4] In the main, probably; but the two narratives cannot here be disengaged with certainty.

The grounds of the analysis of the history of Joseph must be sought in the Commentaries, or (more briefly) in the writer's *Introduction*, p. 16 sq. Stated generally, they consist partly in the fact that the *representation* in different parts of the narrative varies, partly in the occurrence of short, isolated notices, not harmonising properly with the context in which they are now found, but presupposing *different circumstances*, and hence derived presumably from a different source (cp. Delitzsch, p. 437).

In ch. xlix. the blessing of Jacob is of course incorporated by J from some earlier, independent source. It may have been in circulation either as a separate piece, or as part of a collection of national poetry.

§ 11. The sections attributed to J are justly admired as exhibiting the perfection of Hebrew historical style. In ease, fluency, and grace, they are unsurpassed: everything is told with precisely the amount of detail that is needed: picturesque and graphic, the narrative never lingers; the reader's interest is at once awakened, and sustained to the end. The contrast with the style of P is complete: compare for example ch. xvii. with chs. xviii.–xix., or ch. xxiii. with ch. xxiv. J's narrative is moreover pervaded by a fine vein of ethical and psychological discrimination; and the traditions which the author recounts become in his hands the vehicle of deep theological truths. His narrative is also instinct with a warm sense of Israel's noble spiritual possessions, and is elevated by a lofty and vivid consciousness of the august future reserved for it (see the series *b* of promises, quoted in § 3: in *a*, belonging to P, the outlook is limited to *Israel itself*, its position as a medium of extending salvation to the world being disregarded). The style of E is nearly equal to that of J, but does not perhaps display quite the same power or delicacy of touch. Such material differences as it exhibits, when compared as a whole with J, will be noticed under the article PENTATEUCH.

§ 12. That P and JE form two clearly definable, independent sources is a conclusion that may be accepted without hesitation. As regards the analysis of JE, the criteria are fewer and less definite; and no doubt the same confidence that the points of demarcation have been rightly assigned, cannot in all cases be felt. But the indications that the narrative is not homogeneous seem unmistakable; and the uncertainty which sometimes exists as to the exact limits of the sources employed will be seen to be not greater than is natural, when it is considered that the differences between them are less numerous and prominent than in the case of P, and that the compiler appears to have made it his aim to unite them as effectually as possible into an organic whole. But it is right to distinguish between degrees of probability, and to recollect that that which attaches to the distinction of J and E is seldom so great as that attaching to the distinction of P from JE, and that there are passages of JE in the analysis of which (as critics themselves universally admit)[v] certainty is not attainable.

§ 13. As regards the process by which the Book of Genesis reached its present form, the opinions of critics differ. Dillmann supposes that the compiler to whom the Book owes its present form found J, E, and P as three distinct documents, which he combined together, making such omissions and modifications as were necessary. But this would be a complicated work for a single author to accomplish: J and E, moreover, appear to be welded together more intimately than either is with P. Hence the view of Wellhausen and others is more probable, that the combination was effected in *two* stages: first, J and E were united together; afterwards, the whole thus formed (JE) was combined with P by another hand. The method followed in the combination of J and E has been indicated above (§ 9). The compiler who united JE with P adopted P as his framework, and fitted JE into it, making in either such omissions as were necessary in order to avoid needless repetition, and incorporating ch. xiv. from a special source, but otherwise making little or no change except such redactional adjustments as the unity of his work required. Thus he naturally assigned i. 1–ii. 3 the first place, at the same time (perhaps) removing ii. 4a from its original position as superscription to i. 1, and placing it where it now stands. In appending next from J the narrative of Paradise, he changed (as it seems) *Jahweh* into *Jahweh Elohim*, for the purpose of identifying expressly the Author of life in ii. 4b–iii. 24, with God, the Creator, in i. 1–ii. 4a. Still following J, he incorporated from it the history of Cain and his descendants, but rejected the list of Seth's descendants

[v] See *e.g.* Wellh. *Comp.* pp. 32, 35, 37; Kuenen, *Hex.* § 8. 5; Kautzsch and Socin (ed. 2), pp. xl. (cp. xiii.), 58, 88.

(which J must clearly have contained), except the first two names, and the etymology of Noah, in favour (v. 1–28, 30–32) of the genealogy and chronological details of P. In vi. 1–ix. 17 he combines into one the double narrative of the Flood, preserving, however, more from both the parallel accounts than was usually his practice, and in parts slightly modifying the phraseology. The close of Noah's life (ix. 28 sq.) from P naturally follows the incident ix. 20–27 from JE. Ch. x., the Table of nations, embodies particulars taken from both sources; it is succeeded by the account in JE of the dispersion of mankind (xi. 1–9). The history of Israel's ancestors is now resumed. Ch. xi. 10–26 carries on the line from Shem to Terah, from P: xi. 27–32 states particulars respecting Terah's family, especially Abram, derived partly from P, partly from JE, and necessary as an introduction to the fuller details of Abram's life, which follow in ch. xii., &c. *Mutatis mutandis*, a similar method was followed by him in the rest of the Book. The narrative of Genesis, though composite, is constructed in accordance with a definite plan, to which the final compiler (who is the true "author" of the book in its existing form) has accommodated all the details which he has introduced.

§ 14. LITERATURE. Exegetical:—Fr. Tuch (Halle, 1838; ed. 2, with preface [critical] by Ad. Merx, Halle, 1871); F. Delitzsch, ed. 1, 1852; ed. 5, under the title *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis*, Leipzig, 1887 [translated: T. and T. Clark]; C. F. Keil, ed. 3, Leipzig, 1878; M. Kalisch, London, 1858; A. Knobel (in the *Kurzgefasstes Exeg. Handbuch*), ed. 1, 1852; ed. 3–5 (re-written) by A. Dillmann, 1875, 1882, 1886. Also in J. P. Lange's *Theol.-homil. Bibelwerk* (ed. 2, by Lange, 1877); in Ed. Reuss, *La Bible*, Traduction nouvelle avec introductions et commentaires, tom. i. Paris, 1879; in the *Speaker's Commentary* (by E. H. Browne, afterwards Bishop of Winchester); in the Commentary edited by Bishop Ellicott (by R. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury); in the *Pulpit Commentary* by T. Whitelaw; in the *Expositor's Bible* by Marcus Dods.

The most masterly and complete of these are those of Dillmann and Delitzsch, which include all necessary references to recent critical and archaeological literature (prior to 1886–7).

Critical:—H. Hupfeld, *Die Quellen der Genesis*, 1853; Th. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.*, 1869 [fixes the limits of P]; J. Wellhausen, "Die Composition des Hexateuchs" in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi., xxii. (1876–7) [xxi. 392–450 on Genesis], reprinted (a) in *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, ii. (1885); (b) together with matter contributed by the same writer to his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung*, published in 1878, on the structure of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, in *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des A. T.'s*, 1889; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels* [translated under the title *History of Israel*], ed. 3, 1886, esp. ch. viii.; K. Budde, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. i.–xii. 5), 1883; A. Kuenen, articles in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Leiden, 1880, p. 257 sq. (on Gen. xxxiv.), 1884, p. 121 sq. (criticism of Budde's work), and his *Hist.-critisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (ed. 2), i. 1, 1885 [translated under the title *The Hexateuch*, London, 1886]; R. Kittel, *Gesch. der Hebräer*, i. ("Quellenkunde und Geschichte der Zeit bis zum Tode Josuas"), 1888; Kautzsch and Socin (above, § 9, note); W. R. Harper in the American journal *Hebraica*, Oct. 1888, p. 18 sqq., July 1889, p. 243 sqq., Oct. 1889, p. 1 sqq., with the criticisms of W. H. Green, *ib.* Jan.–April 1889, p. 137 sqq., Jan.–March 1890, p. 109 sqq., April 1890, p. 161 sqq. Special shorter articles or dissertations are mentioned by Dillmann, p. xxi. sq. (and elsewhere).

Miscellaneous:—On the *cosmogony* of Genesis: Ewald, *Erklärung der Bibl. Urgeschichte* in the *Jahrbücher der Bibl. Wissenschaft*, i. (1849), 76–94 (Gen. i.), ii. 132–165 (Gen. ii.–iii.), iii. 108–115; and in *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott* (esp. vol. iii. § 231 sq.); Ed. Riehm, *Der Bibl. Schöpfungsbericht*, Halle, 1881 (a lecture, illustrating the permanent religious value of the narrative); Otto Zöcklèr, *Gesch. der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft*, 2 vols. 1877–9 (exhaustive), more briefly in his art. "Schöpfung" in Herzog's *PRE.*², xiii. (1884), pp. 629–49; T. K. Cheyne, art. "Cosmogony" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁹; F. H. Reusch, *Bibel und Natur* (translated); S. R. Driver, "The Cosmogony of Genesis" in *The Expositor*, Jan. 1886, p. 23 sqq., with the references; C. Pritchard, in *Occasional Thoughts of an Astronomer*, 1890, p. 257 sqq. The *Phoenician* cosmogony (§ 10) may be read most conveniently in Heinichen's *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, i. 10, to be compared with the translation in Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible et les Traditions des Peuples Orientaux*,² Paris, 1880–84, i. p. 536 sqq.

The Babylonian account of the *Creation* and *Deluge* may be seen in G. Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 1876 (ed. 2 by A. H. Sayce, 1880; in German by Friedrich Delitzsch [with notes], 1876); in Lenormant, *l. c.* pp. 493 sqq., 601 sqq.; in Schrader's *KAT.*², 1883 [in English, London, 1885; but see note ᵗ, § 10]; that of the Creation also in *Records of the Past*, second series, i. (1888), p. 133 sqq. (translated by A. H. Sayce); p. 149 sqq. (another version).

The *archaeology* of Genesis, from i. 1 to x. 3 (at which point the author's labours were interrupted by his death), is treated, almost with superabundant illustration and research, by Fr. Lenormant in the work just referred to. See also G. Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Mose's*, i. [all that has appeared: deals only with Genesis], 1868; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 1881; A. Dillmann, "Ueber die Herkunft der Urgeschichtlichen Sagen der Hebräer," in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kön.-Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1882, p. 427 sq. (translated in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, New York, July 1883); and on the interpretation of Gen. xlix. 10, S. R. Driver, *Gen. xlix. 10: An Exegetical Study*, in the Cambridge *Journal of Philology*, xiv. (1885), pp. 1–28.

The *text* of Genesis, except in a very few passages (as xvi. 13, xx. 16 b, xli. 56), has been handed down in great purity. The principal variants in the versions are noted by Dillmann:

see also the same author's *Beiträge aus dem Buch der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes* in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kön.-Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1883, pp. 323–340. [S. R. D.]

GENNESAR, WATER OF (*τὰ ὕδατα τὰ Γεννησάρα*; *aqua Genesar*), 1 Macc. xi. 67: cp. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 7. [GENNESARET, SEA OF.]

GENNESARET, LAND OF (*ἡ γῆ Γεννησαρέτ*; *terra Genesar, terra Genesareth*). After the miracle of feeding the five thousand, our Lord and His disciples crossed over the lake of Gennesaret and "came into the land of Gennesaret," or (R. V.) "came to the land unto Gennesaret" (Matt. xiv. 34; Mark vi. 54). It is generally believed that this term was applied to the fertile crescent-shaped plain on the western shore of the lake, extending from *Khân Minyeh* on the north to the steep hill behind *Mejdel* on the south, and called by the Arabs *el-Ghuweir*, "the little Ghor." The description given by Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 8) would apply admirably to this plain. He says that along the lake of Gennesaret there extends a region of the same name, of marvellous nature and beauty. The soil was so rich that every plant flourished, and the air so temperate that trees of the most opposite natures grew side by side. The hardy walnut, which delighted in cold, grew there luxuriantly; there were the palm-trees that were nourished by heat, and fig-trees and olives beside them, that required a more temperate climate. Grapes and figs were found during ten months of the year. The plain was watered by a most excellent spring, called by the natives Capharnaum, which was thought by some to be a vein of the Nile, because a fish was found there closely resembling the *coracinus* of the lake near Alexandria. The length of the plain along the shore of the lake was thirty stadia, and its breadth twenty. Making every allowance for the colouring given by the historian to his description, and for the neglected condition of *el-Ghuweir* at the present day, there are still left sufficient points of resemblance between the two to justify their being identified. The length of the plain from *'Ain et-Tineh* to *Mejdel* is 3 miles, or, if the small adjoining plain of *et-Tâbghah* be included, 3½ miles; and its greatest breadth is 1¼ miles. There are two springs: the *'Ain et-Tineh*, near *Khân Minyeh*, which is close to the lake, and only a few inches above its level; and the *'Ain el-Mudauwarah*, "Round Fountain," which is about half a mile from the lake, and one mile from *Mejdel*. Three streams issuing from *W. 'Amûd*, *W. er-Rubudîyeh*, and *W. el-Hamâm*, cross the plain and help to fertilise it. The *'Ain et-Tineh*, from its low level and slight head of water, could never have been utilised for irrigation; and the "Round Fountain," from its position and size, could only have irrigated a very small portion of the plain. Neither of these fountains could therefore have been the Capharnaum of Josephus, which is said to have watered the plain throughout (*διάρδεται*). This could, however, have been effected by the waters of *'Ain et-Tâbghah*, which were carried into the plain, by a remarkable aqueduct, at an altitude sufficient to irrigate it throughout its whole extent. This spring, the largest in Galilee, rises to the surface with great force in the plain of *et-Tâbghah*, about half a mile from Gennesaret, and, wherever Capernaum may be placed, is almost certainly the fountain called by Josephus Capharnaum. At the northern extremity of the plain, *el-Ghuweir*, are the mounds of *Minyeh*, and at its southern end is *Mejdel*, Magdala; on the shore of the lake are several mounds of rubbish, and on the slope of the hills, which rise somewhat abruptly, are shapeless ruins, all perhaps marking the sites of some of those towns and villages in which Christ taught. The soil of the plain, enriched by the scourings of the basaltic hills, is surprisingly fertile; and the shore, fringed by a thick jungle of thorn and oleander in which birds of brilliant plumage find a home, is broken into bays of exquisite beauty. Burckhardt tells us that the pastures of *Khân Minyeh* are proverbial for their richness (*Syria*, p. 319); and the fertility and beauty of the plain have been remarked upon by nearly every traveller (see Stanley, *S. & P.* ch. x.; Robinson, iii. 282 sq.; Thomson, *L. and B.* p. 347 sq.; Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 350; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 207; Sepp, ii. 232).

In the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (ii. 290–308) Mr. Thrupp has endeavoured to show that the land of Gennesaret was not *el-Ghuweir*, but the fertile plain *el-Batihah*, on the north-eastern side of the lake. The dimensions of this plain and the character of its soil and productions correspond with the description given by Josephus of the land of Gennesaret; but it is very swampy near the lake, and has no spring corresponding to the Capharnaum of Josephus. It is also perfectly clear, from an examination of the narrative in the Gospels, that Capernaum (which was certainly west of Jordan) and Gennesaret were close together on the same side of the lake. [CAPERNAUM; BETHSAIDA.]

Additional interest is given to the land of Gennesaret, or *el-Ghuweir*, by the probability that its scenery suggested the parable of the Sower. It is admirably described by Dean Stanley: "There was the undulating corn-field descending to the water's edge. There was the trodden pathway running through the midst of it, with no fence or hedge to prevent the seed from falling here and there on either side of it, or upon it; itself hard with the constant tramp of horse and mule and human feet. There was the 'good' rich soil, which distinguishes the whole of that plain and its neighbourhood from the bare hills elsewhere descending into the lake, and which, where there is no interruption, produces one vast mass of corn. There was the rocky ground of the hillside protruding here and there through the corn-fields, as elsewhere through the grassy slopes. There were the large bushes of thorn—the '*Nabk*,' that kind of which tradition says that the Crown of Thorns was woven—springing up, like the fruit-trees of the more inland parts, in the very midst of the waving wheat" (*S. & P.* p. 426).

[W. A. W.] [W.]

GENNESARET, SEA OF (*λίμνην Γεννησαρέτ*, Luke v. 1), one of the names of the well-known SEA OF GALILEE (Matt. iv. 18; Mark vii. 31; John vi. 1) or SEA OF TIBERIAS (John vi. 1), a sweet-water lake through which the river Jordan flows. The name has been

thought to be connected with the older title, SEA OF CHINNERETH or of CHINNEROTH (Num. xxxiv. 11; Josh. xii. 3), and with the town of that name (Josh. xix. 35), but this is uncertain, nor is it known certainly that Chinneroth is a Semitic word. The "plains south of Chinneroth" (Josh. xii. 3) are probably those surrounding the Jordan south of the lake. According to Gesenius (*Lex.*), the Hebrew form of the name Gennesaret would be גנסר. In Talmudic notices (cp. Neubauer, *Géog. Tal.* p. 215), the name is spelt גינוסר or גניסר and identified with Kinnereth (Tal. Jer. *Megillah*, i. 1). The Midrash (*Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 98) translates Gennesaret "Prince's Garden," which would be the natural rendering in both Hebrew and Assyrian. The fruits of this region were much prized in the times when the writers in question were living near the lake (2nd to 5th cent. A.D.) The Rabbis applied the Bible words "blessing of God" to this region (*Siphre*, end). The region, though not often mentioned in the Bible, was famous for its fertility, and well known not only to Josephus (see especially *Wars*, iii. 10, § 8), but also to classic writers (Strabo, xvi.; Pliny, v. 16; Ptol. v. 15), and in every succeeding age it has been a place of pilgrimage, and its natural productions have been described by Moslem as well as by Christian authors.

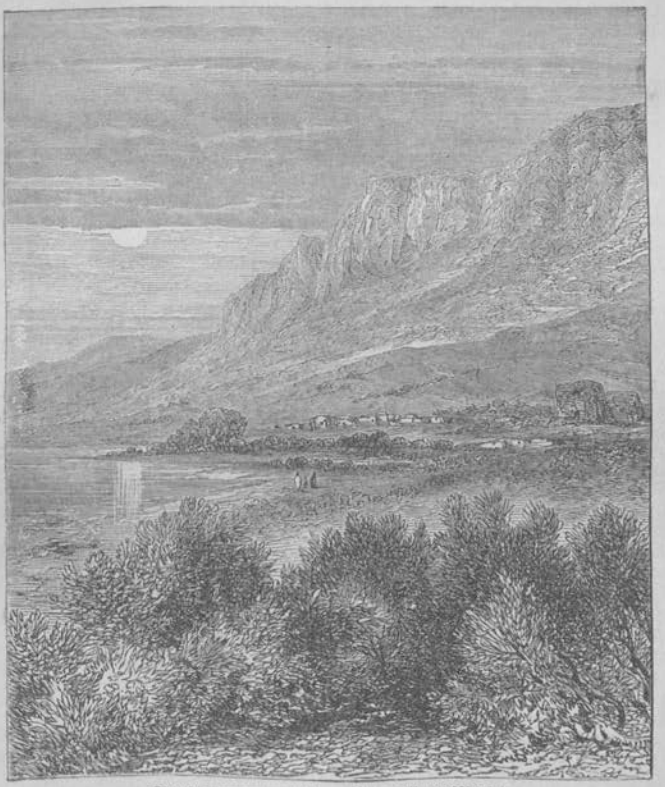
Sea of Gennesaret or Galilee.

Josephus describes the shores of the lake, within a century of the time when it was the scene of many incidents in the life of Christ, and before the time when Tiberias on its shores became the seat of the Sanhedrin, and the centre of Jewish life, after the destruction of Jerusalem. He gives the dimensions of the lake as 140 furlongs by 40, and speaks of the sweet water and numerous fish. The land of Gennesaret near the lake was fertile, and many trees—such as the walnut, palm, fig, and olive—grew near the shores. Vines also were cultivated, the air was of good temperature, and the plain was watered by the spring of Capernaum. Titus, at the time of which Josephus is speaking, had constructed a fleet on the lake, for the attack of Tarichaeae at the south end of the same; and although at the present time there are only one or two boats on the lake, there were ships on its waters in the 10th and 12th centuries A.D.

The lake lay between the territory of Manasseh in Bashan and of Naphtali west of Jordan, as has been shown by the recent discovery of certain towns of Naphtali on the plateau west of Tiberias. The Talmudic commentators say the same (Tal. Bab. *Baba Kama*, 81 b, quoted by Reland, *Pal.* i. p. 259), and in the same treatise (80 b) fishing in the waters of the Tiberias (ימה של טבריה) is noticed. Pliny (v. 16) gives a short but clear account (quoted by Reland, *Pal.* i. p. 440) under the name Lake of Genesera. He makes it 16 miles long and 6 miles wide. On the east he says were Julias and Hippos; on the south Tarichaeae, whence the lake itself was sometimes named; on the west Tiberias, with salubrious hot springs. In Ptolemy's geography it is also called Τιβέριας λίμην.

The lake is a natural basin, pear-shaped and surrounded with limestone cliffs, except on the north and north-west, where steep slopes lead down from the mountains of Naphtali, and from the plains of Lower Galilee, respectively. A narrow strip of flat ground occurs on either side, and on the north-west enlarges into the small plain of Gennesaret, now only tilled in a few patches and covered with brushwood, measuring 3 miles by 1¼ mile, and watered by the springs in the western hills and by the "Round Fountain" (*'Ain el Madŏwarah*) in the plain itself. The soil is a rich basaltic loam. [GENNESARET, LAND OF.] The north shore of the lake is rocky, and indented with small coves. The plain of the Batihah, east of the Jordan, at the north-east corner of the lake, is larger than that of Gennesaret, measuring about 3 miles along the shore, with an extreme width of 1½ mile. It is very swampy, with a rich basaltic soil, and watered by several streams, that of Wâdy Hejâj being larger than either of the Gennesaret streams (Sir C. W. Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 368). The name of the ruin of *Mes'adiyeh* in this plain may be thought to preserve that of Bethsaida Julias, though not at the ancient site [see BETHSAIDA]. A considerable cultivation is described in this plain by Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 411), similar to that of the Gennesaret vale, and the nomad Arab tribes here possess large herds of buffaloes. The Jordan enters the lake on the north, and has there formed a small delta. The greatest depth of water in the concave basin, according to the measurements of Lieut. Lynch, is 165 feet (Report, p. 15; cp. Rob. *Bib. Res.* ii. 417). The average height of the plateau east of the lake is about 1200 feet above the Mediterranean, and that on the west about 1000 feet. The level of the lake itself is 680 feet below that of the Mediterranean, as determined by a line of levels run by the surveyors of Palestine. The cliffs are precipitous and rugged, but the scenery of the lake is somewhat featureless, and not so wild as that of the Dead Sea. Its more picturesque effects are due to the colours of the sunset or of the storm. The general colouring in summer is white or dusky brown, but in spring the vegetation covers the slopes with

green. On the north the ground is strewn with basaltic débris. The actual length is 12½ miles north and south by 8 miles at its widest part east and west. The cultivation on the shores has much decreased.[a] In the plain of Gennesaret corn and indigo are grown; there are a few palms at Kefr Arjib, east of the lake, near Magdala and Tiberias, and a grove at the south end of the lake. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 388) mentions maize, wheat, barley, millet, tobacco, melons, grapes, gourds, cucumbers, and a few vegetables, the melons being especially fine; rice was also grown (p. 402). The greater extent of shore is now however wild, the ground covered in spring with gigantic thistles and, near the springs, with oleanders. The papyrus is also found in the swampy ground, where some of the springs run into the lake. The waters are still full of fish of various kinds, resembling bream and perch, and the famous coracinus or sheat fish, to which Josephus refers. These fish, caught in nets or by poisoning bread crumbs with bichloride of mercury, are fully described by Dr. Tristram (*PEF. Mem.* and *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 285); they resemble the Nile fishes, and are found also in the Jordan. The shoals are very numerous, and fourteen species have been identified, two of which are very common, viz. *Chromis Nilotica* and *Clarias macrocanthus*:



Sea of Gennesaret or Galilee, with the village of Magdala.

three other species of the African genus *Hemichromis* seem to be peculiar to the lake. The *coracinus* or sheat fish is the second of those named, and is said to occur in the Round Fountain as well as in the lake. Mediaeval legends as to these fishes occur in several tractates, but are more curious than valuable.

The chief inhabited site is the town of Tiberias, founded (or rebuilt) by Herod Antipas. South of this are the famous hot springs, which probably mark the site of HAMMON (1 Ch. vi. 76), or HAMMATH (Josh. xix. 35): the distance from Tiberias is only 1½ miles. The springs have an average temperature of 137° Fahr., and are said to have greatly increased in temperature and in volume at the time of the great earthquake of Safed in 1837.

At the south end of the lake towards the west and close to the Jordan outlet was Tarichaeae, the ruins of which still exist, almost surrounded with water, at *Kerak*.

[a] Sugar-canes are mentioned by El Mukaddasi (10th cent. A.D.) at Tiberias, with palm-trees and the *nabk* fruit, as well as manufactures of carpets, paper, and cloth. There were then boats on the lake. The climate was considered unhealthy; the hot baths were, however, much reputed for the cure of skin diseases. In the 12th century there were mills near Magdala, and the owners had fishing rights in the lake (*Cod. Dipl.* 1, No. 156). Tiberias was then a walled town and capital of the district.

On the slopes further west was Sinnabris (*Senn-en-nabrah*), mentioned by Josephus in connexion with the Jordan (*Wars*, iii. 9, § 7; iv. 8, § 2). On the east shore Gamala (*el Hosn*) stood on the cliffs, and Hippos (*Sûsieh*) has recently been fixed at a ruin 2 miles east of the lake shore, and a mile west of *Fik* (Aphek). Further north a small ruined mound, called *Kersa*, on the narrow plain at the foot of the slopes, is supposed to mark the city of the GERGESENES (Matt. viii. 28; cp. Mark v. 1). Chorazin, on the slopes north of the Sea of Galilee, is a well-known site, but opinion differs as to CAPERNAUM. Some writers, following Robinson, place it close to the "Figtree Spring" at the ruin of *Minyeh*, near the little cliff, pierced by an ancient cutting at the north end of the plain of Gennesaret, near the shore. This opinion seems to gather support from mediaeval Jewish tradition. Other authors accept the Christian tradition, which since the 4th century has always placed Capernaum at *Tell Hûm*. Between these two sites, which are 2½ miles apart, are the five fine springs called *Et Tâbghah*, with ruined mills, and a reservoir whence they were fed. This appears to be the Migdol Tseboia of the Talmud, "the dyer's tower" (Tal. Jer. *Taanith*, iv. 8: cp. Neubauer, *Géog. Tal.* p. 217). It is possible that the curious water towers at this site, and at Magdala, may have had some connexion with the art of dyeing, which was a common Jewish occupation in later times.

The sites so noticed are ruinous, but in the plain of Gennesaret there is a small hamlet containing three or four families of Algerines, who till the plain. It is called *Abu Shûsheh*, from its sacred shrine. It does not appear to be an ancient site. At the south end of the plain is *Mejdel* (Magdala), a mud village of about 80 inhabitants, with palms and ruined mills, and cultivation to the north.

The population of Tiberias is reckoned only at 2,000 to 3,000 souls, including the Jews (about 200), the Christians, and the Moslems. Thus the decay of cultivation in this region is no doubt mainly due to decay in population. The existence of ruins of no less than nine small towns, on or near the shore, is evidence of the former prosperity of the region. The climate is now extremely hot in summer and mild in winter, owing to the depression and to the surrounding rocks; but if we may judge from the frequent notice of fevers and other diseases among the population of this region, which recur in the Gospel narratives, the climate cannot have been very different in the time of Christ from that of our times, although irrigation and cultivation may have decreased the power of the malaria, now prevalent in the swampy ground near the springs.

The vicinity of the lake is subject to sudden storms, such as are mentioned in the Gospels (Matt. viii. 24, xiv. 24; Mark iv. 37, vi. 48; Luke viii. 23; John vi. 18), blowing down from the western gorges. These occur in spring and early summer, as well as in autumn and winter, and are sometimes induced by the great heat in the lake basin. Such a storm has been described by Sir Charles Wilson (*Recov. of Jerus.* p. 340), in a series of papers which give the fullest extant account of the whole lake. The region surrounding the lake is also subject to earthquakes, and the hot springs of Tiberias and Gadara, together with the basalt fields north and west of the valley, are evidence of volcanic forces which are still working beneath the surface, and which in pre-historic times were very powerful. Monumental notices of the Sea of Galilee are confined to the slight reference in the *Travels of a Mohar* (or Egyptian official), who in the 14th century B.C. appears to have reached its shores from the west, and to have travelled down to the Jordan valley past Tarichaeae. The region lay apart from the main highways of war and commerce, and its most prosperous period was perhaps in the 2nd century A.D., when the Jews gathered round the famous school of the Mishnaic Rabbis, and when synagogues and other buildings were erected in the towns on the shore. The earliest inscriptions in Greek and in Hebrew, found in the vicinity, belong to this peaceful period, and the opinion of architectural authorities attributes the well-known synagogues of *Tell Hûm*, Chorazin, and others to this age. The earliest remains are, however, the scattered dolmens on the hills to the north, and the old stone circle (*Ahjar en-Nasâra*) on the plateau to the west—relics probably of Canaanite idolatry. The traditional scenes of various events in the life of Christ shown near the lake, have not been continuously fixed at any site, and vary in different ages. They cannot, therefore, be considered to possess authority.[b] [C. R. C.]

GENNEUS (T.[1] Γενναῖος, A. Γεννεός; *Gennaeus*), father of Apollonius, who was one of several generals (στρατηγοί) commanding towns in Palestine, who molested the Jews while Lysias was governor for Antiochus Eupator (2 Macc. xii. 2). Luther understands the word as an adjective (γενναῖος = well-born), and has "des edlen Apollonius."

GENTILES. I. *Old Testament.*—The Hebrew גּוֹי in sing. = a people, nation, body politic; in which sense it is applied to the Jewish nation amongst others. In the pl. it acquires an ethnographic and also an invidious meaning, and is rendered in A. V. by Gentiles and Heathen.

גּוֹיִם, the nations, the surrounding nations, *foreigners* as opposed to Israel (Neh. v. 8). In Gen. x. 5 it occurs in its most indefinite sense = the far-distant inhabitants of the Western Isles (see Dillmann[2] and Delitzsch [1887]), without the slightest accessory notion of heathenism or barbarism. In Lev., Deut., Pss. the term is applied to the various heathen nations with which Israel came into contact; its meaning grows wider in proportion to the wider circle of the national experience, and more or less invidious according to the success or defeat of the national arms. In the Prophets it attains at once its most comprehensive and its most hostile view: hostile in presence of victorious rivals, comprehensive with reference to the triumphs of a spiritual future (cp. Schultz,[4]

[b] A legend current among Jews and Moslems predicts that Messiah will rise from the Sea of Gennesaret. It bears a curious resemblance to the old Persian legend of a future prophet who is to be born in a legendary lake in the East.

Alttest. Theologie, p. 745 sq., and [with caution] Cheyne, *The Origin of the Psalter*, p. 291 sq. and notes).

Notwithstanding the disagreeable connotation of the term, the Jews were able to use it, even in the plural, in a purely technical, geographical sense. So Gen. x. 5 (see above); Is. ix. 1. In Gen. xiv. 1, Josh. xii. 23, גּוֹיִם is by R. V. and most moderns taken as the name of a land, "Goiim" (cp. Delitzsch and Dillmann[5] on Gen. *l. c.*, though Dillmann[3] prefers "nations," in Josh. *l. c.*).

For "Galilee of the Gentiles," cp. Matt. iv. 15 with Is. ix. 1, where the A. V. and R. V. (text) read "Galilee of the nations." In Heb. גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם means the "circle of the Gentiles;" *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, הַגָּלִיל, hag-Gālīl; whence the name Galilee was applied to a district which was largely peopled by the Gentiles, especially the Phoenicians.

II. *New Testament.*—1. The Greek *ἔθνος* in sing. means a people or nation (Matt. xxiv. 7; Acts ii. 5, &c.), and even the Jewish people (Luke vii. 5, xxiii. 2, &c.; cp. גּוֹי, supr.). It is only in the pl. that it is used for the Heb. גּוֹיִם, heathen, Gentiles (cp. *ἔθνος*, heathen, ethnic): in Matt. xxi. 43 *ἔθνει*, "nation," alludes to, but does not directly stand for, "the Gentiles." As equivalent to Gentiles it is found in the Epistles of St. Paul, but not always in an invidious sense (*e.g.* Rom. xi. 13; Eph. iii. 1, 6).

2. Ἕλλην, John vii. 35, *ἡ διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, "the Jews dispersed among the Gentiles" (R. V. "the Dispersion among [marg. *of*] the Greeks"); Rom. iii. 9, *Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας*, "Jews and Gentiles" (R. V. "Greeks").

The A. V. is not consistent in its treatment of this word; sometimes rendering it by *Greek* (Acts xiv. 1, xvii. 4; Rom. i. 16, x. 12), sometimes by *Gentile* (Rom. ii. 9, 10, iii. 9; 1 Cor. x. 32), inserting Greek in the margin. The R. V. translates it always "Greek" (see Thoms, *Concordance to the R. V. of the N. T.*, s. n.). The places where Ἕλλην is equivalent to Greek simply (as Acts xvi. 1, 3) are much fewer than those where it is equivalent to Gentile. The former may probably be reduced to Acts xvi. 1, 3, xviii. 17; Rom. i. 14. The latter use of the word seems to have arisen from the almost universal adoption of the Greek language. Even in 2 Macc. iv. 13, Ἑλληνισμὸς appears as synonymous with ἀλλοφυλισμός (cp. vi. 9); and in Is. ix. 12 the LXX. renders פְּלִשְׁתִּים by Ἕλληνας; and so the Greek Fathers defended the Christian faith *πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, and *κατὰ Ἑλλήνων*. [GREEK; HEATHEN.] [T. E. B.]

GENU'BATH (גְּנֻבַת; Γανηβάθ; *Genubath*), the son of Hadad, an Edomite of the royal family, by an Egyptian princess, the sister of Tahpenes, the queen of the Pharaoh who governed Egypt in the latter part of the reign of David (1 K. xi. 20; cp. *v.* 16). Genubath was born in the palace of Pharaoh, and weaned by the queen herself; after which he became a member of the royal establishment, on the same footing as one of the sons of Pharaoh. The fragment of Edomite chronicle in which this is contained is very remarkable, and may be compared with that in Gen. xxxvi. Genubath is not again mentioned or alluded to. The meaning of the name has been variously traced to an Egyptian source, and is given as "curly" or "the Southern" or "the Pûnite" (*PBSA.* x. 372). [F.]

GE'ON (Γηών; *Gehon*), i.e. GIHON, one of the four rivers of Eden; introduced, with the Jordan, and probably the Nile, into a figure in the praise of wisdom (Ecclus. xxiv. 27). This is merely the Greek form of the Hebrew name, the same which is used by the LXX. in Gen. ii. 13.

GE'RA (גֵּרָא, ? = *little weight*; Γηρά), one of the "sons," *i.e.* descendants, of Benjamin, enumerated in Gen. xlvi. 21, as already living at the time of Jacob's migration into Egypt. He was son of Bela (1 Ch. viii. 3). [BELA.] The text of this last passage is very corrupt; and the different Geras there named seem to reduce themselves into one,—the same as the son of Bela. Gera, who is named in Judg. iii. 15 as the ancestor of Ehud, and in 2 Sam. xvi. 5 as the ancestor of Shimei who cursed David [BECHER], is probably also the same person. Gera is not mentioned in the list of Benjamite families in Num. xxvi. 38–40; of which a very obvious explanation is that at that time he was not the head of a separate family, but was included among the Belaites; it being a matter of necessity that some of Bela's sons should be so included, otherwise there could be no family of Belaites at all. Dr. Kalisch has some long and rather perplexed observations on the discrepancies in the lists in Gen. xlvi. and Num. xxvi., and specially as regards the sons of Benjamin. But the truth is that the two lists agree very well so far as Benjamin is concerned. For the only discrepancy that remains, when the absence of Becher and Gera from the list in Num. is thus explained, is that for the two names אֲחִי and רֹאשׁ (Ehi and Rosh) in Gen., we have the one name אֲחִירָם (Ahiram) in Num. If this last were written רָאם, as it might be, the two texts would be almost identical, especially if written in the Samaritan character, in which the *shin* closely resembles the *mem*. That Ahiram is right we are quite sure, from the family of the Ahiramites, and from the non-mention elsewhere of Rosh, which in fact is not a proper name. [ROSH.] The conclusion therefore seems certain that אֲחִי וְרֹאשׁ in Gen. is a mere clerical error [Delitzsch (1887) and Dillmann[5] leave the matter untouched], and that there is perfect agreement between the two lists. This view is strengthened by the further fact that in the word which follows Rosh, viz. Muppim, the initial *m* is an error for *sh*. It should be Shuppim, as in Num. xxvi. 39; 1 Ch. vii. 12. The final *m* of *Ahiram*, and the initial *sh* of *Shuppim*, have thus been transposed. To the remarks made under BECHER, it should be added that the great destruction of the Benjamites recorded in Judg. xx. may account for the introduction of so many new names in the later Benjamite lists of 1 Ch. vii. and viii., of which several seem to be women's names. [A. C. H.]

GERAH. [MEASURES.]

GERA'R (גְּרָר; Γεραρά. The name is rendered "sojourning" by Simonis, and "water-

pots" by Gesenius, *Lex.*; the modern Arabic name of the site is خربة ام جرار, apparently "ruin of the pottery maker" [*Khurbet Umm Jerrâr*], from جرة, pl. جرار, "a water-pot."

There is much pottery at the site. It is, however, doubtful if this is the original meaning of the Hebrew name). Gerar is first mentioned (Gen. x. 19) with Gaza as being on the S.W. border of Palestine; then as a place where Abraham "sojourned" (גר), apparently after he had "dwelt" (ישב) in the Negeb or "dry" country, between Kadesh and Shur (Gen. xx. 1). At this time it was the abode of Abimelech, the Philistine king (Gen. xxvi. 1), and Isaac dwelt in Gerar (*v.* 6) and sowed corn, and dug again wells in the valley (נחל, "a torrent bed") of Gerar, which had been previously dug (חפר) by Abraham (*v.* 18), to which he gave the names Esek and Sitnah, "contention" and "enmity." His further retreat from the pastoral lands of the Philistines was to Rehoboth and Beersheba. In a later age we read that Asa, after defeating the Ethiopians (Cushites) at Mareshah (in *Wâdy Sâfieh* or Zephathah, close to Beit Jibrîn), pursued them to Gerar (2 Ch. xiv. 13, 14). Yet later we find the Gerrhenians, or people of Gerar, mentioned as defining the limit of the power of Judas Maccabaeus on the south (2 Macc. xiii. 24). In most of the Biblical passages the Samaritan Version reads "Ascalon" for Gerar, and the Arabic الخلوصة (*Khalûsa* or Elusa: cp. Reland, *Pal.* ii. p. 805), showing that the ancient site of Gerar was unknown to these copyists. The Targum of Jonathan also substitutes *Arad*. Nevertheless the name was known to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 12, § 1; viii. 12, § 1), and the *Onomasticon* in the 4th cent. A.D. refers to Gerara as being 25 miles south of Eleutheropolis, in the region called Geraritica, beyond Daroma. Geraritica seems to be noticed in the Talmud (גרריקו), Tal. Jer. *Shebiith*, vi. 1; Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 46; Targ. Jon. on Gen. xx. 1; Neubauer, *Géog. Tal.* p. 65) as an unhealthy region near the "river of Egypt." It was inhabited by Gentiles, excepting the Jews at Gaza. Sozomen (*Hist.* lib. vi. 32, quoted by Reland, *Pal.* ii. p. 805) says that there was a large monastery and a very great torrent at Gerar. With exception of the distance given by Eusebius, these indications are not very exact, but they all agree in pointing to the region S.E. of Gaza, on the way to the Negeb or "dry" land south of Beersheba, and on the border of the Egyptian desert, in the S.E. corner of the Philistine country. This is exactly where the ruined site (*Khurbet Umm Jerrâr*) has been found, on the right bank of the great torrent-bed of Wâdy Ghuzzeh, which flows N.W. to fall into the sea about 4 miles south of Gaza. The distance from this site of Gerar to Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrîn) is actually 30 English miles; but this may be considered as approximately representing the estimated distance in the *Onomasticon*. There are no stone wells such as occur at Beersheba, but water is easily obtained by digging *Hufeiyir*, "pits," in the torrent-bed. These are easily filled in and require to be redug, thus not only illustrating the redigging of Abraham's wells by Isaac, but preserving the same word, used in the Hebrew narrative, for "digging" the shallow water-pits for the flocks, necessitated by the fact that the water flows beneath the surface of the shingly bed of the torrent. The ruins consist of a large mound, the site of a good-sized town: about a dozen cisterns or granaries of rubble, with domed roofs, exist among the débris; a few fragments of glass and tesserae were observed, and on the sides of the torrent-bed a thickness of six or ten feet of broken pottery, half buried. The pottery is hard and red, and probably not very ancient. The country round is a pastoral plain, with water only in the great courses which run down from Beersheba, by Gerar, to the sea. The region generally is much like that round Beersheba, and well fitted for the pastoral nomadic life of the Hebrew patriarchs; yet not incapable of producing a crop of corn such as Isaac reaped. The life of the neighbouring Arabs—mainly pastoral, yet not without some attempt at agriculture—represents that of the Patriarchs (see *Mem. Survey West Pal.* iii. 389). [C. R. C.]

GER'ASA (Γέρασα; Arab. *Jerâsh*, جراش). This famous town is not mentioned in the Bible, but in Mark v. 1 the R. V. reads "Gerasenes" for the "Gadarenes" of the A. V., referring to the inhabitants of the district of which Gerasa was the capital. This change is made on the authority of the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. and Codex Bezae. In Matt. viii. 28 the Sinaitic MS. reads "Gazarenes" for "Gadarenes." There was evidently a confusion made by copyists between Gadara and Gerasa, and Origen points out (see Reland, *Pal.* ii. p. 806) that the latter is too far from the Sea of Galilee to be the site intended in the Gospel, although the reading in the majority of the MSS. known to him appears to have been Gerasenes in Matt. viii. 28. The meaning of the name is probably "plain" or "pasture" (see Gesen. *Lex.*), and there are several sites in Palestine east and west of Jordan where it recurs as *Jerâsh* in the modern nomenclature of ruined sites.

The earliest historic notice of Gerasa is found in Josephus in the time of Alexander Jannaeus, about 85 B.C. (*Wars*, i. 4, § 8). Marching from Pella near the Jordan valley, the Hasmonean king penetrated S.E. to this remote town, already a strong place, and built a triple siege-work round it, taking it finally by assault. In the time of Josephus the town marked the limits of Peraea, or the country beyond Jordan on the side of the desert (*Wars*, iii. 3, § 3). In the Talmudic writings Gerash (גרש) is made equivalent to Gilead (Midrash on Samuel, ch. xiii.; Neubauer, *Géog. Tal.* p. 250). The city was well known in the 4th cent., and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 158, 29, s. v. Gergasi) calls it *urbs insignis Arabiae*. It had risen from its ashes in the 2nd century A.D.—the time of its greatest prosperity—after having been set on fire by Lucius Annius during the war of Vespasian against the Jews (*Wars*,

iv. 9, § 1). The Jews themselves (*Wars*, ii. 18, § 1) had wasted this region just before the war in revenge for the massacres at Caesarea, and the population is called "Syrian" by Josephus, being no doubt Aramean.* Pliny appears to refer to Gerasa in the form Galasa, as now read (v. 18), in enumerating towns of the region of Gilead and Bashan; and Epiphanius (*Adv. Haeres.* book ii.) speaks of the spring in the city of Gerasa of Arabia. Stephanus (*Ethnic.*) says that it belonged to the region of the fourteen cities (perhaps meaning Decapolis) in Syria, and was the home of Ariston Rhetor. Iamblichus, who mentions it with Bostra, says it was colonised by the veterans of Alexander the Great. Jerome (*ad Obad.* 1) says that the region of Gerasa was the ancient Gilead (cp. Reland, *Pal.* ii. 806). Coins of Gerasa are said by Reland to exist, bearing the legend ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ, showing the worship of Artemis in the temple here erected in the 2nd century A.D. The town however became Christian, and its bishops attended the Great Councils of the Church. In the 10th century El Mukaddasi speaks of the region Jebel Jarâsh as being full of villages in trade relation with Tiberias. Baldwin II. early in the 12th century (1121 A.D.) besieged Jarras, and the chronicler speaks of its strong site and the mighty masonry of its walls. William of Tyre, describing this siege, makes the distance a few miles (leagues) from the Jordan (*Hist.* xii. ch. 16): the town was then fortified by a garrison sent by the Sultan of Damascus; but as the latest buildings in Gerasa belong to the Byzantine period, it would appear never to have been inhabited by any settled Moslem population. In the 13th century Yâkût, who had not seen it, describes the site as once a *mighty* city, but "now a total ruin." A river however turned several mills, and the mountains round contained many villages. Jerash, he says, had been conquered in the time of Omar (Le Strange, *Pal. under Moslems*, p. 462). The importance of Gerasa is, however, attested by its ruins rather than by any historic notices of the site. In respect of these Roman remains it is perhaps the most interesting example in Syria of the great works of the Antonines (140–180 A.D.), presenting even more variety than Palmyra, and being also more purely Roman. Surpassing Philadelphia and Gadara, and laying before our eyes the complete plan of a Roman colonial city, with no later additions save a church close to the great Temple, it stands as it was left by the shock of earthquake or after the fierce assault of the followers of Omar.

The site is on the uplands of Gilead, 18 miles east of the Jordan and 5 miles north of the Jabbok, at an elevation of about 1700 feet above the Mediterranean, near the border of the Syrian desert. The town lies across a flat valley with low hills of grey limestone, the summits of which are occupied by the walls on the east and west. A perennial brook in a sunken bed divides the town into two unequal portions, the largest to the west, and flows south in a bright stream, with a cascade close to the south wall. The course is surrounded with oleanders, but the hills are bare, with a little scrub of oak and mastic in places. Corn is also grown on the slopes by the villagers of Sûf, the nearest inhabited place. Approaching from the south, scattered sarcophagi, a triumphal arch, and a great basin 230 yards by 100 yards, surrounded with tiers of stone seats, are first seen. This latter structure is the *naumachia* or circus for naval contests, once filled from the stream. The city gate is a quarter of a mile to the north. The area of the walls, which are traceable on all sides with six gates, has been over-estimated: according to Kiepert's plan, it is not quite 3,000 yards, enclosing a polygon. Within the walls the main street of columns runs parallel to the stream on the west; the circular forum or peribolos being on the south, close to a theatre and a temple. The great temple occupies the western slope near the centre of the western quarter. A second theatre exists further north; and a third temple, east of the stream, in the N.E. corner of the town. A basilica or judgment hall faces the great temple, east of the main street; and north of this, close to the stream, are the baths. Two main streets run across the stream, that from the basilica having a bridge with ruts carefully cut for chariot wheels. Another large public building stands in the east quarter, near the stream, between the two streets. The size of the buildings may be judged from that of the pillars of the southern temple, which are 38 feet in height and 4½ in diameter. In the basilica is a fine red granite pillar shaft, which must have been brought from Egypt or from Sinai. The site was carefully explored by Burckhardt, who copied most of the inscriptions. Of these ten are known, one having the name of Antonius. As usual in Syria, the Romans have used the Greek language and character. Two texts near the ruined foundations of the church (immediately south of the great temple) are of special interest, as they refer to the establishment of Christianity and the discontinuance of the pagan worship. The shorter is a memorial of a certain Ἀεθλοφόρος or "victor"—a term which is sometimes applied to Christian champions or martyrs—named Theodorus. "His body," says the poet, "is in the earth, but his soul in the wide heaven." This text is in hexameters and marked with the Cross: the date is probably about the 5th century A.D. The second and longer text, in 13 hexameter lines, was carved by a priest named Aeneas (see translation in Conder's *Palestine*, 1889, p. 181), and relates that the clouds of darkness having been dispelled by the grace of God, the sign of the Cross has been substituted for the evil odour of the sacrifices formerly offered here. The region round Jerash was one of the earliest to accept Christianity, but the text above mentioned is the most important yet discovered in connexion with the abolition of pagan rites in Syria. Gerasa was no doubt an important trading centre, communicating with the Haurân, and with the southern cities of Gilead as well as with the west. It shared the fate of all the cities east of Jordan, and ceased to be inhabited when the Arabs overthrew the Byzantine power. The best accounts are in Burckhardt's and

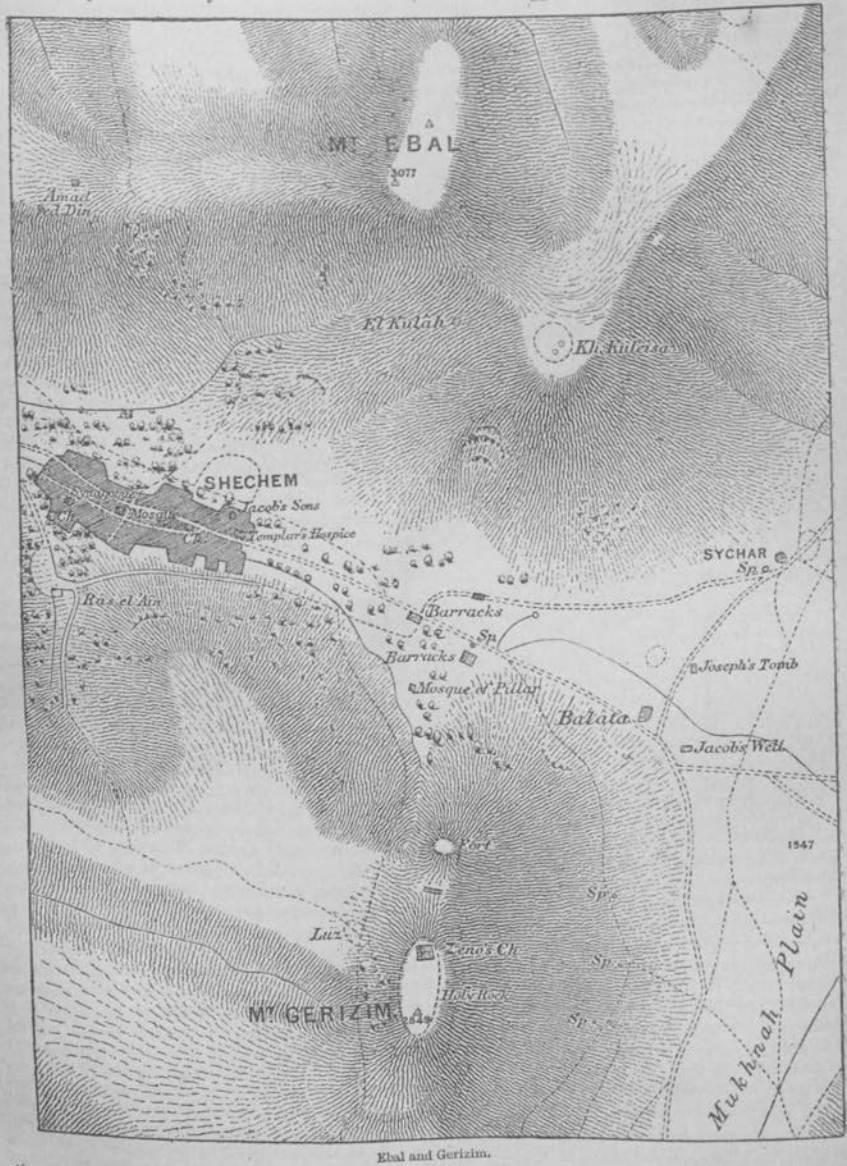
* Since, in the passage referring to the attack by Annius, Jericho is said to have been held by the Romans, it does not seem necessary to adopt Reland's reading, Gazara (Gezer) for Gerasa; but the criticism is worthy of notice.

Buckingham's Travels. It was visited by the present writer in 1882, but would repay a more complete exploration than has yet been attempted. [C. R. C.]

GERGESE'NES, Matt. viii. 28. [GADARA.]

GERGESI'TES, THE (οἱ Γεργεσαίοι; Vulg. omits), Judith v. 16. [GIRGASHITES.]

GERIZ'IM (הַר גְּרִזִים; Γαριζίν). The name is doubtfully translated by Gesenius "Mount of the Gerizites," but cannot well be connected with the tribe of Girzites (otherwise Gezrites or people of Gezer) in Philistia (1 Sam. xxvii. 8). The root גָּרַז in Hebrew and Arabic means "to cut off" or "separate;" and since no definite article is used, the term may refer rather to the features of the mountain than to any ethnical name: compare the Arabic جرز, "barren land" or "unwatered." The ruggedness of Gerizim suggests that the true meaning is



Ebal and Gerizim.

"mountain of the barren places." The position of Ebal and Gerizim is defined, with unusual detail, in the first passage in which the name occurs (Deut. xi. 30; R. V.): "Are they not beyond Jordan, behind (or in the western parts of) the way of the going down of the sun, in the land

of the Canaanites, which dwell in the Arabah ('plain' or 'desert') over against the Gilgal, near the plains (or terebinths) of Moreh?" Yet this account has been understood by Eusebius and Jerome to refer to a site near Jericho. It is notable, however, that the extreme horizon ("behind the sunset") is clearly intended as viewed from the region east of Jordan, whence the two mountains are almost hidden by the chain to their immediate east. This would not agree with any site in or near the Jordan valley. The blessing was to be set (or "given forth") on Gerizim, though the altar, according to the Hebrew Version, was to be built on (or at) Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 4, 12). The tribes were to stand half on one mountain and half on the other. According to the Samaritans, who charge the Jews with altering the text, the altar was to be erected on (or "at") Gerizim, the "mount of the blessing." It is not however to be supposed that the summits of the mountains are intended, for in the passage which records the ceremony (Josh. viii. 33) the tribes are said to have stood "in front" (מוּל) of either mountain, probably on the lower slopes, which are separated by a distance of only half a mile. Much that has been written as to the difficulty of hearing the words spoken by the priests standing between the two divisions of the people, is quite unnecessary, in view of the precise meaning of the Hebrew words. The natural amphitheatre of hill-slopes is well fitted for the retention of the voice, but no unusual clearness of the air marks the spot, nor is any such required by the Bible account. The space is sufficient for a large national assembly, and the phonetic difficulty is only that which is found in every open-air assembly.

The clearest notice of the position of Gerizim is found in a later passage (Judg. ix. 7), when Jotham addressed the men of Shechem from the top of the mountain. In the New Testament also (John iv. 20, 21), the Samaritan woman, speaking at Jacob's well, clearly refers to Gerizim as the mountain close by, where the Samaritans worshipped. It is therefore to be regarded as certain that the mountain south of the vale of Shechem is that called Gerizim in the Bible.

The question whether Gerizim is the mountain intended in Genesis (xxii. 2) as the scene of Abraham's sacrifice of his son is quite distinct. It is described as in the "land of Moriah" (מֹרִיָּה), which has been connected with the Moreh near Shechem (Gen. xii. 6; Deut. xi. 30), which was either a "plain" (A. V.) or a group of "oaks" or terebinths (R. V.); but it should be noticed that Moriah was the name of the Temple hill (מוֹרִיָּה), according to the author of the Second Book of Chronicles (iii. 1), and Josephus believed that the Temple mountain was the scene of this sacrifice (*Ant.* i. 13, § 2). The Samaritan tradition identifies it with Gerizim, and Dean Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 235) has argued in favour of this view. The distance from Beersheba does not absolutely forbid such an identification, since Gerizim can be seen at some considerable distance (Gen. xxii. 4); but there appears to be no very conclusive reason for preferring the Samaritan to the Jewish tradition on this point.

The summit of Gerizim was probably a sacred place at a very early period, like the summits of many other mountains in Palestine—such as Carmel, Olivet, &c.; but we have no account of any temple or altar on the mountain in the Bible. Josephus states that Sanballat, the Horonite, allied by marriage to the high-priest Jaddua, built for his son-in-law, Manasseh, a temple on Gerizim (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 4); but the difficulty arises that Josephus dates this event in the time of Alexander the Great, whereas the Sanballat of the O. T. lived in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 28), nearly a century earlier; and however old Sanballat may have been, the two accounts can hardly be reconciled. The whole of Josephus' account of the Samaritan history is marked by strong prejudice; but he clearly identifies Gerizim as the mountain near Shechem (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 6). In a later passage (*Ant.* xiii. 3, § 4) the dispute before Ptolemy Philometor, between Jews and Samaritans, as to the comparative antiquity of their temples, is narrated. The peculiar views of Eusebius and Jerome as to the position of Gerizim and Ebal were also probably due to Jewish influence. In the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 253, 79; 158, 4) they identify these mountains with two hills near Jericho, and reject the Samaritan statement that they were near Shechem, with the words *sed vehementer errant;* which, however, applies to themselves. That their view was not generally received is clear, since the Bordeaux Pilgrim in the same century places Gerizim at Shechem; and this is also always the view of every pilgrim or chronicler who mentions the mountain later. Eusebius himself (*Praep. Evang.* ix. 22) quotes lines from Theodotus which accurately describe the true position. Procopius of Caesarea, describing the works of Justinian on the mountain, also places it near Shechem (*De Aedif.* v. 7).

In conclusion of the question as to the Samaritan temple, it is remarkable that, in the Gospel, no allusion is made to its existence. The fathers are merely said to have worshipped "in this mountain" (John iv. 20). As, however, John Hyrcanus, in 129 B.C., made an expedition into Samaria, where he is said to have caused the temple on Gerizim to be deserted (*Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1, 10, § 2; *Wars*, i. 2, § 6), it is possible that it may have been in ruins in the time of Christ. The coins of Neapolis are believed to represent a temple on Gerizim, but Robinson has expressed his doubt (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 293) whether more than an altar existed on the mountain. During the war against Vespasian (Josephus, *Wars*, iii. 7, § 32) the Samaritans endeavoured to resist the Romans on Gerizim, but the latter held apparently the springs at the foot of the mountain, and the defenders submitted, worn out by heat and want of water and of food. In 474 A.D. the Emperor Zeno built the church still to be seen on the summit, to which Justinian added a fortress in the next century. This church was seized by the Samaritans under the leadership of a woman in 529 A.D., the third year of Justinian's reign, but a cruel retribution fell on the rioters, and it appears that for a time all access to the mountain was denied them.

The Samaritan accounts of their history are all unfortunately very late, being written in the Middle Ages. Gerizim was the centre of their faith, round which were clustered many traditional sites. Joseph's tomb, Jacob's well, the sepulchres of Joshua and of the sons of Aaron

were all near to the mountain, on which in all ages, from the time when they became a distinct sect, they appear to have shown the site of Abraham's sacrifice, and to have held their Passover feast. Here, too, they believed that Joshua set up the Tabernacle, and afterwards built a temple. The site of Bethel was also shown as early as the 4th century A.D. on the mountain, and is still so placed by the Samaritans. The Samaritan "Book of Joshua" is a legendary work of the 13th cent. A.D. (Juynboll, Leyden, 1848), founded on earlier materials. It cannot be relied on except in so far as it shows Samaritan beliefs. According to this work, written in Arabic, all Israel gathered thrice a year on Gerizim, where a temple was erected (ch. xxiv.), on the altar of which only could sacrifices be made (ch. xxxviii.). On Gerizim, in the time of the Judges, the sacred vessels were hidden in a cave (ch. xlii.), where the Samaritans believe them still to lie hid. In the days of the Persians the re-erection of this temple was permitted, the Jews were defeated in their contention in favour of Jerusalem, and repented, all Israel worshipping on Gerizim (ch. xlv.). Alexander the Great acknowledged Gerizim to be the true centre of worship (ch. xlvi.); Hadrian brought the brazen doors of the Jerusalem Temple to the shrine which he built on Gerizim (ch. xlvii.). At this time many of the sacred books were lost. The Romans placed a guard on the mountain, and a magic bird of brass warned them of the approach of any Samaritan (ch. xlviii.): this appears to have been destroyed in a riot under Baba Rabba (ch. l.). Among the articles of Samaritan belief (see Nutt, *Samaritan Hist.* p. 67), the sanctity of Gerizim is one of the most distinctive. It is regarded as the abode of God on earth, the home of eternal life, "the Mount of Blessings," "the Everlasting hill," "the Stone of Israel": above it is Paradise; here Adam and Seth raised altars, and seven steps led to Noah's altar; here were the "twelve stones" on which the Law was inscribed, the high-priest's house, and the cave of Makkedah. Gerizim, they say, is the highest mountain in the world (though Ebal is 200 feet higher), and Gerizim alone was not covered by the Flood.

Among mediaeval writers Benjamin of Tudela is one of the very few who describe the Samaritans. He mentions an altar on Gerizim (in 1163 A.D.), where they offered sacrifice, made from the stones taken by Israel from Jordan. The mountain, he says, was rich in wells and orchards (which applies only to its N.W. slopes), whereas Ebal was barren, which applies to the southern side of the mountain. Sir John Maundeville (1322) speaks of the sacrifices, and of the tradition of Abraham's sacrifice. Maundrell (1697 A.D.) speaks of "a small temple or place of worship," and of the Samaritan assertion that Joshua's altar was built on Gerizim. He also regards the latter as more fruitful than Ebal. The other Jewish pilgrims whose itineraries are known refer only in a cursory manner to the mountain. According to Crusading tradition, both Dan and Bethel were on or near Gerizim, and the calves set up by Jeroboam stood on the mountain, or on Ebal and Gerizim (Marino Sanuto, 14th cent.); but these opinions have no historic value. If any temple was really built on Gerizim, it would appear to have been an unimportant edifice, soon destroyed, and of which no remains are recognisable at the present time.

The fullest account of Gerizim is to be found in the *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine* (vol. ii. sheet xi. pp. 168–9, 187–93), as explored in 1866, 1872, 1875, and 1882. The mountain is one of the highest in Palestine south of Galilee, rising to a small plateau, half a mile in length north and south, and presenting steep slopes on the north and east, while long spurs run out on the other sides—the whole forming a remarkable block of rugged limestone, which, as seen from the western plains or from the plateau east of Jordan, is conspicuous among the surrounding mountains. The extreme height is 2,800 feet above the Mediterranean, and about 1200 above the vale of Shechem, which lies to the north, dividing Gerizim from Ebal, while on the east is the plain of El Mukhnah ("the camp") stretching to the hills on the east, which hide the Jordan valley. This plain is often identified with Moreh (already mentioned), and the border of Ephraim appears to have run along its west side at the foot of Gerizim. The mountain consists of hard and very rough limestone, the lower part dolomitic, the upper of nummulitic beds, found also on Ebal, but not common in Palestine, except at considerable elevations. There are two excellent springs on the east, near the foot of the slope, and on the north is the 'Ain Balâta (to be noticed later), and further west, beneath the lower spur, the fine fountain called Râs el 'Ain. Near the northern springs occur gardens with olives, figs, pomegranates, and cactus, which are picturesque in contrast with the utter barrenness of the rocks which rise above them. A peculiar knoll, north of the main summit, is clearly artificial, in part at least. The white marl, which overlies the dolomite, appears at the foot of Gerizim on the south-east. The plain to the east, and the vale of Shechem, present a contrast to the mountain, being very fertile and well cultivated, and the springs and gardens of Shechem itself are celebrated among Syrians.

The view from the summit is one of the most extensive and remarkable in Palestine (see *Tent Work in Palestine*, chap. ii.). On the north it is blocked by the superior height of Ebal; beneath are seen the buildings and gardens of Shechem. On the east the hills of Gilead appear; above the nearer tops east of the plain of the Mukhnah. On the south are the mountains round Shiloh. On the west a large part of the plain of Sharon appears, beyond the foot hills, which are dotted with olive-groves and villages, and the Mediterranean forms the horizon beyond the yellow sand dunes. Caesarea can be seen on this side, and further north the hills beyond Samaria and the distant range of Carmel.

One of the most remarkable sites connected with Gerizim is "the Mosque of the pillar" (*Jami'a el 'Amûd*) at the foot of the mountain, half a mile from the village of Balâta. There appears to have been a sacred Samaritan shrine in this vicinity, known in later times as "the Holy Oak" or "the Tree of Grace"—possibly the oak of Moreh already mentioned. The name Balâta is perhaps a corruption of this title (*Ballût*, "oak"), since Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 140, 15) speaks of Balanus as the "oak of Shechem" (Judg. ix. 6), and as near Joseph's tomb. This

was the place where Abimelech was proclaimed, at the foot of the holy mountain, and the Samaritan tradition appears to connect the site with the oak by the "sanctuary of Jehovah" (Josh. xxiv. 26), and with the oak mentioned yet earlier in the story of Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 6). The name "Mosque of the pillar" no doubt commemorates the pillar, or "erect stone," beside which the Shechemites made their king under the oak; but this shrine cannot be the site of Joshua's altar "at" Ebal, unless we take the Samaritan view as to the alteration of the text, and suppose that the sanctuary was really at the foot of Gerizim.

Immediately north of the summit of the mountain are the ruins of *Lôzeh* or Luz—the place where the Samaritans celebrate the Passover. This name is also of some antiquity. Samaritan tradition makes it the site of Bethel, where Jacob dreamed. In the *Onomasticon* it is mentioned as Luza near Shechem (*OS.*[2] p. 167, 14). The ruins consist merely of dry stone walls, with the trench for roasting the Paschal lambs, a large stone on which the high-priest stands, and places for boiling water and skinning the sacrifice. The Holy Rock of the Samaritans is a limestone stratum on the very summit, overlooking the eastern slope. It trends naturally to the north-west, and has a pit or cave on this side, over which the Tabernacle is believed to have stood. The rock measures 50 feet either way, with a low dry-stone fence to mark its limits. There is a well-marked artificial "cup hollow" in this rock, such as so frequently occur at pre-historic sanctuaries or "earth-fast rocks." It is said to mark the site of the laver in the court of the Tabernacle.* East of the rock are the "seven steps" (of Noah's altar or of Adam's descent from Eden), and on the south-east corner of the plateau forming the summit of the mountain is a small trench in the rock—the supposed site of Abraham's altar. The "twelve stones" are rudely-shaped blocks in a foundation wall of three or four courses. They are not of great size, and the date of the platform so formed is uncertain. There are many small praying places, fenced with stones, round the sacred rock, but no clear indications of any important building.

The Christian ruins near the north end of the plateau include Zeno's octagonal church, with an apse to the east, and six side chapels with smaller apses; round which church rises Justinian's square fortress—180 feet N. and S. by 230 feet E. and W.—formed of drafted masonry, such as was used in Byzantine times. A modern shrine on the north-east tower of the fortress is called Sheikh Ghânim, or, by the Samaritans, the tomb of Shechem ben Hamor. North of the fortress is a reservoir, 120 feet by 60 feet, to supply water, there being none on the summit: this also is Byzantine work. Procopius says that the church was dedicated to the Virgin, and was fortified in consequence of the Samaritan attack upon it: the original wall round it was a mere dry stone fence, but the fort of Justinian rendered it impregnable. The artificial knoll—perhaps a Roman guard station—has already been noticed: a vallum protected it on the side of the summit, and a strong building, 53 feet square, stood on the knoll.

To the Arab population Gerizim is known only as *Jebel et Tôr*, a common name for isolated summits. To the Samaritans it is best known as "the Mount of the Blessing." [C. R. C.]

GERI'ZITES, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. [GERZITES.]

GERRHE'NIANS, THE (ἕως τῶν Γερρηνῶν, A. Γεννηρῶν; *ad Gerrenos*), named in 2 Macc. xiii. 24 only, as one limit of the district committed by Antiochus Eupator to the government of Judas Maccabaeus, the other limit being Ptolemais (Accho). To judge by the similar expression in defining the extent of Simon's government in 1 Macc. xi. 59, the specification has reference to the sea-coast of Palestine, and, from the nature of the case, the Gerrhenians, wherever they were, must have been south of Ptolemais. Grotius seems to have been the first to suggest that the town Gerrhon or Gerrha was intended, which lay between Pelusium and Rhinocolura (*Wâdy el-'Arish*). But, it has been pointed out by Ewald (*Geschichte*, iv. 365, note) that the coast as far north as the latter place was at that time in possession of Egypt, and he thereon conjectures that the inhabitants of the ancient city of GERAR, S.E. of Gaza, the residence of Abraham and Isaac, are meant. In support of this Grimm (*Kurzg. Handb.* ad loc.) mentions that at least one MS. reads Γεραρηνῶν, which would without difficulty be corrupted to Γερρηνῶν.

It seems to have been overlooked that the Syriac Version (early, and entitled to much respect) has Gāzār (ܓܙܪ). By this may be intended either (*a*) the ancient GEZER, now *Tell Jezer*, S.E. of *er-Ramleh*; or (*b*) Gaza, which sometimes takes that form in these books. In the latter case the government of Judaea would contain the whole coast of Palestine; and this is most probably correct. [G.] [W.]

GERSHOM (in the earlier books גֵּרְשֹׁם, in Ch. generally גֵּרְשׁוֹם). **1.** (in Ex. Γηρσάμ; in Judg. xxx. B. Γηρσόμ, and A. Γηρσώμ; Joseph. Γῆρσος; *Gersom, Gersan.*) The first-born son of Moses and Zipporah (Ex. ii. 22; xviii. 3). The name is explained in these passages as if גֵּר שָׁם (*Gēr shām*)="a stranger there," in allusion to Moses' being a foreigner in Midian—"For he said, I have been a stranger (*Gēr*) in a foreign land." This signification is adopted by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 13, § 1), and also by the LXX. in the form of the name which they give—Γηρσάμ; but according to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 306*b*), its true meaning, taking it as a Hebrew word, is "expulsion," from a root גָּרַשׁ, being only another form of GERSHON (see also Fürst, *Handwb.*). The circumcision of Gershom is probably related in Ex. iv. 25. He does not appear again in the history in his own person, but he was the founder of a family of which more than one of the members are mentioned later. (*a.*) One of these was a remarkable person — "Jonathan the son of Gershom," the "young man the Levite," whom we first encounter on the way from Bethlehem-Judah to Micah's house at Mount Ephraim

* The Samaritan Chronicle, however (*Journal Asiatique*, Dec. 1869, p. 435), places the site of the Tabernacle and temple at Luz.

(Judg. xvii. 7), and who subsequently became the first priest to the irregular worship of the tribe of Dan (xviii. 30, B. Γηρσόμ; A. Γερσώμ). The change of the name "Moses" in this passage, as it originally stood in the Hebrew text, to "Manasseh," as it now stands both in the Text and the A. V. (R. V. has "Moses"; *marg.* Manasseh), is explained under MANASSEH. (*b.*) But at least one of the other branches of the family preserved its allegiance to Jehovah, for when the courses of the Levites were settled by king David, "the sons of Moses the man of God" received honourable prominence, and SHEBUEL, chief of the sons of Gershom, was appointed ruler (נָגִיד) of the treasures (1 Ch. xxiii. 15–17; xxvi. 24–28).

2. The form under which the name GERSHON—the eldest son of Levi—is given in several passages of Chronicles, viz. 1 Ch. vi. 16, 17, 20, 43, 62, 71; xv. 7. The Hebrew is almost alternately גֵּרְשֹׁם and גֵּרְשׁוֹם; the LXX. have different renderings of the name; B. Γεδσών, A. Γηρσών; Vulg. *Gerson* and *Gersom*.

3. (גֵּרְשֹׁם; BA. Γηρσώμ; *Gersom.*) The representative of the priestly family of Phinehas, among those who accompanied Ezra from Babylon (Ezra viii. 2). In Esdras the name is GERSON. [G.] [W.]

GERSHON (גֵּרְשׁוֹן; in Gen. Γηρσών, in other books uniformly Γεδσών; and so also A. with three exceptions; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7, § 4, Γηρσόμης), the eldest of the three sons of Levi, born before the descent of Jacob's family into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 11; Ex. vi. 16). But though the eldest born, the families of Gershon were outstripped in fame by their younger brethren of Kohath, from whom sprang Moses and the priestly line of Aaron.[a] Gershon's sons were LIBNI and SHIMI (Ex. vi. 17; Num. iii. 18, 21; 1 Ch. vi. 17), and their families were duly recognised in the reign of David, when the permanent arrangements for the service of Jehovah were made (1 Ch. xxiii. 7–11). At this time Gershon was represented by the famous Asaph "the seer," whose genealogy is given in 1 Ch. vi. 39–43, and also in part, *vv.* 20, 21. The family is mentioned once again as taking part in the reforms of king Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 12, where it should be observed that the sons of Asaph are reckoned as distinct from the Gershonites). At the census in the wilderness of Sinai the whole number of the males of the Bene-Gershon was 7,500 (Num. iii. 22), midway between the Kohathites and the Merarites. At the same date the efficient men were 2,630 (iv. 40). On the occasion of the second census the numbers of the Levites are given only in gross (Num. xxvi. 62). The sons of Gershon had charge of the fabrics of the Tabernacle—the coverings, curtains, hangings, and cords (Num. iii. 25, 26; iv. 25, 26); for the transport of these they had two covered wagons and four oxen (vii. 3, 7). In the encampment their station was behind (אַחֲרֵי) the Tabernacle, on the west side (Num. iii. 23). When on the march, they went with the Merarites in the rear of the first body of three tribes—Judah, Issachar, Zebulun—with Reuben behind them. In the apportionment of the Levitical cities, thirteen fell to the lot of the Gershonites. These were in the northern tribes—two in Manasseh beyond Jordan; four in Issachar; four in Asher; and three in Naphtali. All of these are said to have possessed "suburbs," and two were cities of refuge (Josh. xxi. 27–33; 1 Ch. vi. 62, 71–76). It is not easy to see what special duties fell to the lot of the Gershonites in the service of the Tabernacle after its erection at Jerusalem, or in the Temple. The sons of Jeduthun "prophesied with a harp," and the sons of Heman "lifted up the horn," but for the sons of Asaph no instrument is mentioned (1 Ch. xxv. 1–5). They were appointed to "prophesy" (that is, probably, to utter or sing inspired words, נִבָּא), perhaps after the special prompting of David himself (xxv. 2). Others of the Gershonites, sons of Laadan, had charge of the "treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the holy things" (xxvi. 20–22), among which precious stones are specially named (xxix. 8).

In Chronicles the name is, with two exceptions (1 Ch. vi. 1, xxxiii. 6), given in the slightly different form of Gershom [GERSHOM, 2]. See also GERSHONITES. [G.] [W.]

GERSHONITES, THE (הַגֵּרְשֻׁנִּי, *i.e.* the Gershunnite; B. ὁ Γεδσών, ὁ Γεδσωνί; υἱοι Γεδσωνί; A. [sometimes] Γηρσών), the family descended from GERSHON or GERSHOM, the son of Levi (Num. iii. 21, 23, 24; iv. 24, 27; xxvi. 57; Josh. xxi. 33; 1 Ch. xxiii. 7; 2 Ch. xxix. 12).

"THE GERSHONITE," as applied to individuals, occurs in 1 Ch. xxvi. 21 (Laadan), xxix. 8 (Jehiel). [G.]

GER'SON (Γήρσων; *Gersomus*), 1 Esd. viii. 29. [GERSHOM, 3.]

GER'ZITES, THE (הַגִּרְזִי or הַגִּרְזִי [Ges. *Thes.* p. 301], the Girzite, or the Gerizzite; B. omits, A. τὸν Γεζραῖον; *Gerzi* and *Gezri*, but in his *Quaest. Hebr.* Jerome has *Getri*; Syr. and Arab. *Godola*), a tribe who with the Geshurites and the Amalekites occupied the land between the south of Palestine[a] and Egypt in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xxvii. 8). They were rich in Bedawi treasures—"sheep, oxen, asses, camels, and apparel" (*v.* 9; cp. xv. 3; 1 Ch. vi. 21). The name is not found in the text of the A. V., but only in the margin (R. V., on the other hand, has "Girzites" in the text and *Gizrites* in the margin). This arises from its having been corrected by the Masorets (*Keri*) into GIZRITES, which form our translators have

[a] See an instance of this in 1 Ch. vi. 2–15, where the line of Kohath is given, to the exclusion of the other two families.

[a] The LXX. (B) has rendered the passage referred to as follows:—καὶ ἰδου ἡ γῆ κατῳκεῖτο ἀπὸ ἀνηκόντων (? = מֵעוֹלָם) ἢ ἀπὸ Γελαμψούρ (A. Γελαμσούρ), τετειχισμένον καὶ ἕως γῆς Αἰγύπτου. The word *Gelamsour* may be a corruption of the Hebrew *meolam . . Shurah* (? = מֵעוֹלָם + שׁוּר, A. V. "of old . . to Shur"). Some cursive MSS. read Τελάμ (מִמְּטוּלָם for מֵעוֹלָם), a place in the south-east of Judah (Josh. xv. 24), which bore a prominent part in a former attack on the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 4); and this reading is more satisfactory (cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* l. c.).

adopted in the text. The change is supported by the Targum, and by A. as above. There is not, however, any apparent reason for relinquishing the older form of the name, the interest of which lies in its possible connexion with that of Mount Gerizim. In the name of that ancient mountain we have perhaps the only remaining trace of the presence of this old tribe of Bedawîn in Central Palestine. They appear to have occupied it at a very early period, and to have relinquished it in company with the Amalekites, who left their name attached to a mountain in the same locality (Judg. xii. 15), when they abandoned that rich district for the less fertile but freer South. Other tribes, as the Avvim and the Zemarites, also left traces of their presence in the names of towns of the central district (see AVVIM, and p. 395, n. [c]).

The connexion between the Gerizites and Mount Gerizim appears to have been first suggested by Gesenius. It has been since adopted by Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 237, note). Gesenius interprets the name as "dwellers in the dry, barren country." [GERIZIM.] [G.] [W.]

GE'SEM, THE LAND OF (γῆ Γεσέμ; *terra Jesse*), the Greek form of the Hebrew name GOSHEN (Judith i. 9; Syr. Goshen).

GE'SHAM (גֶּשָׁן, *i.e.* Geshan, of uncertain meaning; B. Σωγάρ, A. Γησσάμ; *Gesan*), one of the sons of JAHDAI, in the genealogy of Judah and family of Caleb (1 Ch. ii. 47). Nothing further concerning him has been yet traced. The name, as it stands in our present Bibles, is a corruption of the A. V. of 1611, which has, accurately, Geshan (so R. V.).

GE'SHEM and GASH'MU (גֶּשֶׁם; once, גַּשְׁמוּ, Neh. vi. 6; Γῆσαμ; *Gossem*), an Arabian, mentioned in Neh. ii. 19 and vi. 1, 2, 6, who, with "Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite," opposed the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. Geshem, we may conclude, was an inhabitant of Arabia Petraea, or of the Arabian Desert, and probably the chief of a tribe which, like most of the tribes on the eastern frontier of Palestine, was, in the time of the Captivity and the subsequent period, hostile to the revival of the Jewish nation. Geshem, like Sanballat and Tobiah, seems to have been one of the "governors beyond the river," to whom Nehemiah came, and whose mission "grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel" (Neh. ii. 10); for the wandering inhabitants of the frontier doubtless availed themselves largely, in their predatory excursions, of the distracted state of Palestine, and dreaded the re-establishment of the kingdom; and the Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites are recorded to have "conspired to fight against Jerusalem," and to stop the work of fortification. The endeavours of these confederates and their failure are recorded in chs. ii., iv., and vi. The Arabic name corresponding to Geshem cannot easily be identified. G'asim (جاسم) is one of very remote antiquity; and G'ashum (جشم) is the name of an historical tribe of Arabia Proper; the latter may more probably be compared with it, although neither is identical in form. As regards the two Hebrew forms, Geshem is uninflected; Gashmu corresponds to the Arabic nominative case (supposing that the Hebrew text of Neh. vi. 6 is sound).

[E. S. P.] [C. J. B.]

GESHU'R (גְּשׁוּר; Γεσσούρ [al. Γεδσούρ]; *Jessur*. Gesenius translates the word as *bridge*, Arabic جسر, but the root also means "daring"), an independent kingdom of the Geshurites (see next article) in David's time (2 Sam. iii. 3; xiii. 37, 38; xiv. 23, 32; xv. 8; 1 Ch. iii. 2). It was close to Aram or Syria (2 Sam. xv. 8), and Talmai, its king, was Absalom's grandfather. To Geshur he fled after the murder of Amnon, and the LXX. adds that it was the country of (his mother) Maachah, as appears also from the earlier passage. It appears to have been the region now called *Jeidûr* (جيدور), the plain south of Hermon and east of the Jordan, usually supposed to be the later ITURAEA (Luke iii. 1): on the borders of David's kingdom and of Syria. [C. R. C.]

GESHU'RI and GESHU'RITES (גְּשׁוּרִי; Jos. *Ant.* vi. 13, § 10, Χερρῖται). Two nations of this name appear to be mentioned. (1.) The inhabitants of Geshur above noticed, who would appear to be the later Ituraeans (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 2, 11, 13; 1 Ch. ii. 23). They appear in the earliest passage cited to have remained independent beyond the possessions of the tribe of Manasseh, and to have dwelt near ARGOB and MAACHAH. They had probably (Josh. xii. 5) been also independent of Og, king of Bashan. If this tribe is to be understood in Josh. xiii. 2, they were not conquered by Joshua (see *vv.* 11 and 13), and remained as a mingled people who, according to the First Book of Chronicles (ii. 23), were subdued by Jair. The relations of the Hebrews to these border tribes appear, from a number of passages, to have constantly fluctuated, and the original population was never rooted out.

(2.) A tribe mentioned in the south with the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxvii. 8 [B. Γεσειρί, A. Γεσερεί; *Gessuri*]) and the Gezrites. These three peoples are said to have been aborigines on the south border of Palestine, near the desert of Shur. It is quite possible that they were a division of the northern tribe (No. 1), and that this division is intended in Josh. xiii. 2, though not in *vv.* 11, 13 of the same chapter. [C. R. C.]

GE'THER (גֶּתֶר; Γάθερ; *Gether*), the third of the four sons of Aram (Gen. x. 23). In 1 Ch. i. 17 he and his brothers are briefly included with their father among the "sons" of Shem. No satisfactory trace of the people sprung from this stock has been found. The theories of Bochart and others, which rest on improbable etymologies, are without support; while the suggestions of Carians (Jerome), Bactrians (Joseph. *Ant.*), and the جرامقة, the G'arâmiḳah (Saad.), are not better founded (see

Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 10, and Winer, *s. v.*). Kautzsch suggests that the four Aramean peoples are named according to their local situation, proceeding from north to south. Thus Uz in S. Syria is mentioned first; then comes Hūl, perhaps to the north of the Sea of Galilee (cp. Lake *Hūleh*); between which and Mash, which he connects with Mount Masius, south of the Upper Tigris, we must place Gether, *i.e.* somewhere between Damascus and the Euphrates or even beyond it—a sufficiently vague determination. But in 1 Ch. i. 17 the fourth name is not Mash, but Meshech (so also LXX. Gen. x. 23), *i.e.* the Mushkî or Muskî of Assyrian annals, who lay to the north-east of Cappadocia in Lesser Armenia (Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 84).

The Arabs write the name غاثر (Ghâthir);

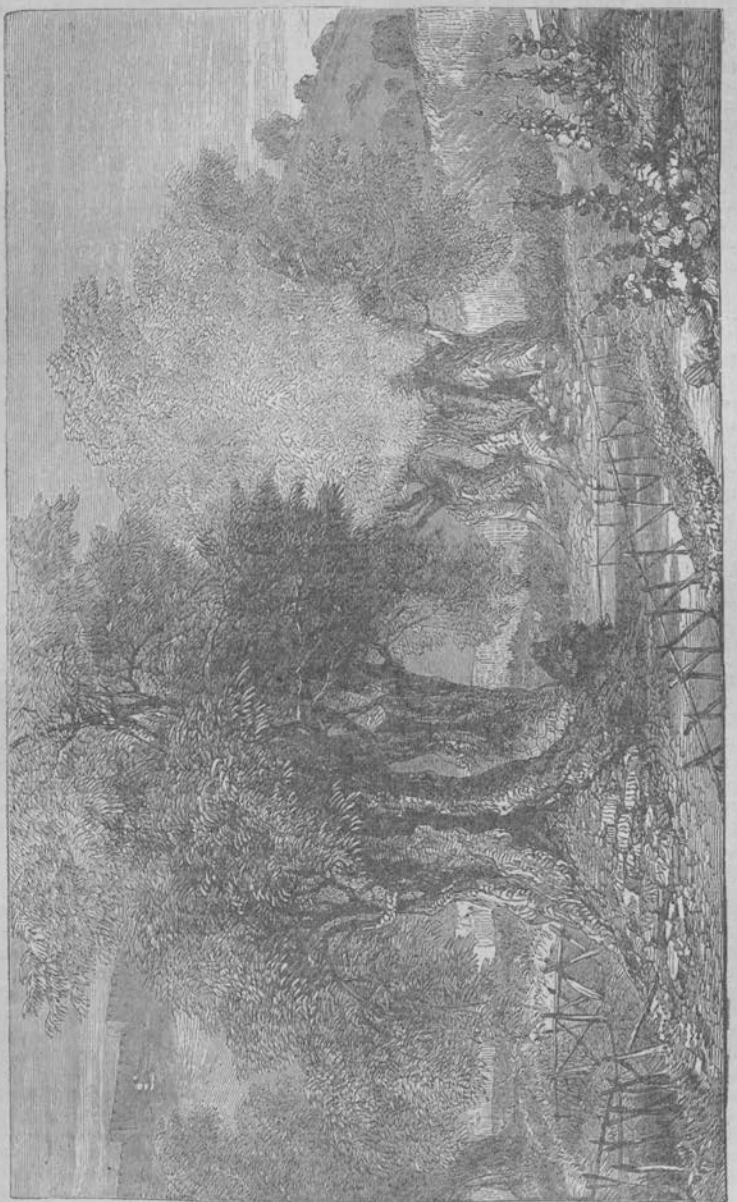
and, in the mythical history of their country, it is said that the (probably aboriginal) tribes of Thamūd, Tasm, Jadī, and Ad (the last, in the second generation, through 'Ūd) were descended from Ghâthir (Caussin, *Essai*, i. 24, 28; Abul-Fidâ, *Hist. Anteisl.* p. 16. Sale's *Prelim. Disc.* and the authorities there cited). See ARABIA, ARAM, and NABATHAEANS. [E. S. P.] [C. J. B.]

GETHSEMANE (Γῆ, *gath*, a "wine-press," and שֶׁמֶן, *shemen*, "oil;" Γεθσημανεί, or more generally Γεθσημανῆ), a small "farm," as the French would say, "*un bien aux champs*" (χωρίον, = *ager, praedium*; or as the Vulgate, *villa*; A. V. "place;" R. V. marg. *an enclosed piece of ground*; Matt. xxvi. 36; Mark xiv. 32), situated across the brook Kedron (John xviii. 1), and perhaps near the foot of Mount Olivet (Luke xxii. 39). There was a "garden," or rather orchard (κῆπος), attached to it, to which the olive, fig, and pomegranate doubtless invited resort by their "hospitable shade." And we know from the Evangelists St. Luke (xxii. 39) and St. John (xviii. 2) that our Lord ofttimes resorted thither with His disciples. According to Josephus, the suburbs of Jerusalem abounded with gardens and pleasure-grounds (παραδείσοις, *B. J.* vi. 1, § 1; cp. v. 3, § 2). Now, with the exception of those belonging to the Greek and Latin convents, hardly the vestige of a garden is to be seen. There is indeed a favourite spot, half a mile or more to the north, on the same side of the continuation of the valley of the Kedron, the property of a wealthy Turk, where the Muhammadan ladies sometimes pass the day with their families, their bright-flowing costume forming a picturesque contrast to the stiff sombre foliage of the olive-grove beneath which they cluster. But Gethsemane has not come down to us as a scene of mirth; its inexhaustible associations are the offspring of a single event—the Agony of the Son of God on the evening preceding His Passion. Here emphatically, as Isaiah had foretold, and as the name imports, were fulfilled those dark words, "I have trodden the wine-press alone" (lxiii. 3; cp. Rev. xiv. 20, "the wine-press . . . *without the city*"). "The period of the year," writes Mr. Gresswell (*Harm.* Diss. xlii.), "was the Vernal Equinox: the day of the month about two days before the full of the moon—in which case the moon would not be now very far past her meridian; and the night would be enlightened until a late hour towards the morning"—the day of the week Thursday, or rather, according to the Jews, Friday—for the sun had set. The time, according to Mr. Gresswell, would be the last watch of the night, between our 11 and 12 o'clock. Any recapitulation of the circumstances of that ineffable event would be unnecessary; any comments upon it unseasonable.

A modern garden, enclosed by a wall, in which are some old olive-trees, said to date from the time of Christ, is now pointed out as the Garden of Gethsemane. It is on the left bank of the Kedron, about 730 feet from the east wall of the city, and immediately south of the road, from St. Stephen's Gate to the summit of Olivet, which separates it from the "Grotto of the Agony" and the "Tomb of the Virgin." This garden is, there is little reason to doubt, the spot alluded to by Eusebius when he says (*OS.*² p. 248, 18), that Gethsemane was at the Mount of Olives, and was then a place of prayer for the faithful; and which Jerome more distinctly defines as being at the foot of the Mount of Olives, and as having a church built over it (*OS.*² p. 130, 22). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) mentions a stone at the place where Judas betrayed Christ, which was to the left of the road up the Mount of Olives, and about a stone's-throw from the tombs of Isaiah and Hezekiah (*Itin. Hierosol.*). Theodosius (*c.* A.D. 530) also mentions the place of betrayal (*De Situ T. S.* xi.). A broken column from 20 to 30 paces south of the entrance to the garden is now shown as the place of betrayal; the tombs of Isaiah and Hezekiah are those of Zechariah and Absalom. Cyril of Jerusalem, Antoninus, Arculfus, and nearly all later pilgrims mention Gethsemane, so that the chain of tradition is almost unbroken. S. Silvia (A.D. 379–88) gives an interesting account of the service at Gethsemane, during the night of Thursday and early morning of Good Friday; and of the procession from the garden to the cross (*Per. ad Loca Sancta*). Whether the traditional site be the true one or not is a more difficult question. There is no tradition earlier than the first half of the fourth century; and Robinson suggests (i. 346) that the spot may have been fixed upon during the visit of Helena to Jerusalem A.D. 326, when the places of the Crucifixion and Resurrection were supposed to be identified. He also seems inclined to the view that Gethsemane was higher up the Mount of Olives than the present site (i. 347, note), which must have been close to the Roman road to Jericho, and not a place that is likely to have been selected for frequent retirement from the crowded streets of Jerusalem. This view is also taken by Thomson (*L. & B.* p. 634). The close proximity of the present garden to the brook Kedron is, however, considered by some to be an argument in its favour (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 455). Falkener (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* June 1887) places Gethsemane on the right bank of the Kedron, beneath the city wall, but this seems inconsistent with the Bible narrative.

Against the contemporary antiquity of the olive-trees, it has been urged that Titus cut down all the trees round about Jerusalem; and certainly this is no more than Josephus states in

express terms (see particularly *B. J.* vi. 1, § 1, a passage which must have escaped Mr. Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 437, 2nd edit., who only cites v. 3, § 2, and vi. 8, § 1). Besides, the 10th legion, arriving from Jericho, were posted about the Mount of Olives (v. 2, § 3; and cp. vi. 2, § 8), and, in the course of the siege, a wall was carried along the valley of the Kedron to the fountain of Siloam (v. 10, § 2). The probability therefore would seem to



Gethsemane (as it was in 1841, and before it was enclosed and fenced round as it is now).

be, that they were planted by Christian hands to mark the spot: unless, like the sacred olive of the Acropolis (Bahr, *ad* Herod. viii. 55), they may have reproduced themselves. They are not mentioned by any of the earlier pilgrims. Maundrell (*Early Travellers in P.*, by Wright, p. 471) and Quaresmius (*Elucid. T. S.* lib. iv. per. v. ch. 7) appear to have been the first to notice them, not more than three centuries ago; the former arguing against, and the latter in favour of, their reputed antiquity: but nobody reading their accounts would imagine that there

were then no more than seven or eight, the locality of Gethsemane being supposed the same. Parallel claims, to be sure, are not wanting in the cedars of Lebanon, which are still visited with so much enthusiasm: in the terebinth, or oak of Mamre, which was standing in the days of Constantine the Great, and even worshipped (Vales. *ad* Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 53), and the fig-tree (*Ficus elastica*) near Nerbudda in India, which native historians assert to be 2,500 years old (Patterson's *Journal of a Tour in Egypt, &c.*, p. 202, note). Still more appositely there were olive-trees near Linternum 250 years old, according to Pliny, in his time, which are recorded to have survived to the middle of the tenth century (*Nouveau Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* Paris, 1846, vol. xxix. p. 61). Descriptions of the traditional Garden of Gethsemane, with its chapels and "holy places," will be found in Porter, *Handbook*, and Baedeker-Socin, *Pal. and Syria*.

[E. S. Ff.] [W.]

GE-U-EL (גְּאוּאֵל, ?=*the greatness of God*, Sam. גואל; Γουδιήλ; *Guel*), son of Machi; ruler of the tribe of Gad, and its representative among the spies sent from the wilderness of Paran to explore the Promised Land (Num. xiii. 15).

GE'ZER (גֶּזֶר, ?=*a precipitous place*, in pause גָּזֵר; Γαζέρ, Γεζέρ, Γάζης, Γαζάρα, Γαζήρα; *Gazer*), an ancient city of Canaan, whose king, Horam, or Elam, coming to the assistance of Lachish, was killed with all his people by Joshua (Josh. x. 33; xii. 12). The town, however, is not said to have been destroyed; it formed one of the landmarks on the south boundary of Ephraim, between the lower Beth-horon and the Mediterranean (xvi. 3), the western limit of the tribe (1 Ch. vii. 28; Jos. *Ant.* v. 1, § 22). It was allotted with its suburbs to the Kohathite Levites (Josh. xxi. 21; 1 Ch. vi. 67); but the original inhabitants were not dispossessed (Judg. i. 29); and even down to the reign of Solomon the Canaanites, or (according to the LXX. addition to Josh. xvi. 10) the Canaanites and Perizzites, were still dwelling there, and paying tribute to Israel (1 K. ix. 16). At this time it must in fact have been independent of Israelite rule, for Pharaoh had burnt it to the ground and killed its inhabitants, and then presented the site to his daughter, Solomon's queen. But it was immediately rebuilt by the king (*v.* 17); and though not heard of again till after the Captivity, yet it played a somewhat prominent part in the later struggles of the nation. [GAZARA.]

Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 280; cp. ii. 427) takes Gezer and Geshur to be the same, and sees in the destruction of the former by Pharaoh, and the simultaneous expedition of Solomon to Hamath-zobah in the neighbourhood of the latter, indications of a revolt of the Canaanites, of whom the Geshurites formed the most powerful remnant, and whose attempt against the new monarch was thus frustrated. But this can hardly be supported.

In one place Gob is given as identical with Gezer (1 Ch. xx. 4; cp. 2 Sam. xxi. 18). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, 2) agrees with 1 Ch. xx. 4. Gezer is named as the last point to which David's pursuit of the Philistines extended (2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Ch. xiv. 16[a]), and as the scene of at least one sharp encounter (1 Ch. xx. 4). It was naturally strong, and occupied an important position on the outskirt of the Philistine territory (Γαζαρά τὴν τῆς Παλαιστίνων χώρας ὑπάρχουσαν, Jos. *Ant.* viii. 6, § 1; cp. vii. 4, § 1). By Eusebius it is mentioned (*OS.*[2] p. 254, 14) as being 4 miles northward (*ἐν Βορείοις*) from Nicopolis (*'Amwás*). Strabo (xvi. 2, § 29) mentions it under the name Gadaris (Γαδαρίς), and says that the Jews had appropriated it to themselves. It is possible that Gazara should be read for Gadara in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 5, § 4; *B. J.* i. 8, § 5, and that Gezer and not Gadara was the seat of the Sanhedrin. This view derives some support from the evidence that Gezer was an important Jewish city during the Maccabaean period.

The site of Gezer was discovered at *Tell Jezer*, close to the village of *Abu Shusheh*, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, in 1870. It is situated on a swell of the low hills, about 4 miles W.N.W. of *'Amwás*; and the tomb of *Sheikh Muhammad el-Jezari* which surmounts the mound is a conspicuous landmark, and a prominent object to the right of the road from *Jaffa* to Jerusalem. The view from the ruins over the rich plain of Philistia is extremely fine, and the site is an admirable one for a fortified city. The terrace walls of the *Tell* are of large blocks of unhewn stone, and there is much broken pottery scattered over the surface. There are the remains of an aqueduct and pool, numerous rock-hewn tombs, a large number of wine-presses, an ancient quarry, and a large cave hollowed in the soft rock. The identity of Gezer with *Tell Jezer* was confirmed by the discovery of two bilingual inscriptions on the face of the rock, containing the Greek word ΑΛΚΙΟΥ (perhaps Hilkiah) in characters of the classical epoch, followed by תחמנור in Hebrew letters of ancient square form. The latter M. Ganneau translates "the limit of Gezer," the name of the town being written as it is in the Bible; and he connects the Alkios of the text with a certain Alkios, son of Simon, whose name occurs on a sarcophagus found at Lydda. The inscriptions are perhaps of the late Maccabaean period, and may possibly define the Sabbatic boundary; they are about 5,600 ft. from the centre of the *Tell* (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 428–439). M. Ganneau has also shown that *Tell Jezer* is the celebrated *Mons Gisardus*, or *Mont Gisart*, which is so frequently mentioned in the histories of the Crusades, and which gave its name to one of the noble families of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 351 sq.).

From the occasional occurrence of the form Gazer, and from the LXX. Version being almost

[a] In these two places the word, being at the end of a period, has, according to Hebrew custom, its first vowel lengthened, and stands in the text as Gazer, and in these two places only the name is so transferred to the A. V. But, to be consistent, the same change should have been made in several other passages, where it occurs in the Hebrew: *e.g.* Judg. i. 29; Josh. xvi. 3, 10; 1 K. ix. 15, &c. It would seem better to render the Hebrew name always by the same English one, when the difference arises from nothing but an emphatic accent.

uniformly Gazera or Gazer, Ewald infers that this was really the original name. [G.] [W.]

GEZ'RITES, THE (הַגִּזְרִי, accur. the Gizrite; τὸν Γεζραῖον; *Gezri*). The word which the Jewish critics have substituted in the margin of the Bible for the ancient reading, "the Gerizite" (1 Sam. xxvii. 8), and which has thus become incorporated in the text of the A. V. If it mean anything—at least that we know—it must signify the dwellers in Gezer. But GEZER was not less than 50 miles distant from the "south of Judah, the south of the Jerahmeelites, and the south of the Kenites," the scene of David's inread; a fact which stands greatly in the way of our receiving the change. [GERZITES, THE.] [G.] [W.]

GI'AH (גִּיחַ; Γαί; *vallis*), a place named only in 2 Sam. ii. 24, to designate the position of the hill Ammah—"which faces Giah by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon." No trace of the situation of either has yet been found, but they must have been to the east of Gibeon. By the LXX. the name is read as if גַּיְא, *i.e.* a ravine or glen; a view also taken in the Vulgate. [AMMAH.]

GIANTS. The frequent allusion to giants in Scripture, and the numerous theories and disputes which have arisen in consequence, render it necessary to give a brief view of some of the main opinions and curious inferences to which the mention of them leads.

1. They are first spoken of in Gen. vi. 4, under the name *Nĕphīlīm* (נְפִילִים; LXX. γίγαντες; Aquil. ἐπιπίπτοντες; Symm. βιαῖοι; Vulg. *gigantes*; Onk. גִּבָּרַיָּא; Luther, *Tyrannen*). The etymology of the word is obscure. Some derive it from פָּלָא (= "marvellous"), or, from נָפַל, either in the sense to throw down, or to fall (= fallen angels, Jarchi, cp. Is. xiv. 12; Luke x. 18). Others give it the meaning "*ἥρωες irruentes*" (Gesen.), or *collapsi* (by euphemism, Boettcher, *de Inferis*, p. 92, or unnaturally born [MV.[11]]); but certainly not "because men fell from terror of them" (as R. Kimchi). That the word means "giant" is clear from Num. xiii. 32, 33, and is confirmed by נְפִלָא, the Chaldee name for "the aery giant" Orion (Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31; Is. xiii. 10; Targ.), unless this name arise from the *obliquity* of the constellation (*Gen. of Earth*, p. 35).

But we now come to the remarkable statement about the origin of these *Nephilim* in Gen. vi. 1–4 (cp. Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] in loco. See also Kurtz, *Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes*, &c., Berlin, 1857; Ewald, *Jahrb.* 1854, p. 126; Govett's *Isaiah Unfulfilled*; Faber's *Many Mansions*, *J. of Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1858, &c.) We are told that "there *were* Nephilim in the earth," and that "afterwards" (καὶ μὲτ' ἐκεῖνο, LXX.) the "sons of God" mingling with the beautiful "daughters of men" produced a race of violent and insolent *Gibbōrīm* (גִּבֹּרִים). This latter word is also rendered by the LXX. γίγαντες, but we shall see hereafter that the meaning is more general. It is clear, however, that *no statement* is made that the Nephilim themselves sprang from this unhallowed union. Who, then, were they? Taking the usual derivation (נָפַל), and explaining it to mean "fallen spirits," the Nephilim seem to be identical with the "sons of God;" but the verse before us militates against this notion as much as against that which makes the Nephilim the same as the Gibborim, viz.: the *offspring* of wicked marriages. This latter supposition can only be accepted if we admit either (1) that there were two kinds of Nephilim,—those who existed before the unequal intercourse, and those produced by it (Heidegger, *Hist. Patr.* xi.), or (2) by following the Vulgate rendering, *postquam enim ingressi sunt*, &c. But the common rendering seems to be correct, nor is there much probability in Aben Ezra's explanation, that אַחֲרֵי־כֵן ("after that") means אחר המבול (*i.e.* "after the deluge"), and is an allusion to the Anakim.

The genealogy of the Nephilim then, or at any rate of *the earliest Nephilim*, is not recorded in Scripture, and the name itself is so mysterious that we are lost in conjecture respecting them.

2. The sons of the marriages mentioned in Gen. vi. 1–4 are called *Gibborim* (גִּבֹּרִים, from גָּבַר, *to be strong*), a general name meaning *powerful* (ὑβρισταὶ καὶ πάντος ὑπερφαται καλοῦ, Josephus. *Ant.* i. 3, § 1; γῆς παῖδες τὸν νοῦν ἐκβιβάσαντες τοῦ λογίζεσθαι κ.τ.λ., Philo, *de Gigant.* p. 270: cp. Is. iii. 2, xlix. 24; Ezek. xxxii. 21). They were not necessarily giants in our sense of the word (Theodoret, *Quaest.* 48). Yet, as was natural, these powerful chiefs were almost universally represented as men of extraordinary stature. The LXX. render the word γίγαντες, and call Nimrod a γίγας κυνηγός (1 Ch. i. 10); Augustine calls them *Staturosi* (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 4); Chrysostom, ἥρωες εὐμηκεῖς; Theodoret, παμμεγεθεῖς (cp. Bar. iii. 26, εὐμεγεθεῖς, ἐπιστάμενοι πόλεμον).

But who were the parents of these giants; who are "the sons of God" (בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים)? The opinions are various. (1) *Men of power* (υἱοὶ δυναστευόντων, Symm. Hieron. *Quaest. Heb.* ad loc.; בְּנֵי רַבְרְבַיָּא, Onk.; בני שלטניה, Samar.; so too Selden, Vorst, &c.): cp. Ps. ii. 7, lxxxii. 6, lxxxix. 27; Mic. v. 5, &c. The expression will then exactly resemble Homer's Διογενεῖς βασιλῆες, and the Chinese *Tiân-tseù*, "son of heaven," as a title of the Emperor (Gesen. *s. v.* בֵּן). But why should the union of the high-born and the low-born produce offspring unusual for their size and strength? (2) *Men* with great gifts, "in the image of God" (Ritter, Schumann). (3) Cainites arrogantly assuming the title (Paulus); or (4) the pious Sethites (cp. Gen. iv. 26; Maimon. *Mor. Neboch.* i. 14; Suid. *s. vv.* Σὴθ and μιαιγαμίας; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* p. 10; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23; Chrysost. *Hom.* 22, *in Gen.*; Theod. *in Gen. Quaest.* 47; Cyril, *c. Jul.* ix. &c.). A host of modern commentators catch at this explanation, but Gen. iv. 26 has probably no connexion with the subject. Other texts quoted in favour of the view are Deut. xiv. 1, 2; Ps. lxxiii. 15; Prov. xiv. 26; Hos. i. 10; Rom. viii. 14, &c. Still the mere antithesis in the verse, as well as

other considerations, tend strongly against this gloss, which indeed is built on a foregone conclusion. Compare however the Indian notion of the two races of men, Suras and Asuras (children of the sun and of the moon, Nork, *Bramm. und Rabb.* p. 204 sq.), and the Persian belief in the marriage of Djemshid with the sister of a *dev*, whence sprang black and impious men (Kalisch, *Gen.* p. 175). (5) Worshippers of false gods (παῖδες τῶν θεῶν, Aq.), making בְּנֵי = "servants" (cp. Deut. xiv. 1; Prov. xiv. 26; Ex. xxxii. 1; Deut. iv. 28, &c.). This view is ably supported in *Genesis of Earth and Man*, p. 39 sq. (6) Devils, such as the Incubi and Succubi. Such was the belief of the Cabbalists (Valesius, *de S. Philosoph.* cap. 8). That these beings can have intercourse with women St. Augustine declares it would be folly to doubt, and it was the universal belief in the East. Mohammed makes one of the ancestors of Balkis queen of Sheba a demon, and Damir says he had heard a Mohammedan doctor openly boast of having married in succession four demon wives (Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 747). Indeed the belief still exists (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. chs. x., xi.). (7) Closely allied to this is the oldest opinion, that they were *angels* (ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, LXX., for such was the old reading, not *vioί*, Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23; so too Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3, § 1; Phil. *de Gig.* ii. 358; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 7, § 69; Sulp. Sever. *Hist. Script. in Orthod.* l. i. &c.: cp. Job i. 6, ii. 1; Ps. xxix. 1, Job iv. 18). The rare expression "sons of God" certainly means angels in Job xxxviii. 7, i. 6, ii. 1; and that such is the meaning in Gen. vi. 4 also, was the most prevalent opinion both in the Jewish and early Christian Church.

It was probably this very ancient view which gave rise to the spurious book of Enoch, and the notion quoted from it by St. Jude (*v.* 6), and alluded to by St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 4; cp. 1 Cor. xi. 10, Tert. *de Virg. Vel.* 7). According to this book, certain angels, sent by God to guard the earth (Ἐγρήγοροι, φύλακες), were perverted by the beauty of women, "went after strange flesh," taught sorcery, finery (*lumina lapillorum, circulos ex aure*, Tert., &c.), and being banished from heaven had sons 3,000 cubits high, thus originating a celestial and terrestrial race of demons—"Unde modo vagi subvertunt corpora multa" (Commodiani *Instruct. III. Cultus Daemonum*), *i.e.* they are still the source of epilepsy, &c. Various names were given at a later time to these monsters. Their chief was Leuixas, and of their number were Machsael, Aza, Schemchozai, and (the wickedest of them) a goat-like demon Azael (cp. Azazel, Lev. xvi. 8; and for the very curious questions connected with this name, see Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 652 sq.; Rab. Eliezer, cap. 23, *Bereshith Rab. ad* Gen. vi. 2; Sennert, *de Gigantibus*, iii.).

Against this notion (which Hävernick calls "the silliest whim of the Alexandrian Gnostics and Cabbalistic Rabbis") Heidegger (*Hist. Patr.* l. c.) quotes Matt. xxii. 30, Luke xxiv. 39, and similar testimonies. Philastrius (*adv. Haeres.* cap. 108) characterises it as a heresy, and Chrysostom (*Hom.* 22) even calls it τὸ βλάσφημα ἐκεῖνο. Yet St. Jude is explicit, and the question is not so much what *can* be, as what *was* believed. The Fathers almost unanimously accepted these fables, and Tertullian argues warmly (partly on *expedient* grounds!) for the genuineness of the book of Enoch. The angels were called Ἐγρήγοροι, a word used by Aq. and Symm. to render the Chaldee עִיר (Dan. iv. 13 sq.; Vulg. *Vigil*; LXX. εἷρ; Lex. Cyrilli, ἄγγελοι ἢ ἄγρυπνοι; Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T.* p. 180), and therefore used, as in the Zend-Avesta, of good guardian Angels, and applied especially to Archangels in the Syriac liturgies (cp. שְׁמִר, Is. xxi. 11), but more often of evil angels (Castelli, *Lex. Syr.* p. 649; Scalig. *ad Euseb. Chron.* p. 403; Gesen. *s. v.* עִיר). The story of the Egregori is given at length in Tert. *de Cult. Fem.* i. 2, ii. 10; Commodianus, *Instruct.* iii.; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* ii. 14; *Testam. Patriarc.* c. v., &c. Every one will remember the allusions to the same interpretation in Milton, *Par. Reg.* ii. 179—

> "Before the Flood, thou with thy lusty crew,
> False-titled sons of God, roaming the earth,
> Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
> And coupled with them, and begat a race."

The use made of the legend in some modern poems cannot sufficiently be reprobated.

We need hardly say how closely allied this is to the Greek legends which connected the ἄγρια φῦλα γιγάντων with the gods (Hom. *Od.* vii. 205; Pausan. viii. 29), and made δαίμονες *sons* of the gods (Plat. *Apolog.* ἡμίθεοι; *Cratyl.* § 32). Indeed the whole heathen tradition resembles the one before us (Cumberland's *Sanchoniatho*, p. 24; Hom. *Od.* xi. 306 sq.; Hes. *Theog.* 185, *Opp. et D.* 144; Plat. *Rep.* ii. § 17, 604 E; *de Legg.* iii. § 16, 805 A; Ovid, *Metam.* i. 151; Luc. iv. 593; Lucian, *de Deâ Syr.*, &c.; cp. Grot. *de Ver.* i. 6); and the Greek translators of the Bible make the resemblance still more close by introducing such words as θεόμαχοι, γηγενεῖς, and even Τιτᾶνες, to which last Josephus (*l. c.*) expressly compares the giants of Genesis (LXX. Prov. ii. 18; Ps. xlviii. 2; 2 Sam. v. 18; Judith xvi. 5). The fate too of these demon-chiefs is identical with that of heathen story (Job xxvi. 5; Sir. xvi. 7; Bar. iii. 26–28; Wisd. xiv. 6; 3 Macc. ii. 4; 1 Pet. iii. 19).

These legends may therefore be regarded as distortions of the Biblical narrative, handed down by tradition, and embellished by the fancy and imagination of Eastern nations. The belief of the Jews in later times is remarkably illustrated by the story of Asmodeus in the book of Tobit. It is deeply instructive to observe how wide and marked a contrast there is between the incidental allusion of the sacred narrative (Gen. vi. 4) and the minute frivolities or prurient follies which degrade the heathen mythology, and repeatedly appear in the groundless imaginings of the Rabbinic interpreters. If there were fallen angels whose lawless desires gave birth to a monstrous progeny, both they and their intolerable offspring (it is implied) were destroyed by the Deluge, which was the retribution on their wickedness, and they have no existence in the baptized and renovated earth.

Before passing to the other giant-races we may observe that all nations have had a dim fancy that the aborigines who preceded them and the earliest men generally were of immense stature. Berosus says that the ten antediluvian kings of Chaldea were giants, and we find in all

monkish historians a similar statement about the earliest possessors of Britain (cp. Hom. *Od.* x. 119; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 9; Plin. vii. 16; Varr. *ap.* Aul. Gell. iii. 10; Jer. on Matt. xxvii.). The great size decreased gradually after the Deluge (2 Esd. v. 52–55). That we are dwarfs compared to our ancestors was a common belief among the Latin and Greek poets (*Il.* v. 302 sq.; Lucret. ii. 1151; Virg. *Aen.* xii. 900; Juv. xv. 69), although it is now a matter of absolute certainty from the remains of antiquity, reaching back to the very earliest times, that in old days men were no taller than ourselves. On the origin of the mistaken supposition there are curious passages in Natalis Comes (*Mythолog.* vi. 21) and Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 20).

The next race of giants which we find mentioned in Scripture is

3. THE REPHAIM, a name which frequently occurs, and in some remarkable passages. The earliest mention of them is the record of their defeat by Chedorlaomer and some allied kings at Ashteroth Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5). They are again mentioned (Gen. xv. 20), their dispersion recorded (Deut. ii. 10, 20), and Og the giant king of Bashan said to be "the only remnant of them" (Deut. iii. 11; Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12, xvii. 15). Extirpated however from the east of Palestine, they long found a home in the west, and in connexion with the Philistines, under whose protection the small remnant of them may have lived, they still employed their arms against the Hebrews (2 Sam. xxi. 18 sq.; 1 Ch. xx. 4). In the latter passage there seems however to be some confusion between the Rephaim and the sons of a particular giant of Gath, named Rapha. Such a name may have been conjectured as that of a founder of the race, like the names Ion, Dorus, Teut, &c. (Boettcher, *de Inferis*, p. 96, n.; Rapha occurs also as a proper name, 1 Ch. vii. 25, viii. 2, 37). It is probable that they had possessed districts west of the Jordan in early times, since the "valley of Rephaim" (*κοιλὰς τῶν Τιτάνων*, 2 Sam. v. 18, 1 Ch. xi. 15, Is. xvii. 5; *κ. τῶν γιγάντων*, Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 4, § 1), a rich valley S.W. of Jerusalem, derived its name from them.

That they were not Canaanites is clear from there being no allusion to them in Gen. x. 15–19. They were probably one of those aboriginal peoples to whose existence the traditions of many nations testify, and of whose genealogy the Bible gives us no information. The few names recorded have, as Ewald remarks, a Semitic aspect (*Geschich. des Volkes Isr.* i. 311); but from the hatred existing between them and both the Canaanites and Hebrews, some suppose them to be Japhethites, "who comprised especially the inhabitants of the coasts and islands" (Kalisch *on Gen.* p. 351. Cp. Dillmann[5] in loco).

רְפָאִים is rendered by the Greek Versions very variously (*Ῥαφαείμ, γίγαντες, γηγενεῖς, θεόμαχοι, Τιτᾶνες*, and *ἰατροί*; Vulg. *Medici*; LXX. Ps. lxxxvii. 10; Is. xxvi. 14, where it is confused with רֹפְאִים; cp. Gen. l. 2, and sometimes *νεκροί, τεθνηκότες*, especially in the *later* Versions). In A. V. the words used for it are "Rephaim," "giants," and "the dead." That it has the latter meaning in many passages is certain (Ps. lxxxviii. 10; Prov. ii. 18, ix. 18, xxi. 16; Is. xxvi. 19, 14). The question arises, how are these meanings to be reconciled? Gesenius gives no derivation for the national name, and derives רְפָאִים = *mortui*, from רָפָא, *sanavit*, and the proper name Rapha from an Arabic root signifying "tall," thus seeming to sever *all* connexion between the meanings of the word, which is surely most unlikely. Masius, Simonis, &c., suppose the second meaning to come from the fact that both spectres and giants strike terror (accepting the derivation from רָפָה, *remisit*, "unstrung with fear," R. Bechai on Deut. ii.); Vitringa and Hiller from the notion of *length* involved in stretching out a corpse, or from the fancy that spirits appear in more than human size (Hiller, *Syntag. Herm.* p. 205; Virg. *Aen.* ii. 772, &c.). J. D. Michaelis (*ad* Lowth, *De sacr. poesi Hebr.* p. 466) endeavoured to prove that the Rephaim, &c., were Troglodytes, and that hence they came to be identified with the dead. Passing over other conjectures, Boettcher sees in רְפָאִים and רָפָה a double root, and thinks that the giants were called רְפָאִים (*languefacti*) by an euphemism; and that the dead were so called by a title which will thus exactly parallel the Greek *καμόντες, κεκμηκότες* (cp. Buttmann, *Lexil.* ii. 237 sq.). His arguments are too elaborate to quote (but see Boettcher, pp. 94–100). An attentive consideration seems to leave little room for doubt that the dead were called Rephaim (as Gesenius also hints) from some notion of Sheol being the residence of the fallen spirits or buried giants. The passages which seem most strongly to prove this are Prov. xxi. 16 (where obviously something more than mere physical death is meant, since that is the common lot of all); Is. xxvi. 14, 19, verses difficult to explain without some such supposition; Is. xiv. 9, where the word עַתּוּדִי (*οἱ ἄρξαντες τῆς γῆς*, LXX.), if taken in its literal meaning of *goats*, may mean evil spirits represented in that form (cp. Lev. xvii. 7); and especially Job xxvi. 5, 6, "Behold the gyantes (A. V. 'dead things') grown under the waters" (Douay Version), where there seems to be clear allusion to some subaqueous prison of rebellious spirits, like that in which (according to the Hindoo legend) Vishnu, the water-god, confines a race of giants (cp. *πυλάρχος*, as a title of Neptune, Hes. *Theog.* 732; Nork, *Brammin. und Rabb.* p. 319 sq.). [OG; GOLIATH.]

Branches of this great unknown people were called Emim, Anakim, and Zuzim.

4. EMIM (אֵימִים; LXX. *Ὀμμίν, Ἰμμαῖοι*), smitten by Chedorlaomer at Shaveh Kiriathaim (Gen. xiv. 5), and occupying the country afterwards held by the Moabites (Deut. ii. 10), who gave them the name אֵימִים, "terrors." The word rendered "tall" may perhaps be merely "haughty" (*ἰσχύοντες*). [EMIM.]

5. ANAKIM (עֲנָקִים). The imbecile terror of the spies exaggerated their proportions into something superhuman (Num. xiii. 28, 33), and their name became proverbial (Deut. ii. 10; ix. 2). [ANAKIM.]

6. ZUZIM (זוּזִים), whose principal town was Ham (Gen. xiv. 5), and who lived between the Arnon and the Jabbok, being a northern tribe of Rephaim. The Ammonites, who defeated them, called them זַמְזֻמִּים (Deut. ii. 20 sq., which is however probably an early gloss).

We have now examined the main names applied to giant-races in the Bible, but except in the case of the first two (Nephilim and Gibborim) there is no necessity to suppose that there was anything very *remarkable* in the stature of these nations, beyond the general fact of their being finely proportioned. Nothing can be built on the exaggeration of the spies (Num. xiii. 33); and Og, Goliath, Ishbi-benob, &c. (see under the names themselves), are obviously mentioned as exceptional cases. The Jews, however (misled by supposed relics), thought otherwise (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 2, § 3).

No one has yet proved by experience the possibility of giant races, materially exceeding in size the average height of man. There is no great variation in the ordinary standard. The most stunted tribes of Esquimaux are at least four feet high, and the tallest races of America (*e.g.* the Guayaquilists and people of Paraguay) do not exceed six feet and a half. It was long thought that the Patagonians were men of enormous stature, and the assertions of the old voyagers on the point were positive. For instance, Pigafetta (*Voyage Round the World*, Pinkerton, xi. 314) mentions an individual Patagonian so tall, that they "hardly reached to his waist." Similar exaggerations are found in the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Cook, and Forster; but it is now a matter of certainty from the recent visits to Patagonia (by Winter, Capt. Snow, &c.), that there is nothing at all extraordinary in their height.

The general belief (until very recent times) in the existence of fabulously enormous men, arose from fancied giant-graves (see De la Valle's *Travels in Persia*, ii. 89), and above all from the discovery of huge bones, which were taken for those of men, in days when comparative anatomy was unknown. Even the ancient Jews were thus misled (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 2, § 3). Augustine appeals triumphantly to this argument, and mentions a molar tooth which he had seen at Utica a hundred times larger than ordinary teeth (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 9). No doubt it once belonged to an elephant. Vives, in his commentary on the place, mentions a tooth as big as a fist which was shown at St. Christopher's. In fact this source of delusion has only been dispelled in modern times (Sennert, *de Gigant.* passim; Martin's *West. Islands*, in Pinkerton, ii. 691). Most bones which have been exhibited have turned out to belong to whales or elephants, as was the case with the vertebra of a supposed giant, examined by Sir Hans Sloane in Oxfordshire.

On the other hand, isolated instances of monstrosity are sufficiently attested to prove that beings like Goliath and his kinsmen may have existed. Columella (*R. R.* iii. 8, § 2) mentions Navius Pollio as one, and Pliny says that in the time of Claudius Caesar there was an Arab named Gabbaras, nearly ten feet high, and that even he was not so tall as Pusio and Secundilla in the reign of Augustus, whose bodies were preserved (vii. 16). Josephus tells us that, among other hostages, Artabanus sent to Tiberius a certain Eleazar, a Jew, surnamed "the Giant," seven cubits in height (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 5). Nor are well-authenticated instances wanting in modern times. O'Brien, whose skeleton is preserved in the Museum of the Coll. of Surgeons, must have been eight feet high, but his unnatural height made him weakly. On the other hand, the blacksmith Parsons, in Charles II.'s reign, was seven feet two inches high, and also remarkable for his strength (Fuller's *Worthies*, Staffordshire).

For information on the various subjects touched upon in this article, besides minor authorities quoted in it, see Grot. *de Veritat.* i. 16; Nork, *Brammin. und Rabb.* 210 ad fin.; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. pp. 305–312; Winer, s. v. *Riesen*, &c.; Gesen. *s. v.* רְפָאִים; Rosenmüller, Kalisch, Comment. *ad loca cit.*; Rosenmüller, *Alterthumsk.* ii.; Boettcher, *de Inferis*, p. 95 sq.; Heidegger, *Hist. Patr.* xi.; Hävernick's *Introd. to Pentat.* p. 345 sq.; Horne's *Introd.* i. 148; Faber's *Bampt. Lect.* iii. 7; Maitland's *Eruvin*; *Orig. of Pagan Idol.* i. 217, in Maitland's *False Worship*, pp. 1–67; Pritchard's *Nat. Hist. of Man*, v. 489 sq.; Hamilton *on the Pentat.* pp. 189–201; Papers on the Rephaim, *Journ. of Sac. Lit.* 1851. There are also monographs by Cassanion, Sangutelli, and Sennert: we have only met with the latter (*Dissert. Hist. Phil. de Gigantibus*, Vittemb. 1663); it is interesting and learned, but extraordinarily credulous. [F. W. F.]

GIANTS, VALLEY OF THE (Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16). [REPHAIM, VALLEY OF.]

GIB'BAR (גִּבָּר; B. Ταβέρ, A. Γαβέρ; *Gebbar*), Bene-Gibbar, to the number of ninety-five, returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Ezra ii. 20). In the parallel list of Nehemiah (vii. 25) the name is given as GIBEON.

GIB'BETHON (גִּבְּתוֹן = *a height*; B. Βεγεθών, Γεθεδάν, A. Γαβαθών, Γαβεθών; *Gabathon*), a town allotted to the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 44), and afterwards given with its "suburbs" to the Kohathite Levites (xxi. 23). Being, like most of the towns of Dan, either in or close to the Philistines' country, it was no doubt soon taken possession of by them; at any rate they held it in the early days of the monarchy of Israel, when king Nadab "and all Israel," and after him Omri, besieged it (1 K. xv. 27; xvi. 15, 17). What were the special advantages of situation or otherwise which rendered it so desirable as a possession for Israel are not apparent. In the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 255, 52) it is quoted as a small village (πολίχνη) called Gabe, in the 17th mile from Caesarea. This must, however, be wrong, as the territory of Dan did not extend northwards beyond the *Wâdy Kanah*. Conder has suggested *Kibbieh*, to the S.W. of *Tibneh*, as a possible identification (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 297).

GIB'EA (גִּבְעָא = *a hill*; B. Γαιβάλ, A. Γαιβαά; *Gabaa*). Sheva, "the father of Macbenah" and "father of Gibea," is mentioned with other names, unmistakably those of places and not persons, among the descendants of Judah (1 Ch. ii. 49; cp. *v.* 42). This would seem to point out Gibea (which in some Hebrew MSS. is Gibeah; see Burrington, i. 216) as the city GIBEAH in Judah. The mention of Madmannah (*v.* 49; cp. Josh. xv. 31), as well as of Ziph (*v.* 42) and Maon (*v.* 45), seems to carry us to a locality considerably south of Hebron. [GIBEAH, 1.] On the other hand, Madmannah recalls Madmenah, a town named in connexion with Gibeah of Benjamin (Is. x.

31), and therefore lying somewhere north of Jerusalem.

GIB'EAH (גִּבְעָה, derived according to Gesenius [*Thes.* pp. 259, 260] from a root, גָּבַע, signifying to be round or humped: cp. the Latin *gibbus*, Eng. *gibbous*; the Arabic جبل, *jebel*, a mountain, and the German *Gipfel*). A word employed in the Bible to denote a "hill"—that is, an eminence of less considerable height and extent than a "mountain," the term for which is הָר, *har*. For the distinction between the two terms, see Ps. cxlviii. 9; Prov. viii. 25; Is. ii. 2, xl. 4, &c. In the Historical Books *gibeah* is commonly applied to the bald rounded hills of Central Palestine, especially in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (Stanley, App. § 25). Like most words of this kind, it gave its name to several towns and places in Palestine—which would doubtless be generally on or near a hill. They are—

1. GIBEAH (Γαβαά; *Gabaa*), a city in the mountain-district of Judah, named between Cain and Timnah, and in the same group as Maon and the Southern Carmel (Josh. xv. 57; and cp. 1 Ch. ii. 49, &c.). Robinson (ii. 6, 16), Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, p. 157), and Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 25) suggest its identification with *Jeb'a*, about 7 miles W.S.W. of Bethlehem. This place is apparently the village named Gabatha, which is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 255, 67) as containing the monument of Habakkuk the prophet, and lying 12 miles from Eleutheropolis. It cannot therefore be the place intended in Joshua, since that would appear to have been to the S.E. of Hebron, near where Carmel and Maon are still existing. The site *is* therefore yet to seek (cp. Dillmann[2] on Josh. *l. c.*).

2. GIBEATH (גִּבְעַת; LXX., see below; *Gabaath*). This is enumerated among the last group of the towns of Benjamin, next to Jerusalem (Josh. xviii. 28). It is sometimes taken to be the place which afterwards became so notorious as "Gibeah-of-Benjamin" or "of-Saul." But this, as we shall presently see, was about 4 miles north of Jerusalem, near Gibeon and Ramah, with which, in that case, it would have been mentioned in v. 25. The name being in the "construct state"—Gibeath and not Gibeah—may it not belong to the following name Kirjath, and denote the hill adjoining that town, or, according to Schwarz (pp. 102, 103), the title of one place, "Gibeath-Kirjath"? The obvious objection to this proposal is the statement of the number of this group of towns as fourteen, but this is not a serious objection, as in these catalogues discrepancies not unfrequently occur between the numbers of the towns, and that stated as the sum of the enumeration (cp. Josh. xv. 32, 36; xix. 6, &c.). In this very list there is reason to believe that Zelah and ha-Eleph are not separate names, but one. The lists of Joshua, though in the main coeval with the division of the country, must have been often added to and altered before they became finally fixed as we now possess them.[a] It is possible that Kirjath may be identical with Kirjath-jearim, and that the latter part of the name has been omitted by copyists at some very early period. Such an omission is apparently indicated by the readings of the LXX. (B. Γαβαωθιαρείμ; A. Γαβαὰθ καὶ πόλις Ἰαρίμ) and some Hebrew MSS. [KIRJATH]. In this case Gibeath might denote the hill on which the Ark rested in the time of Saul (see below, No. 3). The objection to this view is that Kirjath-jearim is enumerated as a city of Judah (Josh. xv. 60). Major Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 43) proposes to place Gibeath at *Jibi'a*, 3 miles north of *Kuryet el-'Enab*, which he identifies with Kirjath. A more likely site would be *Kh. el-Jubeiah*, to the right of the road from *Kuryet el-'Enab* to Jerusalem, and near *Kustul*. Sepp (ii. 11) identifies Gibeath with Gibeah of Benjamin; and Riehm (*s. v.* Gibea, 3) and Dillmann[2] incline to the same view.

3. (הַגִּבְעָה; B. *ἐν τῷ βουνῷ*, A. *ἐν βουνῷ*; *in Gabaa.*) The place in which the Ark remained from the time of its return by the Philistines till its removal by David (2 Sam. vi. 3, 4; cp. 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2). The name has the definite article, and in 1 Sam. vii. 1 it is translated "the hill." (See No. 2 above.)

4. GIBEAH-OF-BENJAMIN. This town does not appear in the lists of the cities of Benjamin in Josh. xviii. (1.) We first encounter it in the tragical story of the Levite and his concubine, when it brought all but extermination on the tribe (Judg. xix. xx.). It was then a "city" (עִיר), with the usual open street (רְחוֹב) or square (Judg. xix. 15, 17, 20), and containing 700 "chosen men" (xx. 15), probably the same whose skill as slingers is preserved in the next verse. Thanks to the precision of the narrative, we can gather some general knowledge of the position of Gibeah. The Levite and his party left Bethlehem in the "afternoon"—when the day was coming near the time at which the tents would be pitched for evening. It was probably between 2 and 3 o'clock. At the ordinary speed of Eastern travellers they would come "over against Jebus" in two hours, say by 5 o'clock, and the same length of time would take them an equal distance, or about 4 miles, to the north of the city on the *Nâblus* road, in the direction of Mount Ephraim (xx. 13, cp. 1). The Levite proposed to lodge at Ramah or Gibeah; the latter being apparently the nearest to Jerusalem; and when the sudden sunset of that climate, unaccompanied by more than a very brief twilight, made further progress impossible, they "turned aside" from the beaten track to the town where one of the party was to meet a dreadful death (Judg. xix. 9–15). Later indications of the story seem to show that a little north of the town the main track divided into two—one, the present *Nâblus* road, leading up to Bethel, the "house of God," and the other taking to Gibeah-in-the-field (xx. 31), possibly the present *Jeb'a*. Below the city probably—about the base of the hill which gave its name to the town—was the "cave[b] of Gibeah," in

[a] For instance, Beth-marcaboth, "house of chariots," and Hazar-susah, "village of horses" (Josh. xix. 5), would seem to date from the time of Solomon, when the traffic in these articles began with Egypt.

[b] מְעָרֶה, A. V. "meadows of Gibeah," taking the word as Ma'areh, an open field (Stanley, App. § 19); the LXX. transfers the Hebrew word literally, Μααγαβέ; the Syriac has ܡܥܪܬܐ = cave. The Hebrew word for cave, *Me'arah*, differs from that

which the liers in wait concealed themselves until the signal was given[c] (xx. 33).

During this narrative the name is given simply as "Gibeah," with a few exceptions; at its introduction it is called "Gibeah which belongeth to Benjamin" (xix. 14, and so in xx. 4). In xx. 10 we have the expression "Gibeah of Benjamin," but here the Hebrew is not Gibeah, but Geba—גֶּבַע. The same form of the word is found in xx. 33, where the meadows, or cave, "of Gibeah" should be "of Geba." Josephus, in describing the route of the Levite, apparently makes Gibeah (Γαβά) 20 stadia from Jerusalem (*Ant.* v. 2, § 8); but too much reliance should not be made on this statement, for he gives, at the same time, the distance from Bethlehem to Jerusalem as 30 instead of 40 stadia.

The natural inference from the above story is, that Gibeah and Ramah were not far from the road leading northwards from Jerusalem, and some 4 or 5 miles from that place. The site of Ramah, *er-Râm*, about 5½ miles from Jerusalem and ½ mile east of the road, is well known; and Gibeah must be looked for somewhat nearer to Jerusalem—perhaps at *Kh. Râs et-Tawîl* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 124) or *Tell el-Fûl* (iii. 158), which are respectively 4 miles and 3 miles from Jerusalem, and ⅝ mile and ¼ mile east of the road. The suggestion that *Jeb'a*, Geba, 6½ miles from Jerusalem and 2½ miles east of the road, is the Gibeah referred to is untenable, though it may be intended in Judg. xx. 33. Jerome (*Ep. S. Paulae*, vi.) apparently places Gibeah on the direct road from Gibeon to Jerusalem.

(2.) We next meet with Gibeah of Benjamin during the Philistine wars of Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiii. xiv.). It now bears its full title. The position of matters seems to have been this:—The Philistines were in possession of the village of Geba, the present *Jeb'a* on the south side of the *Wâdy Suweinît*. In their front, across the wâdy, which is here about a mile wide, and divided by several swells lower than the side eminences, was Saul in the town of Michmash, the modern *Mukhmâs*, and holding also "Mount Bethel;" that is, the heights on the north of the great wâdy—*Deîr Dîwân, Burkah, et-Tell*, as far as *Beitîn* itself. South of the Philistine camp, and between 2 and 3 miles to its rear, was Jonathan, in Gibeah-of-Benjamin, with a thousand chosen warriors (xiii. 2). The first step was taken by Jonathan, who drove out the Philistines from Geba, by a feat of arms which at once procured him an immense reputation. But in the meantime it increased the difficulties of Israel, for the Philistines (hearing of their reverse) gathered in prodigious strength, and, advancing with an enormous armament, pushed Saul's little force before them out of Bethel and Michmash, and down the Eastern passes to Gilgal, near Jericho in the Jordan valley (xiii. 4, 7). They then established themselves at Michmash, formerly the head-quarters of Saul, and from thence sent out their bands of plunderers, north, west, and east (*vv.* 17, 18). But nothing could dislodge Jonathan from his main stronghold in the south. As far as we can disentangle the complexities of the story, he soon relinquished Geba, and retired with his little force to Gibeah, where he was joined by his father,[d] with Samuel the prophet and Ahiah the priest, who, perhaps remembering the former fate of the Ark, had brought down the sacred Ephod[e] from Shiloh. These three had made their way up from Gilgal, with a force sorely diminished by desertion to the Philistine camp (xiv. 21) and flight (xiii. 7)—a mere remnant (κατάλειμμα) of the people following in the rear of the little band (LXX.). Then occurred the feat of the hero and his armour-bearer. In the stillness and darkness of the night they descended the hill of Gibeah, crossed the intervening country to the steep terraced slope of *Jeb'a*, and threading the mazes of the ravine below climbed the opposite hill, and discovered themselves to the garrison of the Philistines just as the day was breaking.[f]

No one had been aware of their departure, but it was not long unknown. Saul's watchmen in Gibeah were straining their eyes to catch a glimpse in the early morning of the position of the foe; and as the first rays of the rising sun on their right broke over the mountains of Gilead, and glittered on the rocky heights of Michmash, their practised eyes quickly discovered the unusual stir in the camp; they could see "the multitude melting away, and beating down one another." The muster-roll was hastily called to discover the absentees. The oracle of God was consulted, but so rapidly did the tumult increase that Saul's impatience would not permit the rites to be completed, and soon he and Ahiah (xiv. 36) were rushing down from Gibeah at the head of their hungry warriors, joined at every step by some of the wretched Hebrews from their hiding-places in the clefts and holes of the Benjamite hills, eager for revenge, and for the recovery of the "sheep, and oxen, and calves" (xiv. 32), equally with the arms, of which they had been lately plundered. So quickly did the news run through the district that—if we may accept the statements of the LXX.—by the time Saul reached the Philistine camp his following amounted to 10,000 men: on every one of the heights (βαμὼθ) of the country the people rose against the hated invaders, and before the day was out there was not a city even of Mount Ephraim to which the struggle had not spread. [JONATHAN.]

adopted in the A. V. only in the vowel-points; and there seems a certain consistency in an ambush concealing themselves in a cave, which in an open field would be impossible. On the other hand, the expression "round about" in *v.* 29 seems inconsistent with the theory of a cave; and more suitable to an ambush concealed in standing corn, or by inequalities in the ground. The R. V. reads "Maareh-geba" in the text, and "the meadow of Geba" in the margin.

[c] Josephus, *Ant.* v. 2, § 11.

[d] According to R. V. (1 Sam. xiii. 15, 16), Samuel went from Gilgal to Gibeah, whilst Saul and Jonathan assembled their men in Geba, whence they must have gone to Gibeah (xiv. 2, 17).

[e] 1 Sam. xiv. 3. In *v.* 18 the Ark is said to have been at Gibeah; but this is in direct contradiction to the statement of vii. 1, compared with 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4, and 1 Ch. xiii. 3; and also to those of the LXX. and Josephus at this place. The Hebrew words for Ark and ephod—אָרוֹן and אֵפוֹד—are not very dissimilar, and may have been mistaken for one another (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 46, note; Stanley, p. 205).

[f] We owe this touch to Josephus: ὑποφαινούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας (*Ant.* vi. 6, § 2).

The only indications of position in the above narrative are that Gibeah and Geba were distinct places (xiii. 2, 3; xiv. 2, 5, in R. V.), and that Saul's watchmen in Gibeah could see the commotion in the Philistine army at Michmash. If Gibeah of Benjamin were in the position suggested in (1), it must have been between 4 and 5 miles from Michmash,—a distance at which it would be difficult, though not perhaps impossible, with the assistance of the rays of the rising sun, for a trained eye to distinguish an unusual movement in a large army. May we not, however, suppose that the watchmen were the usual outposts or scouts, 2 or 3 miles in front of Gibeah; and that they kept up communication with Saul by means of swift "runners"? In this case there would be no difficulty in placing Gibeah at or near *Tell el-Fûl*. The actual distances from *Mukhmâs* are, *Jeb'a*, 2 miles; *Kh. Râs et-Tawîl*, 4 miles; and *Tell el-Fûl*, 5 miles. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 6, §§ 1–3) does not distinguish between Gibeah and Geba.

(3.) As "Gibeah of Benjamin," this place is referred to in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 (cp. 1 Ch. xi. 31), and as "Gibeah" it is mentioned by Hosea (v. 8; ix. 9; x. 9), but it does not again appear in the history. It is, however, almost without doubt identical with

5. GIBEAH-OF-SAUL (גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל; the LXX. do not recognise this name except in 2 Sam. xxi. 6, where they have Γαβαὼν Σαούλ, *Gabaath Saulis*, and Is. x. 29, πόλις Σαούλ, elsewhere simply Γαβαὰ or A. Γαβαθά). This is not mentioned as Saul's city till after his anointing (1 Sam. x. 26), when he is said to have gone "home" (Hebr. "to his house," as in xv. 34) to Gibeah, "to which," adds Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 4, § 6), "he belonged." In the subsequent narrative the town bears its full name (xi. 4), and the king is living there, still following the avocations of a simple farmer, when his relations[g] of Jabesh-Gilead beseech his help in their danger. His Ammonite expedition is followed by the first Philistine war, and by various other conflicts, amongst others an expedition against Amalek in the extreme south of Palestine. But he returns, as before, "to his house" at Gibeah-of-Saul (1 Sam. xv. 34). Again we meet with it, when the seven sons of the king were hung there as a sacrifice to turn away the anger of Jehovah (2 Sam. xxi. 6[h]). The name of Saul has not been found in connexion with any place of modern Palestine, but it existed as late as the days of Josephus, and an allusion of his has fortunately given a clue to the position of the town. Josephus (*B. J.* v. 2, § 1), describing Titus's march from Caesarea to Jerusalem, gives his route as through Samaria to Gophna, thence a day's march (usually 10 miles) to a valley "called by the Jews the Valley of Thorns, near a certain village called Gabathsaoule (Γαβαθσαούλη), distant from Jerusalem about 30 stadia." Here he was joined during the night (§ 3) by the legion from Emmaus (Nicopolis), which would naturally come up the road by Beth-horon and Gibeon, the same that still falls into the road from Gophna to Jerusalem about half a mile north of *Tell el-Fûl*. The junction of the two roads is exactly 10 Roman miles from *Jufna*, Gophna, and 30 stadia from Jerusalem; and it is just the position that an army advancing on Jerusalem and expecting reinforcements by the Beth-horon road might be expected to take up. Hereabouts then must have been the "Valley of Thorns," perhaps *W. ed-Dumm*, west of the road, or *W. el-Hâfi*, to the east of it; and "Gabathsaoule," which may have been either *Tell el-Fûl* or *Kh. Râs et-Tawîl*, respectively 25 and 32 stadia from Jerusalem. The agreement between the positions of Gibeah of Benjamin and Gibeah of Saul is complete, and there seems every reason to suppose that the two places are identical.

The position assigned to Gibeah, as also the identification of Geba with *Jeb'a*, is fully supported by Is. x. 28–32, where we have a specification of the route of Sennacherib from the north through the villages of the Benjamite district to Jerusalem. Commencing with Ai, to the east of the present *Beitin*, the route proceeds by *Mukhmâs* across the "passages" of the *Wâdy Suweinit* to *Jeb'a* on the opposite side; and then by *er-Râm* and *Tell el-Fûl*, villages actually on the present road, to the heights north of Jerusalem, from which the city is visible. Gallim, Madmenah, and Gebim, none of which have been yet identified, must have been, like Anathoth (*'Anâta*), villages on one side or the other of the direct line of march. The only break in the chain is Migron, which is here placed between Ai and Michmash, while in 1 Sam. xiv. 2 it appears to have been 5 or 6 miles south, at Gibeah. One explanation that presents itself is, that in that uneven and rocky district the name "Migron" ("precipice") would very probably, like "Gibeah," be borne by more than one town or spot. [MIGRON.]

In 1 Sam. xxii. 6,[i] xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1, "Gibeah" doubtless stands for G. of Saul.

Dr. Robinson (i. 577–79) was the first to identify Gibeah of Benjamin, or of Saul, with *Tell el-Fûl*, though it was partly suggested by a writer in *Stud. u. Kritiken*. He has been followed by Stanley, Tristram, Porter, Geikie, Sepp, Riehm, and Baedeker-Socin. On the other hand, Knobel, Thenius, Manchot in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.*, Schwarz, and Conder identify Gibeah with Geba, *Jeb'a*. Conder argues, from Judg. xx. 31, 1 Sam. xiv. 2, xxii. 6, that Gibeah was a district having Geba as a capital (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1877, pp. 104, 105; 1881, p. 89). It seems clear, however, especially from Is. x. 29, that they were distinct places. Birch (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1882) suggests *Kh. 'Adaseh*, 2 miles E. of *El-Jîb*, Gibeon, as a site for Gibeah, but this place is apparently ADASA.

6. GIBEAH-IN-THE FIELD (גִּבְעַת בַּשָּׂדֶה; Γαβαὰ ἐν ἀγρῷ; *Gabaa*), named only in Judg. xx. 31, as the place to which one of the "highways" (מְסִלּוֹת) led from Gibeah-of-Benjamin,

[g] This is a fair inference from the fact that the wives of 400 out of the 600 Benjamites who escaped the massacre at Gibeah came from Jabesh-Gilead (*Judg.* xxi. 12).

[h] The word in this verse rendered "hill" is not *gibeah* but *har*, i.e. "mountain" (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco).

[i] The words in 1 Sam. xxii. 6 may either be translated "in Gibeah, under the tamarisk tree on the height," as in R. V. marg., or it may imply that Ramah was included within the precincts of the king's city. [RAMAH.]

—"of which one goeth up to Bethel, and one to Gibeah-in-the-field." *Sadeh*, the word here rendered "field," is applied specially to cultivated ground, "as distinguished from town, desert, or garden" (Stanley, App. § 15). Cultivation was so general throughout this district, that the term affords no clue to the situation of the place. It is, however, remarkable that the north road from Jerusalem, shortly after passing *Tell el-Fûl*, separates into two branches, one running on to *Beitîn* (Bethel), and the other diverging to the right to *Jeb'a* (Geba). The attack on Gibeah came from the north (cp. xx. 18, 19, and 26, in which "the house of God" is really Bethel), and therefore the divergence of the roads was north of the town. In the case of Gibeah-of-Benjamin we have seen that the two forms "Geba" and "Gibeah" appear to be convertible, the former for the latter. If the identification now proposed for Gibeah-in-the-field be correct, the case is here reversed—and "Gibeah" is put for "Geba."

The "meadows of Gaba" (גֶּבַע; A. V. Gibeah, R. V. Geba; Judg. xx. 33) have no connexion with the "field," the Hebrew words being entirely different. As stated above, the word rendered "meadows" is probably accurately "cave." [GEBA, p. 1177, n. [b].]

7. There are several other names compounded of Gibeah, which are given in a translated form in the A. V., probably from their appearing not to belong to towns. These are:—

(1.) The "hill of the foreskins," R. V. marg. *Gibeath ha-araloth* (Josh. v. 3), between the Jordan and Jericho; it derives its name from the circumcision which took place there, and seems afterwards to have received the name of GILGAL.

(2.) The "hill of Phinehas," R. V. marg. *Gibeah of Phinehas*, in Mount Ephraim (Josh. xxiv. 33). Schwarz (*H. L.* p. 118), who is followed by Sepp (ii. 53) and Conder (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 288), identifies it with *'Awertah*, near *Nâblus*, where the tombs of Phinehas and Eleazar are shown. Guérin (*Judée*, iii. 37) and Riehm (*s. v.*) place it at *Jibîa*, 3 miles north of *Kuryet el-'Enab*.

(3.) The hill of Moreh (Judg. vii. 1).

(4.) The hill of God—Gibeath ha-Elohim (1 Sam. x. 5); one of the places in the route of Saul, which is so difficult to trace. In *vv.* 10 and 13, it is apparently called "the hill" and "the high place."

(5.) The hill of Hachilah (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1).

(6.) The hill of Ammah (2 Sam. ii. 24).

(7.) The hill Gareb (Jer. xxxi. 39).

In addition to those enumerated above, Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1) mentions a Gibeah as adjoining Carmel, and as having the sobriquet "city of horsemen" (Γαβὰ πόλις ἱππέων), because it was the residence of certain horsemen dismissed by Herod. This place is now called *Jeb'a* (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 42). [G.] [W.]

GIBEATH, Josh. xviii. 28. [GIBEAH, 2.]

GIBEATHITE, THE (הַגִּבְעָתִי; ὁ Γαβαθίτης; *Gabaathites*), *i.e.* the native of Gibeah (1 Ch. xii. 3); in this case Shemaah, or "the Shemaah," father of two Benjamites, "Saul's brethren," who joined David.

GIBEON (גִּבְעוֹן, *i.e.* "belonging to a hill;" Γαβαών, Joseph. Γαβαώ; *Gabaon*), one of the four[a] cities of the HIVITES, the inhabitants of which made a league with Joshua (ix. 3–15), and thus escaped the fate of Jericho and Ai (cp. xi. 19). It appears, as might be inferred from its taking the initiative in this matter, to have been the largest of the four—"a great city, like one of the royal cities"—larger than Ai (x. 2). Its men too were all practised warriors (*Gibborim*, גִּבֹּרִים). Gibeon lay within the territory of Benjamin (xviii. 25), and with its "suburbs" was allotted to the priests (xxi. 17), of whom it became afterwards a principal station. Occasional notices of its existence occur in the Historical Books, which are examined more at length below; and after the Captivity we find the "men of Gibeon" returning with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 25: in the list of Ezra the name is altered to Gibbar), and assisting Nehemiah in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (iii. 7). In the post-biblical times it was the scene of a victory by the Jews over the Roman troops under Cestius Gallus, which offers in many respects a close parallel to that of Joshua over the Canaanites (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 19, § 7; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 212).

The situation of Gibeon has fortunately been recovered with as great certainty as any ancient site in Palestine. The traveller who pursues the northern camel-road from Jerusalem, turning off to the left beyond *Tell el-Fûl*, on that branch of it which leads westward to Jaffa, finds himself, after crossing one or two stony and barren ridges, in a district of a more open character. The hills are rounder and more isolated than those through which he has been passing, and rise in well-defined mamelons from broad undulating valleys of tolerable extent and fertile soil. This is the central plateau of the country, the "land of Benjamin;" and these round hills are the Gibeahs, Gebas, Gibeons, and Ramahs, whose names occur so frequently in the records of this district. Retaining its ancient name almost intact, *el-Jîb* stands on the northernmost of a couple of these mamelons, just at the place where the road to the sea parts into two branches, the one by the lower level of the *Wâdy Suleiman*, the other by the heights of the Beth-horons, to Gimzo, Lydda, and Joppa. The road passes at a short distance to the north of the base of the hill of *el-Jîb*. The strata of the hills in this district lie much more horizontally than those further south. With the hills of Gibeon this is peculiarly the case, and it imparts a remarkable precision to their appearance, especially when viewed from a height such as the neighbouring eminence of *Neby Samwil*. The natural terraces are carried round the hill like contour lines; they are all dotted thick with olives and vines, and the ancient-looking houses are scattered over the flattish summit of the mound. On the east side of the hill is a copious spring, which issues in a cave excavated in the limestone rock, so as to form a large reservoir, whence a rock-hewn passage led to the surface of the hill above (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1890, p. 23). In the trees farther

[a] So Josh. ix. 17. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 16) omits Beeroth.

down are the remains of a pool or tank of considerable size; probably, says Dr. Robinson, 120 feet by 100, *i.e.* of rather smaller dimensions than the lower pool at Hebron. This is doubtless the "pool of Gibeon" at which Abner and Joab met together with the troops of Ishbosheth and David, and where that sharp conflict took place which ended in the death of Asahel, and led at a later period to the treacherous murder of Abner himself. Here or at the spring were the "great waters (or the many waters, מַיִם רַבִּים) of Gibeon,"[b] at which Johanan the son of Kareah found the traitor Ishmael (Jer. xli. 12). Round this water also, according to the notice of Josephus (*ἐπί τινι πηγῇ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄπωθεν, Ant.* v. 1, § 17), the five kings of the Amorites were encamped when Joshua burst upon them from Gilgal. The "wilderness of Gibeon" (2 Sam. ii. 24)—the *Midbar*, i.e. rather the waste pasture-grounds—must have been to the east, beyond the circle or suburb of cultivated fields, and towards the neighbouring swells, which bear the names of *Jedireh* and *Bir Nebâla*. Such is the situation of Gibeon, fulfilling in position every requirement of the notices of the Bible, Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome. Its distance from Jerusalem by the main road is as nearly as possible 6½ miles; but there is a more direct road reducing it to 5 miles.

(1.) The name of Gibeon is most familiar to us in connexion with the artifice by which its inhabitants obtained their safety at the hands of Joshua, and with the memorable battle which ultimately resulted therefrom. This transaction is elsewhere examined, and therefore requires no further reference here. [JOSHUA; BETH-HORON.]

(2.) We next hear of it at the encounter between the men of David and of Ishbosheth under their respective leaders, Joab and Abner (2 Sam. ii. 12–17). The meeting has all the air of having been premeditated by both parties, unless we suppose that Joab had heard of the intention of the Benjamites to revisit from the distant Mahanaim their native villages, and had seized the opportunity to try his strength with Abner. The details of this disastrous encounter are elsewhere given. [JOAB.] The place where the struggle began received a name from the circumstance, and seems to have been long afterwards known as the "field of the strong men." [HELKATH-HAZZURIM.]

(3.) We again meet with Gibeon in connexion with Joab; this time as the scene of the cruel and revolting death of Amasa by his hand (2 Sam. xx. 5-10). Joab was in pursuit of the rebellious Sheba the son of Bichri, and his being so far out of the direct north road as Gibeon may be accounted for by supposing that he was making a search for this Benjamite among the towns of his tribe. The two rivals met at "the great stone which is in Gibeon"—some old landmark now no longer recognisable, at least not recognised—and then Joab repeated the treachery by which he had murdered Abner, but with circumstances of a still more revolting character. [JOAB.]

It is remarkable that the retribution for this crowning act of perfidy should have overtaken Joab close to the very spot on which it had been committed. For it was to the Tabernacle at Gibeon (1 K. ii. 28, 29; cp. 1 Ch. xvi. 39) that Joab fled for sanctuary when his death was pronounced by Solomon, and it was while clinging to the horns of the brazen Altar there that he received his deathblow from Benaiah the son of Jehoiada (1 K. ii. 28, 30, 34; and LXX. *v.* 29).

(4.) Familiar as these events in connexion with the history of Gibeon are to us, its reputation in Israel was due to a very different circumstance—the fact that the Tabernacle of the congregation and the brazen Altar[c] of burnt-offering were for some time located on the "high place" attached to or near the town. We are not informed whether this "high place" had any fame for sanctity before the Tabernacle came there; but if not, it would have probably been erected elsewhere. We only hear of it in connexion with the Tabernacle, nor is there any indication of its situation in regard to the town. Dean Stanley has suggested that it was the remarkable hill of *Neby Samwîl*, the most prominent and individual eminence in that part of the country, and to which the special appellation of "the great high-place" (1 K. iii. 4; הַבָּמָה הַגְּדוֹלָה) would perfectly apply. And certainly, if "great" is to be understood as referring to height or size, there is no other hill which can so justly claim the distinction (*Sinai and Pal.* p. 216). But the word has not always that meaning, and may equally imply eminence in other respects, *e.g.* superior sanctity to the numerous other high places—Bethel, Ramah, Mizpeh, and Gibeah—which surrounded it on every side. The main objection to this identification is the distance of *Neby Samwîl* from Gibeon—more than a mile—and the absence of any closer connexion therewith than with any other of the neighbouring places. The most natural position for the high place of Gibeon is the twin mount immediately south of *el-Jîb*—so close as to be all but a part of the town, and yet quite separate and distinct. The testimony of Epiphanius, by which Dean Stanley supports his conjecture, viz. that the "Mount of Gabaon" was the highest round Jerusalem (*Adv. Haereses*, i. 394), should be received with caution, standing as it does quite alone, and belonging to an age which, though early, was marked by ignorance, and by the most improbable conclusions.

To this high place, wherever situated, the "Tabernacle of the congregation"—the sacred tent which had accompanied the children of Israel through the whole of their wanderings—had been transferred from its last station at Nob.[c] The exact date of the transfer is left in uncertainty. It was either before or at the time when David brought up the Ark from Kir-

[b] Both here and in 1 K. iii. 4, Josephus substitutes Hebron for Gibeon (*Ant.* x. 9, § 5; viii. 2, § 1).

[c] The various stations of the Tabernacle and the Ark, from their entry on the Promised Land to their final deposition in the Temple at Jerusalem, will be examined under TABERNACLE. Meantime, with reference to the above, it may be said that though not expressly stated to have been at Nob, it may be conclusively inferred from the mention of the "shewbread" (1 Sam. xxi. 6). The "ephod" (*v.* 9) and the expression "before Jehovah" (*v.* 6) prove nothing either way. Josephus throws no light on it.

jath-jearim, to the new tent which he had pitched for it on Mount Zion, that the original tent was spread for the last time at Gibeon. The expression in 2 Ch. i. 5, "the brazen Altar he put before the Tabernacle of Jehovah," at first sight appears to refer to David. But the text of the passage is disputed, and the authorities are divided between שָׂם = "he put," and שָׁם = "was there" (R. V.). Whether king David transferred the Tabernacle to Gibeon or not, he certainly appointed the staff of priests to offer the daily sacrifices there on the brazen Altar of Moses, and to fulfil the other requirements of the Law (1 Ch. xvi. 40), with no less a person at their head than Zadok the priest (*v.* 39), assisted by the famous musicians Heman and Jeduthun (*v.* 41).

One of the earliest acts of Solomon's reign—it must have been while the remembrance of the execution of Joab was still fresh—was to visit Gibeon. The ceremonial was truly magnificent: he went up with all the congregation, the great officers of state—the captains of hundreds and thousands, the judges, the governors, and the chief of the fathers—and the sacrifice consisted of a thousand burnt-offerings (1 K. iii. 4). And this glimpse of Gibeon in all the splendour of its greatest prosperity—the smoke of the thousand animals rising from the venerable altar on the commanding height of "the great high place"—the clang of "trumpets and cymbals and musical instruments of God" (1 Ch. xvi. 42) resounding through the valleys far and near—is virtually the last we have of it. In a few years the Temple at Jerusalem was completed, and then the Tabernacle was once more taken down and removed. Again "all the men of Israel assembled themselves" to king Solomon, with the "elders of Israel," and the priests and the Levites brought up both the Tabernacle and the Ark, and "all the holy vessels that were in the Tabernacle" (1 K. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 4, § 1), and placed the venerable relics in their new home, there to remain until the plunder of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. The introduction of the name of Gibeon in 1 Ch. ix. 35, which seems so abrupt, is probably due to the fact that the preceding verses of the chapter contain, as they appear to do, a list of the staff attached to the "Tabernacle of the congregation" which was erected there; or if these persons should prove to be the attendants on the "new tent" which David had pitched for the Ark on its arrival in the city of David, the transition to the place where the old tent was still standing is both natural and easy. For the present state of Gibeon, see *PEF. Mem.* iii. 10, 94, and Guérin, *Judée*, i. 385–391 [G.] [W.]

GIBEONITES, THE (הַגִּבְעֹנִים; *οἱ Γαβαωνῖται*; *Gabaonitae*), the people of Gibeon, and perhaps also of the three cities associated with Gibeon (Josh. ix. 17)—Hivites; and who, on the discovery of the stratagem by which they had obtained the protection of the Israelites, were condemned to be perpetual bondmen, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the house of God and Altar of Jehovah (Josh. ix. 23, 27). Saul appears to have broken this covenant, and in a fit of enthusiasm or patriotism to have killed some and devised a general massacre of the rest (2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2, 5). This was expiated many years after by giving up seven men of Saul's descendants to the Gibeonites, who hung them or crucified them "before Jehovah"—as a kind of sacrifice—in Gibeah, Saul's own town (*vv.* 4, 6, 9). At this time, or at any rate at the time of the composition of the narrative, the Gibeonites were so identified with Israel, that the historian is obliged to insert a note explaining their origin and their non-Israelite extraction (xxi. 2). The actual name "Gibeonites" appears only in this passage of 2 Sam. [NETHINIM.]

Individual Gibeonites named are (1) ISMAIAH, one of the Benjamites who joined David in his difficulties (1 Ch. xii. 4); (2) MELATIAH, one of those who assisted Nehemiah in repairing the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 7); (3) HANANIAH, the son of Azur, a false prophet from Gibeon, who opposed Jeremiah, and shortly afterwards died (Jer. xxviii. 1, 10, 13, 17). [G.] [W.]

GIBLITES, THE (הַגִּבְלִי, *i.e.* singular, "the Giblite;" B. Γαλιὰθ *Φυλιστιείμ*, A. Γαβλί; *confinia*). The "land of the Giblite" is mentioned in connexion with Lebanon in the enumeration of the portions of the Promised Land remaining to be conquered by Joshua (Josh. xiii. 5). The ancient Versions, as will be seen above, give no help, but there is no reason to doubt that the allusion is to the inhabitants of the city GEBAL, which was on the sea-coast at the foot of the northern slopes of Lebanon. The one name is a regular derivative from the other (see Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 258 *b*). We have here a confirmation of the identity of the Aphek mentioned in this passage with *Afka* [APHEK, 2]; and the whole passage is instructive, as showing how very far the limits of the country designed for the Israelites exceeded those which they actually occupied.

The Giblites are again named (though not in the A. V.) in 1 K. v. 18 (הַגִּבְלִים; B. om., A. *οἱ Βίβλιοι*; *Biblii*), as assisting Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders to prepare the trees and the stones for building the Temple. That they were clever artificers is evident from this passage (cp. Ezek. xxvii. 9); but why the A. V. should have rendered the word "stone-squarers" is not obvious. Possibly they followed the Targum, which has a word of similar import in this place. R. V. correctly translates Gebalites. [G.] [W.]

GIDDAL'TI (גִּדַּלְתִּי = *I have magnified* (God); B. Γοδολλαθεί, A. Γεδολλαθί; *Geddelthi*), one of the sons of Heman, the king's seer, and therefore a Kohathite Levite (1 Ch. xxv. 4; cp. vi. 33): his office was with thirteen of his brothers to sound the horn in the service of the Tabernacle (*vv.* 5, 7). He had also charge of the 22nd division or course (*v.* 29).

GID'DEL (גִּדֵּל = *he hath magnified*; B. Κεδέδ, A. Γεδδήλ [Ezra], Bℵ. Γαδήλ, A. Σαδήλ [Neh.]; *Gaddel*). **1.** Children of Giddel (*Bene-Giddel*) were among the Nethinim who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 47; Neh. vii. 49). In the parallel lists of 1 Esdras (v. 30) the name is corrupted to CATHUA.

2. Bene-Giddel were also among the "servants

of Solomon" who returned to Judaea in the same caravan (Ezra ii. 56, B. Γεδηά, A. Γεδδήλ; Neh. vii. 58, BN. Γαδήλ, A. Γαδδήλ). In 1 Esd. v. 32 this is given as ISDAEL.

GIDEON (גִּדְעוֹן, Ges.=*a hewer*, i.e. a brave warrior; cp. Is. x. 33: Γεδεών; *Gedeon*), a Manassite, youngest son of Joash of the Abiezrites, an undistinguished family who lived at Ophrah (LXX. *v.* 11, Ἐφραθᾶ), which was probably a town of Manasseh not far from Shechem (Judg. vi. 15), although its exact position is unknown. He was the fifth recorded Judge of Israel, and for many reasons the greatest of them all. When we first hear of him he was grown up and had sons (Judg. vi. 11, viii. 20), and from the apostrophe of the Angel (vi. 12) we may conclude that he had already distinguished himself in war against the roving bands of nomadic robbers who had oppressed Israel for seven years, and whose countless multitudes (compared to locusts from their terrible devastations, vi. 5) annually destroyed all the produce of Canaan, except such as could be concealed in mountain fastnesses (vi. 2). It was probably during this disastrous period that the emigration of Elimelech took place (Ruth i. 1, 2). Some have identified the Angel who appeared to Gideon (*φάντασμα νεανίσκου μορφῇ*, Jos. *Ant.* v. 6) with the prophet mentioned in vi. 8, which will remind the reader of the legends about Malachi in Origen and other commentators. Paulus (*Exeg. Conserv.* ii. 190 sq.) endeavours to give the narrative a subjective colouring, but rationalism is of little value in accounts like this. When the Angel appeared, Gideon was thrashing wheat with a flail (ἔκοπτε, LXX.) in the wine-press, to conceal it from the predatory tyrants. After a natural hesitation he accepted the commission to be a deliverer, and learnt the true character of his visitant from a miraculous sign (vi. 12–23); and, being reassured from the fear which first seized him (Ex. xx. 19; Judg. xiii. 22), he built the altar Jehovah-shalom, which existed when the Book of Judges was written (vi. 24). In a dream the same night he was ordered to throw down the altar of Baal and cut down the Asherah (A. V. "grove") upon it [ASHERAH], with the wood of which he was to offer in sacrifice his father's "second bullock of seven years old," an expression in which some see an allusion to the seven years of servitude (vi. 25; cp. *v.* 1). Perhaps that particular bullock is specified because it had been reserved by his father to sacrifice to Baal (Rosenmüller, *Schol.* ad loc.), for Joash seems to have been a priest of that worship. Bertheau can hardly be right in supposing that Gideon was to offer *two* bullocks (*Richt.* p. 115). At any rate the minute touch is valuable as an indication of truth in the story (see Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 498, and note). Gideon, assisted by ten faithful servants, obeyed the vision, and next morning ran the risk of being stoned; but Joash appeased the popular indignation by using the common argument that Baal was capable of defending his own majesty (cp. 1 K. xviii. 27). This circumstance gave to Gideon the surname of יְרֻבַּעַל ("Let Baal plead," vi. 32; LXX. Ἱερο-βάαλ), a standing instance of national irony, expressive of Baal's impotence. Winer thinks that this irony was increased by the fact that יְרֻבַּעַל (see MV.[11]) was a surname of the Phoenician Hercules (cp. Movers, *Phönix.* i. 434). We have similar cases of contempt in the names Sychar, Baal-zebul, &c. (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* xii. 24). In consequence of this name some have identified Gideon with a certain priest Ἱερόμβαλος, mentioned in Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* i. 10) as having given much accurate information to Sanchoniatho the Berytian (Bochart, *Phaleg*, p. 776; Huetius, *Dem. Evang.* p. 84, &c.), but this opinion cannot be maintained (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. p. 494; Gesen. *s. v.*). We also find the name in the form Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. xi. 21. Cp. Eshbaal, 1 Ch. viii. 33, with Ishbosheth, 2 Sam. ii. sq.). Ewald (p. 495, n.) brings forward several arguments against the supposed origin of the name.

2. After this begins the second act of Gideon's life. "Clothed" by the Spirit of God (Judg. vi. 34; cp. 1 Ch. xii. 18; Luke xxiv. 49), he blew a trumpet; and, joined by "Zebulun, Naphtali, and even the reluctant Asher" (which tribes were chiefly endangered by the Midianites), and possibly also by some of the original inhabitants, who would suffer from these predatory "sons of the East" no less than the Israelites themselves, he encamped on the slopes of Gilboa, from which he overlooked the plains of Esdraelon covered by the tents of Midian (Stanley, *Sin. & Pal.* p. 243). Strengthened by a double sign from God (to which Ewald gives a strange figurative meaning, *Gesch.* ii. p. 500), he reduced his army of thirty-two thousand by the usual proclamation (Deut. xx. 8; cp. 1 Macc. iii. 56). The expression "let him depart from Mount Gilead" is perplexing (R. V. marg. renders *go round about*); Dathe would render it "*to* Mount Gilead,"—on the other side of Jordan; and Clericus reads גִּלְבֹּעַ, Gilboa; but Ewald is probably right in regarding the name as a sort of war-cry and general designation of the Manassites (see too Gesen. *Thes.* p. 804, n.). By a second test at "the spring of trembling" (now probably *'Ain Jahlood*, on which see Stanley, p. 342), he again reduced the number of his followers to three hundred (Judg. vii. 5 *sq.*), whom Josephus explains to have been the *most* cowardly in the army (*Ant.* v. 6, § 3). Finally, being encouraged by words fortuitously overheard (what the later Jews termed the Bath Kol; cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 9, 10; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* iii. 14), in the relation of a significant dream, he framed his plans, which were admirably adapted to strike a panic terror into the huge and undisciplined nomad host (Judg. viii. 15–18). We know from history that large and irregular Oriental armies are especially liable to sudden outbursts of uncontrollable terror; and when the stillness and darkness of the night were suddenly disturbed in three different directions by the flash of torches and by the reverberating echoes which the trumpets and the shouting woke among the hills, we cannot be astonished at the complete rout into which the enemy were thrown. It must be remembered too that the sound of three hundred trumpets would make them suppose that a corresponding number of *companies* were

attacking them.* For specimens of similar stratagems, see Liv. xxii. 16; Polyaen. *Strateg.* ii. 37; Frontin. ii. 4; Sall. *Jug.* 99; Niebuhr, *Desc. de l'Arabie*, p. 304; *Journ. As.* 1841, ii. 516 (quoted by Ewald, Rosenmüller, and Winer). The custom of dividing an army into three seems to have been common (1 Sam. xi. 11; Gen. xiv. 15), and Gideon's war-cry is not unlike that adopted by Cyrus (Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 28). He adds his own name to the war-cry, as suited both to inspire confidence in his followers and strike terror in the enemy. His stratagem was eminently successful, and the Midianites, breaking out into their wild peculiar cries, fled headlong "down the descent to the Jordan," to the "house of the Acacia" (Beth-shitta) and the "meadow of the dance" (Abel-meholah), but were intercepted by the Ephraimites (to whom notice had been sent, vii. 24) at the fords of Beth-barah, where, after a *second* fight, the princes Oreb and Zeeb ("the Raven" and "the Wolf") were detected and slain,—the former at a rock, and the latter concealed in a wine-press, to which their names were afterwards given. Meanwhile the "higher sheykhs, Zeba and Zalmunna, had already escaped," and Gideon (after pacifying — by a soft answer, which became proverbial—the haughty tribe of Ephraim, viii. 1–3) pursued them into eastern Manasseh, and, bursting upon them in their fancied security among the tents of their Bedouin countrymen [see KARKOR], won his *third* victory, and avenged on the Midianitish emirs the massacre of his kingly brethren whom they had slain at Tabor (viii. 18 sq.). In these three battles only fifteen thousand out of one hundred and twenty thousand Midianites escaped alive. It is indeed stated in Judg. viii. 10, that one hundred and twenty thousand Midianites had already *fallen:* but here, as elsewhere, it may merely be intended that such was the original number of the routed host. During his triumphal return Gideon took signal and appropriate vengeance on the coward and apostate towns of Succoth and Peniel. The memory of this splendid deliverance took deep root in the national traditions (1 Sam. xii. 11; Ps. lxxxiii. 11; Is. ix. 4, x. 26; Heb. xi. 32).

3. After this there was a peace of forty years, and we see Gideon in peaceful possession of his well-earned honours, and surrounded by the dignity of a numerous household (viii. 29–31). It is not improbable that, like Saul, he had owed a part of his popularity to his princely appearance (Judg. viii. 18). In this third stage of his life occur alike his most noble and his most questionable acts, viz. the refusal of the monarchy on theocratic grounds, and the irregular consecration of a jewelled ephod, formed out of the rich spoils of Midian, which proved to the Israelites a temptation to idolatry, although it was doubtless intended for use in the worship of Jehovah. Gesenius and others (*Thes.* p. 135; Bertheau, p. 133 sq.) follow the Peshitto in making the word Ephod here mean an idol, chiefly on account of the vast amount of gold (1700 shekels) and other rich material appropriated to it. But it is simpler to understand it as a significant symbol of an unauthorised worship.

Respecting the chronology of this period, little certainty can be obtained. Making full allowance for the use of round numbers, and even admitting the improbable assertion of some of the Rabbis that the period of oppression is counted in the years of rest (*v.* Rosenmüller on Judg. iii. 11), insuperable difficulties remain. If, however, as has been suggested by Lord A. Hervey, several of the judgeships really synchronise instead of being successive, much of the confusion vanishes. For instance, he supposes (from a comparison of Judg. iii., viii., and xii.) that there was a *combined* movement under three great chiefs, Ehud, Gideon, and Jephthah, by which the Israelites emancipated themselves from the dominion of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Midianites (who for some years had occupied their land), and enjoyed a long term of peace through all their coasts. "If," he says, "we string together the different accounts of the different parts of Israel which are given us in that miscellaneous collection of ancient records called the Book of Judges, and treat them as connected and successive history, we shall fall into as great a chronographical error as if we treated in the same manner the histories of Mercia, Kent, Essex, Wessex, and Northumberland, before England became one kingdom" (*Genealog. of our Lord*, p. 238). It is now well known that a similar source of error has long existed in the chronology of Egypt.

[F. W. F.]

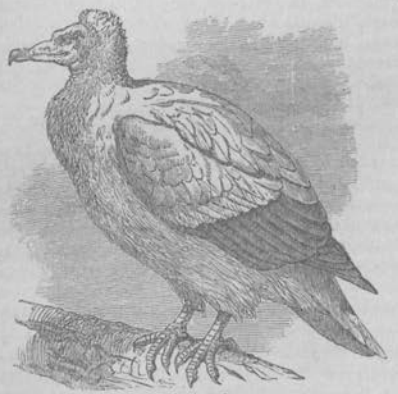
GIDEO'NI (גִּדְעֹנִי, or once גִּדְעוֹנִי; B. [usually] Γαδεωνεί, AF. [usually] Γαδεωνί; *Gedeonis*). Abidan, son of Gideoni, was the chief man of the tribe of Benjamin at the time of the census in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 11; ii. 22; vii. 60, 65; x. 24).

GID'OM (גִּדֹם; Γεδών, A. Γαλαάδ), a place named only in Judg. xx. 45, as the limit to which the pursuit of Benjamin extended after the final battle of Gibeah. It would appear to have been situated between Gibeah (*Tell el-Fûl*) and the cliff Rimmon (probably *Rummôn*, about 3 miles E. of Bethel); but no trace of the name, nor yet of that of Menuchah, if indeed that was a place (Judg. xx. 43; A. V. "with ease," R. V. "at their resting place" — but see margin), has yet been met with. The reading of A., "Gilead," can hardly be taken as well founded. In the Vulgate the word does not seem to be represented. [G.] [W.]

GIER EAGLE. The rendering in A. V. of רָחָם, *rāchām*, רָחָמָה, *rāchāmāh*, in Lev. xi. 18 and Deut. xiv. 17, the only passages where the name occurs: Arab. رخم, رخمة, *racham*, *rachamah*; R. V. "vulture." All authorities are unanimous in identifying *rāchām* with the well-known Egyptian vulture, or "Pharaoh's hen," as it is often called in the East, *Neo-*

* It is curious to find "lamps and pitchers" in use for a similar purpose at this very day in the streets of Cairo. The *Zabit* or *Agha* of the police carries with him at night, "a torch which burns soon after it is lighted, without a flame, excepting when it is waved through the air, when it suddenly blazes forth: it therefore answers the same purpose as our dark lantern. *The burning end is sometimes concealed in a small pot or jar*, or covered with something else, when not required to give light" (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. ch. iv.).

phron percnopterus (L.). The Revisers' translation is undoubtedly preferable to that of the A. V. But it is unfortunate that the name "vulture" is applied in our language to birds so widely different in appearance and character as the Griffon and the Neophron. The LXX. in Leviticus give κύκνος, "swan;" and in Deut. πορφυρίων, "purple waterhen," *Porphyrio caeruleus*, Vand., in which they are followed by the Vulgate. But both of these seem to be mere random guesses of writers who had no knowledge of the subject, and have no justification, etymological or other. The name gier-eagle is a compound of the German word for vulture, *Geier*, and eagle; than which a more inappropriate name could hardly be found for the un-eaglelike Neophron. This bird holds an important place in the Arab pharmacopoeia, and is also the subject of many wonderful tales. In spite of its repulsive habits—for it feeds exclusively on putrid carrion and ordure—or perhaps because of its consequent value as a scavenger, it is greatly respected by all Orientals: its Turkish name is *Ach bobba*, "white father," in respectful allusion to its white plumage. Everywhere in the East it is protected. Though more abundant in tropical countries than elsewhere, its range is very extended. In Africa it is found from the Cape to Morocco and Egypt, and through Southern Europe and the warmer parts of Asia to Ceylon. (The Indian bird has however been distinguished as *Neophron ginginianus*, Lath., but the differences are very



Egyptian Vulture.

minute.) It is a handsome bird on the wing, with white body and tail and black pinions. It respectfully follows but never consorts with the noble griffons, and is often seen high up in the air, sailing below them. Its long, feeble, and slightly curved bill, and its weak feet and claws, separate it widely from the true vultures, eagles, and all other birds of prey, with which it is never classed by the Orientals. In Palestine it is only a summer visitant, arriving from the south in April, and remaining till October. It is scattered everywhere in pairs over the country, nesting low down in the cliffs, and heaping up in some conspicuous spot an enormous structure of sticks, turf, bones, rags, pieces of sheepskin, and whatever else the neighbourhood of a village may supply. It is fearless, and from long experience seems to have confidence in man, visiting the village dunghills with perfect unconcern. Excepting over a carcase, rarely more than two are ever seen together. The Egyptian vulture does not acquire its adult plumage until it is two years old. The young bird has a dappled brown plumage, and in this plumage it has been captured in England.

The Revisers, while substituting "vulture" for "gier eagle," as the translation of *râchâm*, have unfortunately transferred this latter word to פֶּרֶס, *peres*, the "lammergeyer" of naturalists, the "ossifrage" of the A. V. [H. B. T.]

GIFT. The giving and receiving of presents has in all ages been not only a more frequent, but also a more formal and significant proceeding in the East than among ourselves. It enters largely into the ordinary transactions of life: no negotiation, alliance, or contract of any kind can be entered into between states or sovereigns without a previous interchange of presents: none of the important events of private life—betrothal, marriage, coming of age, birth—take place without presents: even a visit, if of a formal nature, must be prefaced by a present. We cannot adduce a more remarkable proof of the important part which presents play in the social life of the East, than the fact, that the Hebrew language possesses no less than fifteen different expressions for the one idea. Many of these expressions have specific meanings: for instance, *minçhah* (מִנְחָה) applies to a present from an inferior to a superior, as from subjects to a king (Judg. iii. 15; 1 K. xi 25; 2 Ch. xvii. 5): *mas'eth* (מַשָּׂאת) expresses the converse idea of a present from a superior to an inferior, as from a king to his subjects (Esth. ii. 18); hence it is used of a portion of food sent by the master of the house to guests whom he wishes to honour (Gen. xliii. 34; 2 Sam. xi. 8): *nisseth* (נִשֵּׂאת) has very much the same sense (2 Sam. xix. 42): *beracah* (בְּרָכָה), literally a "blessing," is used where the present is one of a complimentary nature, either accompanied with good wishes, or given as a token of affection (Gen. xxxiii. 11; Judg. i. 15; 1 Sam. xxv. 27, xxx. 26; 2 K. v. 15); and again, *shochad* (שֹׁחַד) is a gift for the purpose of escaping punishment, presented either to a judge (Ex. xxiii. 8; Deut. x. 17) or to a conqueror (2 K. xvi. 8). Other terms, as *mattan* (מַתָּן), were used more generally. The extent to which the custom prevailed admits of some explanation from the peculiar usages of the East: it is clear that the term "gift" is frequently used where we should substitute "tribute," or "fee." The tribute of subject states was paid not in a fixed sum of money, but in kind, each nation presenting its particular product—a custom which is frequently illustrated in the sculptures of Assyria and Egypt; hence the numerous instances in which the present was no voluntary act, but an exaction (Judg. iii. 15–18; 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6; 1 K. iv. 21; 2 K. xvii. 3; 2 Ch. xvii. 11, xxvi. 8); and hence the expression "to bring presents" = to own submission (Ps. lxviii. 29, lxxvi. 11; Is. xviii. 7). Again, the present taken to a prophet was viewed very much in the light of a consulting "fee," and conveyed no idea of bribery (1 Sam. ix. 7, cp. xii. 3; 2 K. v. 5, viii. 9): it

was only when false prophets and corrupt judges arose that the present was prostituted, and became, instead of a *minchah* (as in the instances quoted), a *shochad*, or bribe (Is. i. 23, v. 23; Ezek. xxii. 12; Micah iii. 11). But even allowing for these cases, which are hardly "gifts" in our sense of the term, there is still a large excess remaining in the practice of the East: friends brought presents to friends on any joyful occasion (Esth. ix. 19, 22), those who asked for information or advice to those who gave it (2 K. viii. 8), the needy to the wealthy from whom any assistance was expected (Gen. xliii. 11; 2 K. xv. 19, xvi. 8), rulers to their favourites (Gen. xlv. 22; 2 Sam. xi. 8), especially to their officers (Esth. ii. 18; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 2, § 15), or to the people generally on festive occasions (2 Sam. vi. 19). On the occasion of a marriage, the bridegroom not only paid the parents for his bride (A. V. and R. V. "dowry"), but also gave the bride certain presents (Gen. xxxiv. 12; cp. Gen. xxiv. 22), while the father of the bride gave her a present on *sending her away*, as is expressed in the term *shilluchîm* (שִׁלֻּחִים, 1 K. ix. 16): and again, the portions of the sons of concubines were paid in the form of presents (Gen. xxv. 6).

The nature of the presents was as various as were the occasions: food (1 Sam. ix. 7, xvi. 20, xxv. 18), sheep and cattle (Gen. xxxii. 13–15; Judg. xv. 1), gold (2 Sam. xviii. 11; Job xlii. 11; Matt. ii. 11), jewels (Gen. xxiv. 53), furniture and vessels for eating and drinking (2 Sam. xvii. 28); delicacies, such as spices, honey, &c. (Gen. xxiv. 53; 1 K. x. 25, xiv. 3); and robes (1 K. x. 25; 2 K. v. 22), particularly in the case of persons inducted into high office (Esth. vi. 8; Dan. v. 16; cp. Herod. iii. 20). The mode of presentation was with as much parade as possible; the presents were conveyed by the hands of servants (Judg. iii. 18), or still better on the backs of beasts of burden (2 K. viii. 9), even when such a mode of conveyance was unnecessary. The refusal of a present was regarded as a high indignity, and this constituted the aggravated insult noticed in Matt. xxii. 11, the marriage robe having been offered and refused (Trench, *Notes on the Parables*, in loco). No less an insult was it, not to bring a present when the position of the parties demanded it (1 Sam. x. 27). [W. L. B.]

GI'HON (גִּיחוֹן; ADE. Γηών; *Gehon*). **1.** The second river of Paradise (Gen. ii. 13). The name does not again occur in the Hebrew text of the O. T.; but in the LXX. it is used in Jer. ii. 18, as an equivalent for the word Shichor or Sihor, *i.e.* the Nile, and in Ecclus. xxiv. 27 (E. V. "Geon"). All that can be said upon it will be found under EDEN, p. 849.

2. (גִּחוֹן, and in Ch. גִּיחוֹן; B. Γειών, A. Γιών; *Gihon.*) A place near Jerusalem, memorable as the scene of the anointing and proclamation of Solomon as king (1 K. i. 33, 38, 45). From the terms of this passage, it is evident that it was at a lower level than the city—"bring him down (וְהוֹרַדְתֶּם) upon (עַל) Gihon"—"they are come up (וַיַּעֲלוּ) from thence." With this agrees a later mention (2 Ch. xxxiii. 14; Γιών), where it is called "Gihon-in-the-valley," the word rendered valley being *nachal* (נַחַל). In this latter place Gihon is named to designate the direction of the wall built by Manasseh—"without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish-gate." It is not stated in any of the above passages that Gihon was a spring;* but the only remaining place in which it is mentioned suggests this belief, or at least that it had given its name to some water—"Hezekiah also stopped the upper source or issue [מוֹצָא, from יָצָא, to rush forth; incorrectly "watercourse" in A. V.] of the waters of Gihon" (2 Ch. xxxii. 30; A. Γιών, B. Σειών). Josephus also writes (*Ant.* vii. 14, § 5) of "the fountain called Gihon."

The following facts may be noticed in regard to the occurrences of the word.

1. Its low level; as above stated.

2. The expression "Gihon-in-the-valley;" where it will be observed that *nachal* ("torrent" or "wâdy") is the word always employed for the valley of the Kedron, east of Jerusalem—the so-called Valley of Jehoshaphat; *ge* ("ravine" or "glen") being as constantly employed for the Valley of Hinnom. In this connexion the mention of Ophel (2 Ch. xxxiii. 14) with Gihon should not be disregarded.

3. The Targum of Jonathan, and the Syriac and Arabic Versions, have *Shiloha*, i.e. Siloam (Arab. *'Ain*-Shiloha), for Gihon in 1 K. i.; so also Procop. Gaz. *Scholia* in 2 Par. xxxii. Γηὼν· τὸν Σιλωὰμ οὕτω καλεῖ. In Chronicles they agree with the Hebrew text in having Gihon. In the Mishnah (*Pesachim* iv. 9) Siloam is called Gihon, and a Christian tradition to the same effect is given by Theodoret as cited by Reland (*Pal.* p. 859). If Siloam be Gihon, then

4. The omission of Gihon from the very detailed catalogue of Neh. iv. is explained.

It is possible that two different places are intended by "Gihon" and "Gihon in the valley;"—the former being Siloam, or the end of the conduit which, before the construction of the rock-hewn tunnel, carried the waters of the Fountain of the Virgin to the lower Pool of Siloam, and "Gihon in the valley" the Fountain of the Virgin itself. This view agrees with the statements of Josephus that Adonijah's feast took place "near the fountain that was in the king's paradise" (*Ant.* vii. 14, § 4), that is, Enrogel or the Fountain of the Virgin; and (14, § 5) that Solomon was anointed at "the fountain called Gihon" (τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γιών),—probably Siloam, which Josephus elsewhere (*B. J.* v. 4, §§ 1, 2; 9, § 4) calls a spring.

The position of the "upper spring of the waters of Gihon," which Hezekiah stopped and brought "straight down to (R. V. "on") the west side of the city of David," is one of the most difficult questions connected with the topography of Jerusalem. The most natural identification would be the Fountain of the Virgin,

* It has been suggested (Dr. Chaplin in *PEFQy. Stat.* 1890, p. 124) that the true derivation of Gihon is not גִּיחַ, *giah*, "to burst forth," but גָּחַן, *gahan*, "to bow down," to prostrate oneself, and that the term was originally applied, not to the fountain, but to the canal which brought the water from the fountain.

in the Kedron valley; but the Siloam tunnel through which the waters of that spring flow down to the upper Pool of Siloam, near the southern extremity of the eastern hill, can scarcely be said to have conveyed them to or on the west side of the city of David. On the other hand, the description in 2 Ch. xxxii. 30 would apply perfectly to the waters of a spring, north of the Damascus Gate, carried southward by the very ancient conduit that entered the city near "the Quarries," and apparently followed the west face of the eastern hill upon which the city of David stood. There is, however, no known spring near the head of the valley that runs down through the centre of Jerusalem, and it is doubtful whether the aqueduct in question derived its supply from a spring or a reservoir. The conduit which appears to have connected the *Birket Mamilla* with the "Low Level Aqueduct" and the reservoirs in the Temple enclosure, might also be described as carrying water down "to" the west side of the city of David; but there is no trace or tradition of the existence of a spring near that pool. [JERUSALEM. *Water Supply.*]

The two pools *Birket Mamilla* and *Birket es-Sultan*, in the "valley of Hinnom," appear as the "Upper" and "Lower" Pools of Gihon in the map of Marino Sanuto (A.D. 1310), and these titles have been adopted by many succeeding writers, including Robinson, Tobler, and others in the present century. The valley of Hinnom appears to have been first called the "valley of Gihon" in the last century (A.D. 1738, Jonas Korte, *Plan*). In the 12th century, the "Hill of Evil Counsel," south of Jerusalem, was called "Mount Gihon," and regarded as the place at which Solomon was anointed king (John of Würzburg, xv.; William of Tyre, viii. 4; Thietmar, p. 19, &c.). In 1283, the hill N.W. of Jerusalem was called "Mount Gihon," according to Brocardus (viii. 9); and this tradition appears to have gradually replaced the older one, which had not quite died out in the 15th century (F. Fabri, i. 427).

The spring of Gihon is identified with the Fountain of the Virgin by Furrer, Riehm, Sepp, Baedeker-Socin, Conder, &c.; it is placed north of the Damascus Gate by Fergusson, Williams, Barclay, De Saulcy, &c.; and near the *Birket Mamilla* by Robinson, Thomson, Tobler, &c.

[G.] [W.]

GI'LALAI (גִּלָלַי, probably = גִּלְלִיָּה [Ges.]; A. Γελωλαί, BN. omit; *Galalai* [*v.* 35]), one of the party of priests' sons who played on David's instruments at the consecration of the wall of Jerusalem, in the company at whose head was Ezra (Neh. xii. 36).

GILBO'A (גִּלְבֹּעַ, ? = *the bubbling fountain*, Ges.). The name of the mountain ridge which bounds the great plain of Lower Galilee [ESDRAELON] on the east. The name may be derived from the important spring, *'Ain Jâlûd*, at the foot of the mountain to the north, or from one of the other springs which also rise from its lower slopes on the east, or from the spring well on the mount itself. The name survives at the village of Jelbôn (جلبون), on the southern part of the range. Here Saul encamped (1 Sam. xxviii. 4) near Jezreel, at the N.W. end of the range, opposite the Philistines at Shunem, and his defeat occurred on the mountain itself (ch. xxxi. 1, 8; 2 Sam. i. 6). In the "Song of the Bow" (2 Sam. i. 21) a curse is pronounced on the "mountains of Gilboa," that there should be "no dew nor rain upon you, nor fields for heave offerings," on account of Saul's death (cp. 2 Sam. xxi. 12, and 1 Ch. x. 1, 8). Josephus represents Saul as being hemmed in on the mountain (*Ant.* vi. 14, § 7), probably from the west; and escape down the rugged eastern slopes would have been very difficult. The site of the mountain and of the village (Γελβοῦς, *Gelbus*) was known to Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 256, 82; p. 161, 15) as 6 miles from Scythopolis (*Beisân*). Gilboa is not often mentioned by later writers, though its site was not forgotten. William of Tyre (xxii. 26) mentions it as having Jezreel to the west; and Marino Sanuto (14th cent.) gives it the same position. Among Jewish travellers Benjamin of Tudela (12th cent.) speaks of its barrenness, and says it was called Jelbôn by the Christians. Rabbi Uri of Biel, in the 16th century, says that dew and rain never fell there—clearly referring to the curse in the "Song of the Bow."

The Gilboa ridge runs north for 4½ miles from the saddle at *Wâdy Shubâsh*, which may be said to be its limit, passing Jelbôn, a small village west of the watershed. The highest point is at *Sheikh Burkin*, 1696 feet above the Mediterranean. Here the range curves round N.W., and runs to Jezreel (4 miles), where it abuts on the Plain of Esdraelon, and on the valley north of Jezreel. The elevation at *El Mazâr*, 2½ miles S.E. of Jezreel, is 1318 ft. above the sea, whence the shed falls rapidly, being only 400 feet above the sea at Jezreel itself. The great plain to the west has an average elevation of 300 feet above the Mediterranean, so that the apparent height of Gilboa from the west is about 1000 to 1400 feet. On the east it towers more than 2,000 feet above the Jordan valley. On the north it is precipitous, with curiously contorted strata. On the east the slopes are extremely steep, with cliffs in places. On the west the spurs run out with gentler slopes into the plain. The southern part is very rugged, of hard grey dolomitic limestone. This is, however, covered on the west and north by the soft white chalk, whence the name *Râs Sheibân*, "the hoary head," applied to one of the knolls on the ridge. The range generally is now known as *Jebel Fukû'a*, from the large village of Fukû'a, which stands among its olives on the west slope, 1500 feet above the sea, where the range begins to curve. The mountain is barren and waterless on its upper slopes, but at *Jelbôn* there is a spring well of perennial water, whence perhaps the old name of Gilboa was derived. At the eastern foot there are fine springs at the ruin *Mujedd'a*, 125 feet below the Mediterranean; and further north, at about the same level, is *'Ain el 'Asy*—a very large spring of thermal water (80° Fahr.) in a pool 100 yards long, 20 yards wide, and 20 feet deep, issuing from a low cliff. On the north there are two other famous springs, also 120 feet below sea-level, east of Jezreel, feeding the stream which flows east between them to the Jordan, and watering Bethshean. The southern, from a cave in the

precipices of Gilboa, is called *'Ain Jalûd* ("Goliath's Spring"), and in 300 A.D. the Bordeaux Pilgrim incorrectly makes it the scene of David's conquest of the giant. It is the *'Ain Jalût* of Boha ed Din (Life of Saladin). The pool is 50 yards long, muddy and sulphurous, but the spring itself is clear and sweet; the depth is 8 to 10 feet. The northern spring, *'Ain Tub'aûn*, is the Tubania of the Middle Ages (Will. of Tyre, xxii. 27), which Robinson confuses with the preceding. It was believed to have been miraculously supplied with fish for the benefit of the Christian army fighting Saladin. Both springs still contain fish. *'Ain Tub'aûn* is smaller than *'Ain Jalûd*, and its waters have a reddish tinge.

The lower slopes of Gilboa to the west have several olive groves, and corn is grown in the soft ground. In the rougher part to the south a scrub of mastic, arbutus, dwarf oak, and hawthorn covers the rocks. The summit is very bare, but thyme, mint, and cistus grow on the ledges. The soil is in parts (especially to the north of Jelbôn) a basaltic débris, which is fertile. The vine was once grown near Jezreel, as noticed in the Bible (1 K. xxi.) and as attested by the remains of rock-cut wine-presses. The contrast between the barren ridge and the rich valleys on each side is sufficiently notable.

Near the village of *Deir Ghuzâleh*, near the west foot of Gilboa, a curious rude stone monument was found in 1872, resembling the dolmens of Galilee and of Eastern Palestine. This is probably a relic of prehistoric times. There are nine villages on the slopes of Gilboa, namely: (1) *Jelbôn*, on the south, as already noticed; (2) *Fukû'a*, possibly the Aphek to which the Philistines advanced (1 Sam. xxix. 1), turning Saul's strong position near the "fountain in Jezreel," which was no doubt the *'Ain el Meiyeteh* —a clear spring below the town; (3) *El Mazar* (or *El Wezr*), a stone hamlet on the watershed inhabited by Dervishes; (4) *Zer'in* or JEZREEL; (5) *Beit Kâd*, a small mud village 687 feet above the sea, on the west slopes; (6) *Deir Ghuzâleh*, a similar village 738 feet above the sea, further north; (7) *'Arrâneh*, close to the plain, further north, probably the Reggan or Rangan which Josephus mentions (*Ant.* vi. 14, § 1), as the Philistine camp "near Shunem"; (8) *Sundela*, a still smaller hamlet higher up (502 feet above the sea); and (9) *Nûris*, a little hamlet hidden among the northern precipices, 600 feet above the valley. This last, in the Middle Ages, belonged to the Abbey of Mount Tabor. Several other villages are found in the rough country at the south end of the chain. With the exception of Jelbôn and Jezreel they all depend on cisterns or deep wells for water. One of Jacob's sons is traditionally believed to be buried at *el Mazâr* ("the place of pilgrimage").

The above sketch is abstracted from the writer's account of his explorations on the mountain in 1872–4 (*PEF. Mem.* vol. ii. sheet ix. pp. 75, 79–88, 90, 91). *Mujedd'a*, as there explained, appears to be the probable site of Megiddo, at the foot of Gilboa towards the east. [C. R. C.]

GIL'EAD (הַגִּלְעָד; Γαλαάδ; modern Arabic جبل جلعد, *Jebel Jil'ad*). The geographic name is written with the article in Hebrew; the personal name, and the patronymic גִּלְעָדִי, occur in Num. xxvi. 29, 30; Judg. xi. 1, 2, xii. 7; 1 Ch. v. 14. The meaning is "rugged," but in Gen. xxxi. 21 it is connected with GALEED (גַּלְעֵד, "mound of witness;" cp. Gesen. *Lex.*); the region east of the Jordan Valley, between the plains of Bashan and the deserts of Moab, coinciding with the territory of the tribe of Gad. The great gorge of the Hieromax (*Yermûk*) is its natural boundary on the north; the plateau south of Rabbath Ammon appears to be its southern limit; on the east it extends to the Syrian desert, and on the west to the Jordan Valley. It is divided into two districts by the valley of the Jabbok (*Zerkâ*): the northern, comprising about 600 square miles, is the modern *Jebel 'Ajlûn*; the southern, about 400 square miles in area, is now called the *Belka* or "waste" land. The name occurs very frequently in the Bible (more than eighty references are given) as Mount (הָר) Gilead and land or country (אֶרֶץ) of Gilead, and sometimes as "The Gilead" only. It was famous as a pastoral region, and also as producing balm and other aromatic plants; and is one of the most picturesque and well-watered regions of the Hebrew land. The northern part still contains many villages, and is cultivated, but the southern is almost entirely in the possession of nomadic tribes, with very little cultivation and only one inhabited town (*es-Salt*), though corn is grown in the level tracts.

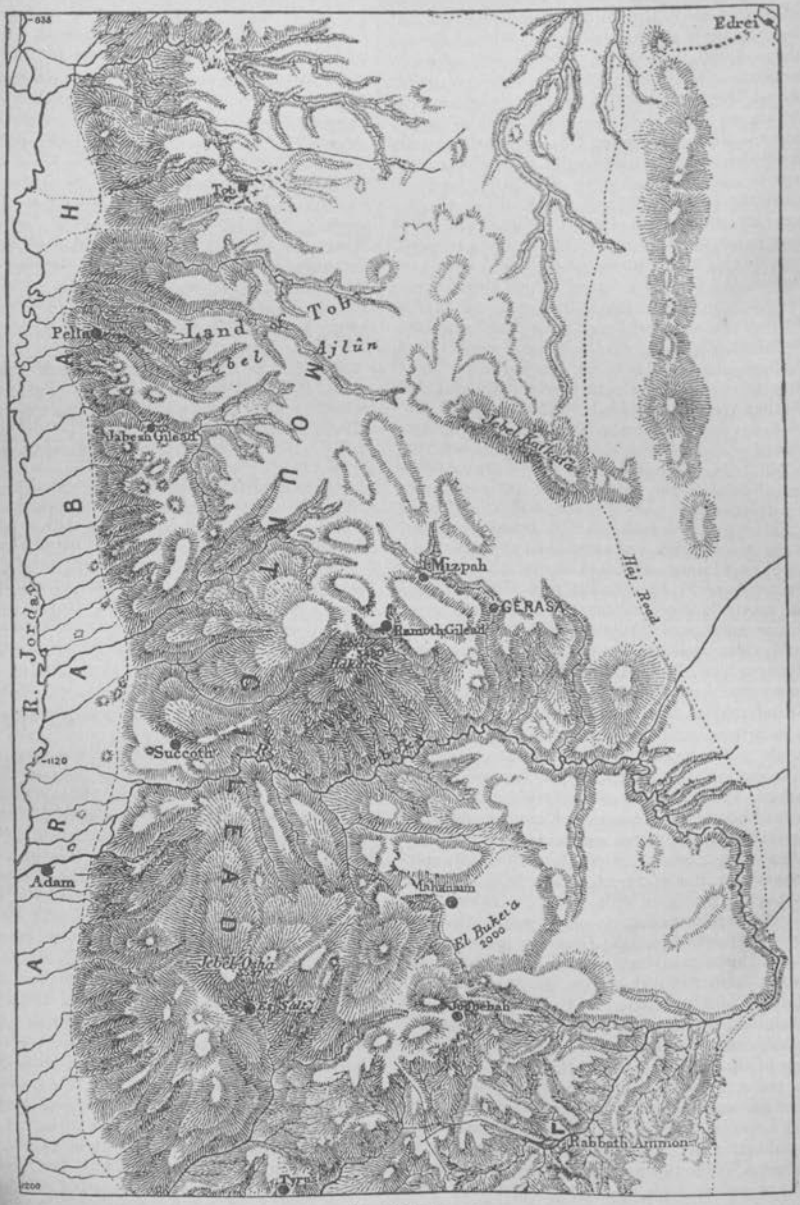
Mount Gilead is first noticed (Gen. xxxi. 21–25) as crossed by Jacob from Mizpeh (*Sûf*) to Mahanaim (*Mukhmah*). Thence came the Ishmaelites, bearing gums, balm, and cistus (Gen. xxxvii. 25). Jazer, on its border, and the "land of Gilead," were good pasture-lands (Num. xxxi. 1). It already was filled with cities which had belonged to the Amorites (*vv.* 26, 29, 31), whose cattle also fell a prey to the Hebrews (Deut. ii. 35, 36; cp. iii. 10). The Ammonites dwelt on the east side of Gilead, apparently as far north as the Jabbok (Deut. iii. 16). Ramoth in Gilead was a city of refuge (Deut. iv. 43). In Deut. xxxiv. 1 we find the words "all Gilead unto Dan," which are difficult to explain. According to the geographical chapters of the Book of Joshua (xii. 2) half Gilead, as far north as the Jabbok, belonged to Sihon the Amorite, whose capital was beyond its limits at Heshbon. The northern half was ruled by Og, whose capital was at Ashtaroth Carnaim (*Tell Ashterah*) in Bashan. It became the heritage of the tribe of Gad, though some of the families of Manasseh appear also to have held lands in its northern parts (Josh. xiii. 11). The border was at Jazer (*v.* 25), and Manasseh extended even as far south as Mahanaim (*Mukhmah*) in Gilead (*vv.* 30, 31; cp. xvii. 5, 6). Ramoth, however, belonged to the tribal territory of Gad (xx. 8), and Mahanaim was a city of Gilead, also in the territory of Gad (xxi. 38). The tribes took possession after the conquest of Western Palestine (xxii. 9, 13, 15, 32), and in Judges (*v.* 17) Gilead appears to be synonymous with the Hebrews of the east. In Gilead were the Havoth Jair or "villages of Jair," the Gileadite judge (Judg. x. 4); but the Amorites still dwelt there (*v.* 8), and the Ammonites

attacked the "princes of Gilead" (*vv.* 17, 18). "Gilead begat Jephthah" "the Gileadite" (Judg. xi. 1), who fled to Tob (probably *Taiyibeh*) near Gadara, whence he was summoned to assist the "elders of Gilead" attacked on the south by the Ammonites (*v.* 5), meeting them at Mizpeh (*Sûf*), north of the scene of conflict (*vv.* 10, 11), whence he advanced towards the Ammonite capital (*v.* 29), driving them south into Moab, and returning to his house at Mizpeh (*vv.* 33, 34). The Aroer mentioned in this passage was apparently the place so named close to Rabbath-ammon. The concord between the Hebrews of the east and west was, according to this narrative, no longer maintained, and the men of Ephraim, raiding to the north-east, were caught at the upper fords of the Jordan in Northern Gilead (Judg. xii. 4, 5, 7); but subsequently the Gileadites are said to have joined the rest of Israel in worship at Mizpeh near Jerusalem (xx. 1). Gilead remained faithful to the house of Saul (2 Sam. ii. 9), but after the death of Ishbosheth accepted David's rule, when Rabbath-ammon had been conquered by Joab. Here David found a refuge at Mahanaim, and Absalom camped in Gilead (2 Sam. xvii. 26, 27) in the wood of Ephraim (xviii. 6), which was probably one of the oak woods south-west of *es-Salt*. Joab's census of David's dominions included Gilead (xxiv. 6), but did not apparently include Bashan [see GESHUR]. In the time of Solomon Gilead was divided into two provinces, of which the northern had its capital at Ramoth, and the southern at Mahanaim (1 K. iv. 13, 14, 19). From Tishbe in Gilead came Elijah (1 K. xvii. 1). In Ahab's reign the Syrian king of Damascus seized Ramoth-gilead, where Ahab met his death in attempting to regain the city (1 K. xxii.). All Gilead and Moab then passed into the power of the Syrians (2 K. x. 33), and in the 8th century B.C. Tiglath-pileser, the Assyrian monarch, conquered this region (2 K. xv. 29). The men of Gad had already been oppressed, in Omri's time, by Mesha king of Moab, as stated on the Moabite Stone. The number of cities possessed by Jair in Gilead is stated in 1 Ch. ii. 22 to have been twenty-three; the expression "father of Gilead" (*v.* 21) may perhaps be taken as a territorial title, like others in the Bible.

The Assyrian tablets supply a gap in the history of Gilead after this period, for the region is not further noticed in the history of the later Hebrew kings. In the reign of Manasseh (see Cylinder A of Assur-bani-pal), about 650 B.C., there was a great inroad of Arab tribes from the south, joined by the Nabatheans near Petra. They conquered Edom, Moab, Beth-Ammon, the Hauran, and Zobah (near Damascus), and clearly therefore overran Gilead. Assur-bani-pal with his army set out from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris and the Euphrates, and advanced some 700 miles. They came to "the lofty country, they passed through the forests of which the shadow was great and strong, and with vines, a road of mighty woods." Thence they entered a desert, and, after punishing the Arabs who had fled back to the Nabatheans, they returned on the road to Damascus. This account would seem to apply to no other region than Gilead, which has always been celebrated for its forests. The petty kings of Moab, Ammon, and Gilead were at this time subject to Assyria, and with intervals of revolt remained so subject till the Babylonians and Persians succeeded to the power of the kings of Nineveh. The Hebrew population probably became much mingled with the other stocks, and some were carried captives even as early as the time of Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch. v. 6), as in the case of the Gileadite prince of the tribe of Reuben. The cattle of the Israelites multiplied, and were pastured in Gilead as far east as the "desert of Euphrates" (*vv.* 9, 16), but the attacks of the Hagarites had commenced even in the time of Saul (*v.* 10), and the settled population suffered, as they still do, from the raids of the desert Arabs, to which the tribes west of Jordan were less exposed, after the establishment of the kingdom. Gilead was famous for its warriors in David's time (1 Ch. xxvi. 31), and is claimed as Hebrew territory in the Psalms (lx. 7, cviii. 8). The flocks of goats "couching on the slopes of Mount Gilead" are mentioned in the Song of Songs (iv. 1, vi. 5), as a simile of the colour of the hair of the Egyptian bride. Jeremiah (viii. 22) speaks of the medicinal balm of Gilead, already noticed in Genesis (cp. xxii. 6 and xlvi. 11): the Gileadites were apparently pagans in this later period (Jer. l. 19; Ezek. xlvii. 18; Hos. vi. 8, xii. 11). The Ammonite attacks are mentioned by Amos (i. 3, 13) as early as the 9th century B.C. In Obadiah (*v.* 19) Gilead is given to Benjamin. In Micah (vii. 14) its flocks are again mentioned. In Zechariah the return of Israel to Gilead is promised (x. 10). These various notices give a fairly continuous history of the region down to the Persian period, and show the pastoral character of the country, and also its settled condition at a very early period.

After the revolt of Judas Maccabaeus a successful raid was made into Gilead and Bashan, with the object however of gathering in the Jewish population to more secure regions west of Jordan (1 Macc. v. 9 sq.; Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 14, § 2; *Wars*, i. 4, § 3). The Jews had fled before the heathen of Gilead, to Dathema, and were shut up in Gileadite cities (1 Macc. v. 27). Judas Maccabaeus, assisted by the Nabatheans (*v.* 25), attacked Bashan, but "turned aside" to Maspha—perhaps Mizpeh of Gilead—which he took by assault (*v.* 35). After various successes he then returned with the Jews from the east (*v.* 45) to Bethshean and to Jerusalem. Gilead, though conquered by Alexander Jannaeus (1st cent. B.C.), was retaken by the king of Arabia (*Ant.* xiii. 14, § 2), after the expedition in which tribute had been for a time imposed (*Wars*, i. 4, § 3). In the time of Christ little is known of Gilead, but some of its northern towns belonged to the region of Decapolis. Vespasian sent Lucius Annius into this region, who took Gerasa [see GERASA] during the great war preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. The most prosperous age in the history of this region appears to have been the Antonine period (140–180 A.D.), when several Roman cities were built, such as Gadara, Capitolias, Gerasa, and Philadelphia; and though fresh Arab tribes colonised Gilead and Bashan soon after, the ruins of the country and the list of bishoprics show that this prosperity continued after the establishment of Christianity, and until the invasion of Gilead by the Moslems under Omar. The Crusaders also appear to have established themselves in this region, which paid

tribute to Baldwin I. as early as A.D. 1118. Baldwin II. in A.D. 1121 conquer ' it, and advanced beyond Gerasa towards Bostra. Two strongholds were built, one near Ajlûn in the northern district (called *Kal'at er-Rabad*), one in the south at *es-Salt;* and the pilgrim road to Mecca was commanded by these, and by the great castle of Kerak in Moab. The region was known as "Oultre Jourdan," and was attacked by Saladin on his way to Kerak. Since the fall



Map of Gilead.

of the Christian kingdom little is known of its history. Its population decayed, and the great Arab tribes became supreme, until within the last half-century, when they were reduced to pay taxes by the Turks. The inaccessibility of the position of Gilead, and its exposure to raids from the desert, remain its chief drawbacks, though the climate is healthy, the country fertile and picturesque, and better watered and wooded than the rest of Palestine.

The Gilead mountains are little more than the edge of the great eastern plateau which extends

to the Euphrates. Viewed from the west, they form a chain rising more than 4,000 feet above the Jordan valley, with extremely steep slopes; viewed from the east, the highest tops are not more than about 500 feet above the level of the plateau, which may be said to have an average level of 3,000 feet above the Mediterranean towards the south, sinking northwards to the plains of Bashan about 1,000 feet lower. The highest point in Gilead is *Jebel Osh'a*, just north of *es Salt*, determined trigonometrically by the Palestine surveyors as 3,597 feet above the Mediterranean. Some of the ridges to the S.E. are nearly as high. Jebel Osh'a (the probable site of Penuel) commands one of the most extensive views in Palestine (see Conder's *Heth and Moab*, ch. vi.), and far wider than that, so celebrated, which may be commanded from Nebo in clear weather. East of this mountain is the circular basin of the *Bukei'a* (on the west side of which stood Mahanaim), which is only 2,000 feet above the Mediterranean. North of the Jabbok the general elevation is less than on the south. *Jebel Hakart*, west of Reimûn (Ramoth-gilead), is estimated barometrically at 3,480 feet; and *Jebel Kafkafah*, further north, close to the great pilgrim road on the watershed—the true eastern limit of Gilead—is about 3,430 feet. A very fine view is obtained from *Kal'at er Rabad* on a conical point near Ajlûn, about 2,700 feet above the Mediterranean. Yet further north *El Mazar* stands up 2,830 feet, but the general elevation is not above 2,000 feet; and the Jordan valley is here only about 500 feet below the Mediterranean (except in the river-bed itself), so that the ascent is here reduced to 2,500 feet.

The geological formation is the same as that of Western Palestine, but the underlying sandstone, which does not appear west of Jordan, forms the base slopes of the chain of Moab and Gilead, and is traceable as far as the Jabbok. It is covered in part by the more recent white marls which form the curious peaks of the foot hills immediately above the Jordan valley; but reaches above them to an elevation of 1,000 feet above the Mediterranean on the south, and forms the bed of the Bukei'a basin, further east and 1,000 feet higher. Above this lies the hard impervious Dolomitic limestone, which appears in the rugged grey hills round the Jabbok, and in Jebel Ajlûn, rising on an average 1500 feet above the sandstone, and forming the bed of the copious springs. It also dips towards the Jordan valley; and the water from the surface of the plateau, sinking down to the surface of this formation, bursts out of the hill-slopes on the west in perennial brooks. It was from the ruggedness of this hard limestone that Gilead obtained its name. Above this again is the white chalk of the desert plateau, the same found in Samaria and Lower Galilee, with bands of flint or chert in contorted layers, or strewn in pebbles on the surface. Where this formation is deep the country is bare and arid, supplied by cisterns and deep wells. Thus the plateau becomes desert, while the hill-slopes abound in streams and springs, and for this reason Western Gilead is a fertile country, and Eastern Gilead a wilderness.

The perennial streams are numerous. The main drains are the river Jabbok in the centre of the region, and the Hieromax in its deep gorge, with rugged precipices on the extreme north. Here in 634 A.D. the Moslems won their great victory over the forces of the Romans, which left them the masters of Syria. The Jabbok, rising in the clear springs at Rabbath-ammon, but sinking at intervals in its bed of boulders, flows north at first; and turning suddenly west, reinforced from the great Zerka springs near the pilgrim road, it breaks down in an open and picturesque glen, flowing into the Jordan. The western valleys are clothed with thick woods of oak, and on the higher slopes the Aleppo pine is conspicuous. The glades of some of these valleys —such as Wâdy Hamûr, east of Ramoth-gilead, and Wâdy Sîr, which runs S.W. of Rabbath-ammon, by the ruined palace of Hyrcanus— present some of the most beautiful sylvan scenery in Syria, superior to that of the Lebanon. The rocky ground is covered with flowers, of which the phlox, cistus, and narcissus are the commonest, with bushes of styrax, hawthorn, mastic, and arbutus, the slopes hidden with hanging woods of oak. One such wood—perhaps the Wood of Ephraim—occurs south of *es-Salt*, and those of the Jebel Ajlûn are equally dense and beautiful. The rugged upper slopes are dotted with scrub, chiefly of mastic bushes. The desert plateau is diversified with clumps of the white broom (the juniper of the Bible): along the courses of the streams the dark oleander, with its flame-coloured blossoms, attains to the size of a small oak, and canes form a brake in the lower ground, where also the tamarisk and the lotus flourish, though the palm is rarely found. The region is still mainly pastoral, great flocks of goats being fed on the slopes, while the desert camels are driven in wild droves on the plateau, are used only for their milk (and on feast days for their flesh), and are never saddled or bridled. Here alone in Syria can the true nomad life of the Arab be studied, and even the settled population, in dress and manner, approach closely to the Bedu.

Gilead was famous in Pliny's time, as in that of the early Patriarchs, for its balm (*tsori*), but the tree which bore it has been variously identified with the *Zakkûm*, or thorny lotus (*Balanites Aegyptiaca*), the home of which is in the Jordan valley, with the pistachio or sticky mastic, which grows on the mountains (not the true pistachio), and with the *opobalsamum* or true balm-tree, not now known in Gilead, but found near Mecca. The Ishmaelites (as already noted) also brought from Gilead the *nechoth* ("spicery"), which has been thought to be the *styrax* or mock orange, still frequently found in the glades of Gilead, or more probably the gum tragacanth or *astragalus*, which is equally common. They also traded in "myrrh" (*lôt*),—an incorrect translation, generally agreed to be the gum of the *Cistus ladaniferus*, a beautiful flower, like the dog rose in appearance, still common on these hills. It is a sure note of the accuracy of that picture of early Hebrew society which is drawn in the Book of Genesis, that the products so noted are those native to Gilead, while monumental records carry back the trading relations of Syria and Mesopotamia with Egypt many centuries earlier than the age of Joseph.

The ruins of Gilead mostly belong to the Roman and Byzantine, to the early Arab and Crusading periods; but in certain centres near ancient sites, especially at Rabbath-ammon, Sûf

(*Mizpeh*), and the mouth of the Jabbok glen, great groups of dolmens, similar to those of Bashan, Moab, and Galilee, have survived—prehistoric monuments of the Amorites and Rephaim. At Rabbath-ammon there are tombs of the Hebrew age, Roman temples, theatres and baths, and early Moslem mosques. Gerasa, Gadara, and Capitolias (*Beit er-Râs*) present us with the relics of cities built in the 2nd century A.D., and every ruined town presents well-carved masonry, sarcophagi, and inscriptions of the 4th and 5th centuries of our era, to which later builders have added little, beyond the two Crusading castles already noticed, and a few later minarets and mosques. In the steep ravines the cells of anchorites, and solitary monasteries, are found, and in unexpected nooks great Roman tomb towers and rock-cut sepulchres, with well-carved bas-reliefs and classic tracery. The unfinished palace of Hyrcanus (*'Arâk el Emîr*), with its gigantic masonry, carved lions, and Aramaic text on the rock wall of its cave stables and granaries, is one of the most interesting sites. It is dated 176 B.C., and is almost unique in architectural history, as is also the beautiful kiosque at Ammân of the Persian or early Arab period (for these ruins in Southern Gilead, see *Memoirs of the Survey of Eastern Palestine*). The modern villages, when not piled up from such ancient materials, are mainly mud hovels, or caves faced with stone walls.

The most interesting sites in the topography of Gilead are described under the names of GADARA, GERASA, and RABBATH-AMMON, but a few words may be added as to important places of various ages. Ramoth-gilead was probably situated not far west of Gerasa, near the edge of the plateau where the ancient ruins and tombs near the little mountain village of Reimûn are still to be explored. This site, open to the incursions of the Syrians from the northern plains, could be reached by chariots up the open glen of the Jabbok. Mahanaim, the southern capital, probably stood on the west border of the Bukei'a basin, where the name still survives as *Mukhmah*, near the Roman ruins and fine spring of El Bâsha—a site fully meeting the numerous requirements of the Old Testament notices. Jabesh-gilead was in the north, and the name survives in that of *Wâdy Yâbis*, though the exact site is doubtful. Mizpeh, as already stated, was probably at Sûf, N.E. of Gerasa, where a dolmen centre surrounds the home of Jephthah. Close to the Jordan valley is the secluded town of Pella (*Fâhil*), with its hot springs, famous in Talmudic accounts, and its fragmentary Christian inscriptions. North-west of Rabbath-ammon are the extensive Byzantine ruins of Jubeihah, on the plateau, marking the site of Jogbehah (Judg. viii. 11), to which Gideon pursued the Midianites. Jazer, the border town, is probably to be fixed at *Beit Zer'ah*, in the flat ground 4 miles N.E. of Heshbon. The towns of Gad (Josh. xiii. 25–27) included Aroer near Rabbath-ammon, Beth-aram and Beth-nimrah in the plain opposite Jericho, Succoth (*Tell Der'ala*, north of the Jabbok), and Zaphon (*Amâta*, near Gadara), with others already noticed. Among other notable places are to be reckoned Mezarîb, at the sources of the Hieromax, one of the stations of the Hâj, with its curious lake, warm spring, and Turkish castle; Irbid (*Arbela*), with its gigantic Roman masonry, the present seat of government of the Jebel Ajlûn, though only now containing 300 inhabitants; Beit er-Râs (*Capitolias*), with remains of a pillared street, and Roman eagles, aqueducts, and baths; the village of Ajlûn, with ancient olive-trees and gardens, and a population of 500 souls, three-fourths of whom are Christians; and *Sûf* (Mizpeh), with three springs, and a stream turning several mills, and also rich in olive-trees. South of the Jabbok the only town is *es-Salt* (the Saltus Hieraticus of the Middle Ages, then the seat of a Bishop), which has a population of 6,000 souls, and is a government centre. It lies on the south slope of Jebel Osh'a, commanded by its Crusader-castle, and possesses a small bazaar.

The revenue of the Jebel Ajlûn is said to be now only about £7,000 per annum, but cultivation is gradually increasing, even the 'Adwân Arabs sowing corn in the valleys; and with greater security the region might become as prosperous as in Roman times, when the population must have been very dense, and the great families very rich. The present population includes some 5,000 Arabs, of the 'Adwân and Beni Sakhr tribes, living in tents, and paying an uncertain poll-tax. The former possess flocks and cattle, but the latter have only camels. Both are tribes which came a few centuries ago from the Hejjaz, and subjugated the earlier Arabs. Since the 7th century B.C. this immigration from Arabia has continually brought fresh elements of pure Arab origin into Gilead, and little remains of the old Aramaic stock.

The principal works which treat of Gilead are the Travels of Burckhardt, Buckingham's *Arab Tribes*, Irby and Mangles' *Travels*, Selah Merrill's *East of Jordan*. For the southern region, see Conder's *Heth and Moab*, 1883, and *Palestine*, 1889, and *Memoirs of the Survey of Eastern Palestine;* also Le Strange, *Ride through Ajlûn*, 1886, in Schumacher's *Across the Jordan*. L. Oliphant's *Land of Gilead*, 1880, contains a picturesque account of the whole region, but the antiquarian information is misleading. Tristram's work on *Moab* and his earlier Travels may also be consulted. Sir Charles Warren (*PEFQy. Stat.* and *Underground Jerusalem*) also visited Gilead, and Sir C. W. Wilson explored Gadara. The Jebel Ajlûn has, however, not been surveyed as thoroughly as Moab, and is less perfectly known than Bashan. [C. R. C.]

GIL'EAD, MOUNT (Judg. vii. 3). According to Grätz and Bertheau, the reading should be "Gilboa," which would accord well with the narrative. If the reading is to be maintained, it is not impossible that this name, "the rugged," may have been applied to Gilboa [see GILBOA], and that it survives at *'Ain Jalûd*, at the foot of the mountain, which is by some identified with the spring Harod, where (v. 1) Gideon was encamped. Grätz's reading "Endor" for "Harod" does not agree with his proposed emendation.

[C. R. C.]

GIL'EADITES, THE (הַגִּלְעָדִי; Judg. xii. 4, 5, הַגִּלְעָדִי: Judg. xii. 4, 5, Γαλαάδ; Num. xxvi. 29, Γαλααδί, B. Γαλααδεί; Judg. x. 3, ὁ Γαλαάδ; Judg. xi. 1, 40, xii. 7; 2 Sam. xvii. 27, xix. 31; 1 K. ii. 7; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63, ὁ Γαλααδ-

ίτης; B. Γαλααδείτης, exc. Judg. xi. 40, B. Γαλαάδ; A. ὁ Γαλααδίτις, ὁ Γαλααδείτης, and Judg. xii. 5, ἀνδρὲς Γαλαάδ: *Galaaditae, Galaadites, viri Galaad*). A branch of the tribe of Manasseh, descended from Gilead. There appears to have been an old standing feud between them and the Ephraimites, who taunted them with being deserters. See Judg. xii. 4, which may be rendered, "And the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they said, Runagates of Ephraim are ye (Gilead is between Ephraim and Manasseh);" the last clause being added parenthetically. In 2 K. xv. 25 for "of the Gileadites" the LXX. have ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων; Vulg. *de filiis Galaaditarum*. [W. A. W.] [W.]

GIL'GAL (always with the article, הַגִּלְגָּל, but once; Γάλγαλα [plural]; *Galgala*). By this name were called at least two, and probably three places in ancient Palestine.

1. (1.) The site of the first camp of the Israelites on the west of the Jordan, the place at which they passed the first night after crossing the river, and where the twelve stones were set up which had been taken from the bed of the stream (Josh. iv. 19, 20, cp. *v.* 3); where also they kept their first Passover in the land of Canaan (v. 10). It was in the "end of the east of Jericho" (בְּקְצֵה מִזְרַח יְרֵחוֹ; A. V. "in the east border of Jericho"), apparently on a hillock or rising ground (v. 3, cp. *v.* 9) in the Arboth-Jericho (A. V. "the plains"); that is, the hot depressed district of the Ghor which lay between the town and the Jordan (v. 10). Here the Israelites who had been born on the march through the wilderness were circumcised; an occurrence from which the sacred historian derives the name: "'This day I have rolled away (*gallîothi*) the reproach of Egypt from off you.' Therefore the name of the place is called Gilgal[a] to this day." By Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 11) it is said to signify "freedom" (ἐλευθέριον). The camp thus established at Gilgal remained there during the early part of the conquest (ix. 6; x. 6, 7, 9, 15, 43); and we may perhaps infer from one narrative that Joshua retired thither at the conclusion of his labours (xiv. 6, cp. *v.* 15). The manner in which Gilgal is mentioned, in Deut. xi. 30, in connexion with the "land of the Canaanites," in which were Ebal and Gerizim, apparently led Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 253, l, 79; p. 158, 4, 14) to place those mountains in the Jordan valley near Jericho. [EBAL; GERIZIM.]

(2.) We again encounter Gilgal in the time of Saul, when it seems to have exchanged its military associations for those of sanctity. True, Saul, when driven from the highlands by the Philistines, collected his feeble force at the site of the old camp (1 Sam. xiii. 4, 7); but this is the only occurrence at all connecting it with war. It was now one of the "holy cities" (*οἱ ἡγιασμένοι*)—if we accept the addition of the LXX.—to which Samuel regularly resorted, where he administered justice (1 Sam. vii. 16), and where burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were accustomed to be offered "before Jehovah" (x. 8, xi. 15, xiii. 8, 9–12, xv. 21); and on one occasion a sacrifice of a more terrible description than either (xv. 33). The air of the narrative all through leads to the conclusion that at the time of these occurrences it was the chief sanctuary of the central portion of the nation (see x. 8, xi. 14, xv. 12, 21). But there is no sign of its being a town; no mention of building, or of its being allotted to the priests or Levites, as was the case with other sacred towns, Bethel, Shechem, &c.

(3.) We again have a glimpse of it, some sixty years later, in the history of David's return to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xix.). The men of Judah came down to Gilgal to meet the king to conduct him over Jordan, as if it was close to the river (xix. 15), and David arrived there immediately on crossing the stream[b] after his parting with Barzillai the Gileadite.

How the remarkable sanctity of Gilgal became appropriated to a false worship we are not told, but certainly, so far as the obscure allusions of Hosea and Amos can be understood (provided that they refer to this Gilgal), it was so appropriated by the kingdom of Israel in the middle period of its existence (Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 11; Amos ix. 4, v. 5).

Beyond the general statements above quoted, the sacred text contains no indications of the position of Gilgal. Neither in the Apocrypha nor the N. T. is it mentioned. Later authorities are more precise, but unfortunately discordant among themselves. By Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 4) the encampment is given as 50 stadia, rather under 6 miles, from the river, and 10 from Jericho. In the time of Jerome the site of the camp, and the twelve memorial stones, were still distinguishable, if we are to take literally the expression of the *Epit. Paulae* (§ 14). The distance from Jericho was then 2 miles. The spot was left uncultivated, but regarded with great veneration by the residents: "locus desertus . . . ab illius regionis mortalibus miro cultu habitus" (*OS.*[2] p. 159, 28). Theodosius (*circ.* A.D. 530) gives the distance from Jericho as 1 mile, and mentions the twelve stones, and the *ager Domini*, which was irrigated by water from the fountain of Elisha, *'Ain es Sultân* (*De Situ T. S.* § xvi.). Antoninus (*circ.* A.D. 570) states that not far from Jericho there was a church in which were placed the twelve stones, and that the *ager Domini* was in front of the church (*De Loc. Sanct.* xiii.). When Arculf was there at the end of the 7th century, the place was shown at 5 miles from Jericho. A large church covered the site, in which the twelve stones were ranged. The church and stones were seen by Willibald, thirty years later, but he gives the distance as 5 miles from the Jordan, which again he states correctly as 7 from Jericho. Abbot Daniel (A.D. 1106) says that the church was dedicated to St. Michael, and was 1 verst, or two-thirds of a mile, from Jericho (*Pil.* xxxv.); Phocas (xxi.) places the church 6 miles from the Mt. of Temptation. The stones are mentioned also by Thietmar,[c] A.D. 1217, and lastly by Ludolf de Suchem a century later. Schwarz

[a] This derivation of the name cannot apply in the case of the other Gilgals mentioned below. May it not be the adaptation to Hebrew of a name previously existing in the former language of the country?

[b] Such is the real force of the Hebrew text (xix. 40).

[c] According to this pilgrim, it was to these that John the Baptist pointed when he said that God was "able of *these stones* to raise up children unto Abraham" (Thietmar, *Peregr.* 31).

(*H. L.* p. 99) mentions a hill near the Jordan which the Arabs called Gilgal; but the site was really discovered in 1865 by Herr Zschokke at *Tell Jiljûl*, 4½ miles from the Jordan, and 1½ miles from *Erîha*, Jericho (*Beiträge zur Topog. d. westlichen Jordansau*). There are here an old pool and a number of artificial mounds, to both of which the name *Jiljûlieh* is attached; and the remains of an old building, possibly the church and monastery of St. Michael, erected on the spot where Joshua, according to tradition, saw the Archangel Michael (Josh. v. 13). A curious legend is attached to the ruins, connecting them with the capture of Jericho by Joshua (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 173, 191, 230; Ganneau in *PEFQy. Stat.* 1874, pp. 174–177; Sepp, ii. 147 sq.). In Judg. ii. 1, iii. 19, Micah vi. 5, Gilgal is apparently the well-known place in the Jordan valley.

2. This was certainly a distinct place from the Gilgal which is connected with the last scene in the life of Elijah, and with one of Elisha's miracles. The chief reason for believing this is the impossibility of making it fit into the notice of Elijah's translation. He and Elisha are said to "go down" (יֵרְדוּ) from Gilgal to Bethel (2 K. ii. 2), in opposition to the repeated expressions of the narratives in Joshua and 1 Samuel, in which the way from Gilgal to the neighbourhood of Bethel is always spoken of as an ascent, the fact being that the former is about 3,700 feet below the latter. Thus there must have been a second Gilgal at a higher level than Bethel, and it was probably that at which Elisha worked the miracle of healing on the poisonous pottage (2 K. iv. 38). Perhaps the expression of 2 K. ii. 1, coupled with the "came again" of iv. 38, may indicate that Elisha resided there. It is now, apparently, *Jiljilia*, a large village, on the top of a high hill, to the west of the main north road, 7¼ miles from Bethel, *Beitin*, and 4½ m. from Shiloh, *Seilûn*. The altitude of *Jiljilia* (2,441 ft.) is less than that of Bethel (2,890 ft.); but its appearance on the hills above the great *Wâdy el-Jîb* is such as to give the impression of great height, and the descent into the valley may have led to the expression "going down" to Bethel. Van de Velde (*Memoirs*, p. 179), who appears not to have visited the place, estimated it to be 500 or 600 feet above Bethel; see also Guérin (*Samarie*, ii. 168). *Jiljilia* may also be the Beth-gilgal of Neh. xii. 29 (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 290).

3. The "KING OF THE NATIONS OF GILGAL," or rather perhaps, as in R. V., the "king of Goim in Gilgal" (מֶלֶךְ־גּוֹיִם לְגִלְגָּל), is mentioned in the catalogue of the chiefs overthrown by Joshua (Josh. xii. 23). The name occurs next to DOR (*v.* 22) in an enumeration apparently proceeding southwards; and this agrees with the position in which Eusebius and Jerome place Gilgal. It was, in their day, a village called Galgulis (Γαλγουλίς), 6 miles N. of Antipatris (*OS.*² p. 254, 31; p. 159, 24); and this place is now *Kalkilieh*, 6½ MP. north of *Râs el-'Ain*, Antipatris. The Gilgal of Josh. xii. 23 may however be *Jiljûlieh*, a large mud village in the plain about 4 miles N. of *Râs el-'Ain* (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 289). What these *Goim* were has been discussed under HEATHEN. By that word (Judg. iv. 2) or "nations" (Gen. xiv. 1) the name is usually rendered in the A. V., as in the well-known phrase "Galilee of the nations" (Is. ix. 1; cp. Matt. iv. 15). Possibly they were a tribe of the early inhabitants of the country, who, like the Gerizites, the Avim, the Zemarites, and others, have left only this faint casual trace of their existence there.

4. A Gilgal is spoken of in Josh. xv. 7, in describing the north border of Judah. In the parallel list (Josh. xviii. 17) it is given as GELILOTH, and under that word an attempt is made to show that Gilgal, *i.e.* the Gilgal near Jericho, is probably correct. [G.] [W.]

GI'LOH (גִּלֹה; B. omits, A. Γηλών; in Sam. Γωλά), a town in the mountainous part of Judah, named in the first group, with Debir and Eshtemoh (Josh. xv. 51). Its only interest to us lies in the fact of its having been the native place of the famous Ahithophel (2 Sam. xv. 12), where he was residing when Absalom sent for him to Hebron, and whither he returned to destroy himself after his counsel had been set aside for that of Hushai (xvii. 23). The site is uncertain. Tobler (*Drit. Wand.* Map) identifies it with *Beit Jâla*, near Bethlehem; but this is too far to the north, and Conder suggests, with greater probability, *Kh. Jâla*, about 3 miles N.W. of *Hulhûl*, Halhul (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 313, 354). [G.] [W.]

GI'LONITE, THE (הַגִּילֹנִי and הַגִּלֹנִי; B. Θεκωνεί [xv.], Γελωνείτος [xxiii.], A. Γιλωναῖος [xv.], Γειλωνίτος, *i.e.* the native of Giloh [as Shilonite, from Shiloh]): applied only to Ahithophel the famous counsellor (2 Sam. xv. 12; xxiii. 34). [G.] [W.]

GIM'ZO (גִּמְזוֹ, *? = place where sycamores grow*; B. Γαλεζώ, A. Γαμαιζαί), a town which with its dependent villages (Hebr. "daughters") was taken possession of by the Philistines in the reign of Ahaz (2 Ch. xxviii. 18). The name—which occurs nowhere but here—is mentioned with Timnath, Socho, and other towns in the north-west part of Judah, or in Dan. It still remains attached to a large village between 2 and 3 miles S.W. of Lydda, south of the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa, just where the hills of the highland finally break down into the maritime plain. *Jimzu* is a tolerably large village, on an eminence, well surrounded with trees, and standing just beyond the point where the two main roads from Jerusalem (that by the Bethhorons, and that by *Wâdy Suleiman*), which parted at Gibeon, again join and run on as one to *Jaffa*. It is remarkable for nothing but some extensive corn magazines underground, unless it be also for the silence maintained regarding it by all travellers up to Dr. Robinson (ii. 249). [G.] [W.]

GIN, a trap for birds or beasts: it consisted of a net (פַּח), and a stick to act as a springe (מוֹקֵשׁ); the latter word is translated "gin" in the A. V. and R. V. of Amos iii. 5, and the former in Is. viii. 14, the term "snare" being in each case used for the other part of the trap. In Job xl. 24 (A. V. marg.) the second of these terms is applied to the ring run through the nostrils of an animal. [W. L. B.]

GI'NATH (גִּינַת, ? = *a garden*; Γωνάθ; *Gineth*), father of TIBNI, who after the death of Zimri disputed the throne of Israel with Omri (1 K. xvi. 21, 22).

GIN'NETHO (גִּנְּתוֹי, *i.e.* Ginnethoi, ? = *a gardener*; B. omits, אA. Γεννηθουί; *Genthon*), one of the "chief" (רָאשִׁים = heads) of the priests and Levites who returned to Judaea with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). He is doubtless the same person as

GIN'NETHON (גִּנְּתוֹן; A. Γαννηθών, א. Ἀανττώ, B. Γνατθ; *Genthon*), a priest who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 6). He was head of a family, and one of his descendants is mentioned in the list of priests and Levites at a later period (xii. 16).

GIRDLE, an essential article of dress in the East, and worn both by men and women. The corresponding Hebrew words are: 1. חֲגוֹר or חֲגוֹרָה, which is the general term for a girdle of any kind, whether worn by soldiers (1 Sam. xviii. 4; 2 Sam. xx. 8; 1 K. ii. 5; 2 K. iii. 21), or by women (Is. iii. 24). 2. אֵזוֹר, especially used of the girdles worn by men; whether by prophets (2 K. i. 8; Jer. xiii. 1), soldiers (Is. v. 27; Ezek. xxiii. 15), or kings in their military capacity (Job xii. 18). 3. מָזַח or מְזִיחַ, used of the girdle worn by men alone (Job xii. 21; Ps. cix. 19; Is. xxiii. 10). 4. אַבְנֵט, the girdle worn by the priests and state officers. In addition to these, פְּתִיגִיל (Is. iii. 24. The etymology of the word is much disputed; see Dillmann[5] in loco) is a costly girdle worn by women. The Vulgate renders it *fascia pectoralis*. It would thus seem to correspond with the Latin *strophium*, a belt worn by women about the breast. In the LXX., however, it is translated χιτὼν μεσοπόρφυρος, "a tunic shot with purple," and Gesenius has "*buntes Feyerkleid*" (cp. Schroeder, *de Vest. Mul.* pp. 137–8, 404. Dietrich [see MV.[11]] connects it with the Targ. פַּתְנָא, *Oberkleid*). The קִשּׁוּרִים mentioned in Is. iii. 20, Jer. ii. 32, were probably girdles (R. V. "sashes"), although both Kimchi and Jarchi consider them as fillets for the hair (A. V. "headbands"). In the latter passage the Vulgate has again *fascia pectoralis*, and the LXX. στηθοδεσμίς, an appropriate bridal ornament.

The common girdle was made of leather (2 K. i. 8; Matt. iii. 4), like that worn by the Bedouins of the present day, whom Curzon describes as "armed with a long crooked knife, and a pistol or two stuck in a red leathern girdle" (*Monast. of the Levant*, p. 7). In the time of Chardin the nobles of Mingrelia wore girdles of leather, four fingers broad and embossed with silver. A finer girdle was made of linen (Jer. xiii. 1; Ezek. xvi. 10), embroidered with silk, and sometimes with gold and silver thread (Dan. x. 5; Rev. i. 13, xv. 6), and frequently studded with gold and precious stones or pearls (Le Bruyn, *Voy.* iv. 170; cp. Virg. *Aen.* ix. 359). Morier (*Second Journey*, p. 150), describing the dress of the Armenian women, says, "They wear a silver girdle which rests on the hips, and is generally curiously wrought." The manufacture of these girdles formed part of the employment of women (Prov. xxxi. 24).

The girdle was fastened by a clasp of gold or silver, or tied in a knot so that the ends hung down in front, as in the figures on the ruins of Persepolis. It was worn by men about the loins, hence the expressions מָתְנַיִם אֵזוֹר (Is. xi. 5); אֵזוֹר חֲלָצַיִם (Is. v. 27). The girdle of women was generally looser than that of the men, and was worn about the hips, except when they were actively engaged (Prov. xxxi. 17). Curzon (p. 58), describing the dress of the Egyptian women, says, "Not round the waist, but round the hips a large and heavy Cashmere shawl is worn over the yelek, and the whole gracefulness of an Egyptian dress consists in the way in which this is put on." The military girdle was worn about the waist; the sword or dagger was suspended from it (Judg. iii. 16; 2 Sam. xx. 8; Ps. xlv. 3). In the Nineveh sculptures the soldiers are represented with broad girdles, to which the sword is attached, and through which two or even three daggers in a sheath are passed. Q. Curtius (iii. 3) says of Darius, "Zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma erat vagina." Hence girding up the loins denotes preparation for battle or for active exertion. In times of mourning, girdles of sackcloth were worn as marks of humiliation and sorrow (Is. iii. 24, xxii. 12).

In consequence of the costly materials of which girdles were made, they were frequently given as presents (1 Sam. xviii. 4; 2 Sam. xviii. 11), as is still the custom in Persia (cp. Morier, p. 93). Villages were given to the queens of Persia to supply them with girdles (Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, § 9; Plat. *Alc.* i. p. 123).

They were used as pockets, as among the Arabs still (Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 56), and as purses, one end of the girdle being folded back for the purpose (Matt. x. 9; Mark vi. 8): hence, *zonam perdere*, "to lose one's purse" (Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 40; cp. Juv. xiv. 297). Inkhorns were also carried in the girdle (Ezek. ix. 2).

The אַבְנֵט, or girdle worn by the priests about the close-fitting tunic (Ex. xxviii. 39, xxxix. 29), is described by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 2) as made of linen so fine of texture as to look like the slough of a snake, and embroidered with flowers of scarlet, purple, blue, and fine linen. It was about four fingers broad, and was wrapped several times round the priest's body, the ends hanging down to the feet. When engaged in sacrifice, the priest threw the ends over his left shoulder. According to Maimonides (*de Vas. Sanct.* c. 8), the girdle worn both by the high-priest and the common priests was of white linen embroidered with wool; but that worn by the high-priest on the day of Atonement was entirely of white linen. The length of it was thirty-two cubits, and the breadth about three fingers. It was worn just below the armpits to avoid perspiration (cp. Ezek. xliv. 18). St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Fabiolam, de Vest. Sac.*) follows Josephus. With regard to the manner in which the girdle was embroidered, the "needlework" (A. V.; מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם, Ex. xxviii. 39; R. V. "the work of the embroiderer." See Knobel-Dillmann in loco) is distinguished in the Mishna from the "cunning-work" (A. V.; מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב, Ex. xxvi. 31; R. V.

"the work of the cunning workman") as being worked by the needle with figures on one side only, whereas the latter was woven work with figures on both sides (Cod. *Joma*, c. 8). So also Maimonides (*de Vas. Sanct.* viii. 15). But Jarchi on Ex. xxvi. 31, 36 explains the difference as consisting in this, that in the former case the figures on the two sides are the same, whereas in the latter they are different. [EMBROIDERER.]

In all passages, except Is. xxii. 21, אַבְנֵט is used of the girdle of the priests only, but in that instance it appears to have been worn by Shebna, the treasurer, as part of the insignia of his office; unless it be supposed that he was of priestly rank, and wore it in his priestly capacity. He is called "high-priest" in the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 115 *a*, and in the Jewish tradition quoted by Jarchi in loco.

The "curious [A. V. marg. Or, *embroidered*] girdle" (חֵשֶׁב, Ex. xxviii. 8; R. V. "the cunningly woven band") was made of the same materials and colours as the ephod; that is, of "gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen." Josephus describes it as sewn to the breastplate. After passing once round, it was tied in front upon the seam, the ends hanging down (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 5). According to Maimonides, it was of woven work.

"Girdle" is used figuratively in Ps. cix. 5; Is. xi. 5: cp. 1 Sam. ii. 4; Ps. xxx. 11, lxv. 12; Eph. vi. 14. [W. A. W.]

GIR'GASHITES, THE (הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי, *i.e.*, according to the Hebrew usage, singular—"the Girgashite;" in which form, however, it occurs in the A. V. but twice, 1 Ch. i. 14 and Gen. x. 16, in the latter THE GIRGASITE [R. V. Girgashite]; elsewhere uniformly plural, as above; R. V. uniformly singular: ὁ Γεργεσαῖος, and so also Josephus: *Gergesaeus*), one of the nations who were in possession of Canaan before the entrance thither of the children of Israel. The name occurs in the following passages:—Gen. x. 16, xv. 21; Deut. vii. 1 (and xx. 17 in Samarit. and LXX.); Josh. iii. 10, xxiv. 11; 1 Ch. i. 14; Neh. ix. 8.* In the first of these "the Girgasite" is given as the fifth son of Canaan; in the other places the tribe is merely mentioned, and that but occasionally, in the formula expressing the doomed country; and it may truly be said in the words of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 2) that we possess the name and nothing more; not even the more definite notices of position, or the slight glimpses of character, general or individual, with which we are favoured in the case of the Amorites, Jebusites, and some others of these ancient nations. The expression in Josh. xxiv. 11 would seem to indicate that the district of the Girgashites was on the west of Jordan; nor is this invalidated by the mention of "Gergesenes" in Matt. viii. 28 (Γεργεσηνῶν in Rec. Text, and in a few MSS.—mentioned by Epiphanius and Origen—Γεργεσαίων), as on the east side of the sea of Galilee, since that name may indicate that some families of the tribe settled in this place after they were driven from Southern Palestine. A curious tradition is related in the Talmud of an appeal made by the Girgashites to Alexander the Great during his stay in Palestine, for redress for the losses they had suffered from the Jews in consequence of their expulsion from Canaan. The appeal, however, was fruitless (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* 31). [G.] [W.]

* In Deut. iii. 19 (Gk. *v.* 14) the LXX. have B. Γαρασει, B$^{a?\,b?}$ AF. Γαργασει for the "Geshuri" of the Hebrew text.

GIR'GASITE, THE (Gen. x. 16). See the foregoing.

GIRZITES, THE, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, R. V. [GERZITES.]

GISCHALA. [AHLAB.]

GIS'PA (גִּשְׁפָּא; BA. om., ℵ$^{c.a\,mg\,inf.}$ Γεσφά; *Gaspha*), one of the overseers of the Nethinim, in "the Ophel," after the return from captivity (Neh. xi. 21). By ℵ$^{c.}$ the name appears to have been taken as a place. [F.]

GIT'TAH-HE'PHER, Josh. xix. 13. [GATH-HEPHER.]

GITTA'IM (גִּתַּיִם, i.e. *two wine-presses;* B. Γεθθαί, A. Γεθθείμ; *Gethaim*), a place incidentally mentioned in 2 Sam. iv. 3, where the meaning appears to be that the inhabitants of Beeroth, which was allotted to Benjamin, had been compelled to fly from that place, and had taken refuge at Gittaim. Beeroth was one of the towns of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17); and the cause of the flight of its people may have been (though this is but conjecture) Saul's persecution of the Gibeonites, alluded to in 2 Sam. xxi. 2. Gittaim is again mentioned in the list of places inhabited by the Benjamites after their return from the Captivity, with Anathoth, Hazor, Ramah, and other known towns of Benjamin to the N.W. of Jerusalem (Neh. xi. 33). The two may be the same; though, if the persecution of the Beerothites proceeded from Benjamin, as we must infer it did, they would hardly choose as a refuge a place within the limits of that tribe. Gittaim is the dual form of the word Gath, which suggests the Philistine plain as its locality. But there is no evidence for or against this.

Gittaim occurs in the LXX. Version of 1 Sam. xiv. 33—"out of Getthaim roll me a great stone." But this is not supported by any other of the ancient Versions, which unanimously adhere to the Hebr. text, and probably proceeds from a mistake or corruption of the Hebrew word בְּגַדְתֶּם; A. V. "ye have transgressed." It further occurs in the LXX. in Gen. xxxvi. 35 and 1 Ch. i. 46, as the representative of AVITH, a change not very intelligible (see Dillmann[5] on Gen. *l. c.*), and equally unsupported by the other old Versions. [G.] [W.]

GITTITES. The inhabitants of Gath (2 Sam. vi. 10, 11; xv. 18, 19). Obed-edom and Ittai are named, and six hundred Gittites followed David from Gath. In the latter passage the LXX. renders the word "mighty men," and is followed by Ewald and Thenius. There is nothing to show that these Gittites were Philistines, since there was probably no town in Palestine, in David's time, of which the population was unmixed [see GATH]. [C. R. C.]

GITTITH, or, more correctly, *Haggittith*, which appears as part of the first, or intro-

ductory, verses of Psalms viii., lxxxi., and lxxxiv., has produced an amusing, if somewhat unsatisfactory, search after hypotheses. The authors of the Septuagint evidently had *in mind* the Agadic tradition of the Rabbis, when they rendered *'Al-Haggittith* by *ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν* (see later on), and are by no means alluded to by Ibn 'Ezra, as has been asserted, when he rejects the explanation of the "fablers, babblers, or idiots" (מהבילים). The Targumist gives *Gittith* as a harp brought (viii. 1) or come (lxxxi. 1 and lxxxiv. 1) from Gath (of Philistia?). This explanation is not merely quoted by Rashi, but approved of by him, with the additional remark, that in Gath they were masters in constructing this instrument. He rejects the view of the Rabbis (Midrash *Tehillim*) that this title was an allusion to the heathen nations, which would be one day trodden down as grapes are trodden in a vat. Not that Rashi rejected the Rabbinic saying itself, which rests on the Bible (Is. lxiii. 2, 3); but he rejects the local application of it. He does so justly, since, as he says, contents and context give no evidence whatever for such an application. Rashi here, as in most other places, exhibits supreme good sense. Rab Se'adyah, the Gaon (Ewald, *Ueber die Arabisch geschriebenen Werke Jüdischer Sprachgelehrten*, i., Stuttgard, 1844, 8vo, on Ps. viii. 1), says that this Psalm got its name *Gittith* from having been given by David to the household of Obed-Edom the Gittite. This explanation is also given by Ibn 'Ezra (זה המזמור נתנו למשפחות עובד אדום הגתי), without, however, acknowledging his indebtedness to the Gaon; and between it and his own well-known theory (This is the beginning of a poem, &c.) he vacillates, with rather an inclination to the former exposition. Qimchi reproduces both these explanations, only consistently reversing their order, as he approves more of the second explanation (see Schiller-Szinessy, *Qimchi on the Psalms*, i., Cambridge and Leipzig, 1883, 8vo, p. 15). He inserts between the first and second explanations the interpretation of some anonymous authors, according to whom this Psalm was called *Gittith* because David both composed and recited it while at Gath in Philistia. This interpretation, if it were possible, would leave the headings of Psalms lxxxi. and lxxxiv. entirely unexplained. Now, on grounds both negative and positive, advanced in ALJELETH SHAHAR, ALAMOTH and AL-TASCHITH, one is constrained to explain *Haggittith* as the name of a music-band, dwelling in the Levitical Gath-Rimmon, and the director of which was Obed-Edom the Gittite (1 Ch. xv. 21). This theory would give a double reason for the name *Haggittith*. Obed-Edom did not merely excel as a music-director, but had harboured the Ark of God for three months, when David, after the catastrophe of Uzzah, was afraid to take it to Zion, his own city. For this act of piety and devotion the Lord had blessed Obed-Edom the Gittite, and the king had granted to this Levite the mastership over a music-corps, consisting for the most part of his own household, which should bear his name. [S. M. S.-S.]

GI'ZONITE, THE (הַגִּזֹנִי: Bא. omit; A. ὁ Γωννί; Lucian, ὁ Γουνί: *Gezonites*). "The sons of Hashem the Gizonite" are named amongst the warriors of David's guard (1 Ch. xi. 34). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. 32 the name appears as JASHEN. Gizon is not otherwise known, and the reading of Lucian, ὁ Γουνί, seems to point to הַגּוּנִי, the name of a Naphtalite family (see Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* l. c.). [F.]

GIZRITES, THE, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, R. V. margin. [GERZITES.]

GLASS (זְכוֹכִית; *ὕαλος*; *vitrum*). The word occurs only in Job xxviii. 17, where in A. V. it is rendered "crystal," but in R. V. "glass." It comes from זָכַךְ (*to be pure*), and according to the best authorities means a kind of glass which in ancient days was held in high esteem (J. D. Michaelis, *Hist. Vitri apud Hebr.*; and Hamberger, *Hist. Vitri ex antiquitate eruta*, quoted by Gesen. *s. v.*). Symmachus renders it *κρύσταλλος*, but that is rather intended by גָּבִישׁ (Job xxviii. 18, A. V. "pearls," LXX. *γάβις*, a word which also means "ice;" cp. Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 2), and קֶרַח (Ezek. i. 22). Besides Symmachus, others also render it *διαυγὴ κρύσταλλος* (Schleusner, *Thesaur. s. v. ὕαλος*), and it is argued that the word *ὕαλος* frequently means crystal. Thus the Schol. on Aristoph. *Nub.* 764 defines *ὕαλος* (when it occurs in old writers) as *διαφανὴς λίθος ἐοικὼς ὑάλῳ*, and Hesychius gives as its equivalent *λίθος τίμιος*. In Herodotus (iii. 24) it is clear that *ὕαλος* must mean crystal, for he says, *ἡ δὲ σφι πολλὴ καὶ εὔεργος ὀρύσσεται*, and Achilles Tatius speaks of crystal as *ὕαλος ὀρωρυγμένη* (ii. 3; Baehr, *On Herod.* ii. 44; Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 1, 335). Others consider זְכוֹכִית to be amber, or electrum, or alabaster (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. ch. vi. 872); but modern criticism almost universally adopts the meaning glass (see MV.[11], Dillmann[4] in loco).

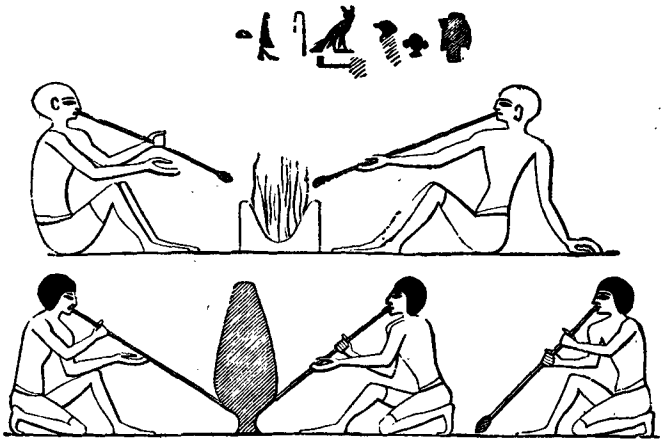
The Hebrews must have been aware of the invention of glass. There has been a violent modern prejudice against the belief that glass was early known to, or extensively used by, the ancients, but both facts are now certain. From paintings representing the process of glass-blowing which have been discovered at Beni-Hassan, and in tombs at other places, we know that the invention is at least as remote as the age of Osirtasen the First (perhaps a contemporary of Joseph), 3500 years ago. A bead as old as 1500 B.C. was found by Captain Hervey at Thebes, "the specific gravity of which, 25° 30', is precisely the same as that of the crown glass now made in England." Fragments too of wine-vases as old as the Exodus have been discovered in Egypt. Glass beads known to be ancient have been found in Africa, and also (it is said) in Cornwall and Ireland, which are in all probability the relics of an old Phoenician trade (Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 50, i. 475; *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 64, 65 [1878]). The art was also known to the ancient Assyrians (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 42), and a glass bottle was found in the N.W. palace of Nimroud, which has on it the name of Sargon, and is therefore probably older than B.C. 702 (Id. *Nin. and Bab.* pp. 197, 503). This is the earliest known specimen of *transparent* glass.

The disbelief in the antiquity of glass (in

spite of the distinct statements of early writers) is difficult to account for, because the invention must almost naturally arise in making bricks or pottery, during which processes there must be at least a superficial vitrification. There is little doubt that the honour of the discovery belongs to the Egyptians. Pliny gives no date for his celebrated story of the discovery of glass from the solitary accident of some Phoenician sailors using blocks of natron to support their saucepans when they were unable to find stones for the purpose (*H. N.* xxxvi. 65). But this account is less likely than the supposition that vitreous matter first attracted observation from the custom of lighting fires on the sand, "in a country producing natron or subcarbonate of soda" (Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 82). It has been pointed out that Pliny's story may have originated in the fact that the sand of the Syrian river Belus, at the mouth of which the incident is supposed to have occurred, "was esteemed peculiarly suitable for glass-making, and exported in great quantities to the workshops of Sidon and Alexandria, long the most famous in the ancient world" (*Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.* s. n. *Vitrum*, where everything requisite to the illustration of the classical allusions to glass may be found). Some find a remarkable reference to this little river (respecting which see Plin. *H. N.* v. 17, xxxvi. 65; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 10, § 2; Tac. *Hist.* v. 7) in the blessing to the tribe of Zebulun, "they shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand" (Deut. xxxiii. 19). Both the name Belus (Reland, quoted in *Dict. of Geogr.* s. v.) and the Hebrew word חוֹל, "sand" (Calmet, *s. v.*), have been suggested as derivations for the Greek θαλος, which is however, in all probability, from an Egyptian root.

Glass was not only known to the ancients, but used by them (as Winckelmann thinks) far more extensively than in modern times. Pliny even tells us that it was employed in wainscoting (vitreae camerae, *H. N.* xxxvi. 64; Stat. *Silv.* i. ch. v. 42). The Egyptians knew the art of cutting, grinding, and engraving it, and they could even inlay it with gold or enamel, and "permeate opaque glass with designs of various colours." Besides this, they could colour it with such brilliancy as to be able to imitate precious stones in a manner which often defied detection (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 25, 33, 75). This is probably the explanation of the incredibly large gems which we find mentioned in ancient authors; *e.g.* Larcher considers that the emerald column alluded to by Herodotus (ii. 44) was "du verre coloré, dont l'intérieur était éclairé par des lampes." Strabo was told by an Alexandrian glass-maker that this success was partly due to a rare and valuable earth found in Egypt (Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, "Coloured Glass," i. 195 sq., Eng. Transl.; also iii. 208 sq., iv. 54). Yet the perfectly clear and transparent glass was considered the most valuable (Plin. xxxvi. 26).

Some suppose that the proper name מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם ("burnings by the waters") contains an allusion to Sidonian glass-factories (Meier on Josh. xi. 8, xiii. 6), but it is much more probable that it was so called from the burning of Jabin's chariots at that place (Lord A. Hervey, *On the Genealogies*, p. 228), or from hot springs.



Egyptian Glass Blowers. (Wilkinson.)

In the N. T. glass is alluded to as an emblem of brightness (Rev. iv. 6, xv. 2, xxi. 18). The three other places where the word occurs in the A. V. (1 Cor. xiii. 12; 2 Cor. iii. 18; Jas. i. 23), as also the word "glasses" (Is. iii. 23), are considered under MIRRORS. For, strange to say, although the ancients were aware of the reflective power of glass, and although the Sidonians used it for mirrors (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 66), yet for some unexplained reason mirrors of glass must have proved unsuccessful, since even under the empire mirrors were universally made of metal, which is at once less perfect, more expensive, and more difficult to preserve (*Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.* s. n. *Speculum*). [F. W. F.]

GLEANING (עֹלְלוֹת) as applied to produce generally, לֶקֶט rather to corn; see Lev. xix. 9, 10. The verbs are also used figuratively, Judg. xx. 45, and i. 7). The remarks under CORNER on the definite character of the rights of the poor, or rather of poor relations and dependants, to a share of the crop, are especially exemplified in the instance of Ruth gleaning in the field of Boaz. Poor young women, recognised as being "his maidens," were gleaning his field; and on her claim upon him by near affinity being made known, she was bidden to join them and not go to any other field; but for this, the reapers, it seems, would have driven her away (Ruth ii. 6,

8, 9). The gleaning of fruit trees, as well as of cornfields, was reserved for the poor. Hence the proverb of Gideon, Judg. viii. 2. Maimonides indeed lays down the principle (*Constitutiones de donis pauperum*, cap. ii. 1), that whatever crop or growth is fit for food, is kept, gathered all at once, and carried into store, is liable to that law. See for further remarks, Maimon. *Constitutiones de donis pauperum*, cap. iv. [H. H.]

GLEDE (רָאָה, *ra'ah*; γύψ; *ixion*). The word occurs only in Deut. xiv. 13, and is translated "glede" in A. V. and R. V. In the parallel passage in Lev. xi. 14, דָּאָה, *da'ah*, "vulture," is read. Gesenius therefore suggests that *da'ah* should be substituted also in Deut. If however רָאָה be correct, the name is derived from the bird's clearness of vision, and means "the far-seer." Our translators have distinguished between "kite" and "glede," though the names are often used synonymously in the South of England for the royal or red kite, *Milvus ictinus*, Sav., now all but extinct. But in the North of England, in Scotland and Ireland, "glede" is applied to the buzzard, which is probably therefore the bird intended by our translators. There are three species of buzzard in Palestine: the common buzzard, *Buteo vulgaris*, Leach, on the coast; *B. desertorum*, Daud., in the southern wilderness; and *B. ferox* (Gm.), the finest and largest of the genus, spread all over the country. [H. B. T.]

GNAT (κώνωψ) only occurs in Matt. xxiii. 24, "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel," A. V. But R. V. correctly—"which strain *out* the gnat and swallow the camel;" as in all the earlier Versions, Tyndall's, Cranmer's, and the Genevan: a proverbial expression, the gnat being looked on as one of the smallest of insects. The gnat of the East is better known to us as the "mosquito," one of the most irritating pests of all countries, and which in Palestine can only be escaped by sleeping on high ground, away from trees or water. Gnats belong to the order *Diptera*, genus *Culex*. All the species are characterised by having a long proboscis in a grooved sheath, from which the insect shoots its long slender lance into the skin. The larvae and pupae live in water, only emerging into the air when they leave the chrysalis. [H. B. T.]

GOAD. The equivalent terms in the Hebrew are (1) מַלְמָד (Judg. iii. 31) and (2) דָּרְבָן (1 Sam. xiii. 21; Eccles. xii. 11). The explanation given by Jahn (*Archaeol.* i. 4, § 59; cp. MV.[11]) is that the former represents the pole, and the latter the iron spike with which it was shod for the purpose of goading, and may refer to anything pointed; and the tenor of Eccles. xii. requires rather the sense of a peg or nail, anything in short which can be *fastened*; while in 1 Sam. xiii. the point of the *ploughshare* is more probably intended. The former does probably refer to the goad (A. V. and R. V. "ox-goad"), the long handle of which might be used as a formidable weapon (cp. Hom. *Il.* vi. 135), though even this was otherwise understood by the LXX. as a ploughshare (*ἐν τῷ ἀροτρόποδι*): it should also be noted that the etymological force of the word is that of *guiding* (from לָמַד, *to teach*) rather than *goading* (Saalschütz, *Archaeol.* i. 105). There are undoubted references to the use of the goad in driving oxen in Ecclus. xxxviii. 25, and Acts xxvi. 14. The instrument, as still used in the countries of Southern Europe and Western Asia, consists of a rod about 8 feet long, brought to a sharp point and sometimes cased with iron at the head (Harmer's *Observ.* iii. 348). The expression "to kick against the goad" (Acts xxvi. 14, R. V.; A. V. "the pricks") was proverbially used by the Greeks for unavailing resistance to superior power (cp. Aesch. *Agam.* 1633, *Prom.* 323; Eurip. *Bacch.* 791). [W. L. B.]

GOAH, Jer. xxxi. 39, R. V. [GOATH.]

GOAT. 1. Of the Hebrew words which are translated *goat* and *she-goat* in A. V., the most common is עֵז, *'aiz* = Syr. ܥܙܐ, Arab. عنز, Phoen. אזא. The Indo-Germanic languages have a similar word in Sansk. *ag'a* = goat, *ag'â* = she-goat, Germ. *geis* or *gems*, Greek αἴξ, *αἰγός*. The derivation from עָזַז, *to be strong*, points to *he-goat* as the original meaning, but it is also specially used for *she-goat*, as in Gen. xv. 9, xxxi. 38, xxxii. 14; Num. xv. 27. In Judg. vi. 19 גְּדִי עִזִּים is rendered *kid*, and in Deut. xiv. 4 שֵׂה עִזִּים is rendered *the goat*, but properly signifies *flock of goats*. עִזִּים is used elliptically for *goats' hair* in Ex. xxvi. 7, xxxvi. 14, &c.; Num. xxxi. 20; and in 1 Sam. xix. 13.

2. עַתּוּד, *'attûd*, τράγοι, *hirci*, is the common word for the he-goat, which is the leader of the herd. All herds of goats, however small, have a leader, whose movements are followed by all the others. It occurs only in the plural and is rendered indifferently "goats" and "he-goats" in A. V. and R. V. It is used metaphorically for leaders of men: "Be as the he-goats before the flocks" (Jer. l. 8). "Even all the chief ones of the earth," marg. *he-goats* (Is. xiv. 9). "Mine anger is kindled against the shepherds, and I will punish the he-goats," *i.e.* "the leaders of the people" (Zech. x. 3, R. V.).

3. שָׂעִיר, *sâ'ir*, lit. "a hairy one" or "bristly one," is the word commonly used in the Pentateuch for the goat offered as sin offering, whether a full-grown animal or a kid.

4. תַּיִשׁ, *tayish*, i.e. the butter or the striker, from תִּישׁ, *tish*, "to strike" or "butt," a non-existent root; Arabic تيس, *tais*, plur. تيوس, *tuyûs*, "a he-goat." The word occurs in four passages only. In Prov. xxx. 31–2, R. V.: "Four things which are stately in going ... the he-goat." The stately march of the he-goat before the herd, and his haughty bearing, as well as the dauntless stare with which he scrutinizes a stranger, are well known to all familiar with the East; and his name is still commonly used by the Arabs to express dignity of manner and bearing.*

* So the Alexandrian Version of the LXX. gives in Is. xiv. 9, τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου. Cp. Theocritus, *Id.* viii. 49, Ὦ τράγε, τὰν λευκὰν αἰγᾶν ἄνερ: and Virg. *Ecl.* vii. 7, "Vir gregis ipse caper."

5. צָפִיר, *ṣāphīr*, occurs only in 2 Ch. xxix. 21, Ezra vi. 17, and Dan. viii. 5, 8. It is derived from צָפַר, "to leap." In Daniel it is followed by הָעִזִּים, *i.e.* a he-goat of the goats, and is used as a figure of the Macedonian Empire: "Behold, an he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth" (*v.* 5).

Ἔριφος and ἐρίφιον, *i.e.* "a young goat or kid," are translated "goats" in our Version (R. V. marg. *kids*). "Goat-skins" in Heb. xi. 37 are in the Greek ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν.

There are several breeds of goats (*Capra hircus*, L.) in Palestine. The supposed wild original of the goat (*Capra aegagrus*, Gm.) is common in Armenia, the Caucasus, and North

Long-eared Syrian Goat.

Persia; yet the goats of Syria exhibit a wider divergence than those of any other country, from the pristine type. In the Lebanon there is a very marked race, like the Welsh breed of goat, generally black and with short ears often erect. Very different from this is the common Syrian goat of the South (*Capra mambrica*, L.), with enormous pendent ears often hanging down below its nose, and stout recurved horns. These long ears are alluded to by Amos (iii. 12): "As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear." These goats are very large, with long hair, generally black. In fact, black is as much the rule with the Syrian goat as white with the English sheep. Another race is the mohair goat (*Capra angorensis*, L.), which is only a carefully selected breed of the other, generally white, and with very long silky hair. It is only reared in a few places in the north of the country. It is to this fine-haired goat probably that allusion is made in the Song of Songs iv. 1: "Thy hair is as a flock of goats that appear from [" lie along the side of," R. V.] Mount Gilead."

Goats formed an important item in the wealth of the Patriarchs, and were used for food and for sacrifice. In pastoral regions the goat may be said to be the complement of the sheep. The one browses where the other cannot feed, for the goat prefers brushwood and coarse herbage to the fine pasturage indispensable for the sheep. Thus on the downs of Arabia where no shrubs are to be found, there are no goats, and they are not mentioned among the possessions of Job. In the rich maritime plains their place is taken by horned cattle, for the luxuriant grasses are too succulent for their taste. But the southern wilderness, where there are many dwarf bushes, and the "hill-country" from Hebron up the centre of Western Palestine to the top of Lebanon, are of all others the best adapted for goats; and here from the earliest times they have been a chief source of wealth. Nabal, in the Negeb or South-land of Judah, had 3,000 sheep and 1,000 goats. Further north, the proportion of the latter would have been greater.

The sheep and goats are always seen together under the same shepherd, but they do not trespass on the domain of each other; nor seems there to be on either side any desire for more intimate acquaintance. The sheep, quietly wending their way along the lower slopes of the hillside, graze closely the tender herbage and fine grass; the goats, generally filing in long lines a little above them, skip from rock to rock, and browse the thymes and twigs of the dwarf shrubs. When folded together at night, they still gather in distinct groups; and round the well, while waiting for the troughs to be filled, they instinctively classify themselves separately. With all their economic value, the goats have been the cause of much of the bareness and the scarcity of spring rains in Palestine. Their constant browsing has precluded any chance of the restoration of the forests in any part of the country. They have extirpated many species of trees which once covered the hills, and which now are only to be found east of Jordan. The scarcity of fuel has tempted the villagers to cut down almost every tree of any size in the country, while the goats effectually keep down the seedlings. Until an enlightened Pasha intervened, there was great danger of the cedars of Lebanon becoming absolutely extinct with the decay of the few surviving patriarchs of the forest. Within the present century, after the ebony forests had been cut down in the island of St. Helena, the goats barked and destroyed all the younger trees until not a solitary plant of the species survives.

In all the districts where goats are kept their milk takes the place of cow's milk with us, and is used both fresh (called by the Arabs *haleeb*) and curdled (*leben*), and is also manufactured into cheese: "Thou shalt have goat's milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for the maintenance of thy maidens" (Prov. xxvii. 27). The herds are their wealth: "The goats are the price of the field" (Prov. xxvii. 26). A kid of the goats has always been the special dish for a visitor, or for a feast. To this day it is as it was in the time of Abraham: the sheikh presses the traveller to stay till a kid of the goats has been caught, slain, and cooked for his entertainment: "I pray thee, let us detain thee, until we shall have made ready a kid for thee" (Judg. xiii. 15). The lambs are more generally kept for the sake of their wool, and not slain until they have yielded at least one fleece; while a calf is too large and valuable to be slain except on some

very great occasion. "Thou never gavest me a *kid*," complains the elder brother of the prodigal, "that I might make merry with my friends: but as soon as this thy son was come, . . . thou hast killed for him the fatted *calf*" (Luke xv. 29, 30).

The habits of the goat have afforded frequent illustrations in the teaching of our Lord. In the solemn description of the day of judgment, "He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats" (Matt. xxv. 22). The traveller can watch the shepherd, when evening is coming on, carefully picking his way on the hill-side, as he cheerily calls and encourages the sheep who follow him quietly and in close order, on the beaten track towards the well-known cave where they will be folded till morning, secure from wolf or jackal. Higher up on the mountain-side, in looser order, gambolling and skipping from rock to rock, yet still keeping fairly in line with the sheep, come the goats; and then, when the cave has been reached, they leap down from the rocks above, as if simply to exhibit their agility. The shepherd then tells, first the sheep into one side of the cave, and next the goats into the other.

Goat's hair being, with the exception of the long silky fleeces of the Angora breed, much coarser than wool, is only employed, like camel's hair, in the weaving of coarse fabrics. The outer curtains of the Tabernacle in the wilderness were of goat's hair (Exod. xxxvi. 14). It was also used for stuffing cushions (1 Sam. xix. 13). Goat-skins were and are still a very important item in the economy of the East; for of these are made all the bottles that are used for the conveyance of water, wine, oil, and milk; earthenware jars being only for the storage of wine in cellars, or for the daily supply of water for domestic use. For a description of the manufacture of goat-skin bottles, see BOTTLE. [H. B. T.]

GOAT, SCAPE. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

GOAT, WILD. Two Hebrew words are thus rendered in A. V. and R. V. (1) יְעֵלִים, *ye'ēlīm*; τραγέλαφοι, ἔλαφοι; *ibices*: and fem. יַעֲלָה, *ya'ălāh*, A. V. "roe," R. V. "doe;" Arab. وعل, *wa'l*. The word is derived from the root יָעַל, "to climb;" and in the three passages where it occurs in the plural—1 Sam. xxiv. 2, Job xxxix. 1, and Ps. civ. 18—it is no doubt rightly translated "wild goat." The Translators seem to have rendered the feminine form by "roe" or "doe," as being more euphuistic where it is used as a term of endearment. The wild goat of North Arabia, Moab, and Palestine is *Capra beden*, Wagn. = *Capra sinaitica*, Ehrenb., بدن, *beden*, of the Arabs, and was well known to the Israelites in the wilderness and afterwards in their own land. It is still abundant in Sinai and Petra, not uncommon in Moab and the wilderness of Judaea, and lingers in Central Palestine from Jericho to Samaria. It was interesting to the present writer to find this graceful creature near the very fountain to which it gave name, Engedi, "the fountain of the kid," on the hills where it roamed of old, where David wandered to escape from Saul: "Saul took three thousand chosen men out of all Israel, and went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats" (1 Sam. xxiv. 2). We also obtained a young one alive near Jericho, and found a horn further north. In Moab we frequently saw them, and obtained four specimens. We have also found its teeth in the breccia of bone caverns in Lebanon, where possibly it still exists. The flesh is excellent eating, far superior to that of the gazelle, and is probably the venison which Esau went to hunt for his father in the wilderness of Judaea. The late Rev. F. W. Holland, who was well acquainted with the ibex in Mount Sinai, writes: "They are frequently shot by the Bedawee, who charge about six shillings for a full-grown one, and from eighteenpence to two shillings for a live young one. But they are very difficult to rear. I had three, but they all died; and one of the monks told me that the year before he had twenty, but had lost them all. The *Beden* being very shy and wary, keeping to the mountains, and also, from their colour, very difficult to be seen, are not often detected by travellers, and have therefore been supposed to be much more scarce than they really are. The kids, before they are able to accompany the old ones, are concealed by the mother under some rock, and apparently are only visited at night. I once caught a little one which ran out from under a rock, as I was climbing a mountain. The poor little creature had evidently heard me coming, and ran out, thinking I was its mother. The Arab who was with me was very anxious to wait near it till evening to shoot the old one, and he said there must be another kid close by, as two were always dropped at a birth; but we failed to find a second. Their warning cry is a shrill kind of whistle."

Like other members of this family, the *Beden*

Capra beden, Wagn.

will drop from a great height and light upon its powerful horns without injury. The Sinaitic ibex is very distinct in appearance from the

ibex of the Alps, of the Pyrenees, or of Candia, and still more from the large Himalayan ibex. It is smaller than the Alpine species, with longer but much finer and narrower horns; and is of a sandy colour, lighter than any of its congeners.

2. אַקּוֹ, *'akkō*; τραγέλαφος; *tragelaphus*; A.V. and R. V. "wild goat," in Deut. xiv. 5, where alone the word occurs. It appears to be connected with the Arabic عناق, *'anāḳ*. There have been various conjectures as to the animal intended; some suggesting the *Capreolus pygargus* (Pall.), called Ahu by the Persians, from a fancied similarity in the names. But it is doubtful if this antelope was ever found so far West. Others have proposed the Paseng, *Capra aegagrus*, Cuv., the wild goat of the Caucasus and Taurid. It is far more probable that the A. V. is correct, and that the *Capra beden* is intended, more especially since it does not otherwise occur in the list in Deut., and yet must have been of all the animals of the chase by far the most familiar to Israel in the wilderness. [H. B. T.]

GO'ATH (גֹּעָה); the LXX. seem to have had a different text, and read ἐξ ἐκλεκτῶν λίθων; *Goatha*), a place in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and named, in connexion with the hill Gareb, only in Jer. xxxi. 39. The name (which is accurately GOAH, as in R. V.) is derived by Gesenius from גָּעָה, "to low," as a cow (see, however, MV.[11]). In accordance with this is the rendering of the Targum, which has for Goah, בֵּרֵיכַת עֶגְלָא = the heifer's pool. The Syriac, on the other hand, has לְרוּמְמָנְתָּא, *lerām'thā*, "to the eminence." Owing to the presence of the letter *Ain* in Goath, the resemblance between it and Golgotha does not exist in the original to the same degree as in English. [GOLGOTHA.]

The Prophet mentions Goah as one of the limits of the restored Jerusalem in the latter times; and he appears to describe a circuit of the city commencing at the tower of Hananeel, and going round by north to west, south, and east. In this case Goah would be either, following the Syriac Version, the hill on which the Russian convent stands, or, adopting the rendering of the Targum, a pool in or near the position of the *Birket Mamilla*. [GAREB.] Renan (*V. de J.*, p. 269, note 4) places Gareb and Goath to the N.W. of Jerusalem. [G.] [W.]

GOB (גֹּב, and גּוֹב, perhaps = *a pit* or *ditch*; [*v.* 18] BA. Γέθ, [*v.* 19] B. Ῥόμ, A. Γόβ; *Gob*), a place mentioned only in 2 Sam. xxi. 18, 19, as the scene of two encounters between David's warriors and the Philistines. In the parallel account—of the first of these only—in 1 Ch. xx. 4, the name is given as GEZER; and this, as well as the omission of any locality for the second event, is supported by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 2) and most modern critics. On the other hand, the LXX. and Syriac have Gath in the first case; and this appears to be borne out by the account of a third and subsequent fight, which all agree happened at Gath (2 Sam. xxi. 20; 1 Ch. xx. 6), and which, from the terms of the narrative, seems to have occurred at the same place as the others. The suggestion of Nob—which Davidson (*Hebr. Text*) reports as in many MSS.,—is not admissible on account of the situation of that place. [G.] [W.]

GOBLET (אַגָּן; κρατήρ; *crater*; joined with סַהַר to express roundness, Cant. vii. 2; Gesen. *Thes.* 22, 39; in plur. Ex. xxiv. 6; A. V. "basons," Is. xxii. 24; LXX. literally ἀγαυώθ; *craterae*; A. V. "cups"), a circular vessel for wine or other liquid. [BASIN.] [H. W. P.]

GOG. **1.** (גּוֹג; Γούγ; *Gog.*) A Reubenite (1 Ch. v. 4); according to the Hebrew text, son of Shemaiah. The LXX., however, have a different text throughout the passage. **2.** [MAGOG.] **3.** In the Samarit. Codex and LXX. of Num. xxiv. 7, Gog is substituted for Agag.

GO'LAN (גּוֹלָן; Γαυλών), a city and a region. The name of the region survives in the Arabic جولان, *Jaulân*, the district east of Galilee. The city—capital of the district—is placed by Herr Schumacher at *Sahem el Jaulân* (سحم الجولان), 18 miles east of the lake, where the inhabitants hold a tradition that the site was once the chief city of the region (*Across the Jordan*, p. 92); it is not, however, within the present limits of the Jaulân, though this is not an important objection, especially as Golan was in Bashan (Deut. iv. 43; cp. Josh. xx. 28). With its suburbs it is assigned, in Josh. xxi. 27, to the Levites. The site in question is a large village, standing on the plateau 1400 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. Ruins of a church with sculptured crosses exist, and the place was evidently inhabited about the 3rd to the 6th century A.D. Eusebius speaks of Golan (Γαυλών) as a large village in Bashan in his own time (*OS.*[2] p. 253, 75); cp. Josephus (*Wars*, i. 4, §§ 4 and 8). The district of Golan, called Gaulanitis by Josephus (Γαυλανῖτις), was one of the four divisions into which ancient Bashan was divided in Roman times; the others being Auranitis (*Hawrân*), Trachonitis (*El Lejjah*), and Batanaea (*El Buttein*). Of these Gaulanitis was the western region, bounded on the south by the river Hieromax, and extending to the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan. On the east it adjoined the corn plains of the Hauran; on the north it reached to the region of Geshur (probably Ituraea) near Paneas (*Wars*, iii. 3, § 5). Josephus includes it in the kingdom of Og (*Ant.* iv. 5, § 3; cp. 7, § 4, and *Wars*, iii. 3, § 1). Sogana and Seleucia are mentioned in connexion with this region, the former in Upper Gaulanitis; while Gamala, near the Sea of Galilee, was in Lower Gaulanitis (*Wars*, iv. 1, § 1). Seleucia was at the Merom Lake, as here stated, and this passage shows the western and northern extent of the district. Other cities included in the limits were Hippos (*Sûsieh*), Bethsaida Julias (probably *ed Dikkeh*, near *et Tell*), and Aphek (1 Kings xx. 23–25), which was the battle-ground of Benhadad, supposed to be *Fik*, east of the Sea of Galilee. It is described as in a *mishor* or "plain," such as that of Gaulanitis. Hippos was one of the cities of the Decapolis. The region thus embraced an area of about 600 square miles.

The modern Jaulân is now divided into three regions,—*Esh Shârah* on the north, and further south the "eastern" and the "western" divisions. They are separated by the glen of the *Nahr er Rukkad*, a perennial stream flowing south to join the Hieromax. The east limit of the Jaulân is a parallel stream, 20 feet broad, called *Nahr 'Allân*; both streams are spanned by ruined bridges with pointed arches. The Jaulân is a plateau, rising northwards, and about 1500 feet above the Mediterranean on an average. The formation is basaltic—a field of lava covering the limestone, which appears in the ravines which intersect it. It is well watered, with fine springs and brooks, and cultivated round the villages; but the soil is covered with mounds of basalt rock, resembling ruined sites, and it does not possess the fine red soil of the Haurân, which is free from rocks. It is, however, an excellent pastoral region, especially to the north, where the Anazeh Arabs feed numerous flocks, and the grass is knee-deep in springtime. Remains of forests are found to the south, and scattered terebinths on the plateau. On the north a curious volcanic chain runs parallel to the Jordan. It consists of the craters of extinct volcanoes, presenting a very ragged and picturesque sky-line, as seen from the valley. These are called *Shafât Kutta*, and the southernmost crater, called *Tell Fâris*, rises 800 feet above the plateau, which is here about 2,700 feet above the Mediterranean. It commands a fine view on all sides, to the rich corn plains of the Haurân on the east, and over the Jordan valley to the hills of Galilee on the west.

The northern district is mainly pastoral, very few inhabited places now remaining. The seat of a Kaimakam is placed on the north, at the decayed village of Kuneitrah, now possessing only a few stone huts, but in Burckhardt's time a khan, a mosque, and walls. Three thousand Circassians were here located about twelve years ago by the Sultan, to cultivate the country. This region was held by the Crusaders, and called the Land of Soethe—a corruption of the Arabic *Suwâd*, meaning the "black land," on account of the basaltic soil. Moslem historians apply the term more widely to the whole Jaulân (see Rey, *Colonies Franques*, p. 434). The region south of Esh Sharah, bordering on the Sea of Galilee, now contains very few hamlets. Among them the largest perhaps is *Khisfin*, which is mentioned in 900 A.D. by Yakûbi, and contains remains of a fort. *Fik* (Aphek) also presents ruins, including columns and Cufic texts. West of this are the remains of the great fortress of Gamala, on the cliffs above the lake (see Sir C. W. Wilson's account, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 370). Northeast of Fik is the large village of *el 'Al*, where a life-sized statue of a goddess with a quiver is preserved. This place was seized by the Franks in 1105 A.D., and a fortress built (cp. Rey, *Col. Franques*, p. 434), which still bears the name "Baldwin's Tower," in the great valley 2 miles to the north. Immediately above the valley (*Wâdy es Semakh*) is a spur on the north covered with dolmens.

The eastern region of the Jaulân contains many ruined sites, and about a dozen inhabited villages. The ruins and inscriptions, and remains of a Roman road running east, prove that it was fully populated in the 2nd century, and down to the 6th century A.D. It has, indeed, never been entirely deserted. The highest point in the plateau, towards the north, is at the village *Ghadir el Bustân*, 1912 feet above sea-level. Three miles to the south, on the Roman road, the hamlet *'Ain Dakkâr* consists of about thirty huts, but there are remains of a Roman town which appears to have had a temple. A fine stream supplies the site. On the north is a remarkable field of dolmens, such as occur in Moab and Gilead. They are called by the peasantry "graves of the children of Israel," but appear more probably to be prehistoric remains of the original Amorite population. The bridge over which the Roman road crosses, at this point, was repaired in later times by the Franks or the Arabs. A little further south are the ruins of *Kaukab*, probably the Kokaba which was inhabited in very early Christian times by the Ebionites from Pella (Epiphanius, *Haeres.* xxx. 2, 18; xl. 1). *Beit Akkâr*, yet further south, on the Nahr 'Allân, was also a Roman town in a strong position. *Sahem el Jaulân*, further east (the supposed site of Golan), is a large village with gardens and orchards and good water, but falling into decay. The ruins present sculptures like those of the Roman cities of the Haurân, and carved crosses show that these belong to Christian times. *Esh Shejerah*, further south again, has a population of about 450 souls, with Roman ruins. *El Ekseir*, on the Hieromax, is the lowest inhabited place, 1145 feet above sea-level, with a fine perennial spring. Three miles to the north-west, on the same valley bank, is *Beit Erry*, which Seetzen identified with the Bathura (Βαθύρα) of Josephus, where Herod settled a Jewish population under a Jewish leader from Babylon (*Ant.* xvii. 2, § 2). *'Abdîn*, a hamlet of 150 souls, N.W. of the last, contains a mosque with a tower, and a Greek text has been found: there is a good spring, and the land is well cultivated. *Kefr el Ma*, on the right bank of the Nahr er Rukkad, is a flourishing village; among other remains is a curious bas-relief of Aesculapius, and what appears to be a Roman altar. Herr Schumacher identifies this site with the Alema (1 Macc. v. 26), where the Jews were shut up till rescued by Judas Maccabaeus: there is no improbability in this view. North-east of this, near *Seisûn* (now ruined), there is another field of dolmens. These sites are the principal ones of interest as yet described, and it is thus clear that the Jaulân is not a desert, but a very fertile pastoral region, which has possessed a settled population from the earliest times. A full account will be found in Schumacher's *Across the Jordan*, 1886, and further information in the Rev. Selah Merrill's Reports (No. 4, American Palestine Exploration Society, January 1877). The region is also noticed in Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*. [C. R. C.]

GOLD, the most valuable of metals, from its colour, lustre, weight, ductility, and other useful properties (Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 19). Hence it is used as an emblem of purity (Job xxiii. 10) and nobility (Lam. iv. 1). There are six Hebrew words used to denote it, and four of them occur in Job xxviii. 15, 16, 17. These are—

1. זָהָב, the common name, connected with צָהַב (*to be yellow*), as *geld*,' from *gel*, yellow. Various epithets are applied to it: as, "fine'

(2 Ch. iii. 5), "refined" (1 Ch. xxviii. 18), "pure" (Ex. xxv. 11). In opposition to these, "beaten gold" (זָהָב שָׁחוּט) is probably *mixed* gold; LXX. *ἐλατός*; used of Solomon's shields (1 K. x. 16).

2. סְגוֹר (*κειμήλιον*), treasured, *i.e.* fine gold (1 K. vi. 20, vii. 49, &c.). Many names of precious substances in Hebrew come from roots signifying concealment, as מַטְמוֹן (Gen. xliii. 23, A. V. "treasure").

3. פָּז, pure or native gold (Job xxviii. 17; Cant. v. 15; probably from זָזַז, *to separate*). Rosenmüller (*Alterthumsk.* iv. p. 49) makes it come from a Syriac root meaning *solid* or massy; but טָהוֹר (2 Ch. ix. 17) corresponds to מוּפָז (1 K. x. 18). The LXX. render it by *λίθος τίμιος, χρυσίον ἄπυρον* (Is. xiii. 12; Theodot. *ἄπεφθον*: cp. Thuc. ii. 13; Plin. xxxiii. 19, *obrussa*). In Ps. cxix. 127, the LXX. render it *τοπάζιον* (A. V. "fine gold"); but Schleusner happily conjectures *τὸ πάζιον*, the Hebrew word being adopted to avoid the repetition of *χρυσός* (Thes. *s. v. τόπαζ*; Hesych. *s. v. πάζιον*).

4. גֶּצֶר, gold earth, or a mass of raw ore (Job xxii. 24, *ἄπυρον*, A.V. "gold," R.V. "treasure").

The poetical names for gold are:—

1. כֶּתֶם (also implying something concealed); LXX. *χρυσίον*; and in Is. xiii. 12, *λίθος πολυτελής*. In Job xxxvii. 22, it is rendered in A.V. "fair weather," R. V. "golden splendour;" LXX. *νέφη χρυσανγοῦντα*. (Cp. Zech. iv. 12.)

2. חָרוּץ = "dug out" (Prov. viii. 10), a general name, which has become special, Ps. lxviii. 13 (A. V. and R. V. "yellow gold"), where it cannot mean gems, as some suppose (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 9). Michaelis connects the word *chārūs* with the Greek *χρυσός*.

Gold was known from the very earliest times (Gen. ii. 11). Pliny attributes the discovery of it (at Mount Pangaeus), and the art of working it, to Cadmus (*H. N.* vii. 57); and his statement is adopted by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i. 363, ed. Pott.). It was at first chiefly used for ornaments, &c. (Gen. xxiv. 22); and although Abraham is said to have been "very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold" (Gen. xiii. 2), yet no mention of it, as used in *purchases*, is made till after his return from Egypt. Coined money was not known to the ancients (*e.g.* Hom. *Il.* vii. 473) till a comparatively late period; and on the Egyptian tombs gold is represented as being weighed in rings for commercial purposes (cp. Gen. xliii. 21). No coins are found in the ruins of Egypt or Assyria (Layard's *Nin.* ii. 418). "Even so late as the time of David gold was not used as a standard of value, but was considered merely as a very precious article of commerce, and was *weighed* like other articles" (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 115, 1 Ch. xxi. 25).

Gold was extremely abundant in ancient times (1 Ch. xxii. 14; 2 Ch. i. 15, ix. 9; Nah. ii. 9; Dan. iii. 1); but this did not depreciate its value, because of the enormous quantities consumed by the wealthy in furniture, &c. (1 K. vi. 22, x. passim; Cant. iii. 9, 10; Esth. i. 6; Jer. x. 9: cp. Hom. *Od.* xix. 55; Herod. ix. 82). Probably, too, the art of gilding was known extensively, being applied even to the battlements of a city (Herod. i. 98; and other authorities quoted by Layard, ii. 264).

The chief countries mentioned as producing gold are Arabia, Sheba, and Ophir (1 K. ix. 28, x. 1; Job xxviii. 16: in Job xxii. 24, the word *Ophir* is used for gold). Gold is not found in Arabia now (Niebuhr's *Travels*, p. 141), but it used to be (Artemidor. *ap.* Strab. xvi. 3, 18, where he speaks of an Arabian river *ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφέρων*). Diodorus also says that it was found there native (*ἄπυρον*) in good-sized nuggets (*βωλάρια*). Some suppose that Ophir was an Arabian port to which gold was brought (cp. 2 Ch. ii. 7, ix. 10). Other gold-bearing countries were Uphaz (Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5) and Parvaim (2 Ch. iii. 6).

Metallurgic processes are mentioned in Ps. lxvi. 10, Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21; and in Is. xlvi. 6, the trade of goldsmith (cp. Judg. xvii. 4, צֹרֵף) is alluded to in connexion with the overlaying of idols with gold-leaf (Rosenmüller's *Minerals of Script.* pp. 46–51). [HANDICRAFT.]

[F. W. F.]

GOLDSMITH. [HANDICRAFT.]

GOL'GOTHA (Γολγοθᾶ; *Golgotha*), the Hebrew name of the spot at which our Lord was crucified (Matt. xxvii. 33; Mark xv. 22; John xix. 17). By these three Evangelists it is interpreted to mean the "place of a skull." St. Luke, in accordance with his practice in other cases (cp. Gabbatha, Gethsemane, &c.), omits the Hebrew term and gives only its Greek equivalent, *κρανίον*. The word Calvary, which in Luke xxiii. 33 is retained in the A. V. from the Vulgate, as the rendering of *κρανίον*, obscures the statement of St. Luke, whose words are really as in R. V.—"the place which is called 'the skull'"—not, as in the other Gospels, *κρανίου*, "of a skull;" thus employing the Greek term exactly as they do the Hebrew one. This Hebrew, or rather Chaldee, term, was doubtless גֻּלְגַּלְתָּא, *Gulgoltā*, in pure Hebrew גֻּלְגֹּלֶת (see MV.[11]), applied to the skull on account of its round globular form, that being the idea at the root of the word.

Two explanations of the name are given: (1) that it was a spot where executions ordinarily took place, and therefore abounded in skulls; but according to the Jewish law these must have been buried, and therefore were no more likely to confer a name on the spot than any other part of the skeleton. In this case too the Greek should be *τόπος κρανίων*, "of skulls," instead of *κρανίου*, "of a skull," still less "the skull" as in the Hebrew, and in the Greek of St. Luke. Or (2) it may come from the look or form of the spot itself, bald, round, and skull-like (the French *Chaumont*: Renan, *V. de J.* p. 269), and therefore a mound or hillock, in accordance with the common phrase – for which there is no direct authority—"Mount Calvary."[a] Whichever of these is the correct explanation—and there is apparently no means of deciding with

[a] The Bordeaux Pilgrim is the first to call it *Monticulus Golgotha* (Itin. Hieros.); and it is possible that the term "Mount" originated in the artificial isolation of the rock at "Calvary" in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Hayter Lewis, *Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem*, p. xiv. note).

certainty—Golgotha seems to have been a known spot. This is to be gathered from the way in which it is mentioned in the Gospels, each except St. Matthew[b] having the definite article—"the place Golgotha"—"the place which is called a skull"—"the place (A. V. omits the article) called of, or after, a skull." It was "outside the gate," ἔξω τῆς πύλης (Heb. xiii. 12: cp. Matt. xxviii. 11; Lev. xxiv. 14; Num. xv. 35, 36; Deut. xvii. 5), but close to the city, ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως (John xix. 20); apparently near a thoroughfare on which there were passers-by (Matt. xxvii. 39; Mark xv. 29). This road or path led out of the "country"[c] (ἀγρός: Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26). It was visible "from afar" (Mark xv. 40), or "afar off" (Luke xxiii. 49); and it may perhaps be inferred from a comparison of Matt. xxvii. 41, Mark xv. 29, with John xviii. 28, that it was within sight of the Temple. It was probably the ordinary spot for executions. Why should it have been otherwise? To those at least who carried the sentence into effect, Christ was but an ordinary criminal; and there is not a word to indicate that the soldiers in "leading Him away" went to any other than the usual place for what must have been a common operation. However, in the place (ἐν τῷ τοπῷ) itself—at the very spot—was a garden or orchard (κῆπος) within which was a new tomb, "wherein was never man yet laid."

These are all the indications of the nature and situation of Golgotha which present themselves in the N. T. Its locality in regard to Jerusalem is fully examined in the description of the city. [JERUSALEM.]

A tradition at one time prevailed that Adam was buried on Golgotha, that from his skull it derived its name, and that at the Crucifixion the drops of Christ's blood fell on the skull and raised Adam to life, whereby the ancient prophecy quoted by St. Paul in Ephes. v. 14 received its fulfilment—"Awake thou Adam that sleepest,"—so the old Versions appear to have run—"and arise from the dead, for Christ shall touch thee"—(ἐπιψαύσει for ἐπιφαύσει). See Jerome, *Comm. on Matth.* xxvii. 33, and the quotation in Reland, *Pal.* p. 860; also Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* xlvi. 5; Saewulf, in *Early Travellers*, p. 39; and the quotations from Basil, &c. in Mislin (ii. 304, 305). The skull commonly introduced in early pictures of the Crucifixion refers to this.

A connexion has been supposed to exist between GOATH and Golgotha, but at the best this is mere conjecture, and there is not in the original the same similarity between the two names—געה and גלגלתא—which exists in their English or Latin garb, and which probably occasioned the suggestion. [G.] [W.]

GOLI'ATH (גָּלְיָת; Γολιάθ; *Goliah*), a famous giant of Gath, who "morning and evening for forty days" defied the armies of Israel (1 Sam. xvii.). He was possibly descended from the old Rephaim, of whom a scattered remnant took refuge with the Philistines after their dispersion by the Ammonites (Deut. ii. 20, 21; 2 Sam. xxi. 22). Some trace of this condition may be preserved in the giant's name, if it be connected with גָּלָה, "to wander." Simonis, however, derives it from an Arabic word meaning "stout" (Ges. *Thes.* s. v.). His height was "six cubits and a span," which, taking the cubit at 21 inches, would make him 10½ feet high. But the LXX. and Josephus read "*four* cubits and a span" (1 Sam. xvii. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 9, § 1). This will make him about the same size as the royal champion slain by Antimenidas, brother of Alcaeus (ἀπολείποντα μίαν μόνον πάχεων ἀπὸ πέμπων, *ap.* Strab. xiii. p. 617, with Müller's emendation). Even on this computation Goliath would be, as Josephus calls him, ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθέστατος—a truly enormous man.

The circumstances of the combat are in all respects Homeric; free from any of the puerile legends which Oriental imagination subsequently introduced into it,—as for instance that the stones used by David called out to him from the brook, "By our means you shall slay the giant," &c. (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* i. 3, p. 111 sq.; D'Herbelot, s. v. *Gialut*). The fancies of the Rabbis are yet more extraordinary. After the victory David cut off Goliath's head (1 Sam. xvii. 51; cp. Herod. iv. 6; Xenoph. *Anab.* v. 4, § 17: Niebuhr mentions a similar custom among the Arabs, *Descr.*; Winer, *s. v.*), which he brought to Jerusalem (probably after his accession to the throne, Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 94), while he hung the armour in his tent.

The scene of this famous combat was the Valley of the Terebinth, between Shochoh and Azekah, probably among the western passes of Benjamin, although a confused modern tradition has given the name of *'Ain Jahlood* (spring of Goliath) to the spring of Harod, or "trembling" (Stanley, p. 342; Judg. vii. 1). [ELAH, VALLEY OF.]

In 2 Sam. xxi. 19, we find that another Goliath of Gath, of whom it is also said that "the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam," was slain by Elhanan, also a Bethlehemite. St. Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.* ad loc.) makes the unlikely conjecture that Elhanan was another name of David. The A. V. here interpolates the words "the brother of," from 1 Ch. xx. 5, where this giant is called "Lahmi." This will be found fully examined under ELHANAN.

In the title of the Psalm added to the Psalter in the LXX. we find τῷ Δαυὶδ πρὸς τὸν Γολιάδ; and although the allusions are vague, it is perhaps possible that this Psalm may have been written after the victory. This Psalm is given at length under DAVID, p. 724. It is strange that we find no more definite allusions to this combat in Hebrew poetry; but it is the opinion of some that the song now attributed to Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1–10) was originally written in commemoration of David's triumph on this occasion (Thenius, *Die Bücher Sam.* p. 8: cp. Bertholdt, *Einl.* iii. 915; Ewald, *Poet. Bücher des A. B.* i. 111. Cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.*, p. 21).

By the Mohammedans Saul and Goliath are called Ṭālūt and G'ālūt (see Koran), perhaps for the sake of the homoioteleuton, of which they are so fond (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* i. 3, p. 28). Abulfeda mentions a Canaanite king of the name G'alut (*Hist. Anteislam.* p. 176, in Winer, *s. v.*); and, according to Ahmed al Fassi, Gialout was a dynastic name of the old giant-chiefs (D'Herbelot, s. v. *Falasthin*). [GIANTS.] [F. W. F.]

[b] St. Matthew, too, has the *article* in B.

[c] But the Vulgate has *de villa*.

GO'MER (גֹּמֶר; Γαμέρ; *Gomer.*) **1.** The son of Japheth, and the father of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen. x. 2, 3). His name is subsequently noticed but once (Ezek. xxxviii. 6; Γομέρ) as an ally or subject of the Scythian king Gog. He is generally recognised as the progenitor of the early Cimmerians, though no longer as that of the later Cimbri and the other branches of the Celtic family, and of the modern Gael and Cymry (Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. *l. c.*). The Cimmerians, when first known to us, occupied the Tauric Chersonese, where they left traces of their presence in the ancient names, Cimmerian Bosporus, Cimmerian Isthmus, Mount Cimmerium, the district Cimmeria, and particularly the Cimmerian walls (Her. iv. 12, 45, 100; Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 729), and in the modern name *Crimea*. They forsook this abode under the pressure of the Scythian tribes, and during the early part of the 7th century B.C. they poured over the western part of Asia Minor, committing immense devastation, and defying for more than half a century the power of the Lydian kings. They were finally expelled by Alyattes, with the exception of a few, who settled at Sinope and Antandrus. It was about the same period that Ezekiel noticed them (Assyr. *Gimir*), as acting in conjunction with Armenia (Togarmah) and Magog (Scythia). The connexion between Gomer and Armenia is supported by the tradition, preserved by Moses of Chorene (i. 11), that Gamir was the ancestor of the Haichian kings of the latter country. After the expulsion of the Cimmerians from Asia Minor, their name alone survived in a few geographical relics. Various other conjectures have been hazarded on the subject: Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 81) identifies the name on etymological grounds with Phrygia; Wahl (*Asien*, i. 274) and Lagarde (*Armen. Send.* § 448) propose Cappadocia, the Armenian name of which was *Gamir* (see MV.[11], Dillmann,[5] and Delitzsch on Gen. *l. c.*).

2. The daughter of Diblaim, and concubine of Hosea (i. 3). [W. L. B.] [F.]

GOMOR'RAH (עֲמֹרָה, *'Amōrāh*, perhaps= *submersion*, from עָמַר, an unused root; in Arabic غمر, *ghamar*, is "to overwhelm with water;" Γομόρρα; *Gomorrha*), one of the five "cities of the plain," or "vale of Siddim," that under their respective kings joined battle there with Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 2–8) and his allies, by whom they were discomfited till Abram came to the rescue. Four out of the five were afterwards destroyed by the Lord with fire from heaven (Gen. xix. 23–29). One of them only, Zoar or Bela, which was its original name, was spared at the request of Lot, in order that he might take refuge there. Of these Gomorrah seems to have been only second to Sodom in importance, as well as in the wickedness that led to their overthrow. What that atrocity was may be gathered from Gen. xix. 4–8. Their miserable fate is held up as a warning to the children of Israel (Deut. xxix. 23); as a precedent for the destruction of Babylon (Is. xiii. 19 and Jer. l. 40), of Edom (Jer. xlix. 18), of Moab (Zeph. ii. 9), and even of Israel (Amos iv. 11). By St. Peter in the N. T., and by St. Jude (2 Pet. ii. 6; Jude, *vv.* 4–7), it is made "an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly," or "deny Christ." Similarly their wickedness rings as a proverb throughout the prophecies (*e.g.* Deut. xxxii. 32; Is. i. 9, 10; Jer. xxiii. 14; cp. Rom. ix. 29). Jerusalem herself is there unequivocally called Sodom, and her people Gomorrah, for their enormities; just in the same way that the corruptions of the Church of Rome have caused her to be called Babylon. On the other hand, according to the N. T., there is a sin which exceeds even that of Sodom and Gomorrah; that, namely, of which Tyre and Sidon, Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida were guilty, when they "repented not," in spite of "the mighty works" which they had witnessed (Matt. x. 15); and St. Mark has ranged under the same category all those who would not receive the preaching of the Apostles (vi. 11).

Gomorrah is first mentioned, with Sodom, Admah, and Zeboiim, as belonging to the Canaanites (Gen. x. 19); and next in connexion with the separation of Abram and Lot (Gen. xiii. 10). Its approximate geographical position is clear if no evidence but that of the earliest records contained in the Bible be accepted. The "cities of the plain" were in the *Ciccar*, or plain of Jordan, and were eastward of and visible from the heights between Bethel and Ai (Gen. xiii. 10–12). They must therefore have been situated in the Jordan valley, near the northern end of the Dead Sea (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1869–70, p. 125). A careful examination, by experienced geologists, of the country between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of *'Akabah*, has shown that the opinion long current, that the overthrow of the cities was caused by the convulsion which formed the Dead Sea, and that they were submerged in the lake, is untenable. The country must have assumed its present form long before the advent of man upon the earth, and during the Pluvial period the Jordan valley was filled by a great lake, whose waters once stood about 1400 ft. above the present surface of the Dead Sea, and gradually subsided until they reached the level at which they now stand,—1292 ft. below the Mediterranean (Hull, *PEF. Geological Memoir*, and *Mount Seir;* Lartet, *Essai sur la Géologie de la Palestine*). The expression, "the vale of Siddim (the same is the Salt Sea)" (Gen. xiv. 3), would almost seem to indicate a knowledge of the former existence of the lake (cp. Jos. *Ant.* i. 9), though it must have shrunk very nearly to its existing dimensions long before Sodom and Gomorrah were overthrown. There can have been no permanent rise in the level of the water, such as that implied by the submergence of the cities, and the presence of water is not mentioned in the description of the catastrophe (Gen. xix.). The later passages speak of the district in which the cities were situated as being still visible, and this agrees with the statement of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 4). Their destruction is expressly attributed to the brimstone and fire rained upon them from heaven (Gen. xix. 24; see also Deut. xxix. 23, and Zeph. ii. 9; also St. Peter and St. Jude before cited). And St. Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 148, 31) says of Sodom, "civitas impiorum divino igne consumpta juxta mare mortuum." The whole subject is ably handled by Cellarius (*ap.* Ugol. *Thesaur.* vii.

pp. dccxxxix.–lxxviii.), though it is not always necessary to agree with his conclusions. [SODOM.]

There is, perhaps, more to be said for the view, that the cities were at the south end of the Dead Sea. A town called Zoar is placed in this direction by Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 4) and by Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 261, 36; p. 299, 85); and the latter states that, in his time, it had a Roman garrison, and was to the south of Nimrim (*OS.*[2] p. 231, 13; p. 284, 32). The Arab geographers also place *Sughar*, or *Zughar*, "the city of Lot," at the south end of the Dead Sea (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, pp. 286-292); and this place, the *Seger* of the historians of the Crusades, is probably identical with the Zoar of Eusebius. There is, however, no necessary identity between the Zoar of Josephus, Jerome, the Arab geographers, and the Crusaders, and the Zoar of Lot; and there are good grounds for believing that they were not the same place [ZOAR]. The latest exponent of the above theory, M. Clermont-Ganneau, places Sodom at *Ûsdum;* Zoar in the *Ghor es-Safi;* and Gomorrah at *'Ain Ghamr*, in the *'Arabah* about 20 leagues south of the Dead Sea (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1886, 19–21: cp. Baedeker-Socin, *Hbk.* p. 288, Eng. ed.; Sepp, i. 813 sq.). The expression "plain of Jordan," so frequently used to indicate the position of Gomorrah and its companion cities, is quite incompatible with the view that they were at the south end of the Dead Sea; nor was this view generally adopted by the earlier pilgrims to Palestine. S. Silvia (*circ.* A.D. 385) places Segor (Zoar) and "the land of the Sodomites" close to Mount Nebo, and says that Segor, which then had a Bishop, was 6 miles from the Dead Sea (*Per. ad L. S.* pp. 41, 42). Antoninus (*circ.* 570) states that Segor was near the spot, 8 miles from Jordan, where Moses died, and that the Jordan fell into the Dead Sea below Sodom and Gomorrah (*De L. S. x.*, xxiv.); and Theodosius (*circ.* 530) connects the two cities, and the pillar of Lot's wife, with the point at which the Jordan enters the lake (*De Situ T. S.* xviii., xix.). Arculf also speaks of the Southern Zoar as "Z. of Arabia," as if it were distinct from the Z. of Lot (*De Loc. Sanct.* ii. 16). Amongst mediaeval pilgrims Thietmar (*Iter ad T. S.*) places the cities east of Jordan.

Sir G. Grove appears to have been the first in modern times to point out [SODOM] that, according to the terms of the ancient history, the cities stood at the north end of the Dead Sea; and this view has been very generally accepted in this country and America (Hull, *Mount Seir*, p. 165; Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, pp. 110–114; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, pp. 149, 150; Geikie, *H. L. and the Bible*, ii. 119; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, pp. 232 sq.; Harper, *Bible and Modern Discovery*, pp. 20 sq.). It seems clear, from the short time that it took Lot to reach Zoar (Gen. xix. 15, 23), that the cities were east of Jordan, and probably not far from the foot of the Moabite hills. Here at any rate are an old site called *Tell esh-Shâghûr*, which meets the requirements of Zoar and perhaps retains a trace of its name (*PEF. Mem. East. Pal.* p. 239); a *Kh. Bel'ath*, possibly the "Bala" of Eusebius (*ib.* p. 147); and a *Wâdy 'Amr*, close to the Dead Sea, in a very probable site for Gomorrah (*ib.* p. 252). It may be inferred from Gen. xix. 27, 28, that the overthrow of the cities was not accompanied by an earthquake or other violent convulsion of nature, and an interesting yet simple explanation of the manner in which they were destroyed has been suggested by Sir J. W. Dawson. He supposes that, at the time referred to, accumulations of inflammable gas and petroleum existed below the plain of Siddim, and that the escape of these through the opening of a fissure along the old line of fault might have produced the effects described—namely, a pillar of smoke rising up to heaven, burning bitumen and sulphur raining on the doomed cities, and fire spreading over the ground. The attendant phenomenon of the evolution of saline waters, implied in the destruction of Lot's wife, would be a natural accompaniment, as water is always discharged in such eruptions; and in this case it would be a brine thick with mud, and fitted to encrust and cover any object reached by it (*Egypt and Syria*, p. 112). [E. S. Ff.] [W.]

GOMO'RRHA, the manner in which the name GOMORRAH is spelt in the E. V. of the Apocryphal books and the N. Testament, following the Greek form of the word, Γομόρρα (2 Esd. ii. 8; Matt. x. 15; Mark vi. 11; Rom. ix. 29; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6).

GOPHER WOOD. Only once in Gen. vi. 14. The Heb. עֲצֵי גֹפֶר, "trees of Gopher," does not occur in the cognate dialects. The A. V. and R. V. have made no attempt at translation; Coverdale renders "Pyne trees;" the LXX. (*ξύλα τετράγωνα*) and Vulgate (*ligna laevigata*)—elicited by metathesis of ר and ף (גֹפֶר = גָּרֹף), the former having reference to square blocks, cut by the axe, the latter to planks smoothed by the plane—have not found much favour with modern commentators.

The conjectures of *cedar* (Ibn Ezra, Onk., Jonath. and Rabbins generally), *wood most proper to float* (Kimchi), the Greek *κεδρελάτη* (Jun., Tremell., Buxt.), *pine* (Avenar., Munst.), *turpentine* (Castalio), are little better than gratuitous. The rendering *cedar* has been defended by Pelletier, who refers to the great abundance of this tree in Asia, and the durability of its timber.

The Mohammedan equivalent is *sag*, by which Herbelot understands the Indian plane-tree. Two principal conjectures, however, have been proposed:—1. By Is. Vossius (*Diss. de LXX. Interp.* c. 12) that גֹּפֶר = כֹּפֶר, *resin;* whence עֲצֵי גֹ', meaning any trees of the resinous kind, such as pine, fir, &c. 2. By Fuller (*Miscell. Sac.* iv. 5), Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 4), Celsius (*Hierobot.* pt. i. p. 328), Hass (*Entdeckungen*, pt. ii. p. 78), that Gopher is cypress, in favour of which opinion (adopted by Ges. *Lex.*) they adduce the similarity in sound of gopher and cypress (*κυπάρ = γοφέρ*), the suitability of the cypress for ship-building, and the fact that this tree abounded in Babylonia, and more particularly in Adiabene, where it supplied Alexander with timber for a whole fleet (Arrian. vii. 161, ed. Steph.).

A tradition is mentioned in Eutychius (*Annals*, p. 34) to the effect that the Ark was made of the wood *Sadj*, by which is probably meant not the ebony, but the *Juniperus oxycedrus*, a species

of cypress (Bochart and Cels.; Rosenmüller, *Schol. ad Gen.* vi. 14, and *Alterthumsk.* vol. iv. pt. 1). [T. E. B.]

GOR'GIAS (Γοργίας), a general in the service of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. iii. 38, ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέος; cp. 2 Macc. viii. 9), who was appointed by his regent Lysias to a command in the expedition against Judaea B.C. 166, in which he was defeated by Judas Maccabaeus with great loss (1 Macc. iv. 1 sq.). At a later time (B.C. 164) he held a garrison in Jamnia, and defeated the forces of Joseph and Azarias, who attacked him contrary to the orders of Judas (1 Macc. v. 56 sq.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 6; 2 Macc. xii. 32). The account of Gorgias in 2 Macc. is very obscure. He is represented there as acting in a military capacity (2 Macc. x. 14, στρατηγὸς τῶν τόπων [?], hardly of Coele-Syria, as Grimm [*l. c.*] takes it), apparently in concert with the Idumaeans; and afterwards he is described, according to the present text, as "governor of Idumea" (2 Macc. xii. 32; cp. Zöckler), though it is possible (Grotius, Grimm, *l. c.*) that the reading is an error for "governor of Jamnia" (E. V. marg. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 6, ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας στρατηγός). The hostility of the Jews towards him is described in strong terms (2 Macc. xii. 35, τὸν κατάρατον, E. V. "that cursed man"); and while his success is only noticed in passing, his defeat and flight are given in detail, though confusedly (2 Macc. xii. 34–38; cp. Joseph. *l. c.*).

The name itself was borne by one of Alexander's generals, and occurs at later times among the eastern Greeks. [B. F. W.]

GORTY'NA (Γόρτυναι; in classical writers, Γόρτυνα or Γορτύν), a city of Crete, and in ancient times its most important city, next to Cnossus. The only direct Biblical interest of Gortyna is in the fact that it appears from 1 Macc. xv. 23 to have contained Jewish residents. [CRETE.] The circumstance alluded to in this passage took place in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon; and it is possible that the Jews had increased in Crete during the reign of his predecessor Ptolemy Philometor, who received many of them into Egypt, and who also rebuilt some parts of Gortyna (Strabo, x. p. 478). This city was nearly half-way between the eastern and western extremities of the island; and it is worth while to notice that it was near Fair Havens; so that St. Paul may possibly have preached the Gospel there, when on his voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. 8, 9). Gortyna seems to have been the capital of the island under the Romans. For the remains on the old site and in the neighbourhood, see the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, ii. 277–286, and Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*. [J. S. H.] [W.]

GOSHEN. 1. (גֹּשֶׁן; Γεσέμ, Γεσὲμ Ἀραβίας Γεσέν; *Gessen;* ΓΕCΕΜ), a word of uncertain etymology, the name of a part of Egypt where the Israelites dwelt for the whole period of their sojourn in that country. It is usually called the "land of Goshen" (אֶרֶץ גֹּשֶׁן), but also "Goshen" simply. It appears to have borne another name, אֶרֶץ רַעְמְסֵס, the "land of Rameses" (Gen. xlvii. 11). The first mention of Goshen is in Joseph's message to his father (Gen. xlv. 10), "Thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me." This shows that the territory was near the residence of the king. According to the Christian tradition as related by Syncellus, the king under whose reign Joseph was raised to his high position is said to have been Apophis (Apepi), known as one of the Hyksos or Shepherd kings. It is therefore near the cities which have preserved traces of the Hyksos that we are to look for the site of Goshen. These cities are Tanis and Bubastis, in the Eastern Delta, in both of which the name of Apophis has been discovered.

We have not much information in Scripture as to the nature and size of Goshen; however, when those scanty data are supplemented by recent discoveries, we may have a fair idea of what it was.

The second mention of the name of Goshen is in this passage (Gen. xlvi. 28, 29): "And Jacob sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to show the way before him unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father unto Goshen." This shows clearly that Goshen was in the eastern part of Egypt, on the way from the capital, whatever it was, towards Palestine. In the first of these verses the Septuagint has an important variant: συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσῆ. Thus the entrance into Goshen is said to be near Heroopolis (*v.* PITHOM), and the two names Goshen and Rameses are considered as equivalent. Their identity is confirmed in the next chapter (xlvii. 6), where Pharaoh says to Joseph, "In the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell, in the land of Goshen let them dwell;" while the execution of the order is related thus (*v.* 11): "And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded."

The advice that Joseph gave his brethren as to their conduct towards Pharaoh further characterises the territory (Gen. xlvi. 33, 34): "And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What is your occupation? that ye shall say, Thy servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers; that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen: for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." It was a land of pasture, particularly well adapted for shepherds bringing with them large flocks. This is the sense in which must be construed the expression "the best of the land." It does not mean the most fruitful, or the most productive, but the most favourable for the feeding of cattle.

The nearly unanimous tradition as to the exact site of Goshen has located it in the eastern part of the Delta, on the way to Palestine and Syria. Already the book of Judith mentions it with two places on the eastern frontier, and below Memphis (Judith i. 9: καὶ Ταφνὰς καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆ καὶ πᾶσαν γῆν Γεσέμ, ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπάνω Τάνεως καὶ Μέμφεως). The Arab authors generally assign as the site of Goshen localities at the entrance of the present Wâdy Tumeylât, the valley going towards the Red Sea, and where is now the Freshwater Canal. The two Arab translators of Genesis, Saadiah and Aboo Saïd, employ invariably for Goshen the word *Sudîr*,

which the two French scholars, Quatremère and Silvestre de Sacy, have determined to be a region about Abbasah, between the present cities of Zagazig, Belbeis, and Tell-el-Kebir. Makrizi points very nearly to the same place, when he says that Belbeis is the land of Goshen mentioned in the Pentateuch.

Belbeis, considered as the centre of the land of Goshen, already occurs in the narrative of the famous Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in the 7th century, who says that the land of Goshen is the city of Bolsir-Salbis (Belbeis), "a large city where there are three thousand Jews." This tradition lasted down to the 17th century, when the celebrated traveller Pietro della Valle visited Egypt. He describes Belbeis as an important place, where there are a few hieroglyphical inscriptions, and which is said by the Jews to be the land of Goshen. He adds that it is the more probable, as the place was on the way to Palestine, and must have been a district favourable to the grazing of cattle.

If the region around Belbeis was the original land of Goshen, it was certainly not sufficient to contain a large population; the Israelites must have spread to the north and south, and the name probably extended also with them. Therefore most of the authors, especially Ebers, have considered Goshen as being the land east of the Tanitic branch, as far as Memphis in the south; the present province of Sharkieh.

On (Heliopolis) is often mentioned as belonging to the land of Goshen. It occurs first in the Septuagint, in the passage (Ex. i. 11) which describes the persecution of the Israelites in Goshen, and which reads in Hebrew, "They built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses." Here the Greek Version adds to Pithom and Raamses a third city: "*On*, which is Heliopolis." Josephus endorses this view (*Ant. Jud.* ii. 188, ed. Niese), and, relating the arrival of Jacob in Egypt, says that "Pharaoh allowed him to dwell with his children in Heliopolis" (*συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ ζῆν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει*). We shall see further that the connexion between Heliopolis and Goshen exists in the hieroglyphical inscriptions.

In the Septuagint the name Goshen is usually translated by *Γεσὲμ Ἀραβίας*. Several authors since Cellarius have observed that this addition indicated that Goshen was situate in what was called under the Greek kings the *nome of Arabia*, mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy, and having as capital Phacusa. A confirmation of this view was found lately in the narrative of the pilgrimage of a woman to Egypt and the Holy Land made in the 4th century. This document speaks repeatedly of the nome and the city of Arabia as being the land of Goshen, *terra Gesse*.

Let us now turn to the hieroglyphical inscriptions. We find there that the nome which Brugsch has determined to be the nome of Arabia, the twentieth in the lists of Lower Egypt, contains a city and a region of the name of *Kesem*, sometimes abbreviated as *Kes*, which has generally been considered as the Egyptian equivalent of Goshen. This last form *Kes* is preserved in the second syllable of the word Phacusa, which thus is found to contain the radical of Goshen, as the Dutch scholar Van der Hardt had conjectured, at the end of the last century; the radical being preceded either by the Egyptian article *pa*, or by the word *pa*, which means "a house" or "a temple."

The ruins of the city of Kesem or Kes, Phacusa, lie under a village of recent date, called Saft el Henneh, about 6 miles east of Zagazig, and at the same distance from Belbeis. Until this century the place belonged to the province of which Belbeis was the capital, and this reminds us of the various traditions quoted above, assigning Belbeis as the site of Goshen.

The nome of Arabia was called in Egyptian *Sopt*, from the name of its god, a warlike divinity, taking various forms, the most ancient of which is a man wearing two feathers on his head and holding a sceptre. It is interesting to notice that the Arabian nome is of late formation, and that it did not exist as an independent nome at the time of the 19th Dynasty. Under Seti I., the father of Rameses II., it still was part of the nome of Heliopolis, and was watered by its canal. Thus, when the Hebrews came and settled in Goshen, it was not an organised province occupied by an agricultural population; it was part of the marshland called *the water of Ra*, in which the city of Bailos (Belbeis) was situate. It could be given by the king to foreigners, without despoiling the native population. It must have been something very like the borders of the present Sharkieh, north of Fakoos, where the Bedouins have their camps of black tents and graze their large flocks of cattle. The name *the water of Ra* may have been the origin of *'Ain Shems*, a name which is often found in connexion with the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. There the small city of Bailos (Belbeis) was built, near which king Menephtah, who is considered to be the king of the Exodus, relates that he fought a great battle against foreign invaders. It is curious that, speaking of the region around it, he says, "that it was not cultivated, but left as pasture for cattle because of the strangers."

The excavations made in that part of the Delta have shown that Bubastis, the ruins of which exist near the city of Zagazig, was a large and important town, already under the Hyksos, and later under Rameses II. Apepi, the king of Joseph, certainly resided in that city, where he left important monuments; and the same must have been the case at least occasionally, under Rameses II. and Menephtah, judging from the size of their constructions there, and by the fact that Bubastis was the key of the road to Syria. If the kings resided there, in the immediate vicinity of Goshen, it makes the narrative of Scripture more intelligible, in shortening considerably the distance between Joseph and the settlement of his brethren; or between the king and the Hebrews, in the period preceding the Exodus.

In conclusion, we may say that the original land of Goshen, the land allotted to Jacob and his sons, was a territory between Tell-el-Kebir, Zagazig, and Belbeis: at that time it had no definite boundaries; but it extended with the increase of the inhabitants, and it applied to the eastern part of the Delta from the Tanitic branch to the desert and the Red Sea. This area coincided very much with what we should call the province of Sharkieh, and part of the

Kalioubieh, as far as Heliopolis. This is the extent we may suppose it had at the time of the Exodus.

On Goshen may be consulted Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, Leipzig, 1881; Naville, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el Henneh* (Egypt. Explor. Fund, 5th Memoir), London, 1887; Brugsch, *Steininschrift und Bibelwort*, Berlin, 1891. [E. N.]

2. (גֹּשֶׁן; Γοσόμ; *Gessen, Gozen.*) The "land" or the "country (both אֶרֶץ) of Goshen" is twice named as a district in Southern Palestine (Josh. x. 41, xi. 16). Its position is uncertain. From the first of these passages it would seem to have lain between Gaza and Gibeon, and therefore to be some part of the maritime plain of Judah; but in the latter passage, that plain—the *Shefelah*—is expressly specified in addition to Goshen (here with the article). In this place too the situation of Goshen—if the order of the statement be any indication—would seem to be between the "south" and the Shefelah (A. V. "valley"). The name may be old, and may retain a trace of early intercourse between Egypt and the south of the Promised Land. For such intercourse cp. 1 Ch. vii. 21.

3. A town of the same name is once mentioned in company with Debir, Socoh, and others, as in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 51). There is nothing to connect (Dillmann²) this place with the district last spoken of. It has not yet been identified. [G.] [F.]

GOSPELS.[a] The name Gospel (from *god* and *spell*, Ang.-Sax. *good message* or *news*, which is a translation of the Greek εὐαγγέλιον) is applied to the four inspired histories of the life and teaching of Christ contained in the New Testament. [MATTHEW; MARK; LUKE; JOHN.] It may be fairly said that the genuineness of these four narratives rests upon better evidence than that of any other ancient writings. They were all composed during the latter half of the first century: those of St. Matthew and St. Mark some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; that of St. Luke probably about A.D. 64; and that of St. John towards the close of the century. Before the end of the second century, there is abundant evidence that the four Gospels, as one collection, were generally used and accepted. Irenaeus, who suffered martyrdom about A.D. 202, the disciple of Polycarp and Papias,—who, from having been in Asia, in Gaul, and in Rome, had ample means of knowing the belief of various churches,—says that the authority of the four Gospels was so far confirmed that even the heretics of his time could not reject them, but were obliged to attempt to prove their tenets out of one or other of them (*Contr. Haer.* iii. 11, § 7). Tertullian, in a work written about A.D. 208, mentions the four Gospels, two of them as the work of Apostles, and two as that of the disciples of Apostles (*apostolici*); and rests their authority on their apostolic origin (*Adv. Marcion.* iv. ch. ii.). Origen, who was born about A.D. 185 and died A.D. 253, describes the Gospels in a characteristic strain of metaphor as "the [four] elements of the Church's faith, of which the whole world, reconciled to God in Christ, is composed" (*In Johan.*). Elsewhere, in commenting on the opening words of St. Luke, he draws a line between the inspired Gospels and such productions as "The Gospel according to the Egyptians," "The Gospel of the Twelve," and the like (*Homil. in Luc.* iii. 932 sq.). Although Theophilus, who became sixth (seventh?) bishop of Antioch about A.D. 168, speaks only of "the Evangelists," without adding their names (*Ad Autol.* iii. 124, 125), we might fairly conclude with Gieseler that he refers to the collection of four, already known in his time. But from Jerome we know that Theophilus arranged the records of the four Evangelists into one work (*Epist. ad Algas.* iv. 197). Tatian, who died about A.D. 170 (?), compiled a *Diatessaron*, or Harmony of the Gospels. The Muratorian fragment (Muratori, *Antiq. It.* iii. 854; Routh, *Reliq. S.* vol. iv.), which, even if it be not by Caius and of the second century, is at least a very old monument of the Roman Church, describes the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John; but time and carelessness seem to have destroyed the sentences relating to St. Matthew and St. Mark. Another source of evidence is open to us, in the citations from the Gospels found in the earliest writers. Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, and Polycarp quote passages from them, but not with verbal exactness. The testimony of Justin Martyr (born about A.D. 99, martyred A.D. 165) is much fuller; many of his quotations are found verbatim in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, and possibly of St. Mark also, whose words it is more difficult to separate. The quotations from St. Matthew are the most numerous. In historical references, the mode of quotation is more free, and the narrative occasionally unites those of St. Matthew and St. Luke: in a very few cases he alludes to matters not mentioned in the canonical Gospels. Besides these, St. Matthew appears to be quoted by the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, by Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus. Eusebius records that Pantaenus found in India (the south of Arabia?) Christians who used the Gospel of St. Matthew. All this shows that long before the end of the second century the Gospel of St. Matthew was in general use. From the fact that St. Mark's Gospel has few places peculiar to it, it is more difficult to identify citations not expressly assigned to him; but Justin Martyr and Athenagoras appear to quote his Gospel, and Irenaeus does so by name. St. Luke is quoted by Justin, Irenaeus, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus; and St. John by all of these, with the addition of Ignatius, the Epistle to Diognetus, and Polycrates. From these we may conclude that before the end of the second century the Gospel collection was well known and in general use. There is yet another line of evidence. The heretical sects, as well as the Fathers of the Church, knew the Gospels; and as there was the greatest hostility between them, if the Gospels had become known in the Church *after* the dissension arose, the heretics would never have accepted them as genuine from such a quarter. But the Gnostics and Marcionites arose early in the second century; and therefore it is probable that the Gospels were then accepted, and thus they are traced back almost to the times of the Apostles (Olshausen). Upon a review of all the witnesses,

[a] See note on p. 1217, col. 1.

from the Apostolic Fathers down to the Canon appended to the Laodicean Council in 364, and that of the third Council of Carthage in 397, in both of which the four Gospels are numbered in the Canon of Scripture, there can hardly be room for any candid person to doubt that from the first the four Gospels were recognised as genuine and as inspired; that a sharp line of distinction was drawn between them and the so-called apocryphal Gospels, of which the number was very great; that, from the citations of passages, the Gospels bearing these four names were the same as those which we possess in our Bibles under the same names; that unbelievers, like Celsus, did not deny the genuineness of the Gospels, even when rejecting their contents; and, lastly, that heretics thought it necessary to plead some kind of sanction out of the Gospels for their doctrines: nor could they venture on the easier path of an entire rejection, because the Gospels were everywhere known to be genuine. Out of a mass of authorities the following may be selected:—Norton, *On the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2 vols. London, 1847, 2nd ed.; Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des N. T. Canons*, Zürich, 1844; De Wette, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung*, &c., 7th ed., Berlin, 1852; Hug's *Einleitung*, &c., Fosdick's [American] translation, with Stuart's Notes; Olshausen, *Biblischer Commentar*, Introduction, and his *Echtheit der 4 Canon. Evangelien*, 1823; Jer. Jones, *Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T.*, Oxford, 1798, 2 vols.; F. C. Baur, *Krit. Untersuchungen über die Kanon. Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847; Reuss, *Geschichte des N. T.*; Dean Alford's *Greek Testament*, Prolegomena, vol. i.; Rev. B. F. Westcott's *History of N. T. Canon*, London, 1859; Gieseler, *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Enstehung, &c., der schriftlichen Evangelien*, Leipzig, 1818.

On comparing these four Books one with another, a peculiar difficulty claims attention, which has had much to do with the controversy as to their genuineness. In the Fourth Gospel the narrative coincides with that of the other three in a few passages only. Putting aside the account of the Passion, there are only three facts which St. John relates in common with the other Evangelists. Two of these are, the feeding of the five thousand, and the storm on the Sea of Galilee (ch. vi.), which appear to be introduced in connexion with the discourse that arose out of the miracle related by St. John alone. The third is the anointing of His feet by Mary; and it is worthy of notice that the narrative of St. John recalls something of each of the other three: the actions of the woman are drawn from St. Luke, the ointment and its value are described in St. Mark, and the admonition to Judas appears in St. Matthew; and St. John combines in his narrative all these particulars. Whilst the three present the life of Jesus in Galilee, St. John follows him into Judaea; nor should we know, but for him, that our Lord had journeyed to Jerusalem at the prescribed feasts. Only one discourse of our Lord that was delivered in Galilee, that in the 6th chapter, is recorded by St. John. The disciple whom Jesus loved had it put into his mind to write a Gospel which should more expressly than the others set forth Jesus as the Incarnate Word of God: if he also had in view the beginnings of the errors of Cerinthus and others before him at the time, as Irenaeus and Jerome assert, the polemical purpose is quite subordinate to the dogmatic. He does not war against a temporary error, but preaches for all time that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, in order that believing we may have life through His Name. Now many of the facts omitted by St. John and recorded by the rest are such as would have contributed most directly to this great design; why then are they omitted? The received explanation is the only satisfactory one, namely, that St. John, writing last, at the close of the first century, had seen the other Gospels, and purposely abstained from writing anew what they had sufficiently recorded. [JOHN.]

In the other three Gospels there is a great amount of agreement. If we suppose the history that they contain to be divided into sections, in 42 of these all the three narratives coincide, 12 more are given by St. Matthew and St. Mark only, 5 by St. Mark and St. Luke only, and 14 by St. Matthew and St. Luke. To these must be added 5 peculiar to St. Matthew, 2 to St. Mark, and 9 to St. Luke; and the enumeration is complete. But this applies only to general coincidence as to the facts narrated: the amount of verbal coincidence, that is, the passages either verbally the same, or coinciding in the use of many of the same words, is much smaller. "By far the larger portion," says Prof. A. Norton (*Genuineness*,[2] i. 240), "of this verbal agreement is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus. Thus, in Matthew's Gospel, the passages verbally coincident with one or both of the other two Gospels amount to less than a sixth part of its contents; and of these about seven-eighths occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about one-eighth in what, by way of distinction, I may call mere narrative, in which the Evangelist, speaking in his own person, was unrestrained in the choice of his expressions. In Mark, the proportion of coincident passages to the whole contents of the Gospel is about one-sixth, of which not one-fifth occurs in the narrative. Luke has still less agreement of expression with the other Evangelists. The passages in which it is found amount only to about a tenth part of his Gospel; and but an inconsiderable portion of it appears in the narrative —less than a twentieth part. These proportions should be further compared with those which the narrative part of each Gospel bears to that in which the words of others are professedly repeated. Matthew's narrative occupies about one-fourth of his Gospel, Mark's about one-half, and Luke's about one-third. It may easily be computed, therefore, that the proportion of verbal coincidence found in the narrative part of each Gospel, compared with what exists in the other part, is about in the following ratios: in Matthew as one to somewhat more than two, in Mark as one to four, and in Luke as one to ten."

Without going minutely into the examination of examples, which would be desirable if space permitted, the leading facts connected with the subject may be thus summed up:—The verbal and material agreement of the first three Evangelists is such as does not occur in any other authors who have written independently of one another. The verbal agreement is greater

where the spoken words of others are cited than where the facts are recorded; and greatest in quotations of the words of our Lord. But in some leading events, as in the call of the first four disciples, that of St. Matthew, and the Transfiguration, the agreement even in expression is remarkable: there are also narratives where there is no verbal harmony in the outset, but only in the crisis or emphatic part of the story (Matt. viii. 3=Mark i. 41=Luke v. 13, and Matt. xiv. 19, 20=Mark vi. 41–43=Luke ix. 16, 17). The narratives of our Lord's early life, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, have little in common; while St. Mark does not include that part of the history in his plan. The agreement in the narrative portions of the Gospels begins with the Baptism of John, and reaches its highest point in the account of the Passion of our Lord and the facts that preceded it; so that a direct ratio might almost be said to exist between the amount of agreement and the nearness of the facts related to the Passion. After this event, in the account of His burial and resurrection, the coincidences are few. The language of all three is Greek, with Hebrew idioms: the Hebraisms are most abundant in St. Mark, and fewest in St. Luke. In quotations from the Old Testament, the Evangelists, or two of them, sometimes exhibit a verbal agreement, although they differ from the Hebrew and from the Septuagint Version (Matt. iii. 3= Mark i. 3=Luke iii. 4. Matt. iv. 10=Luke iv. 8. Matt. xi. 10=Mark i. 2=Luke vii. 27, &c.). Except as to twenty-four verses, the Gospel of St. Mark contains no principal facts which are not found in St. Matthew and St. Luke; but he often supplies details omitted by them, and these are often such as would belong to the graphic account of an eye-witness. There are no cases in which St. Matthew and St. Luke exactly harmonize, where St. Mark does not also coincide with them. In several places the words of St. Mark have something in common with each of the other narratives, so as to form a connecting link between them, where their words slightly differ. The examples of verbal agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke are not so long or so numerous as those between St. Matthew and St. Luke, and St. Matthew and St. Mark; but as to the arrangement of events St. Mark and St. Luke frequently coincide, where St. Matthew differs from them. These are the leading particulars; but they are very far from giving a complete notion of a phenomenon that is well worthy of that attention and reverent study of the sacred text by which alone it can be fully and fairly apprehended.

These facts exhibit the three Gospels as three distinct records of the life and works of the Redeemer, but with a greater amount of agreement than three wholly independent accounts could be expected to exhibit. The agreement would be no difficulty without the differences; it would only mark the one Divine source from which they are all derived—the Holy Spirit, Who spake by the Prophets. The difference of form and style, without the agreement, would offer no difficulty, since there may be a substantial harmony between accounts that differ greatly in mode of expression, and the very difference might be a guarantee of independence. The harmony and the variety, the agreement and the differences, form together the problem with which Biblical critics have occupied themselves for a century and a half.

The attempts at a solution are so many, that they can be more easily classified than enumerated. The first and most obvious suggestion would be, that the narrators made use of each other's work. Accordingly Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and many others, have endeavoured to ascertain which Gospel is to be regarded as the first; which is copied from the first; and which is the last, and copied from the other two. It is remarkable that each of the six possible combinations have found advocates; and this of itself proves the uncertainty of the theory (Bp. Marsh's *Michaelis*, iii. 172; De Wette, *Handbuch*, § 22 et sqq.). When we are told by men of research that the Gospel of St. Mark is plainly founded upon the other two, as Griesbach, Büsching, and others assure us; and again, that the Gospel of St. Mark is certainly the primitive Gospel, on which the other two are founded, as by Wilke, Bruno Bauer, and others, both sides relying mainly on facts that lie within the compass of the text, we are not disposed to expect much fruit from the discussion. But the theory in its crude form is in itself most improbable; and the wonder is that so much time and learning have been devoted to it. It assumes that an Evangelist has taken up the work of his predecessor, and without substantial alteration has made a few changes in form, a few additions and retrenchments, and has then allowed the whole to go forth under his name. Whatever order of the three is adopted to favour the hypothesis, the omission by the second or third, of matter inserted by the first, offers a great difficulty; since it would indicate a tacit opinion that these passages are either less useful or of less authority than the rest. The nature of the alterations is not such as we should expect to find in an age little given to literary composition, and in writings so simple and unlearned as these are admitted to be. The replacement of a word by a synonym, neither more nor less apt, the omission of a saying in one place and insertion of it in another, the occasional transposition of events; these are not in conformity with the habits of a time in which composition was little studied, and only practised as a necessity. These general objections will be found to take a still more cogent shape against any particular form of this hypothesis: whether it is attempted to show that the Gospel of St. Mark, as the shortest, is also the earliest and primitive Gospel, or that this very Gospel bears evident signs of being the latest, a compilation from the other two; or that the order in the Canon of Scripture is also the chronological order—and all these views have found defenders at no distant date—the theory that each Evangelist only copied from his predecessor offers the same general features, a plausible argument from a few facts, which is met by insuperable difficulties as soon as the remaining facts are taken in (Gieseler, pp. 35, 36; Bp. Marsh's *Michaelis*, iii., Part ii., 171 sqq.).

The supposition of a common original from which the three Gospels were drawn, each with more or less modification, would naturally occur to those who rejected the notion that the Evangelists had copied from each other. A passage

of Epiphanius has been often quoted in support of this (*Haeres.* 51, 6), but the ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πηγῆς no doubt refers to the inspiring Spirit from which all three drew their authority, and not to any earthly copy, written or oral, of His divine message. The best notion of that class of speculations which would establish a *written document* as the common original of the three Gospels, will be gained perhaps from Bishop Marsh's (*Michaelis*, vol. iii., Part ii.) account of Eichhorn's hypothesis, and of his own additions to it It appeared to Eichhorn that the portions which are common to all the three Gospels were contained in a certain common document, from which they all drew. Niemeyer had already assumed that copies of such a document had got into circulation, and had been altered and annotated by different hands. Now Eichhorn tries to show, from an exact comparison of passages, that "the sections, whether great or small, which are common to St. Matthew and St. Mark but not to St. Luke, and at the same time occupy places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark which correspond to each other, were additions made in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in the copy used by St. Luke; and, in like manner, that the sections found in the corresponding places of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew, were additions made in the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke" (p. 192). Thus Eichhorn considers himself entitled to assume that he can reconstruct the original document, and also that there must have been four other documents to account for the phenomena of the text. Thus he makes—

1. The original document.
2. An altered copy which St. Matthew used.
3. An altered copy which St. Luke used.
4. A third copy, made from the two preceding, used by St. Mark.
5. A fourth altered copy, used by St. Matthew and St. Luke in common.

As there is no *external* evidence worth considering that this original or any of its numerous copies ever existed, the value of this elaborate hypothesis must depend upon its furnishing the only explanation, and that a sufficient one, of the facts of the text. Bishop Marsh, however, finds it necessary, in order to complete the account of the text, to raise the number of documents to eight, still without producing any external evidence for the existence of any of them; and this, on one side, deprives Eichhorn's theory of the merit of completeness, and, on the other, presents a much broader surface to the obvious objections. He assumes the existence of—

1. A Hebrew original.
2. A Greek translation.
3. A transcript of No. 1, with alterations and additions.
4. Another, with another set of alterations and additions.
5. Another, combining both the preceding, used by St. Mark, who also used No. 2.
6. Another, with the alterations and additions of No. 3, and with further additions, used by St. Matthew.
7. Another, with those of No. 4 and further additions, used by St. Luke, who also used No. 2.
8. A wholly distinct Hebrew document, in which our Lord's precepts, parables, and discourses were recorded, but not in chronological order; used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke.

To this it is added, that "as the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke contain Greek translations of Hebrew materials, which were incorporated into St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the person who translated St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek frequently derived assistance from the Gospel of St. Mark, where he had matter in connexion with St. Matthew: and in those places, but in those places only, where St. Mark had no matter in connexion with St. Matthew, he had frequently recourse to St. Luke's Gospel" (p. 361). One is hardly surprised after this to learn that Eichhorn soon after put forth a revised hypothesis (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, 1804), in which a supposed Greek translation of a supposed Aramaic original took a conspicuous part; nor that Hug was able to point out that even the most liberal assumption of written documents had not provided for one case, that of the verbal agreement of St. Mark and St. Luke, to the exclusion of St. Matthew; and which, though it is of rare occurrence, would require, on Eichhorn's theory, an additional Greek version.

It will be allowed that this elaborate hypothesis, whether in the form given it by Marsh or by Eichhorn, possesses almost every fault that can be charged against an argument of that kind. For every new class of facts a new document must be assumed to have existed; and Hug's objection does not really weaken the theory, since the new class of coincidences he mentions only requires a new version of the "original Gospel" which can be supplied on demand. A theory so prolific in assumptions may still stand, if it can be proved that no other solution is possible; but since this cannot be shown, even as against the modified theory of Grätz (*Neuer Versuch*, &c., 1812), then we are reminded of the Schoolman's caution, *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*. To assume for every new class of facts the existence of another complete edition and recension of the original work is quite gratuitous; the documents might have been as easily supposed to be fragmentary memorials, wrought in by the Evangelists into the web of the original Gospel; or the coincidences might be, as Grätz supposes, cases where one Gospel has been interpolated by portions of another. Then the "original Gospel" is supposed to have been of such authority as to be circulated everywhere: yet so defective as to require annotation from any hand, so little reverenced that no hand spared it. If all the Evangelists agreed to draw from such a work, it must have been widely if not universally accepted in the Church; and yet there is no record of its existence. The force of this dilemma has been felt by the supporters of the theory: if the work was of high authority, it would have been preserved, or at least mentioned; if of lower authority, it could not have become the basis of three canonical Gospels: and various attempts have been made to escape from it. Bertholdt tries to find traces of its existence in the titles of works other than our present Gospels, which were current in the earliest ages; but Gieseler has so diminished

the force of his arguments, that only one of them need here be mentioned. Bertholdt ingeniously argues that a Gospel used by St. Paul, and transmitted to the Christians in Pontus, was the basis of Marcion's Gospel; and assumes that it was also the "original Gospel:" so that in the Gospel of Marcion there would be a transcript, though corrupted, of this primitive document. But there is no proof at all that St. Paul used any written Gospel; and as to that of Marcion, if the work of Hahn had not settled the question, the researches of such writers as Volckmar, Zeller, Ritschl, and Hilgenfeld, are held to have proved that the old opinion of Tertullian and Epiphanius is also the true one, and that the so-called Gospel of Marcion was not an independent work, but an abridged version of St. Luke's Gospel, altered by the heretic to suit his peculiar tenets (see Bertholdt, iii. 1208–1223; Gieseler, p. 57; Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*, p. 73). We must conclude then that the work has perished without record. Not only has this fate befallen the Aramaic or Hebrew original, but the translation and the five or six recensions. But it may well be asked whether the state of letters in Palestine at this time was such as to make this constant editing, translating, annotating, and enriching of a history a natural and probable process. With the independence of the Jews their literature had declined; from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, if a writer here and there arose, his works became known, if at all, in Greek translations through the Alexandrine Jews. That the period of which we are speaking was for the Jews one of very little literary activity, is generally admitted; and if this applies to all classes of the people, it would be true of the humble and uneducated class from which the first converts came (Acts iv. 13; Jas. ii. 5). Even the second law (δευτερώσεις), which grew up after the Captivity, and in which the knowledge of the learned class consisted, was handed down by oral tradition, without being reduced to writing. The theory of Eichhorn is only probable amidst a people given to literary habits, and in a class of that people where education was good and literary activity likely to prevail: the conditions here are the very reverse (see Gieseler's able argument, pp. 59 sq. [cp. p. 1223]).

Bibliography.—The English student will find in Bp. Marsh's *Translation of Michaelis' Introd. to N. T.* iii. 2, 1803, an account of Eichhorn's earlier theory and of his own. Veysie's *Examination of Mr. Marsh's Hypothesis*, 1808, has suggested many of the objections. In Bp. Thirlwall's *Translation of Schleiermacher on St. Luke*, 1825, Introduction, is an account of the whole question. Other principal works are, an essay of Eichhorn, in the 5th vol. *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, 1794; the Essay of Bp. Marsh, just quoted; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, 1804; Gratz, *Neuer Versuch die Entstehung der drey ersten Evang. zu erklären*, 1812; Bertholdt, *Histor.-kritische Einleitung in sämmtliche kanon. und apok. Schriften des A. und N. T.*, 1812–1819; and the work of Gieseler, quoted above. See also De Wette, *Lehrbuch*, and Westcott, *Introduction*, already quoted; also Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*, 1856.

There is another supposition to account for these facts, of which perhaps Gieseler has been the most acute expositor. It is probable that none of the Gospels was written until many years after the day of Pentecost, on which the Holy Spirit descended on the assembled disciples. From that day commenced at Jerusalem the work of preaching the Gospel and converting the world. So sedulous were the Apostles in this work that they divested themselves of the labour of ministering to the poor, in order that they might give themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word" (Acts vi.). Prayer and preaching were the business of their lives. Now their preaching must have been, from the nature of the case, in great part historical; it must have been based upon an account of the life and acts of Jesus of Nazareth. They had been the eye-witnesses of a wondrous life, of acts and sufferings that had an influence over all the world: many of their hearers had never heard of Jesus, and many others had received false accounts of one whom it suited the Jewish rulers to stigmatize as an impostor. The ministry of our Lord went on principally in Galilee; the first preaching was addressed to people in Judaea. There was no written record to which the hearers might be referred for historical details, and therefore the preachers must furnish not only inferences from the life of our Lord, but the facts of the life itself. The preaching, then, must have been of such a kind as to be to the hearers what the reading of lessons from the Gospels is to us. So far as the records of apostolic preaching in the Acts of the Apostles go, they confirm this view. St. Peter at Caesarea, and St. Paul at Antioch, preach alike the facts of the Redeemer's life and death. There is no improbability in supposing that in the course of twenty or thirty years' assiduous teaching, without a written Gospel, the matter of the apostolic preaching should have taken a settled form. Not only might the Apostles think it well that their own accounts should agree, as in substance so in form; but the teachers whom they sent forth, or left behind in the Churches they visited, would have to be prepared for their mission; and, so long as there was no written Gospel to put into their hands, it might be desirable that the oral instruction should be as far as possible one and the same to all. It is by no means certain that the interval between the mission of the Comforter and His work of directing the writing of the first Gospel was so long as is here supposed: the date of the Hebrew St. Matthew may be earlier. [MATTHEW.] But the argument remains the same: the preaching of the Apostles would probably begin to take one settled form, if at all, during the first years of their ministry. If it were allowed us to ask why God in His providence saw fit to defer the gift of a written Gospel to His people, the answer would be, that for the first few years the powerful working of the Holy Spirit in the living members of the Church supplied the place of those records, which, as soon as the brightness of His Presence began to be at all withdrawn, became indispensable in order to prevent the corruption of the Gospel history by false teachers. He was promised as One Who should "teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever" the Lord had "said unto them" (John xiv. 26). And more than once His aid is spoken of as needful, even for

the proclamation of the facts that relate to Christ (Acts i. 8; 1 Pet. i. 12): and He is described as a witness *with* the Apostles, rather than through them, of the things which they had seen during the course of a ministry which they had shared (John xv. 26, 27; Acts v. 32. Cp. Acts xv. 28). The personal authority of the Apostles as eye-witnesses of what they preached is not set aside by this Divine aid: again and again they describe themselves as "witnesses" to facts (Acts ii. 32, iii. 15, x. 32, &c.); and when a vacancy occurs in their number through the fall of Judas, it is almost assumed as a thing of course that his successor shall be chosen from those "which had companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out amongst them" (Acts i. 21). The teachings of the Holy Spirit consisted, not in whispering to them facts which they had not witnessed, but rather in reviving the fading remembrance, and throwing out into their true importance events and sayings that had been esteemed too lightly at the time they took place. But the Apostles could not have spoken of the Spirit as they did (Acts v. 32, xv. 28) unless He were known to be working in and with them and directing them, and manifesting that this was the case by unmistakable signs. Here is the answer, both to the question why was it not the first care of the Apostles to prepare a written Gospel, and also to the scruples of those who fear that the supposition of an oral Gospel would give a precedent for those views of tradition which have been the bane of the Christian Church as they were of the Jewish. The guidance of the Holy Spirit supplied for a time such aid as made a written Gospel unnecessary; but the Apostles saw the dangers and errors which a traditional Gospel would be exposed to in the course of time; and, whilst they were still preaching the oral Gospel in the strength of the Holy Ghost, they were admonished by the same Divine Person to prepare those written records which were hereafter to be the daily spiritual food of all the Church of Christ.[a] Nor is there anything unnatural in the supposition that the Apostles intentionally uttered their witness in the same order, and even, for the most part, in the same form of words. They would thus approach most nearly to the condition in which the Church was to be when written books were to be the means of edification. They quote the scriptures of the Old Testament frequently in their discourses; and as their Jewish education had accustomed them to the use of the words of the Bible as well as the matter, they would do no violence to their prejudices in assimilating the new records to the old, and in reducing them to a "*form* of sound words." They were all Jews of Palestine, of humble origin, all alike chosen, we may suppose, for the loving zeal with which they would observe the works of their Master and afterwards propagate His Name; so that the tendency to variance, arising from peculiarities of education, taste, and character, would be reduced to its lowest in such a body. The language of their first preaching was the Syro-Chaldaic, which was a poor and scanty language; and though Greek was now widely spread, and was the language even of several places in Palestine (Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 11, § 4; *Bell. Jud.* iii. 9, § 1), though it prevailed in Antioch, whence the first missions to Greeks and Hellenists, or Jews who spoke Greek, proceeded (Acts xi. 20, xiii. 1–3), the Greek tongue, as used by Jews, partook of the poverty of the speech which it replaced; as, indeed, it is impossible to borrow a whole language without borrowing the habits of thought upon which it has built itself. Whilst modern taste aims at a variety of expression, and abhors a repetition of the same phrases as monotonous, the simplicity of the men and their language and their education, and the state of literature, would all lead us to expect that the Apostles would have no such feeling. As to this, we have more than mere conjecture to rely on. Occasional repetitions occur in the Gospels (Luke vii. 19, 20; xix. 31, 34), such as a writer in a more copious and cultivated language would perhaps have sought to avoid. In the Acts, the conversion of St. Paul is three times related (Acts ix., xxii., xxvi.), once by the writer and twice by St. Paul himself; and the first two harmonize exactly, except as to a few expressions and as to one more important circumstance (ix. 7 = xxii. 9)—which, however, admits of an explanation—whilst the third deviates somewhat more in expression, and has one passage peculiar to itself. The vision of Cornelius is also three times related (Acts x. 3–6, 30–32; xi. 13, 14), where the words of the Angel in the first two are almost precisely alike, and the rest very similar, whilst the other is an abridged account of the same facts. The vision of St. Peter is twice related (Acts x. 10–16, xi. 5–10), and, except in one or two expressions, the agreement is verbally exact. These places from the Acts which, both as to their resemblance and their difference, may be compared to the narratives of the Evangelists, show the same tendency to a common form of narrative which, according to the present view, may have influenced the preaching of the Apostles. It is supposed, then, that the preaching of the Apostles, and the teaching whereby they prepared others to preach, as they did, would tend to assume a common form, more or less fixed; and that the portions of the three Gospels which harmonize most exactly owe their agreement not to the fact that they were copied from each other, although it is impossible to say that the later writer made no use of the earlier one, nor to the existence of any original document now lost to us, but to the fact that the apostolic preaching had already clothed itself in a settled or usual form of words, to which the writers

[a] The opening words of St. Luke's Gospel, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word," appear to mean that many persons who heard the preaching of the Apostles wrote down what they heard, in order to preserve it in a permanent form. The word "many" cannot refer to St. Matthew and St. Mark only; and if the passage implies an intention to supersede the writings alluded to, then these two Evangelists cannot be included under them. Partial and incomplete reports of the preaching of the Apostles, written with a good aim, but without authority, are intended; and, if we may argue from St. Luke's sphere of observation, they were probably composed by Greek converts.

inclined to conform without feeling bound to do so; and the differences which occur, often in the closest proximity to the harmonies, arise from the feeling of independence with which each wrote what he had seen and heard, as in the case of St. Mark and St. Luke, what apostolic witnesses had told him. The harmonies, as we have seen, begin with the baptism of John; that is, with the consecration of the Lord to His Messianic office; and with this event probably the ordinary preaching of the Apostles would begin, for its purport was that Jesus is the Messiah, and that as Messiah He suffered, died, and rose again. They are very frequent as we approach the period of the Passion, because the sufferings of the Lord would be much in the mouth of every one who preached the Gospel, and all would become familiar with the words in which the Apostles described it. But as regards the Resurrection, which differed from the Passion in that it was a fact which the enemies of Christianity felt bound to dispute (Matt. xxviii. 15), it is possible that the divergence arose from the intention of each Evangelist to contribute something towards the weight of evidence for this central truth. Accordingly, all the four, even St. Mark (xvi. 14), who oftener throws a new light upon old ground than opens out new, mention distinct acts and appearances of the Lord to establish that He was risen indeed. The verbal agreement is greater where the words of others are recorded, and greatest of all where they are those of Jesus, because here the apostolic preaching would be especially exact; and where the historical fact is the utterance of certain words, the duty of the historian is narrowed to a bare record of them (see the works of Gieseler, Norton, Westcott, Weisse, and others already quoted [cp. p. 1219]).

That this opinion would explain many of the facts connected with the text is certain. Whether, besides conforming to the words and arrangement of the apostolic preaching, the Evangelists did in any cases make use of each other's work or not, would require a more careful investigation of details to discuss than space permits. Every reader would probably find on examination some places which could best be explained on this supposition. Nor does this involve a sacrifice of the independence of the narrator. If each of the three drew the substance of his narrative from the one common strain of preaching that everywhere prevailed, to have departed entirely in a written account from the common form of words to which Christian ears were beginning to be familiar, would not have been independence but wilfulness. To follow here and there the words and arrangement of another written Gospel already current would not compromise the writer's independent position. If the principal part of the narrative was the voice of the whole Church, a few portions might be conformed to another writer without altering the character of the testimony. In the separate articles on the Gospels it will be shown that, however close may be the agreement of the Evangelists, the independent position of each appears from the contents of his Book, and has been recognised by writers of all ages. It will appear that St. Matthew describes the kingdom of Messiah, as founded in the Old Testament and fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth; that St. Mark, with so little of narrative peculiar to himself, brings out by many minute circumstances a more vivid delineation of our Lord's completely human life; that St. Luke puts forward the work of Redemption as a universal benefit, and shows Jesus not only as the Messiah of the chosen people, but as the Saviour of the world; that St. John, writing last of all, passed over most of what his predecessors had related, in order to set forth more fully all that he had heard from the Master Who loved him, of His relation to the Father, and of the relation of the Holy Spirit to both. The independence of the writers is thus established; and if they seem to have here and there used each other's account, which it is perhaps impossible to prove or disprove, such cases will not compromise that claim which alone gives value to a plurality of witnesses.

Each Gospel has its own features, but the picture which they conspire to draw is one full of harmony. The Saviour they all describe is the same loving, tender guide of His disciples, sympathising with them in the sorrows and temptations of earthly life, yet ever ready to enlighten that life by rays of truth out of the infinite world where the Father sits upon His throne. It has been said that St. Matthew portrays rather the human side, and St. John the divine; but this holds good only in a limited sense. It is in St. John that we read that "Jesus wept;" and there is nothing, even in the last discourse of Jesus, as reported by St. John, that opens a deeper view of His divine nature than the words in St. Matthew (xi. 25–30) beginning, "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." All reveal the same divine and human Teacher; four copies of the same portrait, perhaps with a difference of expression, yet still the same, are drawn here, and it is a portrait the like of which no one had ever delineated before, or indeed could have done, except from having looked upon it with observant eyes, and from having had the mind opened by the Holy Spirit to comprehend features of such unspeakable radiance. Not only does this highest "harmony of the Gospels" manifest itself to every pious reader of the Bible, but the lower harmony—the agreement of fact and word in all that relates to the ministry of the Lord, in all that would contribute to a true view of His spotless character—exists also, and cannot be denied. For example, the Synoptists tell us alike that Jesus was transfigured on the Mount; that the *shekinah* of divine glory shone upon His face; that Moses the lawgiver and Elijah the prophet talked with Him; and that the Voice from heaven bare witness to Him. Is it any imputation upon the truth of the histories that St. Matthew alone tells us that the witnesses fell prostrate to the earth, and that Jesus raised them; or that St. Luke alone tells us that for a part of the time they were heavy with sleep? Again, one Evangelist, in describing our Lord's temptation, follows the order of the occurrences, another arranges according to the degrees of temptation, and the third, passing over all particulars, merely mentions that our Lord *was* tempted. Is there anything here to

shake our faith in the writers as credible historians? Do we treat other histories in this exacting spirit? Is not the very independence of treatment the pledge to us that we have really three witnesses to the fact that Jesus was tempted like as we are? for if the Evangelists were copyists, nothing would have been more easy than to remove such an obvious difference as this. The histories are true according to any test that should be applied to a history; and the events that they select—though we could not presume to say that they were more important than what are omitted, except from the fact of the omission—are at least such as to have given the whole Christian Church a clear conception of the Redeemer's life, so that none has ever complained of insufficient means of knowing Him.

There is a perverted form of the theory we are considering which pretends that the facts of the Redeemer's life remained in the state of an oral tradition till the latter part of the second century, and that the four Gospels were not written till that time. The difference is not of degree but of kind between the opinion that the Gospels were written during the lifetime of the Apostles, who were eye-witnesses, and the notion that for nearly a century after the oldest of them had passed to his rest the events were only preserved in the changeable and insecure form of an oral account. But for the latter opinion there is not one spark of historical evidence. Heretics of the second century, who would gladly have rejected and exposed a new Gospel that made against them, never hint that the Gospels are spurious; and orthodox writers ascribe without contradiction the authorship of the Books to those whose names they bear. The theory was invented to accord with the assumption that miracles are impossible, but upon no evidence whatever; and the argument when exposed runs in this vicious circle:—"There are no miracles, therefore the accounts of them must have grown up in the course of a century from popular exaggeration; and as the accounts are not contemporaneous, it is not proved that there are miracles!" That the Jewish mind in its lowest decay should have invented the character of Jesus of Nazareth, and the sublime system of morality contained in His teaching—that four writers should have fixed the popular impression in four plain, simple, unadorned narratives, without any outbursts of national prejudice, or any attempt to give a political tone to the events they wrote of—would be in itself a miracle harder to believe than that Lazarus came out at the Lord's call from his four-days' tomb.

For a detailed harmony of the four Gospels the following works may be consulted:—Griesbach, *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, 1776; De Wette and Lücke, *Syn. Evang.* 1842; Rödiger, *Syn. Evang.* 1829; Clausen, *Quatuor Evang. Tabulae Synopticae*, 1829; Greswell's *Harmony and Dissertations*, a most important work; the Rev. I. Williams *On the Gospels*; Theile's *Greek Testament*; and Tischendorf's *Syn. Evang.* 1854; besides the well-known works of Lightfoot, Macknight, Newcome, and Robinson. [W. T.]

[This article of the late Archbishop is reprinted without change, as being of historical interest. More recent criticism is given in the form of a supplement.—EDITORS.]

SUPPLEMENT.

History of the Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels, 1863–1888.—The year 1863, in which the first edition of this Dictionary appeared, might be said to mark a turning-point in the history of Synoptic criticism. For some twenty years up to that date, in the land in which criticism generally was most active, the Tübingen School had been in the ascendant. This school owed its characteristics to the remarkable talent for speculative and historical combination possessed by its founder, F. C. Baur. At the basis of his criticism of the Gospels lay a comprehensive theory as to the history and development of Christianity in the first two centuries. Up to the middle of the second century the dominant form of Christianity was Ebionite or Judaizing. At the opposite pole to this lay the teaching of St. Paul. And out of the gradual reconciliation and combination of these two great opposing forces Catholic Christianity at last took its rise. Our present Gospels are the result of this historical process. They reflect and represent its course. We can still trace in them a number of distinct layers, as it were, of dogmatic tendency, deposited one after the other. What comes to us as history was really the clothing in narrative forms of ideas and doctrines. "The Evangelists," wrote Hasert, the so-called "Saxon Anonymus," in words adopted by Schwegler (*Nachapost. Zeitalt.* ii. p. 41), "were by no means the simple fisher-folk for which they have been taken, but they have a very delicate touch, and are in part extremely skilful and penetrating persons (*tiefsinnige Geister*). Not one little word in their writings, not even the most insignificant, has been chosen by them without the most deliberate intention and a very special object"—that object being, as the writer goes on to explain, the promotion of the views of that party in the Church to which each in turn belonged. As Baur and his followers took as their starting-point Ebionitism, it was natural that they should find the earliest stratum of evangelical composition in those documents which are historically associated with the Ebionite party. At the bottom of all came the Gospel according to the Hebrews and other kindred writings—the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and the Gospel according to Peter—of all of which only small fragments have come down to us. Latest in the group was our present St. Matthew—a composite work, in which the different elements were only roughly and imperfectly harmonized: one set of sayings which implied the permanence of the Mosaic Law and of the Temple-ritual appearing side by side with another which spoke of new wine in new bottles and distinctly recognised the admission of the Gentiles. Not dissimilar in its composite character, though rounded off by superior literary skill, was the Gospel which marked the corresponding approximation of parties from the Pauline side, our present St. Luke. Here, too, Ebionite and Pauline elements were combined, the latter preponderating and forming the groundwork of the Gospel: both elements were brought nearer to each other by mutual concessions. The process of reconciliation was completed in our present St. Mark, the last of all the documents on the Jewish-Christian side, but

in which the interests of party shaded off into neutrality. This latest of the Gospels was really little more than a colourless epitome of the other two. By this time Catholic Christianity, or the union of modified Paulinism with modified Ebionitism, was fully established. The literary process occupied just the middle decades of the second century, extending from about the year 130 to 170. The canonical St. Matthew fell about the earlier date.

It will be seen that this was essentially a historical theory. Baur and Schwegler, who may be taken as its most thoroughgoing representatives, both paid considerable attention to the passages quoted from the writings of the second century as evidence for the use of our present Gospels; and such controversies as took place within the School, like that as to the relation of the canonical St. Luke to the Gospel used by Marcion, turned largely upon questions of this kind. But the foundation on which the theory rested was the assumed persistence of Ebionite or Judaizing Christianity within the Church, and the gradual amalgamation of its doctrines with those of Paulinism. The speculative, dogmatic reconstruction came first in order of time, and the literary criticism had to follow in its train. It was a theory impressed from above downwards. See especially for the above: Schwegler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1846; Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847.

It was against this method that the year 1863 brought a reaction. Not of course that the Tübingen theory had passed without opposition in its earlier stages. It always had a declared and uncompromising antagonist in Ewald. And the seeds of the theory which was to receive fuller development in the next period had already been laid simultaneously by Weisse and Wilke in 1838. But the publication of Holtzmann's *Die Synoptischen Evangelien* in 1863 was practically a new departure. Instead of approaching the inquiry from above, it approached it from below. It began, not with broad general conceptions, but with a close and searching examination of the language of the Gospels and of their relation to one another. And the method thus inaugurated has been followed by the majority of the more recent workers in this department of criticism. The influence of Baur has been felt far beyond the limits of his more immediate following, but for the last eight-and-twenty years the method principally in vogue has been the opposite of his, and its resources do not yet seem to be exhausted.

Subsequent History of the Tübingen Theory.—In tracing the history of this more recent period it will probably conduce to clearness of presentation if we take each of the competing theories separately. And first to follow the fortunes of the Tübingen theory of which we have just been speaking. From the first the Tübingen School had its right or more conservative wing. While Ritschl was revising and fundamentally modifying the whole theory of historical development put forward by Baur, Hilgenfeld was throwing back the dates assigned to the canonical Gospels, and in particular contending for the priority of St. Mark over St. Luke; Volkmar, Professor at Zürich, who in other respects cannot be called a conservative, was demonstrating the traditional view of the relation of Marcion to St. Luke. When the author of *Supernatural Religion* brought this latter controversy on to English ground, he felt himself compelled after a time to abandon his position. The originality of St. Luke therefore, in relation to Marcion, is one of the points on which scholars may be said to be generally agreed, unless the question is to be re-opened, as so many others have been, in Holland. The veteran Hilgenfeld has not relaxed his exertions, but has gone on maintaining his position against all comers. In his *Introduction* (*Einleitung in d. N. T.*), which came out in 1875, he formulates his views in some such way as this. The First Gospel, which, like Baur, he regards as a more or less radical recension of an older Gospel akin to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, he places very soon (*εὐθέως*, Matt. xxiv. 29) after the destruction of Jerusalem. The Second Gospel follows in the early years of the reign of Domitian (81–96 A.D.). It is throughout dependent upon the first, with the addition of a Petrine tradition (p. 516). The association of this Gospel with St. Mark, as directly or indirectly responsible for its contents, is not without foundation. Its tendency is Petrine. The third Evangelist has used St. Matthew's Gospel in both its forms, and also the canonical St. Mark, besides the Gospel according to the Hebrews and other documents. His work was composed towards the end of Domitian's reign in the interests of Paulinism.

More upon the original lines of Baur, though with some recession in regard to dates, was the arrangement advocated in England by Dr. S. Davidson. The original Aramaic Gospel, which was really the work of St. Matthew, he would place between 60–70 A.D.; our present recension of it later; our third Gospel (not the work of St. Luke) about 110, and the second about 120 (*Introduction to the N. T.*, 2nd ed., 1882).

On the extreme verge of the School, and representing its doctrines in their most moderate form, would stand Dr. Keim. Beginning life as a pupil of Baur, and inheriting his methods, he yet reduced Baur's conclusions in every direction within far more sober limits. Keim held that the First Gospel was in the main written about the year 66, in the time of feverish expectation which preceded the great catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem. Some thirty years after that event it received some not extensive interpolations, which betray themselves as such by breaking the connexion of the narrative or bearing signs of later origin. The passages thus obelised were Matt. i. 18–ii. 23; iii. 14, 15; viii. 11, 12; xxii. 1–14; xxv. 1–12; xxvii. 3–10, 19, 62–66; xxviii. 11–15 (*Gesch. Jes. v. Naz.* i. pp. 61–63). The author of these additions also revised and edited the whole. The Third Gospel Keim placed in the "times of the Gentiles" (Luke xxi. 24), *i.e.* about the year 90 A.D. The author, he thinks, had the First Gospel before him, not in its revised but in its original form; and he had besides a version of the Discourses later than that embodied in the First Gospel. Side by side with these documents, both of Jewish-Christian origin, he had others of a more Pauline character—one containing the Samaritan episodes and perhaps the sending of the Seventy, others which more directly breathed the spirit

of the Pauline Gospel. Keim saw no reason to doubt the identity of the Evangelist with the companion of St. Paul. The last of the Synoptics, St. Mark, he assigned approximately to the year 100; and in regard to this he adhered to the view of Baur, that it was for the most part a cento made up from St. Matthew and St. Luke. What was not referable to these sources was derived from oral, or more probably written (Jewish-Christian) tradition. In the popular abridged edition of his larger work, which represents in some respects his later views, Keim moved forward the dates which he had assigned to the Gospels. The revision of St. Matthew was now *circa* 100 A.D.; St. Luke about the same date, the authorship by St. Paul's companion being abandoned; St. Mark about 120. At a still later date Keim showed a disposition to make concessions to his opponents, and to take up a position which he described as "more eclectic": "On the ground of renewed study of the passages in Papias and of the groups of discourse in Matt. and Luke," he was no longer prepared "to stand unconditionally in the way of the theory of two main documents, one containing chiefly discourse and the other narrative" (*Aus dem Urchristenthum*, Zürich, 1878, p. 30).

A truer representative of the old Tübingen tradition is Dr. C. Holsten of Heidelberg, though he too has very considerably modified the ground-conception of the history on which the Tübingen theory was based. Dr. Holsten's work on the Synoptic Gospels was published in two parts: the first, entitled *Die drei ursprünglichen, noch ungeschriebenen Evangelien*, came out in 1883; the second, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien nach der Form ihres Inhaltes*, in 1885. The first of these is a masterly sketch of the position of parties in the Christian Church at the period in which the Gospels were composed. It is the Tübingen theory stripped of its exaggerations, conformed to facts, and presented with great literary skill. On the basis of this investigation into the history of doctrine Dr. Holsten attempts in his second treatise to explain the growth of the Synoptic Gospels. The development of doctrine is the only factor which he recognises; and with its help he maintains the thesis in all its boldness that our present St. Mark is a direct and conscious transformation of our present St. Matthew, and the canonical St. Luke in like manner a direct and conscious transformation of its two predecessors. The First Gospel is Petrine, the Second and Third represent different shades of Paulinism. It is the old *Tendenz-Kritik* in its most logical and thoroughgoing form. Dr. Holsten is, however, careful to guard against the supposition that he uses it in any disparaging sense. He fully recognises the legitimacy of the Pauline conceptions, and he sees in the Gospels which embody that conception the spontaneous outcome of a deep and creative religious movement.

The second of these two treatises of Holsten's is as disputable as the first was instructive, and the scanty approval with which it has been received is significant as a sign of the times. The Tübingen theory suggested points of view which must not be lost sight of: it contained elements of truth which have passed into other systems. Doctrinal tendencies do leave their mark upon documents and enable us to fit them into their historical surroundings. But the Tübingen construction of history, though suggestive, was faulty; and the application of it as a hypothesis to account for the literary composition of the Gospels was to a large extent misplaced and wholly inadequate. Men like Hilgenfeld and Keim learnt as much from their opponents as from their teachers, and therefore still deserve a hearing; but the more pronounced forms of the Tübingen theory have had their day. The dates which they assigned to the Gospels were impossible: the recondite motives and diplomatic *finesse* which they attributed to their authors were an anachronism: and from the point of view of inductive criticism, their method was a ὕστερον πρότερον—it came to the study of the Gospel texts last instead of first; and it brought its solutions ready-made to the facts, instead of waiting for the facts, by classification and analysis, to point the way to their own solution.

The Hypothesis of Oral Tradition.—In strong contrast to the *Tendenz-Kritik*, which seeks a doctrinal motive for every literary variation, is the hypothesis which would base our Gospels, as we have them, directly and without the intervention of other documents on the oral tradition of the primitive Church. This hypothesis, first put forward in 1818 by Gieseler, during the last five-and-twenty years has had but few voices raised in its favour on the Continent. Godet and one or two Roman Catholic commentators (not including Schanz, the latest and probably the best among them) have been its chief representatives. During the same period in England it would have a better claim than any other to be considered the dominant theory. This is probably due in great measure to the wide-spread influence of Dr. Westcott, by whom the theory was adopted in his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* (1st ed. under the title *Elements of the Gospel Harmony*, a Norrisian Prize Essay, in 1851; 2nd ed. under its present title in 1860; 7th ed. 1888). The same theory was advocated by Abp. Thomson, both in the first edition of this Dictionary and in the introduction to Vol. I. of the *Speaker's Commentary*. Bp. Lightfoot gave it incidental support by arguing that the documents mentioned by Papias might well be our first two Gospels (*Contemp. Rev.*, August 1875, reprinted in *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 142 sq.). And it has been accepted by Dean Plumptre, Archdeacon Farrar, Dr. Lumby, and many others.

It is not difficult to understand the attractions of this hypothesis, especially for an English mind. It accounts at once simply and naturally, and without having recourse to any hypercritical theorizing, for all the differences between the Gospels. And it has the great recommendation that on the Baconian principle, *Hypotheses non fingo*, it dispenses with the necessity for inventing any other documents than those which have actually come down to us. The objections to assuming an earlier St. Matthew than our present St. Matthew or an earlier St. Mark than our present St. Mark are stated especially by Dr. Salmon with great force (*Introduction*, pp. 86 sq., 5th ed.). On the other

hand, there is much reason to doubt whether the German writers, like Weiss (*Leben Jesu*, i. p. 27), who are strongest in their condemnation of the oral theory, have really done justice to it. With all their learning and powers of analysis, it is perhaps a question whether the Germans do not come somewhat short in historical imagination. In reading many theories on the origin of the Gospels we do not seem to get clear of the nineteenth-century study or lecture-room. Yet Palestine in the time of Christ was something very different from these. The Jews at this time were essentially a people of tradition. The sayings of the Talmud were handed down for centuries from mouth to mouth before they were committed to writing. The Targums, or Aramaic paraphrases of the Old Testament Scriptures, repeated at the reading of the lessons in the synagogues, were forbidden to be set down in writing. Reader and interpreter followed each other alternately, and the interpreter was obliged to speak from memory: he was not allowed to consult a book. The earliest written Targums of which we hear date from the first century, and these were of Books like Job and Esther, which were not read in the public services. The Jews therefore were in the habit of transmitting orally long strings of connected sayings: the memory was constantly practised: written compositions were the exception, and oral transmission the rule.

Our own theologians have very rightly laid stress on this characteristic of Jewish life. And when it is urged against them that the original tradition would be in Aramaic and not in Greek, that too, at least on the negative side, is not so certain. The number of synagogues in Jerusalem was counted by hundreds (Edersheim, *Life, &c.*, i. p. 119). Many of these, like the synagogues of the Libertines, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians in which St. Stephen disputed (Acts vi. 9), would be specially intended for the Greek-speaking Jews who came up as pilgrims to the feasts. It was just among these Greek-speaking Jews that the Christian propaganda was most successful; and it seems far from improbable that a special cycle of teaching would be arranged for their benefit. The foreign Jews more than the natives would need to have the picture of the words and acts of Christ set before them.

On all these grounds it would seem that a stronger case can be made out for the oral hypothesis than is often acknowledged. And yet even when due allowance has been made for them, it is still not clear that the hypothesis is adequate to account for the facts. If we put aside for the moment the differences between the three Synoptic Gospels and look only at the agreement, we shall find that that agreement is of the most thorough and searching kind. It is agreement (1) in the selection of incidents and sayings, (2) in their order, (3) in turns of phrase which an oral tradition, however close, would not be likely to preserve. A few words may be said on each of these points.

(1) *Selection of Narratives.* — We are often reminded that the Synoptic Gospels are even at best a very fragmentary record. The Ephesian editor of St. John was so impressed with the abundance of the facts to be recorded as to give utterance to the hyperbole that if all were written down "the world itself should not contain the books that should be written" (John xxi. 25). And yet the Synoptic Gospels, with all their repetitions, only fill a very slender volume. They themselves afford evidence enough that what they contain is not the whole—even in outline—but mere samples of the incidents in the life of Christ. They all alike refer to numbers of miracles of which they only particularise the same select few. They tell of the woe denounced upon Chorazin and Bethsaida for their unbelief in face of the wonders that had been wrought in them. And yet not one of the wonders wrought in these cities do they record. Scattered over the Synoptic Gospels there are divers hints of a Judaean ministry: and yet if we had had these Gospels alone, we should have had no direct intimation that our Lord during His public ministry had ever travelled southwards from Galilee. The Fourth Gospel throws into relief the omissions of the Synoptists: but the greater those omissions, the more remarkable is it that they should coincide in their choice of incidents to the extent they do.

(2) *Order of Narratives.* — Nor does the strength of the case lie only in the fact that the same incidents are chosen. The order in which they occur is a more or less artificial one; and yet that order is practically the same—at least the divergences are transparent enough to let the fundamental order be seen through them. There is a normal order of the incidents in the Synoptic Gospels which underlies all three, and is capable of being recovered. Much might be said on this head, which was made the special subject of a paper read at Oxford in 1886 by the Rev. F. H. Woods [since published in *Studia Biblica*, ii. 59 sq.]. It must suffice to refer to that paper here, or to the discussions in Holtzmann or Weiss.

(3) *Coincidences of Language.*—It is hard to believe that these coincidences in order are such as could be accounted for by the observance of a set type in preaching or catechetical instruction. And the difficulty is increased when we come to note the kind of coincidences which also occur in phraseology. We might well conceive that, even in an oral Gospel, "single phrases would be impressed with peculiar force," and that there would be a "recurrence of strange words in the same connexion in the different Evangelists, even when the construction of the sentence was changed" (Westcott, *Introduction*, p. 193, ed. 3). But the actual agreement in the Synoptics goes beyond this. It extends to phrases which are mere connecting links between the sections, and which are just of a kind that in a purely oral tradition would be the first to vary. It is easy to give examples. We may take for instance four of the first consecutive sections in St. Mark's Gospel.

Mark i. 16.	Matt. iv. 18.
Καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς.	Περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν δύο ἀδελφούς, Σίμωνα τὸν λεγόμενον Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς.

Observe especially the last clause, "for they were fishers." This might indeed be thought to be superfluous, and it would be so anywhere but in this naïve and simple kind of composition. But in any case it is in a high degree improbable that two independent versions of a story orally repeated would not only both concur in introducing such a clause, but introduce it precisely at the same place. The conclusion seems almost inevitable that the two Evangelists are copying, not slavishly but freely, not as scribes but as historians, from a common document.

In the next section the coincidence is between St. Mark and St. Luke.

Mark i. 21, 22.	Luke iv. 31, 32.
Καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναούμ· καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν. Καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.	Καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἦν διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν· καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.

The section in St. Luke is brought from an altogether different context, and it bears marks of this in the definition of Capernaum as "a city of Galilee." The whole passage is still merely an introduction to the incident which follows; and yet it glides at once into an identity of language which hardly seems to be consistent with oral tradition.

The next section belongs to the triple Synopsis :—

Matt. viii. 14.	Mark i. 29, 30.	Luke iv. 38.
Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Πέτρου εἶδεν τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτοῦ βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσουσαν.	Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος καὶ Ἀνδρέου μετὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου. ἡ δὲ πενθερὰ Σίμωνος κατέκειτο πυρέσσουσα.	Ἀναστὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς συναγωγῆς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος. πενθερὰ δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος ἦν συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ.

This is not one of the sections that we should choose to prove the dependence of the threefold narrative on a document rather than on tradition. For its proper appreciation it would require a systematic examination of the method and style of each of the three Evangelists. And yet it should be noticed how closely the steps in the narrative correspond—the synagogue; the house; the sick woman; her relationship to Peter; the nature of her sickness. We cannot perhaps say beforehand that an oral tradition would not preserve all these steps, but they are at least more easily explicable on the assumption of a common document. An exception is presented by the additions in St. Mark ("the house of Simon *and Andrew, with James and John*"). These would of course be quite as consistent with oral tradition. At the same time they do not cause any real difficulty when they come to be considered in connexion with the general relations of the three Gospels.

After describing the incident in Peter's house, the triple narrative proceeds :—

Matt. viii. 16.	Mark i. 32.	Luke iv. 40.
Ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δαιμονιζομένους κ.τ.λ.	Ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας κ.τ.λ.	Δύνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἅπαντες . . . ἤγαγον . . . πρὸς αὐτόν.

This passage raises a question with which we shall have to deal presently, viz. as to the relative priority or closeness to the original (whether oral or written) of the three Gospels. It has been actually suggested that St. Mark's double phrase, "at even"—"when the sun set," was a compound of which one part was taken from St. Matthew, the other from St. Luke; but Holtzmann very rightly replies to this that the mention of the sun setting is by no means so redundant as it may seem; the day being a Sabbath, the people would not be allowed to move their sick until sunset (*Einleitung*, p. 344). We may certainly discard the notion that St. Mark has pieced together two phrases that lay before him in different documents; but there is nothing at all unnatural in supposing that the other two Evangelists drawing independently of each other from a document like our St. Mark, the one chose one phrase and the other another. This is just what might be expected to happen under the circumstances, though it might happen equally well if the common basis was oral. The reason why the section is referred to here is as showing that not merely the substance of the narratives but even the introductory phrases and links of transition present strong features of identity. The four sections together were taken almost at random as an average specimen of the Synoptic narrative, and yet all yield evidence—the first two strong evidence—that the hypothesis of a written document will better account for the phenomena than the hypothesis of oral tradition.

No doubt the strongest point in the passages just quoted is the identical insertion by St. Matthew and St. Mark of the explanatory clause ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλεεῖς. One more striking example may be given of the same thing, from the narrative of the Betrayal.

Matt. xxvi. 47.	Mark xiv. 43.	Luke xxii. 47.
Καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἰδοὺ Ἰούδας εἷς τῶν δώδεκα ἦλθεν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄχλος πολὺς κ.τ.λ.	Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος παραγίνεται Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης, εἷς τῶν δώδεκα, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄχλος κ.τ.λ.	Ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, ἰδοὺ ὄχλος, καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας εἷς τῶν δώδεκα προήρχετο αὐτούς κ.τ.λ.

How is it that all three Evangelists must needs tell us precisely at this point that Judas was "one of the Twelve"? It is not that he had not been mentioned before, for he had been mentioned several times, and once with a coincidence similar to this of which we are speaking; for when his name occurs in the list of the Apostles all the Evangelists alike take occasion to stigmatize him as "the traitor" (Matt. x. 4 = Mark iii. 19 = Luke vi. 16). We should not be surprised if some one writer, seeking to heighten the guilt of Judas, had thought fit to remind us

that he had been numbered among the Apostles; but when three together conspire to remind us of this at the very same juncture in the narrative, some more substantial explanation appears to be needed than is supplied by oral tradition.

Phenomena like these seem to drive us back upon the hypothesis of a common written document. But there is one passage which goes even further, and contains what can scarcely be called an equivocal allusion to that document itself. When they are recording the prognostication of the signs which are to precede the coming of the End, the first two Evangelists at least appear as if they were conscious that the observation of those signs was a matter of very pressing moment for their readers.

Matt. xxiv. 15, 16.	Mark xiii. 14.
Ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου ἑστὸς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίᾳ (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω), τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν κ.τ.λ.	*Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω), τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν κ.τ.λ.*

"Let him that readeth understand." "Him that readeth"—*what*? The two Evangelists of course mean, what they are writing. But they would hardly coincide in inserting the warning, in the same words, at exactly the same place in the sentence, unless it were suggested to them from without. But this external suggestion is not given by oral tradition: it is not "him that *heareth*," but "him that *readeth*." We seem to be shut up to the conclusion that both made use of a common written document from which the phrase was derived.

This written document then seems to be removed out of the category of fictitious entities, and therefore is proof against the satire which is sometimes directed against those who assume the existence of what appear to be such entities. It is true that the theory implies that a document, which might be described as a Gospel, has been lost. But other books which would otherwise have been included in the New Testament have been lost. This is certainly the case with at least one Epistle of St. Paul's (1 Cor. v. 9): and we have only to go to St. Luke's Preface to see that Gospels fared like Epistles. The wonder would really have been if all the writings of the apostolic age had come down to us. And not only is there room for apostolic writings to be lost, but there is also room for them to be transformed in the process by which they have reached us. Those who argue to the contrary do not sufficiently consider the peculiar conditions under which those writings arose. It is hard to divest ourselves of the associations of a literary age. We are apt to write and speak as if we supposed that there must have been always historians at hand to chronicle the appearance of every new composition. Anyone who has made a close study, *e.g.* of the Versions of the Bible, will know how erroneous such an idea would be. The great difficulty which besets the origin of the Gospels arises from the fact that they grew up, as it were, in the dark, and that their early history can only be recovered by analysis. They grew up, too, under conditions that have probably never been repeated. The primitive Christians, with extremely few exceptions, did not belong to the literary classes. The earliest written records were not composed by literary men; and those into whose hands they fell would not treat them as we treat books, least of all as we should treat the Bible. There was a sacredness about them no doubt, but the sacredness attached to the things recorded, not to the records. The chief desire of each individual would be to have a full collection of the facts; he would be far less careful where his facts came from. We have examples of the process from a time when it was rapidly waning in the interpolations which the so-called Western text (Cod. Bezae, the Old Latin, and the Old Syriac) admitted during the course of the second century. By the close of that century, the time of Irenaeus, the process was practically at an end. But it is uncritical to transfer the conditions of 160–200 A.D., or even those of the forty years preceding, to the latter half of the apostolic and the sub-apostolic age. When, therefore, the famous passages which Eusebius quotes from Papias describe the circumstances under which St. Matthew and St. Mark wrote their Gospels, it does not at once follow that the Gospels of which he is speaking are in all respects the same as those which we have now, or even those which Papias himself had. Papias probably did not ask himself the question whether they were or whether they were not. The tradition that reached him was a historical tradition, and came to him as a matter of history. It would be a further and distinct step to turn that history into an instrument of criticism, and see whether the accounts he heard of their origin corresponded exactly with the characteristics of the Gospels which he was in the habit of using. If any change, or accretion of changes, took place, it would be in that disturbed and obscure time which immediately followed the taking of Jerusalem. It would be a great chance if anyone consciously observed the change as it was being made, and a still greater that he should take note of it in writing, and that his note should be preserved. The earliest stages in the transmission of the New Testament Books, we may be sure from the nature of the case, would be of a very peculiar kind. They would not be copied mechanically by professional scribes, but they would be copied with a certain amount of freedom by persons who were not tied by professional scruples, and from no bad motive, but from a natural interest, made use of the MS. before them to place on record particulars which they had got from other sources. And the nearer we go back to the actual composition of the Books, the greater would the liberties taken with them be. Nor have we any guarantee that copies so treated would not come down to us. The tendency would be to preserve the fullest copy rather than the purest.

We are able then, if this reasoning holds, to approach the documentary hypothesis without prejudice, not only in itself, but even if in any of its forms it should involve some distinction between the Gospels mentioned by Papias and those which now bear the same names. We know from the express statement of St. Luke that there were many Gospels in his day. But it would surely be strange, and not the reverse,

if these Gospels should have been existing side by side with our present St. Matthew and St. Mark, and yet that those two Gospels should be in no literary relation to them, but exclusively based upon oral tradition.

The Hypothesis of common Documentary Sources.—The way is now clear for the more direct discussion of this hypothesis. In Germany, as we have already said, it has had the field almost to itself during the period of which we are speaking. It has, however, taken a number of different and often complicated forms; and we shall perhaps best avoid the confusing effect of enumerating these if we first give a mere outline of the contributions that have been made to the study of the subject, reserving details, and then break up the problem into its parts and endeavour to show how each of these has been treated separately.

The threshold of the period is marked, as we began by saying, by the appearance of Dr. H. J. Holtzmann's *Die Synoptischen Evangelien* (Leipzig, 1863), a work following in the train of Weisse and Wilke (see above, p. 1218), but more thorough and searching than any that had preceded it. In his latest publication, the *Einleitung in d. N. T.* (1st ed. 1885, 2nd ed. 1887), Dr. Holtzmann has announced some changes of opinion which will be noted below. Within a year of Dr. Holtzmann's appeared another able treatise, also maintaining the documentary hypothesis, by Dr. C. Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen und den Gang ihrer Entwicklung* (Gotha, 1864). Dr. Weizsäcker, too, has recently had the opportunity of reviewing his previous work in *Das Apostolische Zeitalter* (Freiburg i. B., 1886). Of this also details will be given below. The articles "Evangelien," "Geschichtsquellen des N. T." in vol. ii., "Johannes" in vol. iii., and "Lukas," "Markus," "Matthäus" in vol. iv. of Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1869, 1871, 1872), were all written by Holtzmann; they were excellent summaries at the time when they were written, and are still by no means without their interest. In 1872 began a series of very solid and elaborate works by Dr. B. Weiss, developing in detail views to which he had previously given a general expression: *Das Marcusevangelium*, Berlin, 1872; *Das Matthäusevangelium und seine Lucas-Parallelen*, Halle, 1876; *Das Leben Jesu*, Berlin, 1882; *Einleitung in das N. T.*, Berlin, 1886. Besides these more important works both Dr. Holtzmann and Dr. Weiss had written frequently in periodicals, in part controverting the special views of each other. By the side of Weiss' *Leben Jesu* mention should be made of another book of the same kind and with the same title (Halle, 1885, 1st ed.; 1887, 2nd ed.), by Dr. Willibald Beyschlag. Dr. Beyschlag had been an eager student of the Synoptic problem, and had written articles upon it in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, of which he was joint editor. In the Introduction to his *Leben Jesu* he gave a summary of results which are much upon the same lines as those of Dr. Holtzmann, though obtained by independent study. The first introductory part of *Die Lehre Jesu* by Dr. H. H. Wendt (Göttingen) is really an elaborate treatise of nearly 350 pages, on the Gospels, and it has at least the merit of being based upon a very close analysis of the texts.

When we have mentioned Scholten in Holland (*Het oudste Evangelie*, 1868, with a German translation by Redepenning, Elberfeld, 1869; *Het paulinisch Evangelium*, 1870, also translated, Elberfeld, 1881), Renan in France (esp. *Les Évangiles*, Paris, 1877), and Dr. Edwin A. Abbott in England (art. "Gospels" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*), though the list might be considerably lengthened, we shall probably have mentioned the most important productions on this side of the question.

Let us first see what all these various works have in common before we proceed to consider the points on which they diverge. Two leading principles which it is believed that they all have more or less in common, are (1) the acceptance of the statements made by Papias; (2) the belief in the priority (at least for a great part of the Gospel) of St. Mark.

(1.) *The Statements of Papias.*—We might go further and say that in contradistinction to the upholders of oral tradition, the writers of whom we have been speaking are unanimously of opinion that whatever may be the case in regard to St. Mark, the Gospel attributed by Papias to St. Matthew was not our present Gospel, but an older document, of smaller extent, incorporated in that Gospel. This older document they regard as in the main a "collection of discourses," interpreting λόγια (lit. "oracles") in that sense. Now it must be admitted that Bp. Lightfoot proved in his article in the *Contemporary Review* (Aug. 1875) that the word does not necessarily bear this sense, and that it would fit just as well a mixed record of acts and discourses, like our Gospel. At the same time it must also be admitted that the word might have the more limited signification, or at least might be applied to a document of which this more limited description might be given. If the advocates of the document theory took the statement of Papias as their text, and argued from it downwards, their position would be untenable: it would at most amount to a possibility that might be true or might not. They have, however, pursued the more critical method of keeping their analysis of the texts distinct from their interpretation of Papias, and only combining the two because they are found at the end of the process to coincide. Papias then gives us two main documents,—a Gospel by St. Mark, which, if not our present Gospel, might be very like it, and a collection of discourses composed by St. Matthew. Of the more exact composition of each of these documents we shall have to speak immediately.

(2.) *Priority of St. Mark.*—By "priority" of St. Mark is meant here, either that our St. Mark came first of the three Synoptics in order of time, or that our St. Mark represents most nearly in the greater number of its parts the original Gospel which gave the framework to the others. This is the direct antithesis to the view of St. Augustine ("Marcus Matthaeum subsecutus, tamquam pedisequus et breviator ejus videtur," *De Cons. Ev.* i. 2, § 4), and of the older Tübingen School which regarded St. Mark as a mere epitome of St. Matthew. The inversion of this view is due mainly to two arguments: (1) an examination of the order of the narratives in all three Gospels; (2) an examination of their language. (1) The position of the

writers of whom we are speaking is based upon this main fact, that by assuming the order of the narratives observed by St. Mark it is not only possible but easy to explain the order of the other two Evangelists; while, on the other hand, by assuming the order either of St. Matthew or of St. Luke, we should be wholly unable to explain the order of the remaining Gospels. If we divide St. Mark's Gospel into three sections —(*a*) i. 1—iii. 6; (*b*) iii. 7—vi. 13; (*c*) vi. 14—xvi. 8—we shall find that in section *a* the order (but for some insertions on St. Luke's part) is practically identical with that of St. Luke, and that in section *c* the order is similarly identical with that of St. Matthew. Section *b* is more broken, but here too the order of St. Mark has alternately the support of one or other of the companion Gospels. The cases in which one or other of these Gospels diverges from the order of St. Mark are accounted for either by the general characteristics of the Gospel in question or by some particular feature in the portion of narrative which is transposed. This aspect of the subject has been worked out with great care by Mr. F. H. Woods in the paper mentioned above. It is not contended that the order of St. Mark, though in the main chronological, is so in all respects: some sections (according to Holtzmann, ii. 23—iii. 6, iv. 21–25, ix. 33–50, x. 2–31, xi. 23–26) show marks of artificial composition: but it is contended—and this is one of the concessions that the progress of criticism has brought into ever-clearer light—that the order of St. Mark represents the *normal order* of the Synoptic narratives. (2) A very similar conclusion holds good when the language of St. Mark is compared with the language of the other two Gospels. Here, too, St. Mark is found to be in the main the middle term which explains the parallel columns of the Synopsis. The proposition needs some restriction—we can only say "in the main." And yet there are large stretches of the Gospel in which the proof of it is overwhelming. When the language of the Synoptic parallels is analysed, it falls under four heads: (i.) points common to all three Gospels; (ii.) points common to St. Mark and either of the other two Gospels; (iii.) points common to St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark; (iv.) points peculiar to each of the three Gospels. Now, putting aside the first and last of these heads, which prove nothing to our purpose, we observe at once that the second class far exceeds the third. Some very slight illustrations of what is meant may be gathered from the verses of the triple synopsis printed above. A few figures tabulated from the sections which follow next in order may help to make it clearer.

	Points common to all three Gospels.	Points common to St. Mark in turn with St. Matthew and St. Luke.	Points common to St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark.
Healing of the Leper (Matt. viii. 1–4 = Mark i. 40–45 = Luke v. 12–16) .	33	19 (8+11)	3
Healing of the Paralytic (Matt. ix. 1–8 = Mark ii. 1–12 = Luke v. 17–26) .	55	45 (15+30)	11
Levi's Call and Supper (Matt. ix. 9–13 = Mark ii. 13–17 = Luke v. 27–32) .	41	29 (19+10)	5
Fasting (Matt. ix. 14–17 = Mark ii. 18–22 = Luke v. 33–39) . . .	46	47 (21+26)	8
Plucking the Ears of Corn (Matt. xii. 1–8 = Mark ii. 23–28 = Luke vi. 1–5)	51	33 (10+23)	8
Healing the Withered Hand (Matt. xii. 9–14 = Mark iii. 1–6 = Luke vi. 6–11)	20	48 (21+27)	5

The reader who wishes to pursue the subject further may be referred to Mr. Rushbrooke's sumptuous *Synopticon* (London, 1880, 1881), which is specially constructed to exhibit in detail the relation of the three Gospels to each other. He will also find a specimen printed in various types, with a convincing argument based upon it, in Dr. Abbott's art. "Gospels" in the *Encycl. Brit.*, p. 790 sq. Some interesting statistics bearing on this point have been collected by Dr. Schaff (*Apostolic Christianity*, p. 596 sq.). The total number of words in St. Mark, including the last twelve verses, is 11,158: of these 2,651 are common to all three Gospels; 2,793 to St. Mark and St. Matthew; 1174 to St. Mark and St. Luke. The figures for St. Matthew and St. Luke (2,415) are not relevant to our purpose, as they include the Sermon on the Mount, &c., which are omitted by St. Mark (see Schürer, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1883, p. 99, for the correction of a mistaken inference which Dr. Schaff draws from his data). It appears that more than half of the whole substance of St. Mark (6,618 words out of 11,158) has been absorbed into the other Gospels. It should be said that the belief in the priority of St. Mark —not necessarily in point of time, but in nearness to the common groundwork of the Synoptic Gospels, whatever that groundwork might be—is shared by defenders of the documentary hypothesis, like Holtzmann, Weiss, and their allies, with advocates of the oral theory, like Dr. Westcott, and with writers who adopt a half-way position between the parties, like Dr. Salmon. The opposition to it has come chiefly from the Tübingen school, and from those under Tübingen influences. It is, if not an assured result of criticism, yet rapidly becoming so.

Secondary Features in St. Mark.—The greater originality of St. Mark, speaking broadly and generally, has thus been, as it seems, triumphantly vindicated. And yet the claim is one that cannot be made without reserve. True as it is on the whole that St. Mark represents more nearly the groundstock of the tradition, he does not do so in every particular. In all the sections tabulated above, though the general preponderance was strong in favour of St. Mark, there was still a small residuum in which St. Matthew and St. Luke were agreed against him. Usually these were not of great moment: in the first of the above sections (The Leper) there were three, ἰδού, Κύριε, εὐθέως (for εὐθύς); in the second (The Paralytic) eleven, ἰδού again, ἐπὶ κλίνης, εἶπεν, κλίν[ην], ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, [ἐ]φοβ[ήθησαν], and so on. The persistent way in which small points of this kind kept recurring in each of the sections was

remarkable. But the points were not always small. Occasionally whole sayings of a striking kind and certainly original were found to have dropped out from St. Mark while they were retained by St. Matthew: such as "Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. x. 5, 6). And if there was room to doubt whether St. Matthew was not here drawing from a peculiar source to which St. Mark had not access, there was a clearer case in regard to the omission of a saying like "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. xv. 24). It was natural that sayings which seemed to breathe so much of the old particularism should drop away when the wholesale admission of Gentiles was a *fait accompli*. But the retention of such sayings is a high testimony to the originality of the document in which they occur, and here the originality is on the side of St. Matthew, not of St. Mark. Besides these isolated *dicta*, there were some sections like those at the very beginning of his Gospel in which St. Mark did present the appearance of an abridgment.

This collection of points brings us to what is really one of the greatest difficulties in the whole Synoptic question—the secondary features in St. Mark. No theory could be said to be satisfactory until it accounted for these. We proceed to enumerate the principal hypotheses to which recourse has been had to account for them. These are—(i.) the hypothesis of an Ur-Marcus, or older form of the Gospel, nearly resembling our present form, but containing those features which have been lost in it; (ii.) the hypothesis that St. Luke had before him our present St. Matthew, and took from it those features which he has in common with it as against St. Mark; (iii.) the peculiar theory of Weiss, which will be more fully described below; (iv.) another theory, also suggested by Weiss and by others, but which does not seem as yet to have received very close attention; (v.) along with these solutions may be mentioned a fifth on somewhat peculiar lines by two English scholars.

(i.) *The Ur-Marcus Hypothesis.*—This was the hypothesis originally adopted by Holtzmann, and fully worked out by him in the book which we have taken as the starting-point of our survey. Something like it was also adopted independently by Weizsäcker in his *Untersuchungen* (1864). In the circle of those who held that there was a documentary basis for all these Synoptics it met with much approval. Perhaps one of its simplest forms is that which is put forward by Beyschlag in his *Leben Jesu* (1885). In describing this the opportunity may be taken to mention that many of those who fall back upon an Ur-Marcus still do not believe that even this is absolutely the oldest form of evangelical composition. Beyschlag himself would begin the series with the notes which Papias says were taken down by St. Mark from the preaching of St. Peter, in regard to which he takes the *οὐ μέντοι τάξει* of Papias in its strictest sense. He supposes that they were mere jottings with no literary arrangement (*Leben Jesu*, p. 85). The date at which these were made he would put about the year 66. These Petrine notes were combined a year or two later with a specially Galilean tradition into the Protevangelium, a finished literary whole on the lines of our St. Mark, which gave the framework of their Gospels to both St. Matthew and St. Luke. This was still before the taking of Jerusalem. Soon after that event the Protevangelium, or Ur-Marcus, underwent a slight revision (*e.g.* the substitution of *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις* in Mark xiii. 24 for the *εὐθέως* of Matt. xxix. 29), and was so brought to its present shape. Now it is not rare in English books to find severe criticisms on this multiplication of documents with imaginary names—Ur-Marcus, Proto-Marcus, Deutero-Marcus, Protevangelium, and the like. The names are of course matters of pure indifference. The documents might as well be labelled A, B, and C, or X, Y, and Z. And the documents too themselves are hypothetical; but they are not therefore altogether imaginary. The assumption that there are such documents is merely the expression (which may be wrong, but cannot be known to be so until it has been thoroughly tested) of certain facts which are revealed by an analysis of our present Gospels. There are distinct layers in our present St. Mark. There is one layer that is earlier than our St. Matthew, and another that is later; one layer that is before the fall of Jerusalem, and another that is after it. To call these separate layers so many documents, or stages in the history of a document, is a step, but by no means a reckless one; and the only condition for the verification of the hypothesis is that it shall really account for all the facts.

The natural objection to the Ur-Marcus theory is, that it implies the existence of a Gospel which is so like our present Gospel without being identical with it. Under modern conditions such a thing hardly could exist. Under ancient conditions, in literary circles, and where the regular machinery of book production and propagation was at work, it would be rare. But the particular conditions under which the Gospels arose, as we have seen, did not come under these general laws. The changes that took place in them would probably fall within the sphere of transcription rather than of authorship. The fate of the first two or three copies would determine the fate of the book. This is not equivalent to saying that the Ur-Marcus hypothesis is proved; it is only a plea that it should not be dismissed *in limine*, as if it were incredible. It is one of the hypotheses which deserves renewed testing by systematic application to the text.

(ii.) *The Hypothesis that the First Gospel was used by the Author of the Third.*—A change has come over the attitude of many defenders of the Ur-Marcus theory. This change dates from the appearance of a work by E. Simons, *Hat der dritte Evangelist den kanonischen Matthäus benutzt?* (Bonn, 1881,) now unfortunately out of print, and not to be obtained in this country. Simons answered the question that he put to himself in the affirmative; and since he did so several leading critics have come round to or expressed the same opinion. So Holtzmann (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1881, col. 182; *Einleitung*, p. 339), Weizsäcker (*Apost. Zeitalter*, 1886, p. 414), Wendt (*Lehre Jesu*,

1886, p. 193). Holtzmann's conversion had taken place from independent study before Simons' book appeared; Weizsäcker gives no details; Wendt appears to derive his view from Simons. It is obvious that the assumption that St. Luke had St. Matthew's Gospel before him at once gives a satisfactory solution of all the coincidences between them. It is, however, essential to this theory that it should be taken with the limitations which its cautious exponent has given to it. Simons only contends for a slight and incidental use of the First Evangelist's work by the Third. Directly and systematically he used St. Mark, indirectly and cursorily St. Matthew. It is as if he copied the one and was affected by an indistinct recollection of words and phrases in the other. This is a possible state of things: and only such very qualified use is consistent with the marked divergence which St. Luke presents in so many particulars from St. Matthew.

If the First Gospel had been throughout the work of an Apostle, then in any case St. Luke's procedure would hardly be intelligible, as he lays especial stress on the evidence of eye-witnesses; but he may have felt that the First Gospel, as it is, did not exclude a certain rivalry, or he may not have had a copy in his possession at the time of writing.

(iii.) *Weiss' Theory.*—Dr. B. Weiss still finds both the Ur-Marcus hypothesis and the hypothesis that St. Luke used the canonical Matthew inadmissible, and he still holds to a theory of his own to which there have been some approximations, but to which he does not seem to have won many converts (see, however, *Expositor*, 1891, p. 412). He maintains that the Second Evangelist not only had and used the Petrine tradition, but also the Matthaean collection of discourses mingled with narrative. The Gospel so constructed again became a main source of our present First Gospel, the author of which thus used the Matthaean document twice over, itself directly, and indirectly through St. Mark. In using it directly he at times preserved its language more closely than St. Mark had done. The cumbrous part of this theory is the double use which it involves of the same document; and it is open to the further objection, How did St. Mark come to leave out from his apostolic document just those discourses which were its most characteristic features? It ought, however, to be said that the theory that the Third Evangelist had seen the work of the First also involves the double use of a document—the Logia, once in its original form, and once as worked up in our St. Matthew.

(iv.) *A modified Form of Weiss' Theory.*—In his *Leben Jesu*, p. 45, Weiss presents his theory with what appears to be somewhat of a modification. He warns us that in speaking of the use by St. Mark of St. Matthew's collection he does not mean a formal collating in the ordinary sense of the term; he reminds us that St. Mark himself had his home in Jerusalem, and would often have heard the oral teaching of the Apostles before he became a companion of St. Peter and conceived the thought of writing a Gospel; something of what he set down would be due to these recollections, and they would lead him to refer to St. Matthew's work and enrich his own from it as soon as it appeared. We are tempted to ask if this last suggestion is necessary, and if the first part would not be better without it. Is it not enough to suppose that beside the Petrine notes St. Mark would also use the tradition of the Mother-Church, and that the superior details in the First Gospel are only the same tradition rather more correctly rendered? This would at least simplify the theory: but an opinion cannot be expressed upon either form of it until it is confronted verse by verse with the texts.

(v.) So far the solutions have either treated our St. Mark as itself an original document, or as nearly co-extensive with the common original of the Synoptic portions of the three Gospels; and the divergences from St. Mark have been explained as due in the main to literary considerations. In this way both the elements which are common to all three Gospels, and those which are common to St. Mark with either of the others, would alike form part of the original document. But another hypothesis was possible. It was possible to start not from the threefold coincidences and the twofold coincidences, but from the threefold coincidences alone. Dr. Edwin A. Abbott in his article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* adopted this alternative, and a somewhat similar solution of the question was worked out independently by Dr. Edersheim. [Dr. Edersheim's papers are not published, but permission was given by the author before his death for the use which is here made of their contents.] Both these scholars appear to have been influenced by the same argument, viz. by the observation that the threefold coincidence—"the triple tradition," as Dr. Abbott calls it—when detached from the rest of the context, gives by itself a tolerably continuous narrative. Dr. Abbott's "triple tradition" corresponds to Dr. Edersheim's "original document" ("O. D."); and a specimen of Dr. Abbott's reconstruction of this may be seen in the art. "Gospels" in *Encl. Brit.* vol. x. p. 793. If the result appears to the modern reader somewhat abrupt, disjointed, and obscure, Dr. Abbott urges that the Mishna was transmitted in a very similar fashion; he compares the short sentences of his tradition to a telegram which needs to be "expanded" before it can be understood; and he makes use in a most ingenious manner of this very obscurity and the differences of interpretation to which it gave rise as a means of accounting for some of the more marked deviations from the original text and from each other, in the three Gospels (*Common Tradition of the Synopt. Gospels*, p. xi. London, 1884). Dr. Edersheim's reconstruction of his "original document" does not differ widely from Dr. Abbott's, but in the further development of the two theories there is some divergence. Dr. Abbott agrees with the mass of the scholars who adopt the documentary hypothesis in regarding our St. Mark as the nearest representative of the common tradition, and he believes that the First and Third Evangelists have borrowed from this independently. Dr. Edersheim finds the common tradition often more faithfully preserved in St. Matthew, and he thinks that St. Luke had seen both St. Mark and St. Matthew. For a criticism (which is rather too caustic) on the reconstructed "triple tradi-

tion," the reader may be referred to Dr. Salmon's *Introduction*, p. 132 sq., 5th edit.

The Collection of the Logia.—If the secondary features in St. Mark are one of the "burning points" in the Synoptic question, the exact nature and extent of the Logia of St. Matthew is another. Even the existence of this document is not perhaps altogether proved, though there is a strong consensus upon the point in Germany. The assumption of it does not really rest upon a particular interpretation of the words of Papias, but is an independent result of analytic criticism which appears to coincide with, and to be confirmed by, those words. When on the one hand it was observed—as it could not fail to be observed—that the common matter in St. Matthew and St. Luke which they had over and above the main body of the Synoptic tradition shared by them with St. Mark consisted mainly of discourse, and when on the other hand there was the express statement of Papias that St. Matthew composed a collection of λόγια which, whatever the other uses of the word, would be at least an appropriate name for a collection of discourses, it was an obvious step to identify the common element of discourse in the First and Third Gospels with the document the existence of which was thus historically attested. And there was the further reason for this that it was improbable on a number of grounds (which are conveniently summarised by Beyschlag, p. 93), that the First Gospel in its present form, though even in this form a very primitive document, came directly from the hands of an Apostle. That being so, it was a simple and natural explanation of the ecclesiastical tradition which connects this Gospel with the name of St. Matthew, that it embodied the original apostolic work in so prominent and distinctive a manner.

But was the same apostolic work also used by St. Luke? The *primâ facie* view is no doubt that it was; nor is the presence of difficulties in the way of this supposition at once destructive of it. There is, for instance, such a difficulty almost at the outset in the Sermon on the Mount. Putting aside for a moment the divergence in the account by the two Evangelists of the circumstances under which the discourse was delivered, and putting aside the difference in extent of the two versions, is it probable that if the Third Evangelist had had before him the Beatitudes in the form in which we have them in St. Matthew he would have written as he did? Or if the First Evangelist had had them before him in the form in which they occur in St. Luke, would he have written as he did? The divergence seems to go beyond the usual degree of latitude in two independent transcriptions of the same text, nor does it seem that an adequate motive can be assigned for it. Something might be due to the fact that, as Beyschlag supposes, and as the consent of all the early authorities would lead us to expect, St. Matthew originally wrote in Aramaic, and the two Evangelists translated from this original independently: but a mere difference in translation will not resolve eight (or nine) Blessings into four Blessings and four Woes. If we must assume that both versions are derived from the same source, does it not seem almost necessary to suppose that some further step or steps intervened before they could reach their present form? The question must be left, for it is one that does not appear to have been grappled with quite so thoroughly as might be desired: and it is only a single example out of many. The difficulties which arise out of the order of the several discourses or sayings in the two Gospels have been dealt with more satisfactorily, though it would be too much to say that a full solution has been found. This however reminds us that, though progress may be slow, yet there has been progress. Wendt has recently made a bold attempt (*Lehre Jesu*, i. p. 50 sq.) to reconstruct not merely the outline, but the whole text of the original Logia from our two Gospels. It was more than could be hoped that such an attempt should be immediately successful. But aiming at a higher object is often the best way to attain a lower object; and the experiment can hardly fail to contribute to the furtherance of criticism. Though agreement has not yet been reached on a number of important questions relating to the Logia, there is at least a tendency to agreement on two points: (i.) It is coming to be now generally recognised that the First Evangelist has *grouped together* sayings that were not all really spoken on the same occasion (so in the Sermon on the Mount, at least in Matt. vii.). Holtzmann compares many of the sayings which belong to the Logia to "erratic blocks" which have travelled some way from their original position. He and others think that they are more often to be found *in situ* in St. Luke (*e.g.* Luke xii. 13–31; cp. Matt. vi. 25–33). The opposite view to Holtzmann's is held amongst others by Dr. Edersheim, whose reconstruction of the Logia is peculiarly interesting. He thought that it was a genuinely Jewish work, constructed after the manner of such works in five Pereqs or Sections, like the five books of the Law, or the five-fold division of the Psalter. These five Pereqs are identified with the five great masses of discourse in St. Matthew. The whole theory is attractive; but the difficulties will begin to be felt when it is sought to explain how the compact discourses of St. Matthew came to be dispersed into the scattered sayings that we find in St. Luke. (ii.) Another point on which critics are now more agreed than they were at the beginning of the period of which we have been speaking is, that though the Logia consisted of a number of more or less detached sayings, these sayings were often prefaced with brief historical introductions. What has been said on the meaning of the word λόγια will show that these were by no means excluded. Thus the way is prepared for Weiss, who would refer to the Logia not only narratives like the Healing of the Centurion's Servant—which are peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke—but others like the Healing of the Leper and of Jairus' Daughter, and the Sabbath controversies (Mark ii. 23 sq.), which are common to all three Gospels. This is part of the theory which has been previously referred to (p. 1226 above), and it has not as yet met with much acceptance.

This glance at the history of the Synoptic question is as far perhaps as we can go with profit in general terms. The one thing to be deprecated on this even more than on other questions, is the random use of generalities untested by

facts. What has just been given does not profess to be more than a sketch in outline of the different solutions; it is not even a criticism of them, much less an attempt either to propose a new solution or defend an old one. That can only be done satisfactorily by going through the whole text verse by verse and word by word.

There are doubtless some who will be deterred by the multitude of divergent views which are held by critics. But it is a shallow argument, and one that ought not to be used, to point to the extent of this divergence as in itself proof that all the theories alike are wrong and a real solution impossible. No considerable scientific question has ever escaped without a tentative period; least of all a question of such extreme complexity and difficulty as the present. The impression that is made upon the mind of one who has studied the question mainly from without, and not as yet, except to a limited extent, in close detail from within, is that the complexity is not so great as to be never unravelled, and the difficulty not so great as to be never overcome.

Little by little, untenable hypotheses are being discarded; theories are formulated and brought to a precise issue, to which an affirmative or negative answer can be given; and as the issues are narrowed, the magnifying-glass of a close criticism is brought to bear upon them. When we remember all this, and when we take into account some wider considerations, the international character which theological study of all kinds is assuming, and the many and varied qualifications of those both in Europe and America who are engaged upon it, it does not seem too bold to prophesy that the end, if not exactly near, is not very distant, and that the twentieth century at least will not be far advanced before the long-sought solution is found.

Comparative Table of different Forms of the Documentary Hypothesis.—It only remains to attempt to give some idea of the relation in detail of these different theories to each other. The student, it is thought, must often wish for some means of comparing together the treatment of particular sections by the different critics; and an attempt is made to give him this, though it must be confessed only in a rough and approximate way. The task was one that it was difficult to carry out satisfactorily. In cases like those of Weiss and Wendt and Holtzmann's reconstruction of 1863, the data were sufficiently complete; but in the case of Weizsäcker and Beyschlag, where the treatment was less detailed, incidental and scattered statements had to be picked out and put together, and where such statements were wanting (though they might often be supplied by probable conjecture) it seemed best to leave a blank; nor can it be said that the examination of these writers has been exhaustive. It was also not found possible to represent in the tables all the restrictions and qualifications and variations in the assignment of position with which the criticism of the different sections is accompanied. The tables do not aim at giving more than a *coup d'œil* of the subject, with such limitations as appear to be inseparable from a *coup d'œil;* but it is hoped that it may prove of some use to those who desire to attack the problem at closer quarters. The sections are adapted from Holtzmann's *Einleitung*, pp. 355–361. A short preliminary account is given of each of the theories tabulated, with one or two details which may enable the English reader to judge of its distribution. It will be seen that most of the writers quoted are veterans who have given prolonged attention to the subject.

Holtzmann, Dr. H. J. (b. 1832), Professor at Strassburg. In his work on the Synoptic Gospels in 1863 Dr. Holtzmann held that the two main elements in the Synoptic composition were (1) an Ur-Marcus similar to but in some respects fuller than our present St. Mark; (2) a collection of Logia or discourses by the Apostle St. Matthew, worked up in both the First and the Third Gospels, and often preserved most faithfully in the latter. In his latest work, the *Einleitung in das N. T.* (1st ed. 1885), Dr. Holtzmann has announced some modifications of these views, due to the discussions in which he has been engaged in the interval. He now thinks that the Third Evangelist had the work of the First (our present St. Matthew) before him, "so that at least most of the reasons for distinguishing between an Ur-Marcus and our present Mark fall away." He also thinks that all the discourses in St. Luke are not necessarily to be referred to the Logia; that some of them have undergone still further redaction in St. Luke than in St. Matthew; and that the Logia may not have consisted purely of discourse, but that there may have been brief introductory narratives as a framework for the discourses. Dr. Holtzmann's changed views as to the dates of the completed Gospels will be noticed below. We are unfortunately without the materials for representing his present position in detail, and so have been obliged to fall back upon this earlier construction, which has now indeed come to have only a historical interest, but which in its day was the most solid attempt that had been made at the elucidation of the problem, and which still retains much of its suggestiveness. [Dr. Holtzmann's latest views are given in his concise commentary on the Synoptic Gospels (*Die Synoptiker*, Freiburg i. B., 1889).]

Weizsäcker, Dr. C. (b. 1822), Professor at Tübingen. Dr. Weizsäcker, like Dr. Holtzmann, has recently brought out a revised version of his original *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte.* Almost the same interval of time separates the two works: the *Untersuchungen* appeared in 1864, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter* in 1886. Here, however, the later work is full enough to allow us to use it directly. The characteristic feature in Dr. Weizsäcker's theory is, that he thinks that both the narrative-element and the discourse-element in the Gospels have gone through a greater number of stages and a longer development before reaching their final shape. According to Weizsäcker, smaller collections were made up into larger before the larger were made up in our present Gospels. He tries to distinguish these smaller collections, and we have endeavoured to reproduce these distinctions, which are not so arbitrary as one who approaches the subject from the outside may perhaps think them.

Weiss, Dr. B. (b. 1827), Professor at Berlin. In a long series of publications, enumerated above, Dr. Weiss has held steadily, and with but little modification, to his original idea: which

is, that the Apostle St. Matthew wrote first a collection mainly of discourse, but with a slight amount of narrative appended; that St. Mark, having this before him, combined with it his recollections of the preaching of St. Peter, and that the work which he so produced lay before both the First and the Third Evangelists, who also had access to the original Matthaean collection. By "Oldest Gospel" Dr. Weiss means this collection; by "Petrine Gospel" he means the tradition derived by St. Mark from St. Peter. These two he takes to be the fundamental and primitive elements in our Gospels as we now have them; all three being composite in different proportions. Mention has been made of the slight modification which Dr. Weiss seems disposed to admit.

Wendt, Dr. H. H. (b. 1853), Professor at Heidelberg. As befits a younger scholar building upon the labours of his predecessors, Dr. Wendt has stated his views with great precision, though his object in writing was primarily to lay the foundation for a study in Biblical Theology (*Die Lehre Jesu*, 1886). He, too, seeks to analyse St. Mark's Gospel into the different groups of tradition of which it is composed; and he has also, as we have seen, made a bold attempt to reconstruct from the texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke the original Logia.

Beyschlag, Dr. Willibald (b. 1823), Professor at Halle. Dr. Beyschlag's views may be ascertained from an article in *Studien und Kritiken* for 1881, and from his *Leben Jesu* (1st ed. 1885; 2nd ed., which has been used here, 1887). He holds that the first nucleus of our Second Gospel consisted of the loose notes taken down by St. Mark of the teaching of St. Peter; that these were reduced to order by a Galilean Christian, who inserted the warning in Mark xiii. 14, and that the Protevangelium thus formed was afterwards edited, as we have it, for the use of the Church of Rome. Much about the same time with the Protevangelium, St. Matthew committed to writing his Logia, which were worked up doubly, on the basis of the Protevangelium, in our First and Third Gospels—in the latter perhaps from a different version of the Aramaic original. Of all the different forms that have been taken by the Two-Document hypothesis, this of Dr. Beyschlag's is perhaps the simplest and least complicated (see Table, pp. 1230–1236).

External History of the Gospels: Formation of the Canon. — Along with the inherent complexity of the phenomena, the other main source of difficulty is the scantiness of the literature which might throw light upon them. For the first hundred years of their existence—70–170 A.D.—the Gospels pass through a region which is only dimly and fitfully illuminated by extant documents. The Church, in Dr. Salmon's picturesque expression, "enters a tunnel," from which it only emerges in the time of Irenaeus. Hence a special importance attaches to every addition to the literature of the period. And the twenty-five years that we are chronicling happen to be singularly rich in such additions. We will first speak of the additions which have been made to the materials of our knowledge, then of the criticism which has gathered round those materials, and lastly we will try to sum up the results which seem to have been obtained.

Addition of New Materials.—The year 1863 is again marked by an event of importance. It was in this year that Tischendorf first gave to the world the complete text of the N. T. from the Sinaitic Codex, with the Epistle of Barnabas and fragments of the Greek Hermas (*N. T. Sinaiticum sive N. T. cum epistola Barnabae et fragmentis Pastoris*, Leipzig). This was the first time that the 4½ opening chapters of the Epistle of Barnabas had been published in the original Greek. The publication was important, as setting at rest the question as to the genuineness of ὡς γέγραπται introducing the much-debated quotation πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί at the end of c. 4. Up to the finding of Cod. ℵ there had been room to suppose that "sicut scriptum est" was an interpolation by the Latin translator. Something will be said as to the bearing of this on the history of the Canon of the Gospels below. The evidence of another Greek MS. was added in 1877, when Hilgenfeld utilised for his second edition of the Epistle the collations of the Constantinople MS. written in 1056, sent to him by Bryennius.

The accessions to the text of Hermas derive a present interest from the publication (or rather republication) of the concluding portion by Dräseke after Simonides (Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1887, Heft 2, p. 172 sq.), and from its vindication by Hilgenfeld; but we are forbidden to go into this by the doubly dubious character of the text itself and of the allusions to the Synoptic Gospels in Hermas generally. [Simonides' text is now completely disposed of: see *A Collation of the Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, by Dr. Spyr. P. Lambros, ed. by Mr. J. Armitage Robinson, Cambridge, 1888.]

We are treading on firmer ground in following the history of the writings attributed to Clement of Rome. The precious Constantinople MS. which contained the Greek text of Barnabas also contained the two so-called Epistles of Clement; and the concluding portions of both of these were published for the first time by Bryennius, Metropolitan of Serrae (now of Nicomedia), in 1875. Within a few months of the event the University of Cambridge became possessed of a Syriac version of the two Epistles which had hitherto been overlooked, although it had belonged to the distinguished Orientalist M. Jules Mohl. By the help of these new documents Bp. Lightfoot was able to supplement his previous edition and to revise the text of the whole in an *Appendix* which appeared in 1877. The added chapters of the First Epistle contained no quotations from the Gospels, but those of the Second Epistle (which is now proved to be, as it had been before suspected of being, really a Homily) were found to contain a number of important data, both for the history of the Canon in general and for that of the Gospels in particular. The Old Testament was called τὰ βιβλία: the New Testament, or such Books as the writer regarded as authoritative, οἱ ἀπόστολοι. If, on the one hand, it was clear that he used an apocryphal Gospel or Gospels, on the other he was found to cite the evangelical records not only as γραφή, but with the still more weighty formula ὁ Θεὸς λέγει. A word will be said on the significance of these phenomena presently.

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING THE ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS UNDER DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS.

	Holtzmann (1863).	Weizsäcker (1864, 1886).	Weiss (1872, 1876, 1882, 1886).	Wendt (1886).	Beyschlag (1881, 1885, 1887).
Beginning of the Public Ministry—					
1. The Baptist (Matt. iii. 1–12; Mark i. 1–8; Luke iii. 1–18)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel (+ Special Source in Luke).	Supplemental Tradition, possibly Petrine; and Logia.	Protevangelium + Logia (Matt. iii. 7–12). Protevangelium + Logia (Matt. iii. 14, 15).
2. Baptism of Jesus Christ (Matt. iii. 13–17; Mark i. 9–11; Luke iii. 21, 22)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel		
3. The Temptation (Matt. iv. 1–11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1–13)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel	. . .	Logia.
4. Settlement in Galilee (Matt. iv. 12–17; Mark i. 14, 15; Luke iv. 14, 15)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
5. Call of Four Apostles (Matt. iv. 18–22; Mark i. 16–20; Luke v. 1–11)	Urmarcus	Earlier stratum of Tradition reduced to writing by Mark.	Petrine Gospel (+ Special Source in Luke).	Petrine Tradition, Series A, with further tradition, in Luke v. 1–11; cp. John xxi. 3–8.	Protevangelium + Special Source in Luke v. 1–11.
6. A Day's Ministry (Mark i. 21–28; Luke iv. 31–37)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
7. Jesus in the House of Simon (Matt. viii. 14–17; Mark i. 29–34; Luke iv. 38–41)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
8. Retirement (Mark i. 35–39; Luke iv. 42–44)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
9. The Leper (Matt. viii. 1–4; Mark i. 40–45; Luke v. 12–16, cp. xvii. 11–19)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel		
10. The Paralytic (Matt. ix. 1–8; Mark ii. 1–12; Luke v. 17–26)	Urmarcus	Earlier stratum of Tradition reduced to writing by Mark.	Oldest Gospel		Protevangelium.
11. Levi and the Question of Fasting (Matt. ix. 9–17; Mark ii. 13–22; Luke v. 27–39)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series B.	Protevangelium (Matt. xii. 5–7 insertion from Logia).
12. The Sabbath: First Saying (Matt. xii. 1–8; Mark ii. 23–28; Luke vi. 1–5, cp. xiii. 10–17)	Urmarcus	Earlier stratum of Tradition reduced to writing by Mark.	Oldest Gospel		
13. The Sabbath: Second Saying (Matt. xii. 9–14; Mark iii. 1–6; Luke vi. 6–11, cp. xiv. 1–6)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
14. Crowded Audiences; Choice of the Twelve (Matt. iv. 23–25, x. 2–4, xii. 15–21; Mark iii. 7–19; Luke vi. 12–19)	Urmarcus	. . .	Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series A (Mark iii. 7–12), Series D (Mark iii. 13–19).	Logia.
First Group of Discourses—					
15. Introduction to Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 1, 2)	Matthew		Oldest Gospel	. . .	
16. The Beatitudes (Matt. v. 3–12; Luke vi. 20–26)	Urmarcus, modified by Matt.	Supplemental Collection of Discourses (Matt.): the discourse lay before Luke in a somewhat later version.	Oldest Gospel, modified by Matt. and Luke.	Logia; more original form in Luke.	Logia; more original form in Luke.
17. Disciples as Salt of the Earth (Matt. v. 13; Luke xiv. 34, 35)	Logia and Urmarcus, with peculiar tradition.	Supplemental Collection of Discourses.	Oldest Gospel	Addition by Matt.	Logia in different order.
18. Disciples as Light of the World (Matt. v. 14–16; Luke xi. 33)					

19. Relation to the Law (Matt. v. 17–20; Luke xvi. 17)	Logia, modified.		Oldest Gospel, with omissions by Luke.	Logia	
20. Murder (Matt. v. 21–24)	Urmarcus, Logia, and other sources.	Primitive Collection of Discourses. [Luke vi. 20–49 is a later form of the same collection as the parallel in Matt.]	Oldest Gospel	Logia	Logia, with insertions (Matt. v. 18, 19, 23–26, 29, 30, 31, 32, &c.) from other parts of the collection.
21. Timely Reconciliation (Matt. v. 25, 26; Luke xii. 58, 59)				Addition by Matt.	
22. Adultery (Matt. v. 27–30)				Logia, with slight addition from Mark ix. 43 sq.	
23. Divorce (Matt. v. 31, 32; Luke xvi. 18)				Logia	
24. Oaths (Matt. v. 33–37)				Logia (add Matt. vii. 12; Luke vi. 31).	
25. Good for Evil (Matt. v. 38–48; Luke vi. 27–30, 32–36)				Logia (Matt. vi. 1–6)	
26. Alms and Prayer (Matt. vi. 1–8)	Urmarcus, Logia, and other sources: place of sayings in Logia more correctly given by Luke.	Primitive Collection of Discourses.	Oldest Gospel. Connexion of sayings more correctly given by Luke.	Logia (Matt. vi. 7–15, in different connexion)	
27. The Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 9–15; Luke xi. 1–4)				Logia	
28. Fasting (Matt. vi. 16–18)				Logia in different connexion	
29. Treasure in Heaven (Matt. vi. 19–21; Luke xii. 33, 34)		Primitive Collection of Discourses.		Logia, in different connexions	
30. The Lamp of the Body (Matt. vi. 22, 23; Luke xi. 34–36)				Logia	
31. Two Masters (Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13)				Logia, in different connexions	
32. Worldly Cares (Matt. vi. 25–34; Luke xii. 22–31)				See above, No. 25	
33. Judging Others (Matt. vii. 1–5; Luke vi. 37–42)				Logia, in different connexion	
34. Desecration of Holy Things (Matt. vii. 6)	Logia and Urmarcus, modified by Matt.	Supplemental Collection of Discourses.	Oldest Gospel, with some displacement by Matt.	Logia	
35. Encouragement to Prayer (Matt. vii. 7–11; Luke xi. 5–13)				Logia, with slight addition	
36. Duty to One's Neighbour (Matt. vii. 12; Luke vi. 31)				Logia, partly in different connexion	
37. The Narrow Gate (Matt. vii. 13, 14; Luke xiii. 23, 24)				Logia	
38. False Prophets (Matt. vii. 15)	Urmarcus, modified by Matt.		Oldest Gospel	Matthew	
39. Known by their Fruits (Matt. vii. 16–20 cp. xii. 33–35; Luke vi. 43–46)					
40. Self-deceit (Matt. vii. 21–23; Luke xiii. 26, 27)					
41. Concluding Parables (Matt. vii. 24–27; Luke vi. 47–49)					
42. Epilogue (Matt. vii. 28, 29)					
Ministry at Capernaum—					
43. The Centurion (Matt. viii. 5–13; Luke vii. 1–10, xiii. 28–30)	Urmarcus, with insertion from Logia.		Oldest Gospel	Logia	Logia.
44. Following Christ (Matt. viii. 18–22; Luke ix. 57–62)	Urmarcus and Logia.		Oldest Gospel	Logia, in different connexion	Logia.
45. The Baptist's Question (Matt. xi. 2–19; Luke vii. 18–28, 31–35, xvi. 16)	Logia		Oldest Gospel	Logia (+Matt. xxi. 28–32; Luke vii. 29, 30)	Logia (after Nos. 64, 65, with insertions in Matt. xi. 16–19; Luke vii. 27–31).
46. Alliance with Beelzebub (Matt. ix. 32–34, xii. 22–24; Mark iii. 20–22; Luke xi. 14–16)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series A, and Logia in Matt. and Luke	
47. Defence against the Charge (Matt. xii. 25–32, 36, 37; Mark iii. 23–30; Luke xi. 17–23)	Urmarcus	Primitive Collection, 1864.	Oldest Gospel		
48. Seeking for a Sign (Matt. xii. 38–42; Luke xi. 29–32)	Logia		Oldest Gospel	Logia	
49. The Empty House (Matt. xii. 43–45; Luke xi. 24–26)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel	Logia	Logia.
50. Christ's Relations (Matt. xii. 46–50; Mark iii. 31–35; Luke viii. 19–21, cp. xi. 27, 28)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel (Luke xi. 27, 28, from Special Source)	Petrine Tradition, Series A	Protevangelium.

	Holtzmann (1863).	Weizsäcker (1864, 1886).	Weiss (1872, 1876, 1882, 1886).	Wendt (1886).	Beyschlag (1881, 1885, 1887).
Second (or Third) Group of Discourses—					
51. Parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii. 1–15; Mark iv. 1–12; Luke viii. 4–10)	Urmarcus	Earliest Tradition, prob. in double form.	Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gospel in Mark)	Petrine Tradition, Series A.	Protevangelium.
52. Blessedness of Eye-Witnesses (Matt. xiii. 16, 17; Luke x. 23, 24)	Logia		Oldest Gospel	Logia in Luke's connexion.	
53. Interpretation of the Parable (Matt. xiii. 18–23; Mark iv. 13–20; Luke viii. 11–15)	Urmarcus	As No. 51?	Petrine Gospel		
54. Hearing and Repeating (Mark iv. 21–25; Luke viii. 16–18)	Urmarcus	Continuation of No. 51, second form.	Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gosp. in Mark)	Petrine Tradition, Series A, with additions from Logia in Mark.	
55. The Seed Growing Secretly (Mark iv. 26–29)	Urmarcus (Matt. from Logia)	Later Tradition	Petrine Gospel		
56. The Mustard Seed (Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Mark iv. 30–32; Luke xiii. 18, 19)	Urmarcus	Continuation of No. 51, first form.	Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gosp. in Mark)		
57. The Leaven (Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 20, 21)	Logia		Oldest Gospel		
58. Teaching by Parables (Matt. xiii. 34, 35; Mark iv. 33, 34)	Urmarcus	Continuation of No. 51, second form.	Petrine Gospel		
59. Further Parables (Matt. xiii. 36–53)	Logia	Later Tradition	Oldest Gospel	Logia.	
Short Journeys—					
60. The Storm on the Lake (Matt. viii. 23–27; Mark iv. 35–41; Luke viii. 22–25)	Urmarcus	Earlier stratum of Tradition reduced to writing by Mark.	Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gosp. in Mark)	Supplemental Tradition, embodied by Mark.	Protevangelium.
61. The Gadarene Demoniacs (Matt. viii. 28–34; Mark v. 1–20; Luke viii. 26–39)	Urmarcus				
62. Jairus' Daughter (Matt. ix. 18–26; Mark v. 21–43; Luke viii. 40–56, cp. vii. 11–17)	Urmarcus				
63. Jesus at Nazareth (Matt. xiii. 54–58; Mark vi. 1–6a; Luke iv. 16–30)	Urmarcus, enlarged from oral tradition in Luke.		Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series A.	Protevangelium, with peculiar source in Luke.
Third (or Second) Group of Discourses—					
64. Mission of the Apostles (Matt. ix. 35—x. 1, 5–16; Mark vi. 6b–11; Luke ix. 1–5, cp. x. 1–12)	Urmarcus, with additions from Logia in Matt. and Luke.	Primitive Collection of Discourses (Matt. x. 5–15).	Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gospel)	Petrine Tradition, Series D, and Logia.	Logia.
65. Woe to the Galilean Cities! (Matt. xi. 20–24; Luke x. 13–16)	Logia		Oldest Gospel	Logia in Luke's connexion.	Logia in this connexion.
66. Fearless Testimony (Matt. x. 17–33; Luke xii. 1–12)	Mainly from Logia.	Primitive Collection of Discourses (Matt. x. 17–23).	Oldest Gospel	Logia with some displacement.	
67. Not Peace but a Sword (Matt. x. 34–36; Luke xii. 51–53)	Logia		Oldest Gospel	Logia in Matt.'s connexion.	Logia in later connexion as Luke.
68. Renunciation (Matt. x. 37, 38; Luke xiv. 25–27)	Logia		Oldest Gospel		
69. Epilogue (Matt. x. 39–xi. 1)	Logia, modified by Matt., with partial ref. to Urmarcus.	Supplemental Collection (Matt. x. 24–42).	Oldest Gospel		
Longer Journeys—					
70. Success of the Missionaries (Mark vi. 12, 13; Luke ix. 6)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series D.	

71. Herod's Comments (Matt. xiv. 1, 2; Mark vi. 14–16; Luke ix. 7–9)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel	Supplemental Tradition, embodied by Mark.	
72. Death of the Baptist (Matt. xiv. 3–12; Mark vi. 17–29; Luke iii. 19, 20)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
73. Return of the Missionaries (Mark vi. 30; Luke ix. 10, x. 17–20)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
74. Thanksgiving (Matt. xi. 25–27; Luke x. 21, 22)	Logia		Oldest Gospel		
75. "Come unto Me" (Matt. xi. 28–30)	Logia		Oldest Gospel	Logia.	
76. Feeding of the Five Thousand (Matt. xiv. 13–21; Mark vi. 31–44; Luke ix. 11–17)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gospel).	Supplemental Tradition, embodied by Mark.	Protevangelium.
77. *Walking on the Water* (Matt. xiv. 22–33; Mark vi. 45–52)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gospel).		Oral Tradition.
78. Return (Matt. xiv. 34–36; Mark. vi. 53–56)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel.		
79. Controversy with Pharisees (Matt. xv. 1–20; Mark vii. 1–23)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series E.	Protevangelium (Matt. xv. 13, 14, from Logia).
80. The Syro-Phoenician Woman (Matt. xv. 21–28; Mark vii. 24–30)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gosp. in Mark).	Petrine Tradition, Series A.	Protevangelium (Mark), Logia (Matt.).
81. Journey to the North (Matt. xv. 29–31; Mark vii. 31–37)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel.		
82. Feeding of the Four Thousand (Matt. xv. 32–39; Mark viii. 1–10)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel	Supplemental Tradition.	
83. A Sign Refused (Matt. xvi. 1–4; Mark viii. 11, 12; Luke xii. 54–57)	Urmarcus	Later stratum of Tradition, reduced to writing by Mark.	Oldest Gospel (+ Petrine Gospel).	Petrine Tradition, Series A, and Logia in Matt. and Luke.	
84. Leaven of the Pharisees (Matt. xvi. 5–12; Mark viii. 13–21)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel	Supplemental Tradition, embodied by Mark.	
85. The Blind Man of Bethsaida (Matt. ix. 27–31; Mark viii. 22–26)	Urmarcus, modified by Matt.		Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series A.	Protev., perh. oral tradition in Matt.
86. Peter's Confession (Matt. xvi. 13–28; Mark viii. 27—ix. 1; Luke ix. 18–27)	Urmarcus		Mainly from Petrine Gospel (Mark viii. 27–33).	Petrine Tradition, Series A and C.	Protev.; Matt. xvi. 17–19, from Logia.
87. The Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1–13; Mark ix. 2–13; Luke ix. 28–36)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel and Oldest Gospel.	Supplemental Tradition, embodied by Mark.	Protevangelium.
88. The Epileptic Boy (Matt xvii. 14–21; Mark ix. 14–29; Luke ix. 37–42)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel and Oldest Gospel.		
89. Prophecy of the Passion (Matt. xvii. 22, 23; Mark ix. 30–32; Luke ix. 43–45)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
90. The Temple Tax (Matt. xvii. 24–27)	Peculiar Tradition of Matt.		Oldest Gospel		Oral Tradition.
Fourth Group of Discourses.					
91. Precedence (Matt. xviii. 1–5; Mark ix. 33–37; Luke ix. 46–48)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel and Petrine Gospel.	Petrine Tradition, Series C.	Protev.; Matt. xviii. 3, 4, from Logia
92. Tolerance (Mark ix. 38–41; Luke ix. 49, 50)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel and Oldest Gospel.		
93. Offences (Matt. xviii. 6–9; Mark ix. 42–48; Luke xvii. 1, 2)	Urmarcus, abridged by Mark.	Primitive Collection of Discourses.	Oldest Gospel and Petrine Gospel.		
94. Salt (Mark ix. 49, 50)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel and Oldest Gospel.		
95. Lost and Found (Matt. xviii. 10–14; Luke xv. 1–10)	Mainly from Logia		Oldest Gospel		
96. Correcting a Brother (Matt. xviii. 15–22; Luke xvii. 3, 4)	Urmarcus and peculiar source in Matt.	Primitive Collection of Discourses.	Oldest Gospel	Logia	Logia.
97. The Unmerciful Servant (Matt. xviii. 23–35)	Logia		Oldest Gospel		

	Holtzmann (1863).	Weizsäcker (1864, 1886).	Weiss (1872, 1876, 1882, 1886).	Wendt (1886).	Beyschlag (1881, 1885, 1887).
The Peræan Section: Passages without Parallels, in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14	. . .	This Section consists of pieces arranged according to subject, showing, but only in part, later influences.	[Partly from Oldest Gospel, partly from special source: *Matt.-Evang.* p. 27, cp. *Leben J.*, p. 73; *Einl.*, p. 543.]		Mainly from Logia.
98. Ministering Women (Luke viii. 1–3)	Tradition			Logia, or Logia and oral Tradition.	Logia in connexion with No. 64.
99. The Samaritan Village (Luke ix. 51–56)	Oral Tradition			Logia	
100. Martha and Mary (Luke x. 38–42)	Judæan Tradition		Special source	Logia	Logia.
101. The Divided Inheritance (Luke xii. 13–21)	Logia			Logia.	
102. The Little Flock (Luke xii. 32)	(?)			Logia.	
103. The Slaughtered Galileans (Luke xiii. 1–5)	Logia			Logia in connexion with No. 83.	Logia, later portion.
104. Departure from Galilee (Luke xiii. [22] 31–33)	Mainly from Logia			Logia as connected by Luke.	
105. Parables about Seats at Banquets (Luke xiv. 7–15)	Logia			Logia	Logia, earlier portion (and so Luke xv.).
106. Counting the Cost (Luke xiv. 28–33)	Logia			Logia as connected by Luke.	
107. The Unjust Steward (Luke xvi. 1–12)	Logia			Logia in connexion with Matt. xxv. 14–29; Luke xii. 47, 48	Logia.
108. Self-Righteousness (Luke xvi. 14, 15)	Logia			Logia in connexion with Luke xviii. 10–14.	
109. The Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19–31)	Logia		Special source	Logia	Logia.
110. Master and Servant (Luke xvii. 5–10)	Logia			Logia.	
111. The Kingdom of God (Luke xvii. 20–22)	Logia			Logia in different connexions; see No. 108.	Logia, later portion (Luke xviii. 9–14, earlier portion).
112. Two Parables (Luke xviii. 1–14)	Logia		Second Parable from special source.		
Journey to Jerusalem—					
113. Divorce (Matt. xix. 1–12; Mark x. 1–12)	Urmarcus		Mainly Petrine Gospel.	Petrine Tradition, Series E.	
114. Children (Matt. xix. 13–15; Mark x. 13–16; Luke xviii. 15–17)	Urmarcus		Mainly Petrine Gospel.		
115. The Rich Young Man (Matt. xix. 16–30; Mark x. 17–31; Luke xviii. 18–30)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series C.	Logia.
116. The Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt. xx. 1–16)	Probably Logia		Oldest Gospel		
117. Going up to Jerusalem (Matt. xx. 17–19; Mark x. 32–34; Luke xviii. 31–34).	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		Protevangelium.
118. The Sons of Zebedee (Matt. xx. 20–28; Mark x. 35–45; Luke xxii. 24–30)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
119. Blind Bartimeus (Matt. xx. 29–34; Mark x. 46–52; Luke xviii. 35–43)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel and Petrine Gosp. in Mark.		
120. Zacchæus (Luke xix. 1–10)	Tradition		Special source	Petrine Tradition, Series A.	
121. Messianic Entry into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 1–11; Mark xi. 1–11; Luke xix. 28–38)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
122. Christ weeps over Jerusalem (Luke xix. 39–44)	Tradition modified				

123. Cursing of the Fig Tree (Mark xi. 12–14)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel.		
124. Cleansing of the Temple (Matt. xxi. 12–19; Mark xi. 15–19; Luke xix. 45–48)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel.		
125. The Fig Tree Withered (Matt. xxi. 20–22; Mark xi. 20–25; cf. Luke xiii. 6–9).	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel to Mark xi. 22. Oldest Gospel + Petrine Gospel.	Petrine Tradition, Series A.	
126. John's Baptism (Matt. xxi. 23–27; Mark xi. 27–33; Luke xx. 1–8).	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel.		
127. The Two Sons (Matt. xxi. 28–30; cp. Luke xv. 11–32)	Logia	Collection of Discourses, but with later elements in Matt.	Oldest Gospel, special source in Luke.		Logia (both parables).
128. Pharisaic Rejection of John's Baptism (Matt. xxi. 31, 32; Luke vii. 29, 30)					
129. Parable of the Vineyard (Matt. xxi. 33–46; Mark xii. 1–12; Luke xx. 9–19)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel + Petrine Gospel.		
130. The Marriage Feast (Matt. xxii. 1–14; Luke xiv. 16–24)	Logia		Oldest Gospel.		
131. The Tribute Money (Matt. xxii. 15–22; Mark xii. 13–17; Luke xx. 20–26)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel.		
132. [The Woman Taken in Adultery] (John vii. 53—viii. 11; Luke xxi. 37, 38)	Urmarcus				
133. Resurrection of the Dead (Matt. xxii. 23–33; Mark xii. 18–27; Luke xx. 27–38)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel.	Petrine Tradition, Series B.	
134. The Great Commandment (Matt. xxii. 34–40; Mark xii. 28–34; Luke xx. 39, 40, cp. x. 25–37)	Urmarcus		Oldest Gospel and Petrine Gospel.		
135. Christ and David (Matt. xxii. 41–46; Mark xii. 35–37; Luke xx. 41–44)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel.		
Fifth Group of Discourses—					
136. Foremost Places (Matt. xxiii. 1–7; Mark xii. 38–40; Luke xx. 45–47)	Urmarcus	Collection of Discourses in which Matt. xxiii. 13–33 is the oldest portion.	Oldest Gospel and Petrine Gospel.	Petrine Tradition, Series C, and Logia in Matt.	
137. Denunciation of the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 8–36; Luke xi. 37–54)	Logia, special source and tradition.		Oldest Gospel	Logia, with some displacement.	Logia, with some displacement.
138. Jerusalem! (Matt. xxiii. 37–39; Luke xiii. 34, 35)	Logia		Oldest Gospel		
139. The Widow's Mite (Mark xii. 41–44; Luke xxi. 1–4)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series C.	
140. Apocalyptic Discourse (Matt. xxiv. 1–42; Mark xiii. 1–37; Luke xxi. 5–36, xvii. 23–37)	Urmarcus, with slight insertions from Logia, and some modifications in Matt. and Luke.		Oldest Gospel and Petrine Gospel, with some modifications, esp. in Luke.	Petrine Tradition, Series C (Mark xiii. 1–6, 9–13, 21–23, 28, 29, 32–37); and Jewish Christian Apocalypse (Mark xiii. 7, 8, 14–20, 24–27, 30, 31).	Protevangelium and Logia.
141. The Watchful Servants (Matt. xxiv. 43–51; Luke xii. 35–50)	Logia		Oldest Gospel	Logia, in different connexions.	Logia.
142. The Ten Virgins (Matt. xxv. 1–13; Luke xiii. 25)	Probably Logia		Oldest Gospel		Logia (doubtful which form is most original).
143. The Talents (Pounds) (Matt. xxv. 14–30; Luke xix. 11–27)	Logia		Oldest Gospel		
144. The Last Judgment (Matt. xxv. 31–46)	The Evangelist?		Oldest Gospel		
The Passion—					
145. The Passion Foretold; Anointing for Burial (Matt. xxvi. 1–13; Mark xiv. 1–9; Luke xxii. 1, 2, cp. vii. 36–50)	Urmarcus	Earlier stratum of Tradition, reduced to writing by Mark.	Oldest Gospel and Petrine Gospel	Petrine Tradition, Series A, with special Tradition, perhaps Pauline, in Luke.	Protevangelium, with special Tradition in Luke.
146. The Paschal Meal (Matt. xxvi. 14–29; Mark xiv. 10–25; Luke xxii. 3–23)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel		
147. The Mount of Olives (Matt. xxvi. 30–35; Mark xiv. 26–31; Luke xxii. 31–39)	Urmarcus, with further source in Luke.		Petrine Gospel		
148. Arrest and Trial (Matt. xxvi. 36–75; Mark xiv. 32–72; Luke xxii. 40–71)	Urmarcus, with modifications in Luke.		Petrine Gospel, with modifications in Luke		

	Holtzmann (1863).	Weizsäcker (1864, 1886).	Weiss (1872, 1876, 1882, 1886).	Wendt (1886).	Beyschlag (1881, 1885, 1887).
149. The Crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 1–61; Mark xv. 1–47; Luke xxiii. 1–56)	Urmarcus, and special tradition in Luke.		Petrine Gospel (and special tradition in Luke).	Petrine Tradition, Series A, with special Tradition, perhaps Pauline, in Luke.	Protevangelium, with special Tradition in Luke.
150. Watch at the Sepulchre (Matt. xxvii. 62–66)	Late Tradition		Peculiar Tradition	Late Tradition	Oral Tradition.
The Resurrection—					
151. The Women at the Sepulchre (Matt. xxviii. 1–10; Mark xvi. 1–8; Luke xxiv. 1–12)	Urmarcus		Petrine Gospel modified.	Petrine Tradition, Series A.	Protevangelium.
152. The Watch at the Sepulchre (Matt. xxviii. 11–15)	Late Tradition		Peculiar Tradition	Late Tradition	Oral Tradition.
153. Appearances at Jerusalem (Luke xxiv. 13–53)	Special Tradition		Tradition defined by Evangelist.	Special Tradition	Special Tradition.
154. Appearance in Galilee (Matt. xxviii. 16–20)	Perhaps in part from Urmarcus			Peculiar Tradition modified.	
155. Summary (Mark xvi. 9–20)	[Addition to the Gospel.]		[Addition to the Gospel.]	[Addition to the Gospel.]	

While such were the fortunes of the Clementine Epistles, a more "epoch-making" work appeared, but for a time remained practically hidden,—the translation by Aucher and Moesinger of an Armenian version of a Commentary by Ephraem Syrus on a text which the editors rightly maintained to be that of the long-lost Diatessaron of Tatian. This did not indeed pass entirely unnoticed, but it did not attract by any means the attention which it deserved until the publication in 1881 of Part I. of Zahn's *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Zahn devoted the whole of this volume to the Diatessaron, reconstructing and analysing its text, pointing out its relation to other authorities, tracing the history both of the Diatessaron and its author, and indeed doing all that an accomplished critic should do. The appearance of the veritable Diatessaron dispelled a number of myths or figments with which some rather hypercritical writers had surrounded it, and a solid and most important contribution was made to our knowledge of the history of the Gospels in the second century. This knowledge will be still further enhanced when the complete text is published of an Arabic version of the Diatessaron, of which a preliminary account was given by Father Ciasca in Pitra's *Analecta Sacra*, tom. iv. p. 465 sq., Paris, 1883. [Some sections have recently been published by De Lagarde in *Mittheilungen*, ii. 30 sq., and suffice to disappoint the expectations which the version had excited. It is found to be based upon the Peshitto: in other words, the Diatessaron was adapted to the text of the current Arabic N. T., just as in Cod. Fuldensis it was adapted to the Vulgate. See further Hemphill, *Diat. of T.* (Dublin, 1888); Rendel Harris (Cambridge, 1890); Sellin in Zahn's *Forschungen*, iv. 225 sq. (Erlangen and Leipzig, 1891).]

In the next part of his *Forschungen*, which appeared in 1883, Zahn was less fortunate. He sought to recover a document which would only have been second in importance to the Diatessaron, viz. a Commentary by Theophilus of Antioch, which, if genuine, would have been written about 180 A.D. But though Zahn himself adheres to his opinion, or at most only admits interpolations in the work which he put forward, it is not too much to say that critical opinion on the whole has been unfavourable to the claim which he made for it.

Bryennius published the contents of his precious MS. by instalments, and early in the year 1884 the world was startled to find itself in the possession of a new document belonging in all probability to the sub-apostolic age. The echoes of this discovery are still around us, and more need not be said about the history of the *Didaché*. The bearings of it upon the Canon of the Gospels are similar to those of other documents of the same date, and will be treated with them in the general summary.

A word of mention is due here to the discovery by Mommsen in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham of a stichometrical list of the Books of O. T. and N. T. and of the writings of Cyprian. This list was published by Mommsen soon after its discovery in *Hermes*, vol. xxi. p. 142 sq., under the heading *Zur lateinischen Stichometrie*. It has the advantage of being definitely dated: the MS. is of the tenth century, but it contains

amongst other matter a note pointing to the year 359 as the time of its composition, and there is nothing to prevent the extension of this date to the list. It would thus rank next to the Muratorian Fragment among the Latin lists, and it has the Gospels in a peculiar order,*—Matthew, Mark, John, Luke, which deserves appreciation among other phenomena of the same kind. [On this list see *Studia Biblica*, iii. 217 sq., and Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kan.* ii. 143 sq.]

History of Criticism.—It was natural that discoveries like these should give an impulse to criticism, though in some important instances criticism was not first stirred by them. The activity has been greatest in the latter half of the period over which our survey extends. It would be out of place here to attempt to notice all the books relating to the Canon, or all the criticism of the newly-discovered documents that falls within this period. But a few words may be said in regard to discussions bearing directly upon the use of the Gospels. These may be regarded as grouping themselves round certain central points: (1) the use of the Gospels by the early Gnostics; (2) the elaborate controversy covering the whole period of the formation of the Canon of the Gospels, raised by *Supernatural Religion*; (3) the discussions as to the genuineness of the Commentary attributed to Theophilus of Antioch; (4) the discussions as to the *Didaché*.

For the reasons above mentioned, the last two need not detain us. Enough to say that in the controversy about the supposed Commentary of Theophilus, the protagonists were Dr. Theodor Zahn and Dr. Adolf Harnack; and that the principal works bearing on the controversy were Part II. of Zahn's *Forschungen* (Erlangen, 1883); Vol. 1, Part IV. of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen* (*Der angebliche Evangeliencommentar des Theophilus von Antiochien*, Leipzig, 1883); and a reply by Zahn in an appendix to the next part of the *Forschungen* (*Supplementum Clementinum*, p. 198 sq., Erlangen, 1884). A short account of the controversy was given in an essay published in *Studia Biblica*, p. 89 sq. (Oxford, 1885). In regard to the *Didaché*, there have of course been discussions and differences of opinion, but only to a slight degree affecting the use of the Gospels.

The two other discussions have been of greater moment for our particular subject. If our inquiry had included St. John, we should have had to add a third in order to take special note of the admirable monograph on the *External Evidences for the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (Boston, 1880) by the late Dr. Ezra Abbot; and the equally admirable articles, much to the same effect, by Prof. James Drummond in the *Theological Review*, Oct. 1875, and April and July 1877, with two articles, tending to qualify the results obtained, by Dr. Edwin A. Abbott in the *Modern Review*, July and October 1882; the bulky but fantastic volume by Thoma, *Die Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums* (Berlin, 1882), on the same side, and a brief criticism by Dr. Salmon (*Introduction*, p. 78 sq.). All these deal primarily with the Fourth Gospel, which does not come within our present purview. The use of St. John is the main question in connexion with the Gnostics, but the other Gospels are also involved in a minor degree. The most important point is in regard to Basilides, who wrote about the year 125. There is no doubt that the account of the Basilidian systems by Hippolytus (*Refut. omn. Haer.* vii. 20–27) contains direct quotations from St. Luke and St. John. The question is, Are these quotations made by Basilides himself or by his disciples? Mr. Matthew Arnold answers confidently, "by Basilides himself," and the same answer is given by Dr. Ezra Abbot and a number of other scholars against the opposition of Hilgenfeld, Lipsius, and others, including now Holtzmann (*Einl.* p. 133). The most important discussion of the subject—all the more important because it is not dealing directly with the use of the canonical Books—is that by Dr. Hort in art. "Basilides," *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* i. 270 sq. This article does not appear to be known to Dr. Holtzmann. Dr. Hort also is of opinion that the eight chapters of Hippolytus represent the teaching of Basilides himself. (For other literature, see Ezra Abbot, *Authorship, &c.* p. 87: it should perhaps be mentioned that the series was first opened in two directly apologetic treatises by Tischendorf, *Wann worden unsere Evang. verfasst?* Leipzig, 1865 sq., and Hofstede de Groot, *Basilides am Ausgange d. Apost. Zeitalters als erster Zeuge für Alter u. Autorität d. N.T.lichen Schriften*, Leipzig, 1868.) The use of the Gospels in the other great Gnostic school, that of Valentinus, has been treated by Heinrici in *Die Valentinianische Gnosis u. die heil. Schrift* (Berlin, 1871). A summary, with negative leanings, may be found in Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, p. 133 sq. (cp. Weiss, *Einl.* p. 58).

In England by far the most agitating controversy arose out of the publication in 1874 of the work entitled *Supernatural Religion*, the able and learned but strongly biassed author of which still remains unknown. This controversy certainly stirred the depths of the English mind, and led to a great re-awakening of the critical spirit. It is needless to say that the leading part in it was borne by Dr. (since Bp.) Lightfoot in a series of articles in the *Contemporary Review* (Jan., Feb., May, Aug., Oct. 1875; Feb., Aug. 1876; May, 1877). Other works on the same side were: Westcott *On the Canon*, pref. to 4th ed. 1874; Sanday, *Gospels in the Second Century*, London, 1876 (out of print); Sadler, *The Lost Gospel and its Contents*, London, 1876; Baring-Gould, *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, London, 1874. Mention should also be made of an eminently clear and impartial work by Mr. E. B. Nicholson (now Bodley's Librarian) on *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* (London, 1879). The author of *Supernatural Religion* took up a number of very untenable positions, but there are some amongst those who opposed him who have cause to be grateful to him for sending them back to the detailed study of the texts.

Results.—A pledge has been given that an attempt should be made to sum up the results which seem to emerge from the foregoing retrospect of the research and criticism of a quarter of a century. The means hardly exist for giving to such a summing up a strictly

* A St. Gall MS. of the same list is found, however, to be a common Western order,—Matt., John, Mark, Luke. See an article by C. H. Turner in the *Classical Review* for 1892.

objective character; it must needs take a subjective colour from the mind through which it passes. The warning is necessary that what follows must no longer be taken as a statement of acknowledged facts, but simply as an individual opinion. This applies especially to what is said under the first head: in regard to the later periods a *consensus* appears to be gradually forming.

We may map out the period which the Gospels traversed in the process of becoming canonical into four nearly equal sections: (1) the close of the apostolic age, A.D. 60–90; (2) the age of Papias and the apostolic Fathers, A.D. 90–140; (3) the age of Justin and Tatian, A.D. 140–170; (4) the age of Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 170–200.

(1.) *The Apostolic Age;* or Age of the Composition, fixing of the literary form, and first transcription, of the Gospels. If the view here expressed is not mistaken, all four Gospels were written within this period. The only portion that perhaps falls outside it would be the editorial notes of the Ephesian elders which they added in sending out the Gospel of St. John. The groundstock of the Synoptic Gospels—not only the Logia and Mark-Gospel of Papias, but also by far the greater part of the special documents or traditions used by the First and Third Evangelists—took their shape before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. That date marks the centre of a period of very considerable activity (Luke i. 1). The Gospel of St. Luke, as a whole, lies beyond it, about the year 80. The Gospel according to St. Matthew was compounded into a shape very nearly resembling the present a short time before it: *εὐθέως* in Matt. xxiv. 29 appears to mark the date not only of the particular document, but of the whole of which that document forms a part. The Gospel of St. Mark (by a process which further investigation is needed to define more exactly) also reached a shape not far removed from the present, about the same time. But the first copies of these Gospels fell into the hands probably of disciples, men of simple and unsophisticated character, who were not bound by any strict ideas as to the duty of copyists to preserve exact diplomatic accuracy. They did not hesitate to alter a word here or a word there, sometimes to give it greater point (as in Matt. xxii. 7, "The king was wroth, and sent his armies, and burnt up their city"), sometimes to prevent possible misunderstanding (as in Mark xiii. 24, *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις* for *εὐθέως*), perhaps even adding short supplementary bits of narrative that reached them through oral tradition. Nor can we confine this process entirely to the first copyists: it went on even into the second century. Its dying embers are seen in the additions which are found in the documents of the Western text (*e.g.* the moving of the waters and the paragraph of the adulteress in St. John); perhaps also in some (*e.g.* the interpolation in Matt. xxvii. 49, and several of those in Luke xxiv.) which are characteristic of other lines of transmission. All that took place was perfectly *bonâ fide*, though not strictly in accordance with our modern rules or with the ideal standard of what is permissible and what is not permissible in copyists. Irenaeus knew better when he inserted his famous adjuration, to those who copied his work, to compare carefully what they wrote with the original, and see that it was properly corrected (Eus. *H. E.* v. 20). But Irenaeus belonged to a different class, and possessed a higher degree of culture than the first transmitters of the text. With them the state of things was similar to that which St. Augustine describes (though perhaps with less justice) in regard to the origin of the Latin versions: "Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari." Any one who knew how to write thought himself fit to copy a Gospel, and copied it often for his own use, not without slight glosses or amplifications. But these were made, as it were, with the pen on the paper, not with any recondite idea of furthering the interests of sect or party, though it would be only natural that the writer's own opinions should at times affect the turn of a sentence or the choice of a phrase. All this time, though the contents of the Gospels were greatly valued, there was no idea of a special sacredness attaching to the particular words. The first step on the way to this was when the Gospels came to be read in church. We know that from the very first Christian writings were read in this way. Thus St. Paul gives a special charge that 1 Thess. was to be "read before all the brethren," and in like manner that the Epistle to Colossae should be read "in the Church of the Laodiceans" and the Epistle to Laodicea at Colossae. Nor was a writing of this kind read once and then put on the shelf or laid up among the archives. It was brought out repeatedly and read for the edification of those present. This is clearly expressed in the well-known words of Dionysius at Corinth, in which, acknowledging the letter which had just been received from the Church of Rome, he says: "To-day we have kept the Lord's holy day, in which we read your letter, and we shall be able constantly (*ἀεί ποτε*) to read it, and derive admonition from it as we do from the former letter written to us by Clement." It appears that it does not at once follow from this church-reading that a book was regarded as what we call "canonical." The letter of Clement to the Corinthians was, it is true, one of those which were tentatively put upon a canonical level in certain Churches, but no such claim was ever made for the Epistle of Soter, of which Dionysius is more immediately speaking. We must beware of carrying back our own hard and fast lines into this primitive age. The distinction between sacred and secular was not clearly marked as it is with us: not so much that the sacred was secularized as that the secular was hallowed: *χρήσιμον*, a favourite word, is the common term which covers both. We must not, therefore, infer at once that because the Gospels (or rather Gospels *sine artic.*) were read in church that they were therefore from the first upon the same footing with the Old Testament Scriptures. The earliest direct evidence that we have for the solemn public reading of the Gospels is in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67); but it was manifestly an established practice in his day, and no doubt goes back much further. We may, indeed, ask whether a trace of it is not even to be found in

the ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω of the ground-document of the Synoptics. It would be too much to say positively that this implied public reading; but there are so many indications of this (compare πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει coupled with τῇ παρακλήσει and τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, 1 Tim. iv. 13) that we can well imagine the reader, as the signs of the catastrophe of Jerusalem were beginning to thicken, turning, as if with an aside, to his assembled hearers, and warning them to take the words to heart. We can believe that the author of the ground-document himself intended this use to be made of them. But again it would be a mistake to apply any such conclusion too systematically: "vigour and rigour" are the last things that are in place in dealing with this early time. The different Gospels were written under different circumstances and with different objects: St. Luke's, for instance, was intended for the private perusal of a single illustrious convert. Nor must we suppose that there was any jealous exclusion of the other documents which he mentions in favour of what afterwards became the canonical Three.

(2.) *The Age of Papias and the Apostolic Fathers*, A.D. 90–140.—The conditions which have just been described may, it is thought, furnish a clue to some of the difficulties which beset this next period. (i.) There will no longer be any real difficulty in the γέγραπται of Barnabas applied to a text from St. Matthew. We shall have no need to have recourse to the very forced assumption that the author is referring not to St. Matthew, but to a really different text from 4 Ezra. That assumption criticism has by this time entirely discarded. But we must remember that the idea of γραφὴ was elastic, and that the use of this word does not at once and alone confer a higher authority upon St. Matthew than a still more explicit appeal in Jude 14 confers upon the Book of Enoch, or than the use of equally strong expressions in 2 Clement confers upon the Gospel according to the Egyptians. (ii.) We shall also be prepared to understand the phenomena of the evangelical quotations in this period. They are seldom exact; in particular they often show a fusing of different passages, and especially a fusing of expressions from St. Matthew and St. Luke; and though these expressions are sometimes distinctive of either Gospel, they are not of that decisive kind which we find in Justin Martyr, but minor and secondary. One thing is clear—that the writers were not transcribing our Gospels with the MS. before them. There was no reason why they should do so in the very incidental way in which their quotations are introduced. The fusing that has taken place is especially of such a kind as comes through quoting from memory. It is the sort of freedom that we ourselves use in quoting familiar sayings, though somewhat greater, as these were not learnt by rote from printed books. (iii.) For all through this period there was still at work a living and active oral tradition. The passage where Papias lays stress on this (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) is of course one of the commonplaces of criticism. But it is clear that Papias by no means stood alone. The substance of the Gospels lay in the brain of the writers of this period as a confused product of a number of different things; of oral tradition, catechesis, public reading and private study; and it came out often in the same confusion, reminiscences of apocryphal Gospels being at times mixed with those of the canonical. The distinction of "apocryphal" and "canonical" was only beginning to exist, and that in a half-unconscious way. (iv.) But a real beginning was being made. Another step in this direction was being taken. It is seen in the heightened significance which was coming to attach—not even yet exactly to the Gospels, but—to the evangelical sayings, which are more and more on a level with the O. T. The transition is clearly seen in the places where a written authority for the "words of the Lord" is referred to. Thus in the *Didaché*: Christians are to pray, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ (8, 2); they are to live κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου: and in 2 Clem. c. 8, λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (see Weiss, *Einl.* p. 41, n. 3). The authority of the spoken word passed over to the written word. A characteristic name marks the transition: τὰ λόγια is now no longer confined to the Scriptures of the O. T., it is used for the written or unwritten tradition of the N. T. We have it in Papias (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39); we have it in Polycarp (*Ad Phil.* c. 7); we have it in 2 Clem. c. 13. In the last two examples the reference is to written Gospels; in the first probably to the written and oral tradition combined. It is significant that the λόγοι of which the Evangelists so often speak (ὅτε συνετέλεσεν τοὺς λόγους τούτους) should now have acquired the heightened and impressive name of λόγια. Cp. Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalt.* p. 387.

(3.) *The Age of Justin and Tatian*, A.D. 140–170.—There was still the distinction to be drawn between recognised and unrecognised Gospels. The Homily of Clement, as we have seen, quotes both indifferently; so, too, does Ignatius; so, it used to be alleged, does Justin. There can be no antecedent objection to the view that Justin used an apocryphal Gospel. The author of the Homily ascribed to Clement was his contemporary, and what one might do the other might do. The question is only as to the fact whether the evidence warrants us in believing that Justin used another Gospel or Gospels besides the canonical. Our three Synoptics Justin used so largely that a full outline of the evangelical history, with the characteristic features of each clearly marked, has several times been constructed from his writings (Hilgenfeld, *Evangelium Justin's*, p. 101 sq.; Westcott, *Canon*, pp. 102 sq., 107 n., ed. 5; Sanday, *Gospels in Second Century*, pp. 91 sq., 118 sq.). There remain, however, a few details (*e.g.* the Magi coming "from Arabia," the fire on Jordan at the Baptism, the making of "ploughs and yokes") which are not found in our canonical Gospels; and our choice lies between supposing that these come from some apocryphal source, and regarding them as merely free embellishments of the narrative, similar to those which are often found in the Western texts, or inferential additions by Justin himself. The balance of opinion is now, as it would seem, somewhat in favour of the latter alternative: so Dr. Edwin Abbott, *Encycl. Brit.* p. 817; Weiss, *Einl.* p. 42 sq.; not however Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 118. Tatian is upon much the same

footing as Justin. If he made any use of an apocryphal Gospel, and it is perhaps too much to say positively that he did not (see Zahn, p. 241 sq.), his use of this bore a quite infinitesimal proportion to his use of the canonical Gospels.

(4.) *The Age of Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria*, A.D. 170–200.—The four Gospels were thus gradually fenced off from other writings of the same kind. The date at which the process was complete varied somewhat in different localities. The last stage before the final is represented by Clement of Alexandria, who quotes from Julius Cassianus, a Docetic Gnostic, a passage from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, adding the remark that the saying in question is not found in the four received Gospels (ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτρασιν εὐαγγελίοις), but in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. From this it would seem that though he reserves a paramount authority for the Gospels recognised by the Church, he did yet allow a certain authority to the apocryphal Gospel. The incident illustrates the process by which the restriction of the Gospel to our present four took place. From early days, as we have seen—probably as far back as A.D. 125 at least—the Gospels were appealed to by the Gnostics; they were treated like Scriptures, and mystical interpretations were put upon them. This at once invested them with an authoritative character. The Catholic party met their opponents partly by contesting their interpretations, partly by a watchful care that the number of authoritative Gospels should not be increased. A process of criticism went on, which we cannot quite describe as unconscious, though it has left no record of itself in history. The cause of this silence is to be sought not merely in the scarcity of documents, but in the nature of the process itself. It came before the synodal action of the Church was fully organised, and it was due rather to the personal direction of the ἡγούμενοι or προϊστάμενοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν forming and guiding the opinion of their communities. That there must have been something of a struggle is implied in the gradual elimination of books which Papias and Ignatius and 2 Clement had freely quoted. But so far as the Gospels are concerned, this struggle hardly seems to extend beyond the space between Basilides and Tatian. The first public recognition of the Church's verdict is found in the Muratorian Fragment; but by that time the process has entered upon its last stage. In Irenaeus it is complete—so complete that the steps by which the result had been gained were forgotten. Irenaeus regards it as a fundamental axiom, an unalterable law of the spiritual world, that there should be four Gospels and no more. These, though fourfold in form, are one in substance; the same Spirit inspires them; it is no longer the consent of the Church on which they rest, but they are themselves "the pillar and buttress (στύλος καὶ στήριγμα) of the Church, and that which breathes into it the breath or spirit of life." There may be some slight difference in the rate of progress in different Churches—at Alexandria, for instance, the dividing-line would appear to fall between Clement and Origen, and in Asia Minor there was a (limited) opposition to the Fourth Gospel—but the position of Irenaeus was never afterwards seriously questioned. The Canon of the Gospels, in the fullest sense of the word, is established.

Inferences to be drawn from the Order of the Gospels.—There is one more point to which allusion may perhaps be made, though this too cannot claim to rest on general consent, and indeed does not seem to have engaged the attention of scholars. By the time of Irenaeus the order of the Gospels is well defined. The same order appears in the Muratorian Fragment, in Irenaeus, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, Jerome, Augustine, Rufinus, Cassiodorus, with the great mass of later Greek writers and MSS. The order which competed most directly with this is the Western order: St. Matthew, St. John, St. Luke, St. Mark. This is the order of the Codex Bezae, and of the leading texts of the Old Latin, Codd. Vercellensis, Veronensis, Palatinus, Brixianus, Corbeiensis II., Monacensis, Dublinensis (Usserianus). This was the order of a copy of the Gospels which was said five centuries after his time to have belonged to Hilary (Gregory, *Proleg.* p. 137). It is also inferred that St. Luke followed St. John in the Gospels of Lucifer Calaritanus (Harnack, *Theol. Literaturzeit.* 1886, p. 176). The order in which Cyprian ranges his quotations in the *Testimonia* varies too much for a certain inference to be drawn from it. The stichometry in Cod. Claromontanus, which goes back to a great antiquity, was a similar order to that of the Western documents, except that St. Mark is placed before St. Luke. A single very important Old Latin MS., Cod. Bobiensis (*k*), places St. Matthew after St. Mark at the end of the volume. The MSS. of the Egyptian versions have the common order, but the vocabularies, both Memphitic and Thebaic, very frequently have the order St. John, St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke (Lightfoot *ap.* Scrivener, *Introd.* pp. 390, 399, ed. 3). The order in the Curetonian Syriac—St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. John, St. Luke—was unique until the discovery of Mommsen's list, which coincides with it [but see note on p. 1237]. The list itself, as we have seen, was probably drawn up about the year 359, but it may well represent an earlier arrangement. The noticeable point in all this is the variety which is seen to exist in the oldest forms of the oldest Versions—the Latin, Egyptian, and Syriac, especially the Latin and Syriac. Does not the inference lie near at hand that these Versions were made before there was any accepted order, at the very time when the Gospels were first beginning to be collected in a single volume, and when different books were made up in different ways? We could not, of course, speak confidently if the order of the Gospels stood alone, but many other phenomena point to the same conclusion. [The evidence bearing upon the order of the Gospels is conveniently collected by Gregory, *Proleg.* to ed. 8 of Tischendorf's *N. T.*, Leipzig, 1884; Baethgen, in an admirable monograph on the Curetonian Syriac (*Evangelienfragmente*, Leipzig, 1885), is inclined to place it in the third century, but the arguments which he adduces are capable of another interpretation.]

It is carrying speculation a little further if we also assign to the same period another important change in the outward form of the

Gospels — viz., their transference from the papyrus roll to the vellum codex. For Christian literature in general the date of this transference seems to be the middle of the fourth century, when Jerome tells us that Euzoius, Bishop of Caesarea, "took pains to renew on parchment the library of Origen and Pamphilus, which had begun to wear out." ("Corruptam jam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus est," *De Vir. Ill.* cxiii.) But just as we hear of law books on vellum considerably before this date, so also would this be the case with the Christian Scriptures, as with Books that were much used and in which durability of material was a necessity. So long as the Books remained in the roll-form, there would hardly be a fixed order. The rolls were smaller in size, and it is not probable that there would be more than one Gospel in a single *volumen*. The four volumes would be put together in a single τεῦχος or case (forming a "Tessarateuch" by the side of the Mosaic "Pentateuch"), but there would be no special distinction of order. But as soon as the codex took the place of the roll, the four Gospels would be written continuously, and a regular order would come to be observed.

Dates assigned to the Gospels. — The reader may wish to have, in conclusion, some means of obtaining a general view of the influence of these various critical investigations, internal and external, on the dates which have been assigned to the Gospels, and the kind of relation into which they are brought with the facts of the history. A double tendency will be observable: on the one hand, from the time of Baur and Schwegler onwards, a steady pushing back of the extravagant chronology which characterised the Tübingen School at its outset; and on the other hand, in recent days, something of an advance on the part of critics like Dr. Holtzmann and Dr. Weizsäcker, whose first opinions were decidedly conservative. A mistaken inference might be drawn from this last fact as to the real state of things in Germany. Of the younger theologians there are few, so far as the present writer's knowledge extends, who have expressed themselves on the Synoptic question; but the best of them (and among these it is a pleasure to name F. Loofs, J. Gloel, J. Haussleiter, A. Eichhorn, and J. M. Usteri [b]) have shown a combination of openness of mind with sobriety and soundness of judgment which is full of promise for the criticism of the future. The tendency to bring down the composition of the Third Gospel to the end of the first century or beginning of the second, is in part due to the opinion which became widely diffused about 1873–1878, that the author knew and made use of the *Antiquities* of Josephus. The arguments in favour of this contention are fully stated in Keim, *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, pp. 1–27; on the other side is the weighty dissent of Schürer (Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 574).

DATES ASSIGNED TO THE GOSPELS IN THEIR PRESENT FORM.

		St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.
Baur	1847	130–134 A.D.	The Gospels generally between 130–170 A.D.		
Schwegler	1846	Canonical Gospels not known to Justin.		Later than Marcion.	Contemp. with Paschal controversy and Montanism.
Volkmar	1870	105–110 A.D.	75–80 A.D.	c. 100 A.D.	150–160 A.D.
Supernatural Religion	1874	No evidence for a century and a half after the death of Christ.			
Hilgenfeld	1863, 1875	Soon after 70 A.D.	First years of Domitian (81–96 A.D.)	c. 100 A.D.	120–140 A.D.
Holtzmann	1863	Synoptic Gospels, both sources and finished compositions, between 60–80 A.D.			
,,	1885	After 70 A.D.		After 100 A.D.	
Weizsäcker	1886	Synoptic Gospels at different dates after 70 A.D. outside the strictly Apostolic Age.			
Keim	1867	c. 66 A.D.	100 A.D.	c. 90 A.D.	Under Trajan, 100–117 A.D.
,,	1873	c. 68 A.D.	c. 120 A.D.	c. 100 or somewhat later.	c. 130 A.D.
Renan	1863	Before St. Luke.		Soon after 70 A.D.	After the death of John, from notes left by him.
,,	1877	85 A.D.	76 A.D.	94 A.D.	c. 126 A.D.
Weiss, Beyschlag, &c.		Shortly before or after 70 A.D.		c. 80 A.D.	c. 90 A.D. [1879].
Alford		63–70 A.D.		58 A.D.	Not later than 85 A.D.

The *literature* of the period covered by our survey has been given with what will probably be thought sufficient completeness, so that any further enumeration of authorities would seem to be unnecessary. A word of special acknowledgment should, however, be given to the excellent *Einleitung* of Dr. Holtzmann, a work studded with condensed information, which it was hopeless to think of emulating. The similar volume by Dr. B. Weiss is also a very conscientious piece of work, but it has been less often consulted.

Further History of Synoptic Criticism, 1888–1891.—The tendency of the most recent criticism has been in much the same direction as that described above. The two most conspicuous exceptions would be the Rev. J. J. Halcombe's *Historic Relation of the Gospels* (London, 1889), which would invert the usual theory by making St. John's Gospel written first, and the other Gospels, with St. Matthew at their head, supplementary to it; and a work which has come into the writer's hands as he is sending this to press, Dr. C. F. Nösgen's *Geschichte d. Neutestl. Offenbarung* (Munich, 1891), which goes back to Gieseler's hypothesis and finds the common basis of the Synoptic Gospels in oral tradition. Nösgen thinks that the statement of Papias about

[b] Two of these, alas, and those by no means the least promising, Gloel and Usteri, were removed by death in 1891.

St. Matthew refers to an older and smaller work by the Apostle, which was not formally translated in writing, but which every one who possessed sufficient knowledge of Aramaic made what he could of for himself. This earlier work, he thinks, was afterwards incorporated in the larger Greek Gospel by the same Evangelist, and, when it had thus done its work, passed into disuse and perished. Apart from these two books, the general set of the tide has been in favour of the "Two-Document" hypothesis. The most noticeable points would be as follows:—(1) The publication in *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii., of the essay by Mr. F. H. Woods, mentioned above (p. 1220), "On the Origin and Mutual Relation of the Synoptic Gospels." The scope of this essay is not quite so large as its title might seem to imply: it does not cover the whole problem, but is confined to an extremely close and searching examination of the *order* of Synoptic narratives, resulting in the conclusion that the fundamental order for all three Gospels is that of our present St. Mark. On this subject it is likely to remain the standard treatise for some time to come. Another argument to the same general effect is supplied by Dr. Paul Ewald in *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage* (Leipzig, 1890). Against the view that the common foundation of our Gospels is to be sought in oral tradition, Dr. Ewald urges, in addition to the usual arguments, this: that if there was such a stereotyped oral tradition, we must conceive of it as arising in the Mother Church at Jerusalem; but if so, how can we account for the absence from it of all those special elements which are found in the Gospel of St. John—and not in the Gospel alone, but also with greater or less clearness distributed over a number of sub-Apostolic and even Apostolic writers? From this it seems to follow that the common foundation in question was not the work of the Mother Church; that it was not an oral tradition spread over a number of persons at all; but that its one-sidedness shows it to be the work of a single individual. Dr. Ewald infers that the statement of Papias respecting "Notes" put together by St. Mark from the preaching of St. Peter well suits the case, and is the most probable explanation of the phenomena. He thinks that our present St. Mark differs but little from the original Gospel; Mark i. 1–3, vii. 24–viii. 26, xvi. 9–20, being the only additions. Another writer of importance, who will be shortly mentioned in another connexion, Dr. A. Resch, follows Weiss in supposing that our St. Mark is a combination of the original Notes from the Preaching of St. Peter with large extracts from the Matthaean Logia. He appears to go farther than any other recent writer in regarding our present Second Gospel as of composite origin (*Agrapha*, p. 28); but his views on this subject have not yet been fully explained.

(2) All the writers last mentioned, together with others both in England and on the Continent (Rev. A. Wright, *Composition of the Four Gospels*, London and New York, 1890; Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Synoptic Gospels*, London, 1890; Th. H. Mandel, *Kephas, der Evangelist*, Leipzig, 1889), agree in postulating as the second main source of the Synoptic Gospels, the Logia, a collection primarily of discourses by St. Matthew. The more exact determination of this document is, however, a matter of extreme difficulty, and can hardly be said to have made much progress since the courageous attempt of Wendt noted in the former part of this article. The most valuable observations on this branch of the subject are probably those of Dr. P. Ewald. (i.) He argues against what may be almost called the prevailing tendency, to go for the reconstruction of the Logia to St. Luke rather than to St. Matthew, pointing out in particular that the section Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14 cannot well be taken as a representative section of the Logia, both because of the absence from more than half of it of Matthaean parallels, and also because of its peculiar linguistic character, which is more in agreement with that of the Evangelist himself than with that which is otherwise distinctive of the Logia. As this section shows several points of contact with Southern Galilee (Luke ix. 51 sq., x. 29 sq., xiii. 1 sq., 22, and perhaps 31 sq., xvii. 11 sq.; cp. also vii. 11 sq.), Dr. Ewald thinks that it was derived (orally?) from a native of that district, who joined our Lord while He was travelling through it (*Hauptproblem*, &c., p. 238, note). (ii.) He observes further that in the parts which are common to St. Luke with St. Matthew there are great differences in the closeness of the parallelism—sometimes almost complete identity for two or three verses together, and sometimes as great divergence. The former cases Dr. Ewald would regard as examples of the manner in which the Evangelist would naturally treat the documents to which he had access; the latter as evidence of the disturbing effect produced by the presence of more than one source (written or oral) for the paragraph in question (*ut sup.* pp. 216–226).

(3) So far the criticism of the recent past has only been a continuation of that which was in vogue throughout the preceding period, but a new avenue seemed to be opened by the publications of Dr. Resch. The most considerable of these appeared in vol. v. of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* under the title *Agrapha: Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente* (Leipzig, 1889). This was accompanied by a number of detached essays, especially in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift f. kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben* for 1888 and succeeding years, and is to be followed by a further volume, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien* (see *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1889, col. 370). Dr. Resch has begun with the most elaborate collection ever yet made of sayings not found exactly in our present Gospels, but quoted by the Fathers or otherwise preserved, which appear to possess any real claim to have been actually spoken by our Lord. And the characteristic part of his theory is that he believes that many of these sayings were not merely derived from oral tradition or from any later form of Gospel, but from the oldest of all the documents which ever went by that name, the original Logia of St. Matthew. So far back does he throw this primitive Gospel (which he believes to have been written not in Aramaic but in Biblical Hebrew) that he finds numerous traces of it in the writings of St. Paul from 1 Thessalonians (A.D. 52) onwards. The importance of this contention is obvious. It is, however, by no means certain that Dr. Resch has

proved his point. He writes with something of the sanguine spirit of a discoverer, and there can be little doubt that the list of sayings put forward as original will need considerable pruning. It is noticeable, however, that in the assumption of a Semitic Gospel older than the Epistles of St. Paul Dr. Resch does not stand alone. A similar view has been put forward quite independently in this country by Prof. J. T. Marshall: see his series of articles in the *Expositor* for June 1890 and the first half-year of 1891. Prof. Marshall differs from Dr. Resch in maintaining that the language of this oldest Gospel was not Biblical Hebrew but the current Aramaic of our Lord's time. In this he seems to hold the more probable view; and his articles are distinguished by care and orderly method, though it is necessary to add that the validity of many of the linguistic arguments employed is questioned by Semitic scholars. All these questions must be regarded as still *sub judice*.

(4) Special mention ought to be made of the great work on the Canon by Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte d. Neutestl. Kanons* (Erlangen and Leipzig, vol. i. 1888, 1889; vol. ii. part 1, 1890). The second volume contains an extremely full and close discussion of the early lists of the Canonical Books (the Muratorian Fragment, Mommsen's list, the Claromontane Catalogue, &c.). At the end of the volume is an examination, equally thorough, of the numbering and order of the Canonical Books and of the Biblical Stichometries (cp. *Stud. Bibl.* iii. 222 sq., 233 sq., 259 sq., 261 sq., 307 sq., and the articles in *Class. Rev.* referred to on p. 1237 above). Parallel to this work is the series of *Forschungen zur Gesch. d. Neutestl. Kanons*, of which a fourth volume has just appeared under the joint editorship of Haussleiter and Zahn. This discusses, amongst other things, the Arabic Diatessaron. The appearance of the first instalment of Zahn's History called forth a prompt, if not hasty, criticism from Harnack (*Das Neue Testament um das Jahr* 200, Freiburg i. B., 1889), to which Zahn at once replied (*Einige Bemerkungen*, &c. Erlangen and Leipzig, 1889), though leaving his later issues to speak for themselves. Jülicher followed with a lengthy review in *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (1889, col. 163 sq.) in a sense similar to Harnack's. These mutual criticisms, however unpleasant for those concerned in them, all contribute to clearness of ideas and exactness of statement. In these respects Zahn's original statement may have been somewhat wanting, but in any case his volumes, which have so far followed each other in quick succession, are an extraordinary monument of diligence and learning.

This brief retrospect has been itself of the nature of a bibliography. For fuller details on the present position of the Synoptic problem, reference may be made to a series of articles in the *Expositor*, Feb.–June, 1891. [W. S—y.]

GOTHOLI'AS. Josias, son of Gotholias (Γοθολίου; *Gotholiae*), was one of the sons of Elam who returned from Babylon with Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 33). The name is the same as ATHALIAH, with the common substitution of the Greek G for the Hebrew guttural *Ain* (cp. Gomorrah, Gaza, &c.). This passage compared with 2 K. xi. 1, &c., shows that Athaliah was both a male and female name.

GOTHO'NIEL (BAN$^{c.a}$ Γοθονιήλ, ℵ*. Γοθονίου, *i.e.* Othniel; *Gothoniel*), father of Chabris, who was one of the governors (ἄρχοντες) of the city of Bethulia (Judith vi. 15).

GOURD (קִיקָיוֹן, *kîḳāyōn*, only in Jonah iv. 6–10; κολοκύνθη; *hedera*; Arab. يقطين *yaḳṭîn*). A difference of opinion has long existed as to the plant which is intended by this word. The argument is as old as St. Jerome, whose rendering *hedera* was impugned by St. Augustine as a heresy! In reality St. Jerome's rendering was not intended to be critical, but rather as a kind of *pis aller* necessitated by the want of a proper Latin word to express the original. Besides, he was unwilling to leave it in merely Latinised Hebrew (kikayon), which might have occasioned misapprehensions. St. Augustine, following the LXX. and Syr. Versions, was in favour of the rendering *gourd*, which was adopted by Luther, the A. V., R. V. (text), &c. In St. Jerome's description of the plant called in Syr. *karo*, and Punic *el-keroa*, Celsius recognises the *Ricinus palma-Christi* (R. V. marg.), or Castor-oil plant (*Hierobot.* ii. 273 sq.; Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 293, 623).

The *Ricinus palma-Christi* is extremely common in all the eastern countries of the Mediterranean, in Persia, India, and China. The present writer has found it in great abundance on the banks of the Euphrates. The strongest argument in favour of the *Ricinus* is the supposed derivation of the Hebrew word used in Jonah from the Egyptian name of the *Ricinus* or Castor-oil plant, *kiki*. Cp. Herod. ii. 94. The Arabic name is الخروع *'al-khirwa'*. Of the identity of *kiki* and *'al-khirwa'* with *Ricinus*, the Castor-oil tree, there can be no

Castor-oil plant (*Ricinus communis*, L.).

question; and the Egyptian word became Hebraized. The Talmud speaks of castor oil as שֶׁמֶן קִיק, and Dioscorides (iv. 64) calls the oil made from the κρότων or κίκι, κίκινον ἔλαιον. But we have not yet seen any convincing argu-

ment to identify these names with the *kīḳāyōn* of Jonah. The etymological argument is doubtless strong, but there are practical reasons which incline us the other way. The *Ricinus* is rather a shrub than a tree, and has large palmate leaves with serrated lobes, and upright spikes of blossom. It is not a tree used for shade, being of a straggling growth, though a man might creep for shelter underneath it. Now Niebuhr observes that the Jews and Christians at Mosul (Nineveh) maintained that the tree which sheltered Jonah was not *'al-khirwa'* but "el-ḳerra'," a sort of *gourd*. This revival of the Augustinian rendering has been defended by J. E. Faber (*Notes on Harmer's Observations*, &c. i. 145). And it must be confessed that the evidently miraculous character of the narrative in Jonah deprives the Palma-Christi of any special claim to identification on the ground of its rapid growth and decay, as described by Niebuhr. The gourd, on the contrary, meets all the conditions of the problem. We are expressly told that Jonah "made him a booth;" and not till after it was made, did God prepare the *kīḳāyōn* to cover it. This is exactly what a climbing gourd would do, but not what a *Ricinus* could effect. No one who knows the plant can conceive its casting shade over an existing arbour. But this is exactly what the gourd would do. The fragile lodge of green boughs set up by Jonah would, as soon as the foliage withered, leave him exposed to the scorching rays. Then the tendrils of the gourd would seize the framework, and rapidly the plant with its large leaves would cover the whole arbour. In all warm climates the gourd is used for shade and for covering trellis-work. So rapid is its natural growth, that it is commonly said to grow an inch in an hour. In the gardens about Sidon and Damascus the present writer has seen many a trellised gourd shading a summer-house. But it withers as rapidly as it springs up; and a very slight injury to the slender stem, the gnawing of its bark by a snail, or a blast of wind, will shrivel every leaf and leave the fruit hanging from the naked footstalks, a type of desolation. The "worm that God prepared" might be one of these snails, which could bark and thus destroy the whole plant instantaneously. The gourd is of the Melon family, *Lagenaria vulgaris*, D. C., Arab. قرع, *ḳar'*, *el-ḳerra'* of the Syrians, and is grown chiefly for the use made of its fruit, when emptied of the seeds, as bottles. [H. B. T.]

GOURDS, WILD (פַּקֻּעוֹת, *pakkū'ōth*; τολύπη ἀγρία [= ἀγρία κολοκύνθη, Suid.]; *Colocynthides agri*; A. V. and R. V., "wild gourds," in 2 K. iv. 39). The Hebrew name is derived from פָּקַע, "to split or burst open." The same word with the masculine termination, פְּקָעִים, is applied to certain ornamental carvings in Solomon's temple, and is there translated "knops," A. V., and R. V. marg. *gourds* (1 K. vi. 18, &c.). In the passage from 2 K., we read: "Elisha came to Gilgal, and there was a dearth in the land . . . And one went out into the field to gather herbs, and found a wild vine (גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה), and gathered thereof wild gourds his lap full, and came and shred them into the pot of pottage: for they knew them not. So they poured out for the men to eat. And it came to pass, as they were eating of the pottage, that they cried out and said, O thou man of God, there is death in the pot. And they could not eat thereof." Many conjectures have been hazarded as to the fruit intended, and pages have been written by Celsius, Gesenius, and others for and against various claimants. *Cucumis prophetarum*, L., the globe cucumber, has been suggested. *Ecballium elaterium*, L., the squirting cucumber, has found still stronger advocacy from the derivation of the Hebrew word, signifying "that which bursts;" and, as is well known, the squirting cucumber bursts and shoots out its seeds when touched. These plants are common in Palestine. But the ancient Versions support the colocynth (*Citrullus*

Colocynth.

colocynthis, L.). The incidents in the narrative quoted seem to point beyond question to the colocynth. Elisha had come down to the Jordan valley from his ordinary residence among the hills of Benjamin. Now in the hill-country the globe cucumber and the squirting cucumber are common weeds by the wayside and in the fields, and would certainly be known by the gatherer, the prophet's follower from the upper country. The colocynth, which is not unlike the globe cucumber in general appearance, on the contrary is not found in the hills or cultivated land, but is exceedingly common on the hot sands by the coast, and on the sands round the Dead Sea. It abounds about Jijili, the ancient Gilgal. What more natural than that the man gathering herbs should mistake it for the globe cucumber, which is harmless and edible when cooked. The squirting cucumber, though slightly bitter, is not nauseous, nor does it have any resemblance to the other plants of the family. The man, we are told, gathered the fruit from a wild vine. This is exactly what the colocynth plant would be called, from its palmate vine-shaped leaves and its tendrils, just as the word "vine" is applied in the dialects of the West Indies and the United

States as a generic term for creeping plants with tendrils—grape-vine, pumpkin-vine, melon-vine, &c. The fruit is very beautiful to look at, of the size and colour of an orange, but smooth and glossy. A stranger from the upper country would be attracted at once by the beautiful appearance of the fruit, and would eagerly gather it as a wild melon. But when the pottage was tasted! The repulsive bitterness of the drastic colocynth will not be forgotten by any one who has tasted it. Both at Gilgal and in the sandy flats in front of Engedi we found the colocynth covering a great extent of ground, and it is also found on volcanic sands in other hot countries.

Another argument in favour of the colocynth is the use of the same word to describe some carved ornaments in Solomon's Temple. The shape of the colocynth would suggest a graceful ornament, which could scarcely have been adapted from the shape of the other fruit suggested. On reviewing the whole question, we may look on the identification of the colocynth as all but indisputable. [H. B. T.]

GOVERNOR. This English word is the representative of no less than ten Hebrew and four Greek words. To discriminate between them is the object of the following article.

1. אַלּוּף, *'allūph*, the chief of a tribe or family, אֶלֶף, *'èleph* (Judg. vi. 15 [A. V. and R. V. "family"; R. V. marg. *thousand*]; Is. lx. 22 [A. V. and R. V. "a thousand"]; Mic. v. 1 [Heb.; A. V. and R. V., *v.* 2, "thousands," R. V. marg. *families*]), and equivalent to the "ruler of a thousand" of Ex. xviii. 21, or the "head of a thousand" of Num. i. 16 (R. V. marg. *families*). It is the term applied to the "dukes" of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 15, &c.). The LXX. have retained the etymological (see MV.[11]) significance of the word in rendering it by χιλιάρχος in Zech. ix. 7, xii. 5, 6 (cp. שָׁלִישׁ, from שָׁלֹשׁ). The usage in other passages seems to imply a more intimate relationship than that which would exist between a chieftain and his fellow-clansmen, and to express the closest friendship. *'Allūph* is then "a guide, director, counsellor" (Ps. lv. 13 [A. V. "guide," R. V. "companion"]; Prov. ii. 17 [A. V. "guide," R. V. "friend," marg. *guide*]; Jer. iii. 4 [A. V. and R. V. "guide," R. V. marg. *companion*]), the object of confidence or trust (Mic. vii. 5 [A. V. and R. V. "guide," R. V. marg. *familiar friend*]).

2. חוֹקֵק, *chōḳēḳ* (Judg. v. 9 [R. V. and A. V. "governor"]), and 3. מְחוֹקֵק *m'chōḳēḳ* (Judg. v. 14 [R. V. and A. V. "governor"]), denote a ruler in his capacity of *lawgiver* [R. V. marg. Judg. v. 14] and dispenser of justice (Gen. xlix. 10 [A. V. "lawgiver," and R. V. marg., R. V. text "ruler"]; Prov. viii. 15 [a verb="to decree," A. V. and R. V.]; cp. Judg. v. 14 with Is. x. 1).

4. מֹשֵׁל, *mōshēl*, a "ruler" considered especially as having *power* over the property and persons of his subjects; whether his authority were absolute, as in Josh. xii. 2 of Sihon, and in Ps. cv. 20 of Pharaoh; or delegated, as in the case of Abraham's steward (Gen. xxiv. 2), and Joseph as second to Pharaoh (Gen. xlv. 8, 26; Ps. cv. 21). The "governors of the people" in 2 Ch. xxiii. 20 appear to have been the king's bodyguard (cp. 2 K. xi. 19).

5. נָגִיד, *nāyūḏ*, is connected etymologically with נָגַד and נָגֶד and denotes a *prominent* personage, whatever his capacity. It is applied to a king as the military and civil chief of his people (2 Sam. v. 2 [A. V. "captain," R. V. "prince," marg. *leader*], vi. 21 [A. V. "ruler," R. V. "prince"]; 1 Ch. xxix. 22 [A. V. "chief governor," R. V. "prince," marg. *leader*]), to the general of an army (2 Ch. xxxii. 21 [A. V. and R. V. "leaders"]), and to the head of a tribe (2 Ch. xix. 11 [A. V. and R. V. "ruler"]). The heir-apparent to the crown was thus designated (2 Ch. xi. 22 [A. V. "ruler," R. V. "the prince"]) as holding a prominent position among the king's sons. The term is also used of persons who fulfilled certain offices in the Temple, and is applied equally to the high-priest (2 Ch. xxxi. 13, A. V. and R. V. "ruler," cp. *v.* 10) as to inferior priests (2 Ch. xxxv. 8, A. V. and R. V. "rulers") to whose charge were committed the treasures and the dedicated things (1 Ch. xxvi. 24 [A. V. and R. V. "ruler"]), and to Levites appointed for special service (2 Ch. xxxi. 12 [A. V. and R. V. "ruler"]). It denotes an officer of high rank in the palace, the lord high chamberlain (2 Ch. xxviii. 7 [A. V. "governor," R. V. "ruler"]), who is also described as "over the household" (1 K. iv. 6), or "the governor of *his* house" (1 K. xviii. 3, A. V.; R. V. "over the household"). Such was the office held by Shebna, the scribe, or secretary of state (Is. xxii. 15), and in which he was succeeded by Eliakim (2 K. xviii. 18). It is perhaps the equivalent of *οἰκονόμος*, Rom. xvi. 23, and of *ἱεροστάτης*, 1 Esd. vii. 2 (cp. 1 Esd. i. 8).

6. נָשִׂיא, *nāsī*. The prevailing idea in this word is that of *elevation*. It is applied to the chief of the tribe (Gen. xvii. 20 [A. V. and R. V. "prince"]; Num. ii. 3 [A. V. "captain," R. V. "prince"], &c.), to the heads of sections of a tribe (Num. iii. 32 [A. V. "chief over the chief," R. V. "prince of the princes"], vii. 2 [A. V. and R. V. "princes"]), and to a powerful sheykh (Gen. xxiii. 6 [A. V. and R. V. "prince"]). It appears to be synonymous with *'allūph* in 2 Ch. i. 2, רֹאשֵׁי אָבוֹת=נְשִׂיאִים (cp. 2 Ch. v. 2). In general it denotes a man of elevated rank. In later times the title was given to the president of the great Sanhedrin (Selden, *De Synedriis*, ii. 6, § 1).

7. פֶּחָה, *pechāh*, is probably a word of Assyrian origin (see Schrader and Fried. Delitzsch in MV.[11] Others give it a Pers. origin). It is applied in 1 K. x. 15 [A. V. and R. V. "governors"] to the petty chieftains who were tributary to Solomon (2 Ch. ix. 14 [A. V. and R. V. "governors"]); to the military commander of the Syrians (1 K. xx. 24 [A. V. and R. V. "captains," R. V. marg. *governors*]), the Assyrians (2 K. xviii. 24 [A. V. and R. V. "captains"]), the Chaldeans (Jer. li. 23 [A. V. "captains," R. V. "governors"]), and the Medes (Jer. li. 28 [A. V. "captains," R. V. "governors"]). Under the Persian viceroys, during the Babylonian Captivity, the land of the Hebrews appears to have been portioned out among "governors" (פַּחוֹת, *pachōth*) inferior in

rank to the satraps (Ezra viii. 36 [A. V. and R. V. "governors"]), like the other provinces which were under the dominion of the Persian king (Neh. ii. 7, 9 [A. V. and R. V. "governors"]). It is impossible to determine the precise limits of their authority, or the functions which they had to perform. They formed a part of the Babylonian system of government, and are expressly distinguished from the סְגָנִים, *s'gānim* (Jer. li. 23, 28 [A. V. "rulers," R. V. "deputies"]), to whom, as well as to the satraps, they seem—if the order of the words be significant of rank—to have been inferior (Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27); as also from the שָׁלִישִׁים, *sārim* (Esth. iii. 12, viii. 9), who, on the other hand, had a subordinate jurisdiction. Sheshbazzar, the "prince" (נָשִׂיא, Ezra i. 8) of Judah, was appointed by Cyrus "governor" (פֶּחָה) of Jerusalem (Ezra v. 14), or "governor of the Jews," as he is elsewhere designated (Ezra vi. 7), an office to which Nehemiah afterwards succeeded (Neh. v. 14, A. V. and R. V. "governor;" cp. xii. 26) under the title of Tirshatha (Ezra ii. 63 [A. V. and R. V. marg. *governor*]; Neh. viii. 9). Zerubbabel, the representative of the royal family of Judah, is also called the "governor" of Judah (Hag. i. 1), but whether in consequence of his position in the tribe or from his official rank is not quite clear. Tatnai, the "governor" beyond the river, is spoken of by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 4, § 4), under the name of Sisines, as ἔπαρχος of Syria and Phoenicia (cp. 1 Esd. vi. 3); the same term being employed to denote the Roman proconsul or propraetor as well as the procurator (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, § 1). It appears from Ezra vi. 8 that these governors were entrusted with the collection of the king's taxes; and from Neh. v. 18, that they were supported by a contribution levied upon the people, which was technically termed "the bread of the governor" (cp. Ezra iv. 14). They were probably assisted in discharging their official duties by a council (Ezra iv. 7, vi. 6). In the Peshitto Version of Neh. iii. 11, Pahath Moab is not taken as a proper name, but is rendered "chief of Moab"; and a similar translation is given in other passages where the words occur, as in Ezra ii. 6, Neh. vii. 11, x. 14. The "governor" beyond the river had a judgment-seat at Jerusalem, from which probably he administered justice when making a progress through his province (Neh. iii. 7).

8. פָּקִיד, *pāḳid*, denotes simply a person *appointed* to any office. It is used of the officers proposed to be appointed by Joseph (Gen. xli. 34 [R. V. and A. V. marg. *overseers*]); of Zebul, Abimelech's lieutenant (Judg. ix. 28, A. V. and R. V. "officer"); of an "officer" of the high-priest (2 Ch. xxiv. 11), of "overseers" (A. V. and R. V.) inferior to the *nāgīd* (2 Ch. xxxi. 13 compared with *v.* 12), or *pāḳid nāgīd* (Jer. xx. 1); and of a priest or Levite of high rank (Neh. xi. 14, 22 [A. V. and R. V. "overseer"]). The same term is applied to the eunuch "set over" the men of war (2 K. xxv. 19; Jer. lii. 25), and to an "officer" appointed for especial service (Esth. ii. 3). In the passage of Jer. xx. above quoted the word possibly foreshadows the duties of the captain of the Temple guard mentioned in Acts iv. 1, v. 2, and by Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 5, § 3).

9. שַׁלִּיט, *shallit*, a man of *authority*. Applied to Joseph as Pharaoh's prime minister (Gen. xliii. 6 [A. V. and R. V. "governor"]); to Arioch, the "captain" of the guard, to the king of Babylon (Dan. ii. 15), and to Daniel as third in rank under Belshazzar (Dan. v. 29 [A. V. and R. V. "the third ruler," R. V. marg. *rule as one of three*]).

10. שַׂר, *sar*, a *chief*, in any capacity. The term is used equally of the general of an army (Gen. xxi. 22 [A. V. "chief captain," R. V. "captain"]), or the commander of a division (1 K. xi. 24; xvi. 9 [A. V. and R. V. "captain"]), as of the governor of Pharaoh's prison (Gen. xxxix. 21 [A. V. and R. V. "keeper"]), and the "chief" of his butlers and bakers (Gen. xl. 2), or herdsmen (Gen. xlvii. 6 [A. V. and R. V. "rulers over my cattle"]). The chief officer of a city, in his civic capacity as "governor" (A. V. and R. V.), was thus designated (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 K. xxiii. 8). The same dignitary is elsewhere described as "over the city" (Neh. xi. 9, A. V. and R. V.). In Judg. ix. 30 *sar* (A. V. and R. V. "ruler of the city") is synonymous with *pāḳid* in *v.* 28 (A. V. and R. V. "officer"), and with both *pāḳid* and *nāgīd* in 1 Ch. xxiv. 5. שָׂרֵי הַמְּדִינוֹת, *sārē hammĕdīnōth*, "the princes of provinces" (1 K. xx. 14), appear to have held a somewhat similar position to the "governors" under the Persian kings.

11. ἐθνάρχης, 2 Cor. xi. 32—an officer of rank under Aretas, the Arabian king of Damascus. It is not easy to determine the capacity in which he acted. The term is applied in 1 Macc. xiv. 47, xv. 1, to Simon the high-priest, who was made general and *ethnarch* of the Jews, as a vassal of Demetrius. From this the office would appear to be distinct from a military command. The jurisdiction of Archelaus, called by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 6, § 3) an ethnarchy, extended over Idumaea, Samaria, and all Judaea, the half of his father's kingdom, which he held as the Emperor's vassal. But, on the other hand, Strabo (xvii. 13), in enumerating the officers who formed part of the machinery of the Roman government in Egypt, mentions ethnarchs apparently as inferior both to the military commanders and to the nomarchs, or governors of districts. Again, the prefect of the colony of Jews in Alexandria (called by Philo γενάρχης, *lib. in Flacc.* § 10) is designated by this title in the edict of Claudius given by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 5, § 2). According to Strabo (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 2) he exercised the prerogatives of an ordinary independent ruler. It has therefore been conjectured that the ethnarch of Damascus was merely the governor of the resident Jews, and this conjecture receives some support from the parallel narrative in Acts ix. 24, where the Jews alone are said to have taken part in the conspiracy against the Apostle. But it does not seem probable that an officer of such limited jurisdiction would be styled "the ethnarch of Aretas the king;" and as the term is capable of a wide range of meaning, it is likely intended to denote one who held and district of Damascus as the king's [redacted] representative.

12. ἡγεμών, the *procurator* of Judaea [redacted] the Romans (Matt. xxvii. 2, &c.). The ver[redacted] employed (Luke ii. 2) to denote the nature

the jurisdiction of Quirinus over the imperial province of Syria.

13. *οἰκονόμος* (Gal. iv. 2), a steward; apparently entrusted with the management of a minor's property.

14. *ἀρχιτρίκλινος*, John ii. 9, A. V. and R. V. "the ruler of the feast." It has been conjectured, but without much show of probability, that this officer corresponded to the *συμποσίαρχος* of the Greeks, whose duties are described by Plutarch (*Sympos. Quaest.* 4), and to the *arbiter bibendi* of the Romans. Lightfoot supposes him to have been a kind of chaplain, who pronounced the blessings upon the wine that was drunk during the seven days of the marriage feast. Again, some have taken him to be equivalent to the *τραπεζοποιός*, who is defined by Pollux (*Onom.* vi. 1) as one who had the charge of all the servants at a feast, the carvers, cup-bearers, cooks, &c. But there is nothing in the narrative of the marriage feast at Cana which would lead to the supposition that the *ἀρχιτρίκλινος* held the rank of a servant. He appears rather to have been on intimate terms with the bridegroom, and to have presided at the banquet in his stead. The duties of the master of a feast are given at full length in Ecclus. xxxv. (xxxii.).

15. In James iii. 4, the A. V. renders *ὁ εὐθύνων* by "governor" (*gubernator*). The R. V. "steersman" expresses the meaning intended more clearly.

In the Apocryphal books, in addition to the common words *ἄρχων*, *δεσπότης*, *στρατηγός*, which are rendered "governor," we find *ἐπιστάτης* (1 Esd. i. 8; Judith ii. 14), which closely corresponds to פָּקִיד; *ἔπαρχος* used of Zerubbabel and Tatnai (1 Esd. vi. 3, 29, vii. 1), and *προστάτης*, applied to Sheshbazzar (1 Esd. ii. 12), both of which represent פֶּחָה; *ἱεροστάτης* (1 Esd. vii. 2) and *προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ* (2 Macc. iii. 4), "the governor of the Temple" = נָגִיד (cp. 2 Ch. xxxv. 8); and *σατράπης* (1 Esd. iii. 2, 21), "a satrap," not always used in its strict sense, but as the equivalent of *στρατηγός* (Judith v. 2, vii. 8). [W. A. W.] [F.]

GO'ZAN (גּוֹזָן; Γωζάν; *Gozan*; Assyr. *Guzana*) is mentioned (1 Ch. v. 26) as the place where there was a river—"the river of Gozan"—which river seems, in 2 K. xvii. 6 and xviii. 11 (if we omit the *on* supplied by the R. V.)—to be the Habor (Khabour); see also 2 K. xix. 12 = Is. xxvii. 12.

Gozan was the tract to which the Assyrian kings Pul or Tiglath-pileser (III.) and Shalmaneser, or possibly Sargon, carried away the Israelites (Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh) captive. It has been identified with many different tracts of country, but is probably the *Gauzanitis* (Γαυζανῖτις) of Ptolemy (*Geograph.* v. 18), and is regarded by some as being the Mygdonia of other writers (Strab., Polyb., &c.), by the adding of the Semitic formative מ and the common change of *z* into *d*. As it was the tract watered by the Habor (Ἀβόρρας or Χαβώρας), the modern *Khabour*, the great Mesopotamian affluent of the Euphrates, and as it is mentioned in 2 K. xix. 12 (= Is. xxxvii. 12) in connexion with Reseph and the Beni-Eden, it must have lain between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Sir H. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 269–313) describes the region as one of remarkable fertility. In the Septuagint translation Alae and Abor (Halab and Habor) are both given as rivers of Gozan (4 K. = 2 K. xvii. 6); but this is apparently a misunderstanding, as is indicated by the next chapter (*v.* 11), where the singular, *river*, is used, and refers to Habor only.

According to the Assyrian geographical lists, Gozan lay between Tušḫan and Naṣibina (Nisibis), and is mentioned as a *city*; from which fact is to be inferred, that the name Gozan was afterwards extended to the district in which it was situated. When in the hands of the Assyrians, it was placed under the authority of an Assyrian governor, who, as one of the higher officers of the realm, was from time to time appointed Eponym. Those who acted in this capacity were Mannu-kî-Aššur (794 B.C., reign of Rammânu-nirari), Bur-Sagale (763 B.C., reign of Aššur-danan), and Bêl-Ḥarran-bêla-uṣur (727 B.C., reign of Tiglath-pileser III.). A revolt took place there in the year 759 B.C. (13th year of Aššur-danan). [T. G. P.]

GRA'BA (B$^{ab\ mg}$ Ἀγγαβά; *Armacha*), 1 Esd. v. 29. [HAGABA.] As is the case with many names in the E. V. of the Apocryphal books, it is not obvious whence our translators got the form they have here employed—without the initial A, which even the corrupt Vulgate retains. In Ezra ii. 45 the name is given as Hagabah.

GRAPE. [VINE.]

GRASS. Four Hebrew words are thus rendered in A. V. and R. V. (1) דֶּשֶׁא, *dèshe*, from the root דָּשָׁא, "to spring up;" Arab. وَدَسٌ *wads*; LXX. χλόη, χόρτος, πόα, βοτάνη; V. *herba*. It is the word most commonly used for grass, as distinguished from חָצִיר, *chāṣîr*, "fodder," and from עֵשֶׂב, *'ēseb*, "herbs," *i.e.* herbage for cattle as distinguished from herbs eaten by man. Thus, in Gen. i. 11, 12, "Let the earth bring forth grass (*dèshe*), the herb (*'ēseb*) yielding seed." Gesenius defines the word as comprising grasses, which have no seed obvious to the careless observer, and all the small herbage which springs up in meadows.

(2) חָצִיר, *chāṣîr*; LXX. χόρτος, πόα, βοτάνη; V. *herba*. More accurately "fodder," from a root signifying "to be green." It is evidently a generic term, including whatever grows in pastures suitable for the food of cattle. In Prov. xxvii. 25, Is. xv. 6, it is translated "hay," which it is not, in our sense of the term; but rather the meadow grass when fully ripe. As the herbage rapidly fades under the parching heat of Palestine, it has supplied an image of the brevity of human life (Is. xl. 6, 7; Ps. xc. 5) and of the fleeting nature of human fortune (Job viii. 12; Ps. xxxvii. 2). *Chāṣîr*, like its Greek equivalent χόρτος, primarily signified an enclosure, hence an enclosed space for cattle to feed in, and finally the food itself of the cattle.

(3) עֵשֶׂב, *'ēseb*; Chald. עִסְבָּא, עִיסְבָּא, *'isbā*, *'osbā*. Generally translated "herb," but in twenty passages "grass." It is identical with the Arabic عُشْبٌ, *'ushb*, "herb," and is

frequently used for garden herbs and vegetation eaten by man, in contrast with *dèshe*. But in other passages, as in Deut. xi. 15, it expresses the pasturage of cattle; and elsewhere is rendered by the "grass of the field" and the "grass of the mountain," *i.e.* herbage generally.

(4) יֶרֶק, *yèrek*, is once rendered "grass" (Num. xxii. 4). It literally signifies "green," and is used for herbage exactly as the German *das Grüne*, and is also applied to the foliage of trees. In the N. T. "grass," wherever it occurs, is the rendering of the Greek χόρτος.

In a country with such various climates and soils as Palestine, there is great variety in the natural grasses. Yet there are very few meadows like those of our moister and more equable climate. Two hundred and sixteen distinct species have been described from that country by M. Boissier and others. They may be divided into three groups: those of the hill-country, of the sea-coast plains, and of the basin of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. (1) The grasses of the hill-country, *i.e.* of the bare downs of Southern Judaea, or the Negeb, and of the barer hills of Central Palestine, are for the most part identical with the species of Northern Africa, Spain, and Arabia, with a considerable admixture of Mediterranean species in the northern part. They are nearly all perennial, short and close, springing up almost suddenly after the rains, and continuing but a short time, leaving scarcely a trace above ground. (2) The grasses of the coast plain, of Central Galilee, and of Gilead are chiefly of the Mediterranean and South European species, including not a few British species, tall and luxuriant in spring, forming a rank meadow for a short time, and then, after the seed has ripened, sending up a finer after-grass under the dried stems, and so affording pasturage more or less throughout the year. This after-grass is alluded to in Amos vii. 1: "In the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth; and, lo, it was the latter growth after the king's mowings." (3) The grasses of the Jordan valley are very peculiar, most unlike those of the hills, not compact or forming turf, but coarse and loose, shooting up luxuriantly in early spring, then rapidly seeding and dying down, scorched and burnt up at once, and leaving for the rest of the year no trace of their existence above ground, save the withered and straggling stems from which the seeds and their sheath have long been shaken. They are for the most part Arabian and Egyptian desert kinds, but include also species found in India, as *Sorghum vulgare*, and in South Africa, as *Pennisetum cenchroides*.

The short seasonal existence of all these grasses has supplied the writers of Scripture with the imagery above referred to, on the transitory character of man's life; which has a force scarcely perceived in our moist Northern climate. "Smitten and withered like grass" is a comparison perpetually before the mind of Psalmist and Prophet. Our verdure, on the contrary, is almost perpetual, and in winter our meadows are not colourless like theirs. But let a traveller ride over the downs of Bethlehem in February, one spangled carpet of green, and brilliant flowers; and again in May, when all traces of verdure are gone; or let him push his horse through the tall solid growth of lucernes and grasses in the valley of the Jordan in early spring; and then return and gallop across a brown, cracked, hard-baked plain, as the writer has done, in June, with only here and there the withered stems of grasses and thistles to tell that life had ever existed there, and the Scripture imagery will come home to him with tenfold power. The grass has withered, the beauty is gone, the flower is faded: a brown desert has taken the place of a brilliant garden. [H. B. T.]

GRASSHOPPER. See LOCUST.

GRAVE. [BURIAL.]

GREAVES (מִצְחָה). This word occurs in the A. V. and R. V. in 1 Sam. xvii. 6 only, in the description of the equipment of Goliath—"he had greaves of brass upon his legs." It appears to be derived from a root signifying "brightness," as of a star (see Gesenius and Fürst). Its ordinary meaning is a piece of defensive armour which reached from the foot to the knee, and thus protected the shin of the wearer. This was the case with the κνημὶς of the Greeks, which derived its name from its covering the κνήμη, *i.e.* the part of the leg above named. The *Miṣchāh* of the above passage is usually taken in the same sense, though the word is not in either the dual or plural number, but is singular. All the old Versions, including Josephus, give it the meaning of a piece of armour for the leg—some even for the thigh. [G.] [W.]

GREECE, or Hellas, as it was called by its inhabitants, was the country which occupies the easternmost of the three peninsulas that project southwards into the sea from the continent of Europe. In respect to its conformation it presents some marked points of contrast with the other two: for while Spain is characterised by its broad area, divided into sections by parallel chains of mountains running from east to west, so that Strabo has aptly compared it to a bull's hide (ii. 5, § 27); and Italy presents a long, unbroken coast-line, but little diversified with bays and harbours; Greece is distinguished both by the extraordinary variety of its outline, and by the irregularity of its surface. In these respects, also, it differs from the countries in its immediate neighbourhood. The Balkan peninsula, as it is called in modern times—that is, the entire district south of the Haemus range and the mountain chains which form a link between it and the Alps—is composed in its northern portion, in the provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyria, of undulating ground, alternating with level plains and ill-defined mountain masses, the latter of which are closely compacted together on the side towards the Adriatic Sea. But as we advance further south and approach the Aegean, the character of the ground changes and becomes at once more definite and more varied. The mountains now group themselves into distinct chains, with well-marked summits and delicate outlines, and the coasts are indented with innumerable inlets, which penetrate far into the land, and are themselves subdivided into minute creeks and harbours. These features are traceable in Epirus, Thessaly, and the seaboard of Macedonia; but they are

much more striking in the districts to the south of these, which were inhabited by races more strictly Hellenic in their origin—in Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, and Attica; and, above all, in that country which was the culminating point in the structure of the entire peninsula, the Peloponnese. To trace these points somewhat more in detail: the main chain of mountains, which runs through the country from north to south, halfway between the Aegean and the Adriatic, in its northern portion bore the name of Scardus, but further south, where it separates Thessaly from Epirus, that of Pindus. From this, at various points, transverse ranges radiate, as, for instance, the Cambunian mountains to the north of Thessaly, terminating in Mount Olympus, at right angles to which, along the sea-coast, is formed the chain of Ossa and Pelion. But it is the southern extremity of Pindus that forms the birthplace of those mountains which are most intimately associated with the classical history of Greece. Here, at the south-western angle of Thessaly, the parallel ranges of Othrys and Oeta diverge toward the east, and the Aetolian mountains to the south-west; while the most lineal descendants of the main chain are those which, taking a south-easterly course, are successively known by the famous names of Parnassus in Phocis, and Helicon in Boeotia, after which, as Cithaeron and Parnes, they separate the last-named country from Attica, throwing off spurs southwards in Aegaleos and Hymettus which bound the plain of Athens. Then follow the mountains of the Peloponnese, which have a separate organisation of their own, forming a massive barrier in the north of Arcadia, which throws up the conspicuous summits of Cyllene, Aroanius, and Erymanthus; while towards the south run down the lofty chains of Parnon, Taygetus, and Lycaeum. As regards their elevation, Mount Olympus reaches nearly 10,000 feet; but with this single exception the chief mountains range from 8,000 to 3,000 feet, and among these there are at least twenty-five whose names are familiar to our ears. Many of them are covered with snow during several months of the year; and this feature, together with their number and beauty of form, tends to produce scenery of an exquisite character. Again, to turn to the coast-line, we find that the further the Greek peninsula advances towards the south, the more varied is its outline and the more deeply it is indented by the sea. At three points, in particular, the continent is contracted by inlets which penetrate into it from the two sides: first, to the south of Thessaly and Epirus, where the Maliac advances to meet the Ambracian gulf; secondly, where the former of these two pieces of water, in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae, faces the inmost angle of the Crissaean bay under Delphi; and thirdly, where the Corinthian and Saronic gulfs are only separated by the narrow dam of the Isthmus. Besides the bays that have now been mentioned, the Peloponnese is deeply penetrated by three gulfs, —the Argolic, the Laconian, and the Messenian. The numerous small headlands which project into these still further increase the length of the coast-line, and form a multiplicity of tiny harbours, of which the Piraeus is a familiar example. It is owing to this that the sea is rarely absent from views of Greece, and that sea and land seem to be equally component elements of the country: in the Peloponnese, for example, there are few of the mountains *from* which the sea is not visible either on one side or on the other. Nor must we *omit to* notice the islands, whether those of the western or those of the eastern sea. These conspicuous objects, following one another in long succession, present the appearance of mountain chains half submerged in the water: and this in some cases they were; as, for instance, the northern Cyclades—Andros, Tenos, and Myconos—which are a continuation of the ridge that intersects Euboea; and the western islands of the same group—Ceos, Cythnos, Seriphos, and Siphnos, which bear a similar relation to the mountains of Attica. By crossing from one to another of these it was comparatively easy to pass from Greece both to Asia Minor and to the southern extremity of Italy.

In speaking of Greece in connexion with the Bible, it is necessary to lay stress on these points, because they exercised great influence on the character of the Greek people, who were appointed to bear an important part in the preparation of the world for the reception of the Gospel. To pass over for the moment what may be called the external influences of Greece on the world at the time of Christ's coming, in respect of language and of social agencies and political organisation, by means of which the spread of Christianity was facilitated, and the instruments of its development were prepared: the Greeks exercised a great internal or subjective influence in this respect; and that in two different ways. In the first place, the speculations of Greek philosophy proved up to what limit the human mind could advance, independently of Revelation, in the investigation of morals and religion. The Greeks, beyond all other nations of antiquity, performed the office which St. Paul describes, of "seeking the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him;" and the result of their seeking was to show that "the world by wisdom knew not God." In their case also it was proved, that after a disruption had taken place between the cultivated intelligence of the people and their traditional religion, the highest sanctions of good living failed, and a depravation of morals was the result. As Neander expresses it (*Church History*, vol. i. p. 7; Bohn's edit.), "There was as yet no salt to preserve the life of humanity from decomposing, or to restore to purity what was passing into decomposition." Secondly, in order that Christianity might become the universal religion, it was necessary that it should assimilate whatever good and noble forces there were at work in the world, and should be able to sympathise with, and employ for its own purposes, whatever tends to elevate human nature; and thus the Greeks, by cultivating the higher civilisation in the various branches of science and art, supplied an element necessary to full religious development, which was wanting in Judaism. Now the peculiar nature of Hellenic culture, and the extraordinary richness of its growth, was due to the combined influences of race and country,—to the character and intellect of the Greek people, together with the conformation of the land which they inhabited, and to the remarkable correspondence between the two. These influences and this

correspondence are especially traceable in the most marked features of the Greek mind as seen in its products,—its independence, its many-sidedness, and its temperateness. The first of these, independence—the same characteristic which in the political history of Greece shows itself alike in resistance to foreign domination and in incapacity for combination on the part of the states at home—was fostered by the presence of the mountains and the sea, by the inspiring and elevating associations of the two, and by the close contact of the home-loving life of the mountaineer with the changeful occupations of the seafaring man. Many-sidedness and versatility naturally arose in a country where a variety of objects were continually presenting themselves to the eye; where land and water, plain and mountain, snow-clad peaks and fertile valleys, bright uplands and dark ravines, were endlessly intermingled. And the absence of any objects of colossal magnitude, the moderate elevation of the mountains, the land-locked bays and island-studded seas, suggested the idea of limitation; while the delicacy of the outlines, and the harmonious grouping of the various features in the views, inspired a feeling for symmetry and the love of beauty. From the combination of these proceeded that moderation, and that balanced tone of mind, which are the secret of the good taste and the good judgment of the Greeks. Such influences would have been thrown away on a people incapable of appreciating them, but found a peculiarly congenial soil in the Hellenic mind.

A comparison of the geographical position of Greece with that of Palestine is instructive, both in respect of the resemblances and the contrasts which it presents. In the smallness of the area which they occupy the two countries have a marked point of likeness. The sarcasm of the unbeliever, which was aimed at Palestine, that so limited a district could not have changed the fortunes of mankind, would apply with almost equal force to Greece. If, on the one hand, the Holy Land, from Mount Hermon and the sources of the Jordan in the north to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, extends over only two degrees and a half of latitude; on the other, the whole length of Greece, from the northernmost corner of Thessaly to the promontory of Taenarum, is comprised within four degrees. The part of the country, especially, on which its fame chiefly depends—that which lies to the south of Mount Othrys—is remarkably limited in extent; from this point onward the breadth of the continent contracts, and its area is lessened by the numerous bays and gulfs which encroach upon the land. Similarly in respect of the proximity in which places of world-wide fame stand to one another—if in Palestine the traveller is surprised at passing in the course of a few hours from Hebron by Bethlehem to Jerusalem, he is not less astonished at finding that the sites of Nauplia, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Argos can easily be visited in a single day, and that by sea a short run before a favouring wind takes him across from the Piraeus to Aegina, and thence to Epidaurus on the coast of Argolis. But here the correspondence between the two countries ceases, and a strong contrast presents itself in the isolation of the one and the accessibility of the other. Palestine, hemmed in, as it was, between the desert and the sea, and bordered by a long and almost harbourless shore, was the fitting home for a people set apart, among whom the truths of morality and religion were to receive a special and independent development. Greece, on the other hand, both from its situation and the conformation of its territory, was, so to speak, a naturally receptive country, and was suited to hand on the torch of civilisation to Western lands. Lying on the confines of Asia and Europe, it occupied a position in many respects similar to that of England at the present day: it was the natural point of communication between the old world and the new; all the arts, the ideas, and the movements which passed from the east to the west must necessarily pass through it; and it was in the power of its inhabitants to modify and recast whatever was transmitted from the one to the other. The islands, which followed one another in irregular chains, and were separated only by narrow spaces of sea—especially the Cyclades and the islands adjacent to them in the middle of the Aegean, and those which bound that sea towards the south, Crete, Casos, Carpathos, and Rhodes—served as stepping-stones to facilitate the approach to Greece, and lessened the dangers of a voyage in the infancy of navigation. The conspicuous headlands offered points to steer for, and the innumerable harbours both provided a refuge in case of danger and encouraged the export and import trade. It is also to be remarked that these features of the country are much more conspicuous on its eastern than on its western side, for the principal bays, promontories, and island-chains face in the direction of Asia. Italy and Greece, on the other hand, may be described as standing back to back to one another, for the western shores of Greece offer but few harbours, while the districts of Italy on which its future development was destined to depend — Campania, Latium, and Etruria— opened not on the Adriatic, but on the Tyrrhenian Sea. The result of this was, that Greek civilisation was not passed on to Italy until it had reached something like maturity.

It was through the Phoenicians that the Greeks first came into contact with the Semitic race. That people were attracted to Greece by the purple trade, for the purple-mussel was found at several points near the shores of that country. Thus by way of the lower line of islands just mentioned they reached the Laconian gulf, where they established one of their principal factories on the island of Cranaë, close to the port of Gythium. Similarly by the southern Cyclades they made their way to Hermione at the extremity of Argolis, which was famed for its purple, and from that point they advanced on the one side to Nauplia, on the other to Corinth. The purple-mussel appears on the coins of the last-named city, and Sisyphus, its local hero, was said to have been father of Porphyrion,—that is, the purple trade; and to have founded the worship of Melicertes, —that is, the Tyrian Melcarth. It was by means of these strangers that the principal arts of life were introduced into Greece,—in particular the alphabet and weights and measures. At a later period numerous traces of their presence remained. Among the leading Greek divinities Heracles and Aphrodite were of Phoenician origin, and the latter goddess obtained her name

of Cytherea from her worship having been first established on the island of Cythera, which was one of the head-quarters of their fisheries. Among the trees of Greece, the date-palm was introduced by them, as its name φοίνιξ testifies; and also the pomegranate, which Aphrodite was said to have planted in Cyprus, and the cypress. Phoenician names of places survived, whether derived from ordinary words, as Samos, for "a height," or from names of deities, as Astyra, which occurs in several places, from Astarte, and Makaria from Makar (= Melkar-t), the Phoenician Heracles. Recent archaeological discoveries tend also to show that many of the features which are found in the earliest Greek art are due to Phoenician influence.

Of direct communication, however, between the Hebrew and Greek peoples during the period over which the O. T. Scriptures extend, there is no evidence [but see p. 710, col. 2]. It is not intended to be implied by this statement that they were wholly ignorant of one another's existence. It is highly probable that the name Javan, which occurs in the Hebrew prophets from the time of Joel onwards (Joel iii. 6; Is. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13, &c.), is the same as Ἰάων or Ionian, and signified the Greeks at large, just as Ἰάονες did in the mouth of a Persian (Aesch. *Pers.* 178, 563; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 104); and for the same reason, viz. that the Ionians were that branch of the Greek race with which they were most familiar. The passage from Joel just referred to, which speaks of the Phoenicians as selling the children of Judah to the *sons* of Javan, and that from Ezekiel, in which Javan is represented as selling the persons of men to the Tyrians, imply that through the slave-market the two peoples may have been able to learn something of one another; and this is corroborated by passages to the same effect from Homer and Herodotus (Hom. *Od.* xv. 427–429; Herod. i. 1), which speak of persons being kidnapped for slaves from Syria to Greece and *vice versâ*. In Egypt also, whether through the Ionian mercenaries, who from an early period were employed in the service of the Egyptian monarchs, or through the Greek traders, who were settled in that country, especially at the emporium of Naucratis, some communication may have taken place between them. But this amounts to little more than conjecture; and on the side of the Greeks there is hardly any trace of acquaintance with the Jews as a separate people, for the Σύροι Παλαιστινοὶ of Herodotus (iii. 5) would include all the nationalities of that region, and the city of Cadytis, which he there mentions, is much more probably Gaza than Jerusalem: and though, when the same writer speaks elsewhere (ii. 104) of the Syrians of Palestine as having borrowed the custom of circumcision from the Egyptians, the Jews seem to be referred to, it is not likely that this information was obtained at first-hand, or with definite knowledge of their separate existence. The same thing in all probability is true of his mention of the defeat of Josiah by Pharaoh-necho at Megiddo as an overthrow of the Syrians at Magdolus (ii. 159).

It was through Alexander the Great that the influence of Greece was directly brought to bear upon Palestine, and that those causes began to operate through which Greek civilisation contributed to promote the reception of the Gospel. Alexander himself visited Jerusalem after the siege of Tyre, and Josephus has left us an account (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 5) of his respectful treatment of the high-priest and of the Jewish religion on that occasion. That great prince, whom history has been apt to regard as the type of an ambitious youth, in accordance with Juvenal's line,—

"Unus Pellaeo juveni non sufficit orbis" (x. 168)—

was in reality the noblest specimen of a far-seeing conqueror, for everywhere it was a part of his policy to follow up his victories by the establishment of civil institutions, and to inaugurate a system which should promote commerce and a community of interests among the various peoples of his empire. In this respect he has been more fairly judged by the natives of Asia, for even at the present day, from the Mediterranean to the Indus, the name of Alexander is ranked with that of Solomon, as representing the most famous of sovereigns. In pursuance of this design, he inaugurated the system, which was subsequently carried out more fully by his successors, of establishing Greek cities throughout Western Asia. Of the extent of this clear evidence is found in the frequency with which the names of Alexandria, Seleucia, Antiochia, Ptolemaïs, and others of a similar origin, appear in Asia Minor and Syria, and even as far east as Bactria. In doing this he seems to have anticipated and provided against the dismemberment of his empire, which took place at his death, for the organisation which he set on foot was independent of its unity. By this means the seeds of Greek civilisation were scattered broadcast over this continent, and the Greek language became a means of general communication. The importance of this last point cannot be overrated, for in all ages the multiplicity of languages presents one of the most formidable obstacles to missionary enterprise. But what Arabic has been to Northern Africa since the Mahometan invasion of that country, that Greek was to Western Asia during and subsequently to the Macedonian period—the language of commerce and cultivation, and an instrument of intercourse between races separated from one another by diversity of speech. To how great a degree this influence had operated in certain districts, we can see from the familiar use of Greek in Palestine at the period of our Lord's ministry. At the same time the effect produced by Greek modes of thought and Greek philosophy on the Jewish mind, owing to the contact of the two peoples, was pregnant with important results for religion. In particular, the acquaintance with these subjects which St. Paul had obtained in the schools of Tarsus enabled that Apostle to expound the doctrines of the Gospel in such a manner as would commend it to intelligent Gentiles; and also, by the definiteness of statement derived from this source, Christianity was prevented from becoming a mystical theosophy, or being otherwise assimilated to Oriental religions. In Egypt also, where the newly-founded city of Alexandria became the most lasting memorial of the author of this revolution, the same contact produced other and not less remarkable effects, to which we can but

briefly allude. Here it was that the Septuagint Version arose, with all the incalculable influence which it was to exercise both on the Jewish and the Christian Church. Here, by the contact of Platonic with Jewish teaching, the belief in the immortality of the soul was developed into fuller consciousness, as is seen especially in the Book of Wisdom. Here the Sibylline oracles were invented, by the agency of which fragments of Hebrew belief passed into the literature of Rome. Here, too, originated the allegorical system of interpretation, which was destined to affect much Christian theology (see Stanley's *Jewish Church*, iii. Lect. 47; Bigg, *The Christ. Platonists of Alexandria*).

In conclusion we must not overlook the greatest of all the advantages which Greece has conferred on the cause of religion, viz. that it has provided in the Greek language, and especially in the peculiar form which it assumed in Hellenistic Greek, the most fitting of all vehicles for recording and transmitting the facts and doctrines of Christianity. Of the surpassing excellences of that language there is no need to speak, for they are universally recognised; but the merits of the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament have not been so fully acknowledged. Yet it is not hard to see, that a form of speech so nicely adapted to the peculiarities of the Greek mind as the classical tongue was not well suited for general reception, and that a religion which was to embrace the world required a less artistic instrument for its diffusion. This was supplied by the Hellenistic language, which is simpler in its modes of expression, and therefore more easily intelligible to ordinary minds; for which reason, also, that which is written in it is more readily translateable into other languages. To this it may be added that its more analytic form causes it to be more nearly allied to modern languages, so that it possesses an element of permanence as well as of universality. [H. F. T.]

GREEK LANGUAGE. [HELLENIST; LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.]

GREYHOUND. The translation in the text of the A. V. and R. V. (Prov. xxx. 31) of the Hebrew words זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם (*zarzīr mothnàyim*), *i.e.* "one girt about the loins." But R. V. margin gives *war-horse*, probably a better rendering, as stateliness and majesty of gait, which seem to be intended to be illustrated rather than speed, are exemplified in the horse rather than in the greyhound (cp. Strack in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco). The LXX. (A.) has the following curious interpretation, ἀλέκτωρ ἐμπεριπατῶν ἐν θηλείαις εὔψυχος, *i.e.* "a cock as it proudly struts amongst the hens." Somewhat similar is the Vulgate, *gallus succinctus lumbos*, and Coverdale's "a cock ready to fight." Various are the opinions as to what animal "comely in going" is here intended. Some think "a leopard," others "an eagle," or "a man girt with armour," or "a zebra," &c. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 435), Schultens (*Comment. ad Prov.* l. c.), Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 684), Rosenmüller (*Schol. ad Prov.* l. c., and *Not. ad Boch.* l. c.), Fuller (*Miscell. Sac.* 5, 12), support the rendering of a "war-horse girt with trappings." But, later, Maurer (*Comment. Gram. in Vet. Test.* l. c.) decides unhesitatingly in favour of "a wrestler," when girt about the loins for a contest. He refers to Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald. Talm.* p. 692) to show that *zarzir* is used in the Talmud to express "a wrestler," and thus concludes: "Sed ne opus quidem est hoc loco quanquam minime contemnendo, quum *accinctum esse* in neminem magis cadat quam in luctatorem ita ut haec significatio certa sit per se." It is certainly possible that Maurer is correct. The grace and activity of the practised athlete agrees well with the notion conveyed by the expression, "comely in going;" and the suitableness of the Hebrew words, *zarzīr mothnàyim*, is obvious to every reader. Yet the reading of the text of A. V. and R. V. is not impossible (cp. Delitzsch in loco). The Persian greyhound is the one race of dogs, besides the pariah, which has been known for ages in Syria and the neighbouring countries, and is very highly prized for the chase of the gazelle and other desert antelopes. It is a beautiful creature, larger than our greyhound, with long silky hair on the ears, and a long pendent fringe of the same along the tail. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

GROVE. A word used in the A. V., with two exceptions, to translate the Hebrew Asherah (אֲשֵׁרָה). This term is examined under its own head (p. 257), where it is observed that almost all modern interpreters agree that an idol or image of some kind must be intended, and not a grove, as our Translators render, following the version of the LXX. (ἄλσος) and of the Vulgate (*lucus*). This is evident from many passages, and especially from 2 K. xxiii. 6, where we find that Josiah "brought out the Asherah" (translated by our Version "the grove") "from the house of the Lord" (cp. also Judg. iii. 7; 1 K. xiv. 23, xviii. 19). In many passages the "groves" are grouped with molten and graven images in a manner that leaves no doubt that some idol was intended (2 Ch. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 3, 4; Is. xvii. 8). There has been much dispute as to what the Asherah was; but in addition to the views set forth under ASHERAH, we must not omit to notice a probable connexion between this symbol or image—whatever it was—and the sacred symbolic tree, the representation of which occurs so frequently on Assyrian sculptures, and is shown in the following woodcut. The connexion is ingeniously maintained by Mr. Fergusson in his *Nineveh and Persepolis restored* (pp. 299–304), to which the reader is referred.

The two exceptions noticed above are Gen. xxi. 33 and 1 Sam. xxii. 6 (margin), where "grove" is employed to render the word אֶשֶׁל, *'ēshel*, which in the text of the latter passage, and in 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, is translated "tree." In these three passages *'ēshel* should be translated "tamarisk" (R.V.), אֶשֶׁל being equivalent to the Arabic أثل, *athl*, "tamarisk." No less than six species of the Tamarisk family occur in Palestine. One (*T. Jordanis*) fringes nearly the whole course of the Jordan. Others are found on the coast, and in the deserts, and by the Dead Sea. All thrive, but in barren, sandy, and salt situations, where they sometimes reach such

a size as to afford dense shade. The tamarisk is a graceful tree, with long feathery branches, clad with the minutest of leaves, and surmounted in spring with long spikes of pink blossom, which seem to envelope the whole tree in one gauzy sheet of colour. Below Jabesh-Gilead, where Saul and Jonathan were buried under such a tree, the tamarisk is still plentiful. Dr. Barth's mention of his camping under a tamarisk in Fezzan recalls Saul abiding under an *'ĕshel* in Ramah (1 Sam. xxii. 6). It is now however generally recognised (among others, see Gesen. *Thes.* p. 50 *b*; Stanley, *S. & P.* § 76, 3; pp. 142 note, 220 note, and *passim*), that the word *'ēlōn*, אֵלוֹן, which is uniformly rendered by the A. V. "plain," signifies a grove or plantation. Such were the Elon of Mamre (Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1); of Moreh (Gen. xii. 6; Deut. xi. 30); of Zaanaim (Judg. iv. 11) or Zaanannim (Josh. xix. 33); of the pillar (Judg. ix. 6); of Meonenim (Judg. ix. 37); and of Tabor (1 Sam. x. 3). In all these cases the LXX. have δρῦς or βάλανος; the Vulgate—which the A. V. probably followed—*vallis* or *convallis*, in the last three however *quercus*.

In the religions of the ancient Semites and heathen world groves play a prominent part (cp. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. Index s. n. "Trees"). Then altars only were erected to the gods. It was thought wrong to shut up the gods within walls, and trees were the first temples (Tac. *H. N.* xii. 2, *Germ.* 9; Lucian, *de Sacrific.* 10; see Carpzov. *App. Crit.* p. 332). From the earliest times groves are mentioned in connexion with religious worship (Gen. xii. 6, 7, xiii. 18; Deut. xi. 30; A. V. "plain"). Their high antiquity, refreshing shade, solemn silence, and awe-inspiring solitude, as well as the striking illustration they afford of natural life, marked them out as the fit localities, or even the actual objects of worship ("Lucos et in iis silentia ipsa adoramus," Plin. xii. 1; "Secretum luci . . . et admiratio umbrae fidem tibi numinis facit," Sen. *Ep.* xli.; "Quo posses viso dicere Numen habet," Ov. *Fast.* iii. 295; "Sacrâ nemus accubet umbrâ," Virg. *Georg.* iii. 334; Ov. *Met.* viii. 743; Ezek. vi. 13; Is. lvii. 5; Hos. iv. 13). This last passage hints at another and darker reason why groves were opportune for the degraded services of idolatry; their shadow hid the atrocities and obscenities of

Sacred symbolic Tree of the Assyrians. From Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone. (Fergusson's *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 298.)

heathen worship. The groves were generally found connected with temples, and often had the right of affording an asylum (Tac. *Germ.* ix. 40; Herod. ii. 138, Virg. *Aen.* i. 441, ii. 512; Sil. Ital. i. 81). Some have supposed that even the Jewish Temple had a τέμενος planted with palm and cedar (Ps. xcii. 12, 13) and olive (Ps. lii. 8). This is more than doubtful; but we know that a celebrated oak stood by the sanctuary at Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26; Judg. ix. 6; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 142). We find repeated mention of groves consecrated with deep superstition to particular gods (Liv. vii. 25, xxiv. 3, xxxv. 51; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 12, 51, &c., iv. 73, &c.). For this reason they were stringently forbidden to the Jews (Ex. xxxiv. 13; Jer. xvii. 2; Ezek. xx. 28), and Maimonides even says that it is forbidden to sit under the shade of any green tree where an idol-statue was (Fabric. *Bibl. Antiq.* p. 290). Yet we find abundant indications that the Hebrews felt the influence of groves on the mind ("the spirit in the woods," Wordsworth), and therefore selected them for solemn purposes, such as great national meetings (Judg. ix. 6, 37) and the burial of the dead (Gen. xxxv. 8; 1 Sam. xxxi. 14). Those connected with patriarchal history were peculiarly liable to superstitious reverence (Amos v. 5, viii. 13), and we find that the groves of Mamre were long a place of worship (Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. 4; Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* 81; Reland, *Palaest.* p. 714). There are in Scripture many memorable trees; *e.g.* Allon-bachuth (Gen. xxxv. 8), the tamarisk in Gibeah (1 Sam. xxii. 6), the terebinth in Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26, under which the Law was set up), the palm-tree of Deborah (Judg. iv. 5), the terebinth of enchantments (Judg. ix. 37), the terebinth of wanderers (Judg. iv. 11), and others (1 Sam. xiv. 2, x. 3, sometimes "plain" in A. V., Vulg. *convallis*).

This admiration for particular trees was among the heathen extended to a regular worship of them. "Tree-worship may be traced from the interior of Africa, not only into Egypt and Arabia, but also onward uninterruptedly into Palestine and Syria, Assyria, Persia, India, Thibet, Siam, the Philippine Islands, China, Japan, and Siberia; also westward into Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and other countries; and in most of the countries here named it obtains in the present day, combined as it has been in other parts with various forms of idolatry" (*Gen. of Earth and Man*, p. 139). "The worship of trees even goes back among the Iran-

nians to the rules of Hom, called in the Zend-Avesta the promulgator of the old law. We know from Herodotus the delight which Xerxes took in the great plane-tree in Lydia, on which he bestowed golden ornaments, and appointed for it a sentinel in the person of one of the 'immortal ten thousand.' The early veneration of trees was associated with that of sacred fountains. In similar connexion with the early worship of nature among the Hellenic nations we read of the fame of the great palm-tree of Delos, and of an aged platanus in Arcadia. The Buddhists of Ceylon venerate the colossal Indian fig-tree of Anurah-depura; those of Japan the great pine-tree of Otzu . . . As single trees thus became objects of veneration from the beauty of their form, so did also groups of trees, under the name of 'groves of gods.' Pausanias (i. 21, § 9) is full of the praise of a grove belonging to the temple of Apollo at Grynion in Aeolis; and the grove of Colone is celebrated in the renowned chorus of Sophocles" (Humboldt, *Cosmos*, ii. 96, Eng. ed.). The custom of adorning trees "with jewels and mantles" was very ancient and universal (Herod. vii. 31; Aelian, *V. H.* ii. 14; Theocr. *Id.* xviii.; Ov. *Met.* viii. 723, 745; Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, i. 39), and even still exists in the East.

The *oracular* trees of antiquity are well known (*Il.* xvi. 233; *Od.* v. 237; Soph. *Trach.* 754; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 16; Sil. Ital. iii. 11). Each god had some sacred tree (Virg. *Ecl.* vii. 61 sqq.). The Etrurians are said to have worshipped a palm, and the Celts an oak (Max. Tyr. *Dissert.* 38, in Godwyn's *Mos. and Aar.* ii. 4). On the Druidic veneration of oak-groves, see Pliny, *H. N.* xvi. 44; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30. In the same way, according to the missionary Oldendorp, the negroes "have sacred groves, the abodes of a deity, which no negro ventures to enter except the priests" (Prichard, *Nat. Hist. of Man*, pp. 525–539, 3rd ed.; Park's *Travels*, p. 65). So, too, the ancient Egyptians (Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 298). Long after the introduction of Christianity it was found necessary to forbid all abuse of trees and groves to the purposes of superstition (Harduin, *Act. Concil.* i. 988; see Orelli, *ad* Tac. *Germ.* 9). [F. W. F.]

GUARD. The Hebrew terms commonly used had reference to the special duties which the body-guard of a monarch had to perform.

1. *Tubbāch* (טַבָּח) originally signified "a cook;" and as butchering fell to the lot of the cook in Eastern countries, it gained the secondary sense of "executioner," and is applied to the body-guard of the kings of Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 36 [A.V. and R.V. text "captain of the guard," ditto marg. *chief of the executioners*]) and Babylon (2 K. xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9, xl. 1; Dan. ii. 14 [A. V. and R. V. "captain of the guard" in all these passages]). [EXECUTIONER.]

2. *Rāṣ* (רָץ) properly means "a runner," and is the ordinary term employed for the attendants of the Jewish kings, whose office it was to run before the chariot (2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 K. i. 5), like the *cursores* of the Roman Emperors (Senec. *Ep.* 87, 126). That the Jewish "runners" superadded the ordinary duties of a military "guard" appears from several passages (1 Sam. xxii. 17; 2 K. x. 25, xi. 6; 2 Ch. xii. 10. Cp. A. V. and R. V. of these passages). It was their office also to carry despatches (2 Ch. xxx. 6, A. V. and R. V. "posts"). They had a guard-room set apart for their use in the king's palace, in which their arms were kept ready for use (1 K. xiv. 28; 2 Ch. xii. 11). [FOOTMAN.]

3. The terms *mishmèreth* (מִשְׁמֶרֶת) and *mishmār* (מִשְׁמָר) express properly the *act of watching*, but are occasionally transferred to the persons who kept watch (Neh. iv. 9, vii. 3, xii. 9 [A. V. "watches," R. V. "wards"]; Job vii. 12). It is not necessary to suppose that the A. V. substituted *mishmartō* (מִשְׁמַרְתּוֹ) for the present reading (מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ) in 2 Sam. xxiii. 23 or 1 Sam. xxii. 14. Benaiah was appointed "captain of the guard," as Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 14, § 4) relates, and not privy councillor: and the word מִשְׁמַעַת easily acquires that meaning (cp. MV.[11] and Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* on 1 Sam. xxii. 14). For his duties, see CAPTAIN. [W. L. B.] [F.]

GUD-GO'DAH (with the art. הַגִּדְגָּדָה; BA. Γαδγάδ, F. Γαλγα'; *Gadgad*), Deut. x. 7. [HOR HAGIDGAD.]

GUEST. [HOSPITALITY.]

GUL'LOTH (גֻּלּוֹת = *bubblings, a spring*, plural of גֻּלָּה), a Hebrew term of unfrequent occurrence in the Bible, and used only in two passages relating the same occurrence, to denote a natural object, viz. the springs added by the great Caleb to the south land in the neighbourhood of Debir, which formed the dowry of his daughter Achsah (Josh. xv. 19; Judg. i. 15). The springs were "upper" and "lower"—possibly one at the top and the other at the bottom of a ravine or glen; and they may have derived their unusual name from their appearance being different from that of the ordinary springs of the country. The root (גָּלַל) has the force of rolling or tumbling over, and perhaps this may imply that they welled up in that round or mushroom form which is not uncommon here, though apparently most rare in Palestine. The rendering of the Vat. LXX. (B.) is singular. In Josh. it has *τὴν* Βοθθανείς, and *τὴν* Γοναιθλάν, the latter doubtless a mere corruption of the Hebrew. The A. MS. follows more closely the Hebrew text (Γωλαθμαίμ . . Γωλάθ). In Judges both have λύτρωσις. The springs were apparently known in St. Jerome's day, for he particularly mentions Paula's visit to them, and her astonishment at them; *magis mirabatur*, &c. (*Ep. Paul.* xi.). An attempt has been made by Dr. Rosen to identify them with the *'Ain Nunkur* or *el-Unkur* near Hebron (see *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* 1857); but they are more probably the three remarkable groups of springs in the *Seil ed-Dilbeh* to the north of *Edh-Dhâheriyeh* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 302). [DEBIR.] [G.] [W.]

GU'NI (גּוּנִי [see MV.[11]]; B. Γωνί, δ Γαννί, A. Γωννί; *Guni*). **1.** A son of Naphtali (Gen. xlvi. 24; 1 Ch. vii. 13), the founder of the family of the Gunites (Num. xxvi. 48). Like several others of the early Israelite names, Guni is a patronymic—"Gunite;" as if already a family at the time of its first mention (cp. Arodi, Hushim, &c.).

2. A descendant of Gad; father of Abdiel, a chief man in his tribe (1 Ch. v. 15).

GU'NITES, THE (הַגּוּנִי; *ὁ Γαυνί*; *Gunitae*), the "family" which sprang from Guni, son of Naphtali (Num. xxvi. 48). There is not in the Hebrew any difference between the two names, of the individual and of the family.

GUR, THE GOING UP TO (מַעֲלֵה־גוּר = *the ascent* or *steep of Gur*, or *the lion's whelp*, or perhaps *the inn* or *Khân*, Ges. *Thes.* p. 275; *ἐν τῷ ἀναβαίνειν Γαί*; *ascensus Gaver*), an ascent or rising ground, at which Ahaziah received his deathblow while flying from Jehu after the slaughter of Joram (2 K. ix. 27). It is described as at (בְּ) Ibleam, and on the way between Jezreel and Beth-hag-gan (A. V. "the garden-house"). As the latter is identified with tolerable probability with the present *Jenin*, and it may be inferred from the narrative that Ahaziah had not gone a very long distance before he was overtaken and wounded, we may conclude that the ascent of Gur was a hill between Jezreel and "the garden-house." Such a place there is midway between *Zerîn* and *Jenin*, where the direct road between the two places passes over a spur upon which by the side of the road stands the village of *Jelameh*, perhaps Ibleam. By Josephus it is mentioned (*Ant.* ix. 6, § 3) merely as "a certain ascent" (*ἔν τινι προσβάσει*). Neither it nor Ibleam have yet been certainly recovered.

For the details of the occurrence, see JEHU. For other ascents, see ADUMMIM, ACRABBIM, ZIZ. [G.] [W.]

GUR BA'AL (גּוּר־בַּעַל = *the dwelling of Baal*; *ἡ πέτρα*; *Gurbaal*), a place or district in which dwelt Arabians, as recorded in 2 Ch. xxvi. 7. It appears from the context to have been in the country lying between Palestine and the Arabian peninsula; but no site has been assigned to it. The Targum reads עַרְבָאֵי דְיָתְבִין בִּגְרָר—"Arabs living in Gerar"—suggesting גְּרָר instead of גּוּר; but there is no further evidence to strengthen this supposition. [E. S. P.]

GUTTER, the A. V. translation of צִנּוֹר (in 2 Sam. v. 8; R. V. "watercourse"), a word the sense of which is not certain (see MV.[11]), occurring in a passage "of which it is easier to say what it does not mean than what it does" (Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco). [F.]

H

HA-AHASH-TA'RI (הָאֲחַשְׁתָּרִי, with the article, = the Ahashtarite [possibly of Persian signification, see MV.[11]]; B. Ἀσηράν, A. Ἀσθηρά; *Ahasthari*), a man, or a family, immediately descended from Ashur, "father of Tekoa" by his second wife Naarah (1 Ch. iv. 6). The name does not appear again, nor is there any trace of a place of similar name.

HABAI'AH (חֲבַיָּה = *Jah hath hidden*; B. Λαβειά, A. Ὀβαΐα (Ezra); BA. Ἐβειά. ℵ. Ἀβειά (Neh.); *Hobia*, *Habia*). Bene-Chabajah were among the sons of the priests who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel, but whose genealogy being imperfect, were not allowed to serve (Ezra ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63). It is not clear from the passage whether they were among the descendants of Barzillai the Gileadite. In the lists of 1 Esdras the name is given as OBDIA.

HABAKKUK, the eighth in order of the Minor Prophets. 1. The name חֲבַקּוּק, not found elsewhere in the O. T., means *embrace* or *embracing*. Jerome (*Prol. in Abacuc*) renders it *amplexus*; adding, "sive ut significantius vertamus in Graecum *περίληψις*, id est *amplexatio*." The form Ἀμβακοὺμ (in some MSS. Ἀββακοὺμ) of the LXX. is derived from a different pronunciation, חֲבַקּוּק or חֲבַקּוּק, by resolution of the doubled *b* into *mb*, and assimilation of the final consonant of the last syllable to the final consonant of the first syllable; unless indeed the change is due to an ancient corruption. The Latin forms are *Ambacum*, *Abacuc*, or *Habacuc*.

2. Nothing is known about the Prophet's life. From the specific title "the prophet" in chs. i. 1 and iii. 1, it has been inferred that he held a recognised official position as a Prophet; and the expression "on *my* stringed instruments" in the subscription to ch. iii. has been thought to indicate that he was a member of the Temple choir, and therefore a Levite, or possibly a priest. This agrees with the title prefixed to the Septuagint recension of Bel and the Dragon (Tischendorf, ii. p. 614; Fritzsche, *Libri Apocr. Vet. Test.* p. 86; *Speaker's Comm. on the Apocrypha*, ii. 350), *ἐκ προφητείας Ἀμβακοὺμ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευΐ*: "from the prophecy of Ambacum the son of Jesus of the tribe of Levi."

Tradition makes up for the defects of history with various inconsistent and fantastic legends. According to one account, he was the son of the Shunammite woman who was restored to life by Elisha, an idea based on the connexion between the Prophet's name and the word "embrace" in 2 K. iv. 16. Another tradition saw in Hab. ii. 1 a reference to Is. xxi. 6, 8, and supposed the Prophet to be the sentinel set to watch for the fall of Babylon. According to Pseudo-Dorotheus (ap. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 150 c) and Epiphanius (*de Vitis Proph.*), he belonged to the tribe of Simeon, and was born at Bethzocher, by which possibly Beth-zacharias, where Antiochus Eupator defeated Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. vi. 32, 33), is meant. On the approach of Nebuchadnezzar he fled to Ostracine on the way to Egypt, but returned on the departure of the Chaldaeans, and died and was buried in his native place two years before the return from the Captivity. His tomb was shown at Keilah in the time of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 143, 19; p. 270, 33). Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 29) relates that the graves of Habakkuk and Micah were made known to Zebennus Bishop of Eleutheropolis by Divine Revelation. But in the Middle Ages his tomb was shown at Chukkok, now *Yakuk*, two leagues S.W. of Safed. The best known legend about Habakkuk is that found in "Bel and the Dragon," *v.* 33 sq. He is there said to have been carried through the air by an Angel from Judaea to Babylon to feed Daniel, who had been thrown for the second

time into the lions' den in the reign of Cyrus, with the dinner which he had prepared for his reapers. The story appears to have existed in the Midrashic literature at an early date (see Ball's "Introduction to Bel and the Dragon" in the *Speaker's Comm.* ii. 344 sq.). It is embellished by Dorotheus and Epiphanius, and is often referred to by the Fathers.

For a full collection of these traditions, see Delitzsch, *De Habacuci prophetae vita atque aetate*, 1842.

3. *Date.*—Habakkuk belongs, together with Zephaniah and Jeremiah, to the Prophets of the Chaldaean period. The date of his ministry is not stated, but internal evidence fixes it within comparatively narrow limits.

(*a*) The empire of the Chaldaeans has been established, and has grown with incredible rapidity. Their characteristics are well known. Their insatiable lust of conquest, their irresistible ferocity, their treachery, their wholesale deportations of conquered peoples, their pride, their drunkenness, their passion for magnificent buildings, their love of hunting, their idolatries, are all described in forcible language (i. 5–17; ii. 4–20). They are pressing forward in their career of conquest. It was in B.C. 625 that Nabopolassar, by an act of treachery, seized the throne, and established the independence of Babylon. This date then is the *terminus a quo* for Habakkuk's prophecy; but it cannot be placed so early, as time must be allowed for the vast development of the empire which has clearly taken place.

(*b*) On the other hand, the Chaldaean invasion of Judah, though imminent, appears to be still future. Ewald indeed maintains that "at the time of the prophecy of Habakkuk . . . the Chaldaeans are in the Holy Land, cruelly trampling down everything with irresistible force" (*Prophets*, iii. 27); but this view rests on a misinterpretation of i. 2–4. There is no hint that Jerusalem has been taken. And if so, the prophecy must be placed shortly before, or immediately after, the great battle of Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Riehm, B.C. 606; *al.* 605 or 604), in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated Pharaoh Necho, and secured the supremacy of Western Asia. If it was clear that the "incredible work" referred to in Hab. i. 5 meant the Chaldaean invasion of Judah, then the prophecy must have been published *before* the battle of Carchemish, for after that event such an invasion must have been foreseen by everyone. But if (with Delitzsch) the "incredible work" is explained to be the sudden rise of the terrible Chaldaean power, the prophecy may be placed between Carchemish and Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judah. Some interval elapsed between these events, as the death of his father obliged Nebuchadnezzar to return to Babylon after the battle; but the proclamation of a fast in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 9) was probably prompted by the advance of the Chaldaean army.

(*c*) The description of the internal condition of Judah in ch. i. 2–4 suits the reign of Jehoiakim. Jeremiah expressly charges him with crimes similar to those denounced by Habakkuk, and contrasts the just administration of his father Josiah (xxii. 13–19); and in other prophecies of the same period the desperate moral corruption of the nation is depicted. Cp. Jer. vii. 1 sq., xxv. 1 sq., xxvi. 1 sq.

(*d*) The whole tone of the prophecy reflects the period of reaction and corruption under Jehoiakim, and not the hopefulness of the temporary amendment under Josiah (2 K. xxii. 18–20; xxiii. 25). The judgment is imminent and inevitable. The pressing question is how the faithful may be enabled to go through it without losing their faith.

These reasons seem to be fairly conclusive for fixing the date of Habakkuk's prophecy in the reign of Jehoiakim, not later than his sixth year (Driver, *LOT.* p. 316). The following arguments, however, are urged in favour of placing this prophecy in the reign of Josiah:—(*a*) The position of Habakkuk in the series of the Minor Prophets appears to represent an early tradition that he preceded Zephaniah, who prophesied in the reign of Josiah. (*b*) Zeph. i. 7 is supposed to be partly borrowed from Hab. ii. 20. In favour of regarding Habakkuk as the original and Zephaniah as his imitator, it is urged that it is the habit of Zephaniah, like Jeremiah, to borrow freely; that in particular this verse is an obvious mosaic, pieced together from Hab. ii. 20, Joel i. 15, Is. xxxiv. 6, xiii. 3. Jeremiah's earlier prophecies, moreover, are thought to show traces of acquaintance with Habakkuk (cp. Jer. iv. 13, v. 6, with Hab. i. 8). (*c*) Habakkuk, it is said, belongs to the school of Isaiah, Zephaniah to that of Jeremiah. (*d*) The subscription to Hab. iii. implies that the Temple-service was being carried on, and that therefore the Book cannot be dated earlier than the twelfth year of Josiah, when the reformation was commenced (2 Ch. xxxiv. 3). Zephaniah, for various reasons, must be placed after the eighteenth year of Josiah. Habakkuk's ministry must therefore be placed between the twelfth and eighteenth years of Josiah. To the objection that Hab. i. 2–4 describes a state of things which is hardly conceivable under the rule of such a good king, it is answered that Jeremiah, even in his earlier prophecies, delivered from the thirteenth year of Josiah onward (ii.–vi.), and Zephaniah (i., iii. 1–6), both speak of the deep and widespread corruption of the people.

To these arguments it may be replied, that the Minor Prophets are certainly not arranged in a strict chronological order: that the 'argument from parallel passages' is a precarious one: that the modes of thought of two periods frequently overlap: that the precise evils described in Hab. i. 2–4 are really those of the reign of Jehoiakim rather than Josiah.

The arguments for placing Habakkuk in the reign of Josiah will be found stated with much fulness and ingenuity in Delitzsch's *Commentary* (1843); in more recent works, however, he inclines to place Habakkuk in the reign of Manasseh (*O. T. Hist. of Redemption*, 1881, p. 126; cp. *Isaiah*,[4] 1889, p. 15), on the ground that the lament in i. 2 reflects the condition of affairs described in 2 K. xxi. 16.

So early a date as the reign of Manasseh is, however, clearly excluded by the fact that Habakkuk describes the Chaldaean empire as having already become the terror of the world, and the arguments for placing the prophecy in the reign of Josiah are inconclusive compared

with those urged for placing it under Jehoiakim. On the other hand, the fact that the Chaldaean invasion does not appear to have actually reached Judah, excludes so late a date as the reign of Zedekiah.

4. *Contents and plan.*—The artistic arrangement and essential unity of the Book will best be shown by an analysis of the contents.[a] It falls into three main divisions.

a. Ch. i. *The expostulation.*—The Prophet expostulates with Jehovah for allowing wrong to triumph unrestrainedly in the land (i. 2–4)[b]. Jehovah answers the Prophet's complaint, addressing at the same time the people whose sins call for punishment, by pointing to the marvellous rise and terrible character of the Chaldaeans, whom He has raised up to be His ministers of judgment (*vv.* 5–11). But the answer involves a fresh perplexity. How can the pure and holy God employ as His instruments these unscrupulous, pitiless, self-deifying invaders (*vv.* 12–17)?

b. Ch. ii. *The judgment of the oppressors.*—The Prophet pauses, waiting for an answer, and considering how he may defend his bold challenge of the Divine action (ii. 1). He is commanded to write the vision for all to read. Though it may be long deferred, its fulfilment will surely come in due time (*vv.* 2, 3). The oracle itself (*v.* 4)[c] implies the destruction of the Chaldaeans, and promises the preservation of the righteous; and the thought enigmatically expressed in the first half of it is expanded in the rest of the chapter (*vv.* 5–20). The debauchery, the pride, the insatiable greed of the Chaldaeans will be their ruin; and the voices of their victims are heard heaping execrations on their oppressors, and exulting in their fall. The plunderers shall in their turn be plundered (*vv.* 6–8): their magnificent buildings bear witness to their crimes (*vv.* 9–11): the state founded on injustice will be destroyed, and make way for the kingdom of Jehovah (*vv.* 12–14): their savage triumph over the ruin of others will find appropriate punishment in their own utter disgrace; outraged nature will rise in judgment against them (*vv.* 15–17). Idols are vain: let all the earth keep silence before Jehovah, the living and true God (*vv.* 18–20).

c. Ch. iii. *The Advent of the Deliverer.*—The Prophet has heard the announcement of the judgment impending over Israel, and the retribution ultimately in store for their proud oppressors. But he fears that the long delay which seems to be anticipated in ii. 2, 3 may be too severe a trial of faith, and he prays Jehovah to hasten His work, and shorten the time of chastisement (*v.* 2). The answer flashes upon him with the certainty of a sudden intuition. He beholds in all its terrible splendour the Advent of Jehovah for the deliverance of His people and the destruction of their enemies (*vv.* 3–15). The language in which it is described recalls the great manifestations of Jehovah in the past, at Sinai, at the Red Sea, at the Jordan, which are at once types and pledges of this great manifestation in the future.[d] The Prophet is convulsed with terror at the sight, yet it teaches him calm resignation; and though in the day of the Chaldaean invasion the land may be utterly laid waste, he and the faithful few whom he represents will rejoice in Jehovah, Who is still the strength of His people, and will one day restore them to the possession of their own land (*vv.* 16–19).

From this analysis it will be seen that though "the prayer of Habakkuk" (ch. iii.) can be regarded as a separate piece, and was possibly intended for use in the Temple-worship, it is by no means a mere appendix, but an integral part of the Book, which is no mere aggregation of separate prophecies, but a carefully constructed and artistic work, from which no part can be detached without destroying its completeness. Though it can hardly be called an actual drama (Ewald, *Prophets*, iii. 32), its dramatic character is obvious. The dialogue in which the Prophet's questionings and Jehovah's answers are expressed, the bold expedient of summoning the victims of Chaldaean cruelty to pronounce the tyrant's doom, the magnificent scene which is the *dénouement* of the whole, as well as the representation of the successive stages in this providential government of the world, combine to give it this character.

5. *Style.*—Habakkuk was a poetical genius of the highest order. The first two chapters are rhythmical in form and poetical in expression: the third is a poem which challenges comparison with the noblest productions of Hebrew literature. "Great as Habakkuk is in thought, he is no less so in language and literary skill; he is the last Prophet belonging to the age preceding the destruction of Jerusalem who is master of a beautiful style, of powerful description, and an artistic power that enlivens and orders everything with charming effect" (Ewald, *Prophets*, iii. 32).

6. The purpose of Habakkuk's prophecy is to vindicate the righteousness of Jehovah in His government of the world, and thereby to offer comfort to the faithful Israelite in the impending time of distress. The problem of the Divine toleration of evil could not but press

[a] Stade (*ZATW.*, 1884, pp. 154 sq.) maintains that Hab. i. 2–ii. 8 is the only part of the Book that belongs to the Chaldaean period. To this was added in post-exilic times a description of a heathen or heathenishly disposed enemy of the congregation, together with a prayer of the congregation for help in a time of extreme distress. But in our scanty knowledge of the post-exilic history, it is idle to attempt to determine the time at which the addition was made. The exegetical difficulties of ii. 8–20 may be admitted; but Stade's criticism is mere speculation, and creates more perplexities than it solves.

[b] Ch. i. 2–4 certainly describes the prevailing corruption of Judah, and not the insolence of the Chaldaean conquerors already occupying the land. The announcement of the judgment in *v.* 5 sq. is necessarily preceded by a complaint about the sins which demand it.

[c] If the "vision" was actually to be written on a tablet to be hung in some public place (cp. Is. viii. 1; xxx. 8), it must have been brief and significant; and it seems best to regard *v.* 4 only as the "vision," on which *vv.* 5–20 are a commentary, rather than to suppose that the "vision" includes the whole passage, *vv.* 4–20.

[d] It is here assumed that the imperfects of the original should be rendered by presents as in R. V. margin, and taken to represent the scene as it develops before the Prophet's mental vision. If, however, they are understood to refer to the past, as in A. V. and R. V. text, the general sense will not be substantially different. The recollection of the great deliverances of the past is offered as a ground of confidence for the future.

hardly upon the Prophet and his godly contemporaries, when they contemplated the social and religious corruption around them; and the solution that judgment was speedily to be executed upon the guilty nation seemed to involve a still worse perplexity, if the executioners of the Divine sentence were to be monsters of pride and violence. In spite of appearances, however, he can still appeal to the character of Jehovah (i. 12 sq.), and he is taught to understand that the eternal laws of right and wrong are still in force; that the arrogance of the Chaldaeans has in it the germ of ruin, while the constancy of the just is a principle of life (ii. 4). And the sublime poem of ch. iii., appealing to the imagination as well as the reason, assures the faithful heart that God will manifest His sovereignty in the future no less victoriously than in the past.

7. Strong as is Habakkuk's originality, he yet shows his dependence upon earlier Books of the O. T. Cp. Hab. ii. 14 with Is. xi. 9; Hab. iii. 3 with Deut. xxxiii. 2, Judg. v. 4, 5, Ps. lxviii. 7, 8. That Hab. iii. 10–15 is related to Ps. lxxvii. 16–20 is evident, and Delitzsch after full investigation (*Comm.* pp. 119 sq.) decides that the Psalm is the original. But Ewald, Hupfeld, and Hitzig assign the priority to Habakkuk. (Cp. also Hab. iii. 19 with Ps. xviii. 33. For further parallels, see Delitzsch, p. 118 sq.)

8. *N. T. quotations.*—Hab. ii. 3b, 4, is quoted in Heb. x. 37, 38 (from the LXX., which does not agree with the Hebrew, and freely); and the latter half of *v.* 4 is twice quoted by St. Paul (Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11). He does not, however, follow either the Heb. or the LXX. exactly, and he expands the truth implicitly contained in the words, giving them "a spiritual meaning and a general application." The word אֱמוּנָה is nowhere else in the O. T. rendered "faith," and denotes "firmness, constancy, trustworthiness," rather than the active principle of "faith." "But it will at times approach near to the active sense: for constancy under temptation or danger with an Israelite could spring only from reliance on Jehovah. And something of this transitional or double sense it has in the passage of Habakkuk ii. 4" (Bp. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 154, whose notes should be consulted). Hab. i. 5 is also quoted by St. Paul in Acts xiii. 41, from the LXX., which differs from the Heb., and freely.

9. *Literature.*—Besides commentaries on the Minor Prophets generally, the best special commentary on Habakkuk is still that of Delitzsch (Leipsic, 1843), and an exhaustive examination of the traditions about the Prophet will be found in the same writer's *De Habacuci Prophetae vita atque aetate Commentatio historico-isagogica cum diatriba de Pseudo-Dorothei et Pseudo-Epiphanii vitis Prophetarum* (Leipsic, 1842). A list of the older commentaries will be found in Rosenmüller's Scholia; additions to it in Delitzsch, p. xxiv. Later works are those of Gumpach (1860); Reinke (1870); Orelli (1888).

[A. F. K.]

HABAZINI'AH (חֲבַצִּנְיָה; Βαρ. Χαβασελν; *Habsania*), apparently the head of one of the families of the RECHABITES: his descendant Jaazaniah was the chief man among them in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxv. 3).

HAB'BACUC (Ἀμβακούμ; *Habacuc*), the form in which the name of the prophet HABAKKUK is given in the Apocrypha (Bel, *vv.* 33–39).

HABERGEON (A.-S. *healsbeorga*), a coat of mail covering the neck and breast. The Hebrew terms are תִּחְרָא, שִׁרְיָה, and שִׁרְיוֹן. The first, *tachra* (R. V. "coat of mail"), occurs only in Ex. xxviii. 32, xxxix. 23, and is noticed incidentally to illustrate the mode of making the aperture for the head in the sacerdotal *me'il*. It was probably similar to the linen corslet (λινοθώρηξ), worn by the Egyptians (Her. ii. 182, iii. 47) and the Greeks (*Il.* ii. 529, 830). The second, *shiryāh*, occurs only in Job xli. 26 [Heb. *v.* 18], and has been regarded as another form of *shiryān* (שִׁרְיָן), a "breastplate" (Is. lix. 17) but the context requires offensive rather than defensive armour (hence R. V. text "the pointed shaft," with Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[4]). *Shiryān*, in fact, is the *pausal* form of the third, *shiryōn*; an article of defensive armour (1 Sam. xvii. 5; 2 Ch. xxvi. 14; Neh. iv. 10). [W. L. B.] [F.]

HA'BOR (חָבוֹר; A. Ἀβώρ, B. Ἀβώρ and Ἀβιώρ; *Habor*), one of the rivers mentioned in connexion with Gozan (2 K. xvii. 6, and xviii. 11), has been already shown not to be the Chebar or Chobar of Ezekiel [CHEBAR]. It is identified beyond all reasonable doubt with the famous affluent of the Euphrates, which is called Aborrhas (Ἀβόρρας) by Strabo (xvi. 1, § 27) and Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* ii. 5), Aburas (Ἀβούρας) by Isidore of Charax (p. 4), Abora (Ἀβώρα) by Zosimus (iii. 12), and Chaboras (Χαβώρας) by Pliny and Ptolemy (*v.* 18). The stream in question still bears the name of the *Khabour*. It flows from several sources in the mountain-chain, which in about the 37th parallel closes in the valley of the Tigris upon the south—the Mons Masius of Strabo and Ptolemy, at present the *Kharej Dagh*. The chief source is said to be "a little to the west of *Mardin*" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 309, note); but the upper course of the river is still very imperfectly known. The main stream was seen by Sir H. Layard flowing from the north-west as he stood on the conical hill of *Koukab* (about lat. 36° 20′, long. 41°); and here it was joined by an important tributary, the *Jerujer*, which flowed down to it from Nisibis. Both streams were here fordable, but the river formed by their union had to be crossed by a raft. It flowed in a tortuous course through rich meads covered with flowers, having a general direction about S.S.W. to its junction with the Euphrates at *Karkesia*, the ancient Circesium. The country on both sides of the river was covered with mounds, the remains of cities belonging to the Assyrian period.

The Habor is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I., king of Assyria, about 1120 B.C., who boasts of having killed ten mighty elephants in the land of Haran and on the banks of the Habor; and Aššur-naṣir-apli (885–860 B.C.), after crossing the Tigris, and subjugating the people on the banks of the river Ḥarmiš, records that he continued his conquests on the banks of the Habor, passing afterwards towards the Euphrates (*piāte ša nâr Ḫabur*, "the mouths of the river Habor"); and, from the words used, it would seem that the waters of the river flowed into

the Euphrates through several outlets. Elephants frequented the neighbourhood at that early period. [G. R.] [T. G. P.]

HACHALI'AH (חַכַלְיָה, of uncertain meaning; B. Χελκειά, ℵA. Ἀχαλία [i. 1], BN. Ἀχελιά, A. Ἀχαλιά [x. 1]; *Hechlia, Hahelia, Achelai*), the father of Nehemiah (Neh. i. 1, x. 1).

HACHI'LAH, THE HILL (גִּבְעַת הַחֲכִילָה, *hill of darkness*, Ges.: in 1 Sam. xxiii. 19, BA. Ἐχελά; in xxvi. 1, B. Χελμάθ, A. Ἀχιλά: *collis*, and *Gabaa, Hachila*), a hill apparently situated in a wood[a] in the wilderness or waste land (מִדְבָּר) in the neighbourhood of Ziph; in the fastnesses or passes of which David and his six hundred followers were lurking when the Ziphites informed Saul of his whereabouts (1 Sam. xxiii. 19; cp. *vv.* 14, 15, 18). The special topographical note is added, that it was "on the right (xxiii. 19, A. V. and R. V. "south") of the Jeshimon," or, according to xxvi. 1–3, "facing the Jeshimon" (עַל פְּנֵי, A. V. and R. V. "before"); that is, the waste barren district. On the first occasion, David, on the approach of Saul, appears to have removed to the wilderness of Maon, and then to have gone down[b] to "the cliff" (xxiii. 25, הַסֶּלַע; R. V. "the rock") in the same *midbar*. On the second, David drew down from the hill into the lower ground (xxvi. 3). Saul advanced to the hill, and bivouacked there by the side of the road (דֶּרֶךְ, A. V. and R. V. "way"), which appears to have run over the hill or close below it. It was during this nocturnal halt that the romantic adventure of the spear and cruse of water took place. In xxiii. 14 and xxvi. 13 this hill would seem (though this is not quite clear) to be dignified by the title of "the mountain" (הָהָר); in the latter, the A. V. has "an hill;" in both the article missed by the A. V. is emphasized in the R. V.). Ziph and Maon are now *Tell ez-Zif* and *Tell M'ain*, well-known places to the south of Hebron; and their "wildernesses" are apparently the desert tracts N. and S. of *Wâdy el-W'ar*, which for five miles of its course is a narrow gorge with precipitous sides. Major Conder has suggested that the hill Hachilah may be the long flat-topped ridge, *Dhahret el-Kôlah*, north of *W. el-W'ar*, which terminates in a high, narrow, and almost isolated hill (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 313). In this case "the rock" would be the precipice on the S. side of *W. el-W'ar*. The character of the country, which bears no traces of former cultivation or vegetation, is such as to render the former existence of a forest extremely improbable; and it seems not unlikely that the true reading has been preserved by the LXX. and Josephus. By Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 261, 3; p. 153, 15), *Echela* is named as a village then standing; but the situation—7 miles from Eleutheropolis, *i.e.* on the N.W. side of Hebron—would be too far from Ziph and Maon; and as Reland has pointed out, they probably confounded it with Keilah (cp. *OS.*[2] p. 143, 19, "Ceeilah;" and Reland, p. 745). [G.] [W.]

HACHMO'NI, SON OF, and THE HACHMO'NITE (1 Ch. xxvii. 32, xi. 11), both renderings—the former the correct one—of the same Hebrew words (בֶּן־חַכְמוֹנִי = son of a Hachmonite: in 1 Ch. xxvii. 32, B. Ἀχαμεί, A. Ἀχαμανί; in 1 Ch. xi. 11, B. Ἀχαμανεί, ℵ. Ἀχαμαννί, A. -ανί: *Achamoni*). Two of the Bene-Hachmoni are named in these passages; JEHIEL in the former, and JASHOBEAM in the latter. Hachmon or Hachmoni was no doubt the founder of a family to which these men belonged: the actual father of Jashobeam was Zabdiel (1 Ch. xxvii. 2), and he is also said to have belonged to the Korhites (R. V. Korahites, 1 Ch. xii. 6), possibly the Levites descended from Korah. But the name Hachmon nowhere appears in the genealogies of the Levites. In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 the name is altered to the Tahchemonite (R. V. See Driver in loco). See Kennicott, *Diss.* pp. 72, 82, who calls attention to the fact that names given in Chronicles with *Ben* are in Samuel given without the *Ben*, but with the definite article. [G.] [W.]

HADA'D (הֲדַד; Ἀδάδ, Ἀράδ, Ἀδάρ, Χοδδάν; *Hadad*). This name occurs frequently in the history of the Syrian and Edomite dynasties. It was originally the indigenous appellation of a deity among the Syrians (the Sun, according to Macrob. *Saturnal.* i. 23 [cp. Bäthgen, *Beitr. z. Semiten Religionsgeschichte*, p. 66 sq.]; Plin. xxxvii. 11), though little is known of the etymology of the name or of the attributes of the god; and was thence transferred to the king, as the highest of early authorities, in the forms Hadad, Benhadad ("worshipper of Hadad"), and Hadadezer ("assisted by Hadad," Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 218). The title appears to have been an official one for the kings of Damascus; and is so used by Nicolaus Damascenus, as quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, § 2), in reference to the Syrian king who aided Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 5). Josephus appears to have used the name in the same sense, where he substitutes it for Benhadad (*Ant.* ix. 8, § 7, compared with 2 K. xiii. 24). The name appears occasionally in the altered form Hadar (Gen. xxv. 15, xxxvi. 39, compared with 1 Ch. i. 30, 50).

1. The first of the name was a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Ch. i. 30). Of him nothing is known (see Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[b] on Gen. l. c.).

2. (הֲדַד.) The second was a king of Edom, who gained an important victory over the Midianites on the field of Moab (Gen. xxxvi. 35; 1 Ch. i. 46): the position of his territory is marked by his capital, Avith. [AVITH.]

3. (הֲדַד.) The third was also a king of Edom, with Pau for his capital (1 Ch. i. 50). [PAU.] He was the last of the kings: the change to the dukedom is pointedly connected with his death in 1 Ch. i. 51. [HADAR.]

[a] For the "wood," the LXX. of 1 Sam. xxiii. 19 have ἐν τῇ καινῇ, reading חֹרֶשׁ for חָרֶשׁ. And so, too, Josephus.

[b] The Hebrew exactly answers to our expression "descended the cliff:" the "into" in the text of the A. V. (R. V. "to") is derived from the LXX. εἰς and the Vulgate *ad*. See Jerome's explanation, *ad petram, id est, ad tutissimum locum*, in his *Quaest. Hebr.* ad loc.

4. (הֲדַד.) The last of the name was a member of the royal house of Edom (1 K. xi. 14 sq. In *v.* 17 it is given in the mutilated form of אֲדַד). In his childhood he escaped the massacre under Joab, in which his father appears to have perished, and fled with a band of followers into Egypt. Some difficulty arises in the account of his flight, from the words "they arose out of Midian" (*v.* 18): Thenius (*Comm.* in loco) surmises that the reading has been corrupted from מִדְיָן to מָעוֹן, and that the place intended is *Maon*, i.e. the *residence* for the time being of the royal family (see other surmises in Klostermann in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco). Pharaoh, the predecessor of Solomon's father-in-law, treated him kindly, and gave him his sister-in-law in marriage. After David's death Hadad resolved to attempt the recovery of his dominion: Pharaoh in vain discouraged him, and upon this he left Egypt and returned to his own country (see the addition to *v.* 22 in the LXX.). It does not appear from the text, as it now stands, how Hadad became subsequently to this an "adversary unto Solomon" (*v.* 14), still less how he gained the sovereignty over Syria (*v.* 25). The LXX., however, refers the whole of *v.* 25 to him instead of to Rezon, and substitutes for Aram. אֲרָם (*Syria*), Ἐδώμ (*Edom*). This may be said to reduce the whole to a consistent and intelligible narrative. Hadad, according to this account, succeeded in his attempt, and carried on a border warfare on the Israelites from his own territory. The substitution is, however, unsupported. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, § 6) retains the reading Syria, and represents Hadad as having failed in his attempt on Idumaea, and then having joined Rezon, from whom he received a portion of Syria. If the present text be correct, the concluding words of *v.* 25 must be referred to Rezon, and be considered as a repetition in an amplified form of the concluding words of the previous verse. [W. L. B.] [F.]

HADA'D-E'ZER (הֲדַדְעֶזֶר = *Hadad is help*; δ Ἀδρααζάρ, in both MSS. [2 Sam. viii. 3–12; 1 K. xi. 23]), king of Zobah, defeated by David. The inscription on an Aramaic seal, and the Assyrian equivalent *Dad'idri*, prove incontestably that this, and not the reading Hadarezer (cp. LXX.), is right (see Bäthgen, *Beitr. z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 67, and Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco). [F.]

HADA'D-RIM'MON (הֲדַד רִמּוֹן; κοπετὸς ῥοῶνος; *Adadremmon*) is, according to the ordinary interpretation of Zech. xii. 11, a place in the valley of Megiddo, named after two Syrian idols, where a national lamentation was held for the death of king Josiah in the last of the four great battles (see Stanley, *S. & P.* ch. ix.) which have made the plain of Esdraelon famous in Hebrew history (see 2 K. xxiii. 29; 2 Ch. xxxv. 23; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 5, § 1). The LXX. translate the second word "pomegranate;" and the Greek commentators, using that Version, see here no reference to Josiah. Jonathan, the Chaldee interpreter, followed by Jarchi, understands it to be the name of the son of king Tabrimon who was opposed to Ahab at Ramoth-gilead. But it has been taken for the place at which Josiah died by most interpreters since Jerome, who states (*Comm. in Zach.*) that it was the name of a city which was called in his time Maximianopolis, and was not far from Jezreel. It is now usually identified with a village south of Megiddo, called *Rummaneh* (see Mühlau in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n.). See Wichmanshausen, *De planctu Hadadr.* in the *Nov. Thes. Theol.-phil.* i. 101. [W. T. B.] [F.]

HADA'R (חֲדַר; A. Χοδδάν, E. Χοδδάδ, *D.* Χαλδά; *Hadar*), a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15), a misreading for in 1 Ch. i. 30 *Hadad* (חֲדַד, Χουδάν, *Hadad*). [HADAD, 1.] [F.]

2. (הֲדַר, with a different aspirate to the preceding; A. Ἀράθ, D^{ul} Ἀραδδ, D^{ul}E. Βαραδδ; *Adar.*) One of the kings of Edom, successor of Baal-hanan ben-Acbor (Gen. xxxvi. 39). In the parallel list in 1 Ch. i. he appears as HADAD (3). [F.]

HADA'R-E'ZER (הֲדַרְעֶזֶר = *whose help is Hadar*, Ges.; BA. Ἀδρααζάρ; *Adarezer*), son of Rehob (2 Sam. viii. 3); the king of the Aramite state of Zobar, who, while on his way to "establish his dominion" at the Euphrates, was overtaken by David, defeated with great loss both of chariots, horses, and men (1 Ch. xviii. 3, 4), and driven with the remnant of his force to the other side of the river (xix. 16). The golden weapons captured on this occasion (שִׁלְטֵי, A. V. and R. V. "shields of gold"), a thousand in number, were taken by David to Jerusalem (xviii. 7), and dedicated to Jehovah. The foreign arms were preserved in the Temple, and were long known as king David's (1 Ch. xxiii. 9; Cant. iv. 4). [ARMS: *Shelet.*]

Not daunted by this defeat, Hadarezer seized an early opportunity of attempting to revenge himself; and after the first repulse of the Ammonites and their Syrian allies by Joab, he sent his army to the assistance of his kindred the people of Maachah, Rehob, and Ishtob (1 Ch. xix. 16; 2 Sam. x. 15, cp. *v.* 8). The army was a large one, as is evident from the numbers of the slain; and it was especially strong in horse-soldiers (xix. 18). Under the command of Shophach, or Shobach, the captain of the host (שֹׁפַךְ הַצָּבָא), they crossed the Euphrates, joined the other Syrians, and encamped at a place called HELAM. The moment was a critical one, and David himself came from Jerusalem to take the command of the Israelite army. As on the former occasion, the rout was complete, seven hundred chariots were captured, seven thousand charioteers and forty thousand horse-soldiers killed, the petty sovereigns who had before been subject to Hadarezer submitted themselves to David, and the great Syrian confederacy was, for the time, at an end.

But one of Hadarezer's more immediate retainers, REZON ben-Eliadah, made his escape from the army, and, gathering round him some fugitives like himself, formed them into one of those marauding ravaging "bands" (גְּדוּד), which found a congenial refuge in the thinly peopled districts between the Jordan and the Euphrates (2 K. v. 2; 1 Ch. v. 18–22). Making their way to Damascus, they possessed

themselves of the city. Rezon became king, and at once began to avenge the loss of his countrymen by the course of "mischief" to Israel which he pursued down to the end of Solomon's reign, and which is summed up in the emphatic words "he was an adversary (a 'Satan') to Israel" ... "he abhorred Israel" (1 K. xi. 23–25).

In the narrative of David's Syrian campaign in 2 Sam. viii. 3–12, this name is given as Hadad-ezer, and also in 1 K. xi. 23. But in 2 Sam. x., and in all its other occurrences in the Hebrew text as well as in the LXX. (both MSS.), and in Josephus, the form Hadarezer is maintained. [G.] [W.]

HADA'SHAH (חֲדָשָׁה = *new* [town]. Cp. the Phoenic. and cuneiform parallels in MV.[11]; B. Ἀδασάν, A. -ά; *Hadassa*), one of the towns of Judah, in the Shefelah or maritime low-country, named between Zenan and Migdal-gad, in the second group (Josh. xv. 37 only). By Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 240, 6) it is erroneously identified with the ADASA of the Maccabaean history near Gophna. The site has not yet been discovered. [G.] [W.]

HADAS'SAH (הֲדַסָּה = *myrtle*; LXX. om.; *Edissa*), a name, probably the earlier name, of Esther (Esth. ii. 7). Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 366) suggests that it is identical with Ἄτοσσα, the name of the daughter of Cyrus.

HADAT'TAH (חַדַתָּה = *new*; LXX. omits; *nova*). According to the A. V., one of the towns of Judah in the extreme south — "Hazor, Hadattah, and Kerioth, and Hezron," &c. (Josh. xv. 25); but the Masoretic accents of the Hebrew connect the word with that preceding it, as if it were (as in R. V.) Hazor-hadattah, *i.e.* New Hazor, in distinction from the place of the same name in *v.* 23. This reading is expressly sanctioned by Eusebius and Jerome, who speak (*OS.*[2] p. 238, 33; p. 125, 10) of "New Hazor" as lying in their day to the east of and near Ascalon (see also Reland, p. 708). But Ascalon, as Robinson has pointed out (ii. 34, note), is in the Shefelah, and not in the South, and would, if named in Joshua at all, be included in the second division of the list, beginning at *v.* 33, instead of where it is, not far from Kedesh. Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 370) has suggested its identification with *Hadadah*, a ruined watch-tower at the head of *W. Zuweirah*, S.W. of the Dead Sea. [G.] [W.]

HADES. [HELL.]

HA'DID (חָדִיד, *i.e.* "sharp," possibly from its situation on some craggy eminence, Gesen. *Thes.* p. 446: in Ezra, B. Λοδαδί, A. Λυδδωνλοδαδίδ; in Neh. vii. Λοδαδίδ, A. Λοδαδιά; in Neh. xi. LXX. omits: *Hadid*), a place named, with Lod (Lydda) and Ono, only in the later books of the history (Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xi. 34), but yet so as to imply its earlier existence. In the time of Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 240, 4) a town called Aditha, or Adatha, existed to the east of Diospolis (Lydda). This was probably Hadid. About 3 miles east of Lydda stands a village called *el-Haditheh*, which is described by the old Jewish traveller ha-Parchi as being "on the summit of a round hill," and identified by him, no doubt correctly, with Hadid. See Zunz, in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 439. It is probably identical with ADITHAIM, and the ADIDA of the Maccabaean history (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 297). [G.] [W.]

HAD'LAI (חַדְלַי = *resting*; B. Χοδδ, A. Ἀδδί; *Adali*), a man of Ephraim; father of Amasa, who was one of the chiefs of the tribe in the reign of Pekah (2 Ch. xxviii. 12).

HADO'RAM (הֲדוֹרָם; Ὀδορράμ [Gen.; LXX. om. in Ch.]; *Aduram*). **1.** The fifth son of Joktan (Gen. x. 27; 1 Ch. i. 21). His settlements, unlike those of many of Joktan's sons, have not been identified (cp. Dillmann[6] on Gen. *l. c.*). Bochart supposed that the Adramitae represented his descendants; but afterwards believed, as later critics have also, that this people was the same as the Chatramotitae, or people of Hadramaut (*Phaleg*, ii. c. 17). [HAZARMAVETH.] Other conjectures may be seen in Delitzsch on Gen. *l. c.* [1887], or in MV.[11]. [F.]

2. (הֲדוֹרָם; B. Ἰδουραάμ, א. Ἰδουράμ, A. Δουράμ; *Adoram*), son of Toü king of Hamath. He was his father's ambassador to congratulate David on his victory over Hadarezer king of Zobah (1 Ch. xviii. 10), and the bearer of valuable presents in the form of articles of antique manufacture (Joseph.), in gold, silver, and brass. In the parallel narrative of 2 Sam. viii. 10 sq. the name is given as Joram; but this being a contraction of Jehoram, which contains the name of Jehovah, is peculiarly an Israelite appellation, and we may therefore conclude that Hadoram is the genuine form of the name, a conclusion supported in part by the LXX. reading of 2 Sam. *l. c.* (BA. Ἰεδδουράν). By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, 4) it is given as Ἀδώραμος.

3. (הֲדֹרָם; B. Ἀδωνειράμ, A. Ἀδωράμ; *Aduram.*) The form assumed in Chronicles by the name of the intendant of taxes under David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, who lost his life in the revolt at Shechem after the coronation of the last-named prince (2 Ch. x. 18). He was sent by Rehoboam to appease the tumult, possibly as being one of the old and moderate party; but the choice of the chief officer of the taxes was not a happy one. His interference was ineffectual, and he himself fell a victim: "all Israel stoned him with stones that he died." In 1 K. iv. 6, *v.* 28, the name is given in the longer form of ADONIRAM, but in Samuel (2 Sam. xx. 24) as ADORAM; LXX., Ἀδωνειράμ. Adoniram is probably the true name, Hadoram being presumably a Hamathite name (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* l. c.). By Josephus, in both the first and last case, he is called Ἀδώραμος. [W. A. W.] [F.]

HAD-RACH (חַדְרָךְ; Ἀεδρὰχ or Ἀεδράκ; *Hadrach*), a district of Syria, as appears from the context in the only passage where it is mentioned:—

> "The burthen of Jahvah's word is upon the land of Hadrach,
> And Damascus is the resting-place thereof:
> For to Jahvah belongeth the people of Aram,*
> And (= as well as) all the tribes of Israel."
> (Zech. ix. 1.)

* Reading עם ארם (Amos i. 5) for עין אדם.

The numerous attempts of former scholars to identify the locality have been antiquated by Schrader's recognition of the name in the Assyrian inscriptions. It is there variously called the Land of Ḫatarakka, Ḫatarikka, and Ḫatarika; and is mentioned along with Damascus and Hamath, just as it is in Zech. ix. 1, 2, as well as with Zobah, Simyra, and Arka (see *WAI.* ii. 52, 46 b; iii. 10, No. 3. 34; Schrader's *KGF.* p. 122, and his *KAT.*[2] pp. 453, 482, 484).

[C. J. B.]

HA'GAB (חֲגָב = *locust*; Ἀγάβ; *Hagab*). Bene-Hagab were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 46). In the parallel list in Nehemiah, this and the name preceding it are omitted. In the Apocryphal Esdras (v. 30) it is given as AGABA.

HAGA'BA (חֲגָבָא; Ἀγαβά; *Hagaba*). Bene-Hagaba were among the Nethinim who came back from captivity with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 48). The name is slightly different in form from

HAGA'BAH (חֲגָבָה; Ἀγαβά; *Hagaba*), under which it is found in the parallel list of Ezra ii. 45. In Esdras it is given as GRABA.

HAGAR (הָגָר; Ἀγάρ; *Agar*). An Egyptian slave of Sarah, and an inferior wife of Abraham, who, as the mother of Ishmael, is the reputed ancestress of the Ishmaelite Arab stocks. The oldest traditions about her, and the names of the twelve tribes that claimed descent from her, are preserved in Gen. xvi., xxi. 9–21, xxv. 12–18. As might be expected, her name finds its probable explanation not in Hebrew but in Arabic, where we have the root هَجَر, *hag'ara*, "to separate from one's friends or kindred," with the derivatives هِجْرَة, *hig'rah*, "separation," the well-known designation of Muhammad's historic departure from Mecca to Medinah; and هَجَر, *Hag'ar*, a province of Arabia on the Persian Gulf, which very possibly owes its name to ancient settlements of Hagarenes, or tribes descended from Hagar (Ps. lxxxiii. 6; 1 Ch. v. 10, 20: see Ewald, *Hist. Isr.* i. 315, n. 2, Eng. Trans.). This etymology harmonizes with the Biblical narratives of Hagar's flight from Sarah's tyranny, and her wanderings in the wilderness. But to derive the name of Hagar from that of her descendants the Hagarenes or Hagrites, seems gratuitous; while the opinion, recently advanced by a distinguished Arabist (Dr. Ignaz Goldziher), that Hagar is simply the noon-day sun, called poetically الهاجِرَة, *al-hāg'irah*, "the Flying One," is an arbitrary speculation. The sole meaning of that phrase, according to the native lexicographers (Kāmūs, al-G'auharī, Ibn Mukarram), is "the period of the noon-day heat."

The story of Hagar, in all likelihood, preserves an historical memory of the separation of the Ishmaelite Arabs from their kinsfolk, who afterwards again divided into the peoples of Edom and Israel (so Kautzsch, *ap.* Riehm, *HWB.*). The fact that Hagar is a slave-wife, and of Egyptian birth, indicates that the Ishmaelite stocks were not of the purest strain of Abraham's blood, but crossed with foreign elements. In accordance with similar ideas, Arab historians have called the tribes of Ishmaelite origin عَرَب مُسْتَعْرِبَة, *'Arab musta'ribah*, "naturalized (literally, Arabized) Arabs," as opposed to the Joktanites, who are عَرَب عَارِبَة, *'Arab 'āribah*, "Pure (literally, Arabian) Arabs."

Arab tradition (al-Baidāwī, al-Bagawī) relates that هَاجَر (Hāg'ar) and Ishmael were taken by Abraham to Mecca, and abandoned there. The holy well Zamzam by the Caaba is the fountain that sprang up for the relief of Ishmael, the ancestor of the Prophet. The tribe of G'urhum allowed the fugitives to settle among them; and Ishmael allied himself with the G'urhumites by marrying a daughter of Modad, and adopting their speech and manners; so that his posterity were united with them into a single nation.

In the time of Jerome a local tradition pointed out Hagar's Well (*OS.*[2] p. 135, 3). At present, a well in the Wādī al-Muwailiḥ, at some distance to the south of Beersheba, and some chambers in the rock (*Bait Hag'ar*, "Hagar's House"), are connected with her name by the Bedawis (Robinson, *Palestine*, i. 315; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, ii. 354; Ritter, xiv. 1086; Dillmann[5] in loco).

St. Paul makes characteristic use of the story of Hagar, finding therein an allegory of the Two Covenants, but not necessarily, as some would have us think (Stanley; Riehm, *HWB.*), assuming a connexion between the Arabic term حَجَر, *ḥag'ar*, "a stone," and the name Hagar (see Lightfoot, *ad* Gal. iv. 21–31). The allegorical application of the narrative is quite in the manner of the Rabbinical reasonings of the time. What is different is the new doctrine which the argument illustrates and enforces. It is the substance not the form, the spirit not the letter, that is essential here as elsewhere in the Scriptures.

[C. J. B.]

HAGARE'NES, HAGARI'TES, HAGERI'TE, THE (הַהָגְרִי, הַהָגְרִים, הַהֲגְרִיאִים: B. τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, οἱ Ἀγεραῖοι; A. τῶν Ἀγαραίων, οἱ Ἀγοραῖοι, 1 Ch. v. 19, 20; B. ὁ Γαρείτης, A. ὁ Ἀγαρίτης, 1 Ch. xxvii. 31; B. οἱ Ἀγγαρηνοί, B[vt]. Ἀγαρηνοί, Ps. lxxxiii. 6: *Agarei, Agareus, Agareni*). One and the same people, or group of nomadic Arabian tribes, appears to be meant by these variant forms of the same gentilic name, which, however, in Hebrew reduce themselves to two, viz. *Hagri'im* and the contracted *Hagrīm* (sing. *Hagri*). According to a notice of them preserved in 1 Ch. v. 10, 19, 20, as early as the time of Saul the Hagrites[a] were a nomadic people, rich

[a] So R.V., except in Ps. lxxxiii. 6, where it has Hagarenes (presumably to avoid a jingle with Ishmaelites in the preceding line), with marg. *Hagrites*.

in flocks and herds, whose pasture-grounds lay on the eastern border of Gilead; a territory from which they were expelled by the Israelite tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, which held it until their own deportation by the Assyrians (734 B.C.: see 2 K. xv. 29). The fact that they were a pastoral people is incidentally confirmed by another notice from an ancient source, stating that "Jaziz the Hagerite," or rather Hagrite (יָזִיז הַהַגְרִי), had the charge of David's flocks of sheep and goats (צֹאן): see 1 Ch. xxvii. 31.[b]

Hagrim, Hagrites, as the name of an Arab people, at once suggests that of Hagar, the mother of all Ishmaelite Arabs. It is hardly a strong objection to this comparison, supported as it is by linguistic equivalence and Jewish tradition,[c] that the Hagrim seem to be distinguished from the Ishmaelites in Ps. lxxxiii. 6, of whom, in fact, they were a branch (Kautzsch *ap.* Riehm, *HWB.*). Why may not one group of Hagrite Arabs have been known in antiquity as *the* Hagrites, *par excellence*? This would surely be no bar to recognising the claim of other Arabian stocks, known by special designations, to descent from Hagar through Ishmael.

Three other Arab peoples were allied with the Hagrites in the war of 1 Ch. v. 19; viz. Jetur,[d] Naphish, and Nodab. These are, in all probability, the last three of the twelve tribes of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15), Nodab being either a correction or a corruption of Kedemah.[e]

The position of Jetur, the modern *G'cidūr*, being known [ITURAEA], supplies another indication of the original seats of the Hagrim, which cannot have been very far off. They are probably identical with the Ἀγραῖοι or Agrei of the classical geographers, whom Pliny (vi. 28) twice mentions among the peoples of Arabia; the second time, along with the Ammonii or Ammonites (Ps. lxxxiii. 6, 7). See also Eratosthenes in Strabo, xvi. p. 767, where they are mentioned with the Nabataeans, and Ptolemy, v. 19, where they appear as neighbours of the Batanaeans (E. of the *Haurān*), and Dionysius Periegetes, v. 956, where they are called Ἀγρέες. Gesenius, to whom these references are due (*Thesaur.* s. v. הגרי), identifies the Hagrites with the people of هَجَر, *Hag'ar*, or الاحساء, *Al-Aḥsā, Laḥsā*, a province of Arabia on the Persian Gulf ('Die Landschaft Lachsa oder Hadsjar,' Niebuhr, *Arabien*, pp. 339–342).[f] Considering the migratory habits of Arabian tribes, it seems likely enough that some portion of the Hagrites in ancient times may have wandered even so far to the south-east from their earlier seats. But the name is not uncommon elsewhere in Arabia. The Arab geographers mention places so called in Yemen, the Hig'āz, and Hadhramaut. [C. J. B.]

[b] In 1 Ch. xi. 38, "Mibhar the son of Haggeri" [Heb. *Hagri*] is due to confusion of similar Heb. letters, and must be corrected, with Kennicott and most moderns, from 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 ("of Zobah; Bani the Gadite").

[c] "The sons of Hagar" (οἱ υἱοὶ Ἀγάρ), Baruch iii. 23, may, as Kautzsch and others suppose, mean the Hagrim. They are mentioned along with Thaiman and Merran, the latter being probably a misreading of Heb. Medan (Hitzig, Ewald). If Thaiman represents Heb. Teman, the "sons of Hagar" are hardly in the right neighbourhood for the Hagrim. But the LXX. also use Thaiman for Tema (Gen. xxv. 15); that is, تَيماء, on the route between *Madyān* and *Hag'ar* on the Persian Gulf.

[d] Instead of "with Jetur" of A. V. and R. V., the Heb. text has "and Jetur."

[e] Heb. נודב, Nodab; קדמה, Kedemah. An ill-written ן might be misread נ, and ב and מ are often indistinguishable in MSS. Kedemah is the reading of 1 Ch. i. 31.

HAGGAI, the tenth in order of the Minor Prophets.

1. The name (חַגַּי; Ἀγγαῖος; *Aggaeus*) is not borne by anyone else in the O. T.; but the similar names Haggi, Haggith, Haggiah are found. It is generally supposed to mean *festivus*, and may have been given him because he was born on a festival, perhaps on *the* Feast, that of Tabernacles.

2. Nothing is known of him beside the record of his brief ministry for about four months in the second year of Darius (B.C. 520), contained in his Book, and supplemented by two notices in the Book of Ezra, which couple his name with that of Zechariah, as colleagues in persuading the people to complete the restoration of the Temple (v. 1, vi. 14; cp. 1 Esd. vi. 1, vii. 3). In the absence of positive information it may plausibly be conjectured that he was one of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua. Ewald would infer from ii. 3 that he was one of the few survivors who had seen the first Temple in its splendour. If so, he must have delivered his prophetic message in extreme old age, and left the younger Zechariah to continue the work he had begun (Pusey, *Introd. to Haggai*). The inference, however, is at best precarious: the words of ii. 3 seem rather to be addressed to a number of persons, of whom the Prophet himself was not one; and according to the traditions recorded by Pseudo-Dorotheus (ap. *Chron. Pasch.* 151 d) and Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vitis Prophetarum*), Haggai was still a young man when he returned from Babylon to Jerusalem. They add that he lived to see the restoration of the Temple, and was buried with honour near the sepulchres of the priests. One Jewish tradition regards Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as forming an intermediate link in the chain of tradition between the prophets and the "Great Synagogue;" another reckons them among the members of that body, though it is not supposed to have been founded until the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and Ezra did not arrive in Jerusalem until sixty-two years after the date of Haggai's public ministry (see Carpzov's *Introductio*, and Meyer's *Seder Olam*, p. 1076 sq.). In St. Jerome's day a notion existed, probably among the Origenists, that Haggai was an angel in human form (*Comm.* on i. 13). It was based on a misinterpretation of ch. i. 13, the phrase "the LORD's messenger" (מלאך יהוה) being identical with "the angel of the LORD" in Zech. i. 11,

[f] The Arabic translator of the Psalms appears to have been of this opinion. In Ps. lxxxiii. 6 he has written الهاجرين, a gentilic noun from هجر according to Al-G'auharī, cited by Gesenius.

&c., and it seems to have had some currency, as Cyril of Alexandria thought it worth while to refute it in his Commentary.

3. The prophecies of Haggai are expressly stated to have been delivered "in the second year of Darius the king" (Hagg. i. 1, ii. 10; cp. Ezra iv. 24, v. 1, vi. 14). This can only mean Darius the son of Hystaspes, who reigned from B.C. 521 to B.C. 485. None who had seen the old Temple (Hagg. ii. 3) could have been alive in the time of Darius Nothus (B.C. 424–405). The date of Haggai's ministry is therefore fixed as the year B.C. 520. Sixteen or seventeen years had elapsed since the Return of the exiles under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Joshua, with an express commission from Cyrus to rebuild the Temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem (Ezra i. 2 sq.).

In the seventh month of the first year of the Return, the Altar was re-erected, the daily sacrifice restored, and the Feast of Tabernacles celebrated (Ezra iii. 1 sq.); and in the second month of the second year (535) the foundation of the Temple, for which preparations had already been made (Ezra i. 4 sq., ii. 68 sq.), was laid with solemn ceremonial amid general rejoicings, chequered only by the sorrow of the old men, who mournfully contrasted this insignificant beginning with the grandeur of the former Temple (Ezra iii. 8 sq.). The work had scarcely been commenced when the "people of the land," *i.e.* the mixed population inhabiting what had formerly been the Northern kingdom, expressed their desire to join in it (Ezra iv. 1 sq.). The acceptance of the offer would have imperilled the purity of the faith in the new community, and it was resolutely refused. The consequence of this refusal was active opposition. By intrigue or bribery they seem to have procured from the Persian court a decree inhibiting the Jews from proceeding with the building (Ezra iv. 4, 5). The work was at a standstill during the remainder of the reign of Cyrus, and during the reigns of Cambyses (B.C. 529–522) and Pseudo-Smerdis (B.C. 521). We have no further information about this period. The narrative in Ezra iv. 6–23, which at first sight appears to refer to it, is parenthetic, and relates the subsequent opposition to the building of the walls in the reigns of Ahasuerus, *i.e.* Xerxes (B.C. 485–465), and Artaxerxes I. Longimanus (B.C. 465–425). To identify the Ahasuerus of Ezra iv. 6 with Cambyses, and the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7 with Pseudo-Smerdis, who only reigned for eight months, is unreasonable [EZRA].

But though history tells us no more than that "the work of the house of God ceased" in consequence of the opposition of external adversaries, we may infer from Haggai's prophecy that the opposition was not such as could not have been overcome by courage and resolution. He lays the blame entirely on the negligence and apathy of the people, and nowhere hints that circumstances had made progress impossible. Initial difficulties had paralysed their feeble energies; and though they had been able to rebuild their own houses and even to decorate them (Hagg. i. 4, 9), they had been reconciling themselves to the idea of existence without that Temple, which they had been commissioned by Cyrus and by their countrymen in exile to rebuild. Some deliberately excused their procrastination by affirming that the fitting time had not yet come (Hagg. i. 2). Chastisement was sent to arouse their consciences, and the warnings and exhortations of Haggai and Zechariah were given to recall them to a sense of their duty.

No doubt the accession of Darius offered a favourable opportunity for recommencing the work; and when, in the second year of his reign, Haggai began his ministry, a change of policy at the Persian court might well be hoped for. Nor was the hope disappointed. The work soon attracted the attention of Tattenai, the satrap of the trans-Euphratensian province, and Shethar-bozenai, the governor of Samaria. They came to Jerusalem, and challenged the Jews to produce their authority. They pleaded the edict of Cyrus, and the governors wrote to Darius, without, however (so it was providentially ordered), stopping the work in the meantime (Ezra v. 3 sq.). The edict of Cyrus was found among the archives at Ecbatana, and Darius sent orders to Tattenai and Shethar-bozenai not only to permit the work to continue, but to provide for the expenses out of the royal revenues, and to furnish materials for sacrifice (Ezra vi. 1 sq.). The work prospered, and the Temple was completed and dedicated in the sixth year of Darius (B.C. 516).

4. Such were the circumstances under which Haggai's ministry was exercised, and the results to which it led. His Book contains five addresses, delivered within a period of less than four months.

(1.) i. 1–11. The Prophet's first address was delivered on the first day of the sixth month (Elul = Aug.–Sept.), when the people would be collected for the Festival of the New Moon. In it he censures them for their selfish negligence in letting the Temple lie desolate, while they built luxurious houses for themselves. The drought and scarcity which they were suffering were the chastisement of their neglect. He exhorts them at once to repair their error and begin the work.

(2.) i. 12–15. The next section of the Book records the immediate effect of his words. On the twenty-fourth day of the same month the work was begun. The Prophet was expressly commissioned to deliver a brief but emphatic message of encouragement, conveying the assurance of God's approval and assistance. "I am with you, saith the LORD."

(3.) ii. 1–9. The Messianic Hope of the New Temple. The enthusiasm of the people seems to have flagged, and, as at the laying of the foundation-stone (Ezra iii. 12, 13), some depreciated the new Temple by comparing its insignificance with the glory of the Temple they had known. On the twenty-first day of the seventh month (Tisri), the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, Haggai re-animated their spirits by a renewed assurance that God's Presence was with them, and by the prediction that through the accession and offerings of all nations the latter glory of the house would be greater than the former glory.

(4.) ii. 10–19. For two months Haggai was silent, and in this interval Zechariah began his ministry (Zech. i. 1); but on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month he again addressed the people. He explains the cause of their disasters, and once more promises their removal. According to the ceremonial law, those who carried holy

things could not communicate holiness, while those who were unclean communicated defilement. So the neglect to rebuild the Temple defiled the people and the land, nor could their offerings avail to counteract the pollution. Hence their disasters; but from this day forward they should be blessed.

(5.) ii. 20–23. The fifth and last prophecy, delivered on the same day as the preceding one, is addressed to Zerubbabel, as the ruler of the people and the representative of the house of David. It assures him that in the midst of the convulsions impending among the surrounding nations he will be preserved, and honoured with singular distinction as the chosen of Jehovah.

5. The style of Haggai is tame and prosaic; it lacks the grace and poetry of the earlier Prophets. It is no disrespect to say that he was not a brilliant literary genius. But he gave plain warnings and plain commands in strong, simple, and straightforward words. Emphatically he reiterates his message of warning, "Consider your ways," "consider" (i. 5, 7; ii. 15, 18); or of exhortation, "Be strong," separately addressed to prince and priest and people (ii. 4). The frequent questions give force and earnestness to his expostulations (i. 4, 9; ii. 3, 12, 13, 19); and touches of vivid description are not wanting (i. 6, 9; ii. 16). But his work is to be measured by the success of his mission, and not by the literary merits of his Book. Indeed, it is extremely probable that (as in the case of some other Prophets) no more than mere outlines and summaries were committed to writing, preserving only the pith and point of the discourses actually delivered.

The decay of the Hebrew language after the Return is marked by departures from the older usages and by awkwardnesses of expression (i. 6; ii. 6, 16, 17).

6. The importance of Haggai's work is sometimes in danger of being overlooked. It was a critical moment in the history of Israel. The scanty "remnant of the people" (i. 14) which had returned, disappointed perhaps at the non-fulfilment of the glowing prophecies of a glorious restoration, discouraged by weakness within and opposition without, were in imminent danger of coming to believe that the restoration of the Temple might safely be neglected. Yet the Temple was for the time the indispensable condition of the fulfilment of their national calling. Existence as an independent nation was no longer possible for them. Their religion must be for the future, as it should have been in the past, the bond of national union. The Temple was the sign, nay, the outward condition, of Jehovah's Presence in their midst. It was the visible symbol of the unity of their religion, the centre round which all the loose elements of the nation might rally. Haggai, seconded by his colleague, Zechariah, roused his countrymen to a sense of their duty, and saved the Jewish Church in a crisis of peril.

But his view was not limited to the present. (1.) In a truly "Messianic" prophecy * (ii. 7) he was inspired to foresee the true glory of the Temple in the accession of the nations, repeating the prophecies of Is. lx., lxi. The convulsions of nature and of the nations would but promote its glory, and in the midst of them all the Divine gift of peace would be found there.

(2.) The promise to Zerubbabel, made to him not as an individual, but as the worthy representative of the family of David, is also a Messianic prophecy. He was Jehovah's chosen servant, the type as well as the ancestor of Him in Whom the prophecies were to be fulfilled, and as such he receives a typical honour. In the destruction of the kingdoms of the world, he (and by implication his family and the nation which he represented) were to be preserved safely. He was to be made Jehovah's signet, not only a most prized possession in closest association with Him, but the sign and attestation of His words and acts (see Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, p. 424 sq.).

7. *Other writings of Haggai.*—It has been argued with much probability that a narrative written by Haggai is embodied in Ezra iii. 2–iv. 5, iv. 24–vi. 22 [EZRA].

The names of Haggai and Zechariah appear in the LXX. in the titles of Pss. cxxxvii. (cxxxviii.) (not in Cod. Sin.), cxlv.–cxlviii. (cxlvi.–cxlviii.); in the Vulgate in Pss. cxi., cxlv., cxlvi. (cxlvi., cxlvii.). The unrevised Old Latin in Ps. lxiv. (lxv.) curiously joins Jeremiah and Haggai; cp. the Peshitto Syriac in cxxv., cxxvi. (cxxvi., cxxvii.), cxlv.–cxlviii. (cxlvi.–cxlviii.). These titles cannot denote authorship, but may preserve a tradition that Haggai and Zechariah adopted these Psalms for use in the service of the Temple. There is a curious and obscure passage in Pseudo-Epiphanius, *de Vitis Prophetarum*, to the effect that "Haggai was the first to sing Alleluia there (at Jerusalem), . . . and Amen . . . Wherefore we say Alleluia, which is the hymn of Haggai and Zechariah."

8. There is a reference to Hagg. ii. 23 in Ecclus. xlix. 11, and Hagg. ii. 6 is quoted in Heb. xii. 26.

9. *Literature.*—Beside the commentaries on the Minor Prophets in general may be mentioned among more recent works Köhler's very thorough *Nachexilische Propheten*, 1860; Reinke, *Der Prophet Haggai*, 1868; T. T. Perowne in *Camb. Bible for Schools and Colleges*, 1886. A full list of older works will be found in Rosenmüller: with continuation in Reinke, p. 37 sq. [A. F. K.]

HAG-GERI, R. V. **HAGRI** (הַגְרִי, i.e. *a Hagarite*; B. Ἀγαρεί, A. Ἀραβί; *Agarai*). "MIBHAR, son of Haggeri," was one of the mighty men of David's guard, according to the catalogue of 1 Ch. xi. 38. The parallel passage — 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 — has "Bani the Gadite" (הַגַּדִּי). This Kennicott decides to have been the original, from which Haggeri has been corrupted (*Dissert.* p. 214. Cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco). The Targum has *Bar Gedā* (בַּר גְּדָא).

HAG'GI (חַגִּי = *festive*: A. Ἀγγεῖς; in Numb., B. Ἀγγεί, A. Ἀγγί: *Haggi*, *Aggi*), second son of Gad (Gen. xlvi. 16; Num. xxvi. 15), founder of the Haggites (הַחַגִּי). It will be observed that the name, though given as that of an individual, is really a patronymic, precisely the same as that of the family.

* It is hardly necessary to say that the reference of this passage to the personal Messiah, to which the Vulgate rendering, "veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus," has given wide currency, must be abandoned.

HAGGI'AH (חַגִּיָּה; A. Ἀγγία, B. Ἀμά; *Haggia*), a Levite, one of the descendants of Merari (1 Ch. vi. 30).

HAG'GITES, THE (הַחַגְּי; B. ὁ Ἀγγεί, AF. -ί; *Agitae*), the family sprung from Haggi, second son of Gad (Num. xxvi. 15; LXX. *v.* 22).

HAG'GITH (חַגִּית, ? = *a dancer:* Ἀγγίθ; A. Φενγίθ, Ἀγίθ; B. Φεγγείθ, Ἀγγείθ; Joseph. Ἀγγίθη: *Aggith, Haggith*), one of David's wives, of whom nothing is told us except that she was the mother of Adonijah, who is commonly designated as "the son of Haggith" (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 K. i. 5, 11, ii. 13; 1 Ch. iii. 2). He was, like Absalom, renowned for his handsome presence. In the first and last of the above passages Haggith is fourth in order of mention among the wives, Adonijah being also fourth among the sons. His birth happened at Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 2, 5) shortly after that of Absalom (1 K. i. 6; where it will be observed that the words [in A. V.] *his mother* are inserted by the translators). [G.] [W.]

HAGIA (Ἁγία; *Aggia*), 1 Esd. v. 34. [HATTIL.]

HA'I, R. V. A'I (הָעַי = *the heap of stones;* Ἀγγαί; *Hai*). The form in which the well-known place AI appears in the A. V. on its first introduction (Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3). It arises from the translators having in these places, and these only, recognised the definite article with which AI is invariably and emphatically accompanied in the Hebrew; or it may have come from the Vulgate, if Jer. xlix. 3 be not an exception (see the *Comm.*). In the Samaritan Version of the above two passages, the name is given in the first *Ainah*, and in the second *Cephrah*, as if CEPHIRAH. [G.] [W.]

HAIR. The Hebrews were fully alive to the importance of the hair as an element of personal beauty, whether as seen in the "curled (R. V. "bushy") locks, black as a raven," of youth (Cant. v. 11), or in the "crown of glory" that encircled the head of old age (Prov. xvi. 31). The customs of ancient nations in regard to the hair varied considerably: the Egyptians allowed the women to wear it long, but kept the heads of men closely shaved from early childhood (Her. ii. 36, iii. 12; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, see Index [1878]). The Greeks admired long hair, whether in men or women, as is evidenced in the expression καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, and in the representations of their divinities, especially Bacchus and Apollo, whose long locks were a symbol of perpetual youth. The Assyrians also wore it long (Herod. i. 195), the flowing curls being gathered together in a heavy cluster on the back, as represented in the sculptures of Nineveh. The Hebrews on the other hand, while they encouraged the growth of hair, observed the natural distinction between the sexes by allowing the women to wear it long (Luke vii. 38; John xi. 2; 1 Cor. xi. 6 sq.), while the men restrained theirs by frequent clippings to a moderate length. This difference between the Hebrews and the surrounding nations, especially the Egyptians, arose no doubt partly from natural taste, but partly also from legal enactments; clipping the hair in a certain manner and offering the locks was, according to the oldest Semitic usage, connected with religious worship. To sacrifice the hair of childhood, both in Arabia and Syria, was the preliminary to admission to the religious and social status of manhood (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 312). The Arabians practised a peculiar tonsure in honour of their god Orotal (Her. iii. 8, κείρονται περιτρόχαλα, περιξυροῦντες τοὺς κροτάφους; see Robertson Smith, i. 307), and hence the Hebrews were forbidden to "round the corners (פְּאַת, lit. the *extremity*) of their heads" (Lev. xix. 27), meaning the locks along the forehead and temples, and behind the ears. This tonsure is described in the LXX. by a peculiar expression, σισήη (=the classical σκάφιον), possibly derived from the Hebrew צִיצִית (cp. Bochart, *Can.* i. 6, p. 379. Fried. Delitzsch compares the Assyrian *ṣiṣu;* see Baer's ed. of Ezekiel, p. xv. sq.). That the practice of the Arabians was well known to the Hebrews, appears from the expression קַצְּצֵי פֵאָה, "that have the *corners of their hair polled*" (R. V.), by which they are described (Jer. ix. 26, xxv. 23, xlix. 32; see marginal translation of the A. V.). The prohibition against cutting off the hair on the death of a relative (Deut. xiv. 1) was probably grounded on a similar reason. In addition to these regulations, the Hebrews dreaded baldness, as it was frequently the result of leprosy (Lev. xiii. 40 sq.), and hence formed one of the disqualifications for the priesthood (Lev. xxi. 20, LXX.). [BALDNESS.] The rule imposed upon the priests, and probably followed by the rest of the community, was that the hair should be *polled* (כָּסֹם, Ezek. xliv. 20), neither being shaved nor allowed to grow too long (Lev. xxi. 5; Ezek. l. c.). What was the precise length usually worn, we have no means of ascertaining; but from various expressions—such as פָּרַע רֹאשׁ, lit. to *let loose* the head or the hair (=*solvere crines*, Virg. *Aen.* iii. 65, xi. 35; *demissos lugentis more capillos*, Ov. *Ep.* x. 137) by unbinding the head-band and letting it go dishevelled (Lev. x. 6, R.V. "let not the hair of your heads go loose"), which was done in mourning (cp. Ezek. xxiv. 17); and again גָּלָה אָזֶן, to *uncover* the ear, previous to making any communication of importance (1 Sam. xx. 2, 12, xxii. 8, A. V. and R. V., margin), as though the hair fell over the ear—we may conclude that men wore their hair somewhat longer than is usual with us. The word פֶּרַע, used as = hair (Num. vi. 5; Ezek. xliv. 20), is especially indicative of its *free growth* (cp. Knobel-Dillmann, *Comm.* in Lev. xxi. 10). Long hair was admired in the case of young men; it is especially noticed in the description of Absalom's person (2 Sam. xiv. 26), the inconceivable weight of whose hair, as given in the text (200 shekels; Lucian [LXX.], 100), has led to a variety of explanations (cp. Harmer's *Observations*, iv. 321): Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 8, § 5) adds, that it was cut every eighth day. The hair was also worn long by the body-guard of Solomon, according to the same authority (*Ant.* viii. 7, § 3, μηκίστας καθειμένοι χαίτας). The care requisite to keep the hair in order in such cases must have been very great, and hence the practice of wearing long hair was unusual, and

only resorted to as an act of religious observance, in which case it was a "sign of humiliation and self-denial, and of a certain religious slovenliness" (Lightfoot, *Exercit.* on 1 Cor. xi. 14), and was practised by the Nazarites (Num. vi. 5; Judg. xiii. 5, xvi. 17; 1 Sam. i. 11), and occasionally by others in token of special mercies (Acts xviii. 18); it was not unusual among the Egyptians when on a journey (Diod. i. 18). [NAZARITE.] In times of affliction the hair was altogether cut off (Is. iii. 17, 24, xv. 2, xxii. 12; Jer. vii. 29, xlviii. 37; Amos viii. 10; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 15, § 1), the practice of the Hebrews being in this respect the reverse of that of the Egyptians, who let their hair grow long in time of mourning (Herod. ii. 36), shaving their heads when the term was over (Gen. xli. 14); but resembling that of the Greeks, as frequently noticed by classical writers (*e.g.* Soph. *Aj.* 1174; Eurip. *Electr.* 143, 241). Tearing the hair (Ezra ix. 3) and letting it go dishevelled, as already noticed, were similar tokens of grief. [MOURNING.] The practice of the modern Arabs in regard to the length of their hair varies; generally the men allow it to grow its natural length, the tresses hanging down to the breast and sometimes to the waist, affording substantial protection to the head and neck against the violence of the sun's rays (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 49; Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 33, 53, 73). The modern Egyptians retain the practices of their ancestors, shaving the heads of the men, but suffering the women's hair to grow long (Lane's *Modern Egypt.* i. 52, 71). Wigs were commonly used by the latter people (Wilkinson, ii. 324, &c. [1878]), but not

Egyptian Wigs. (Wilkinson.)

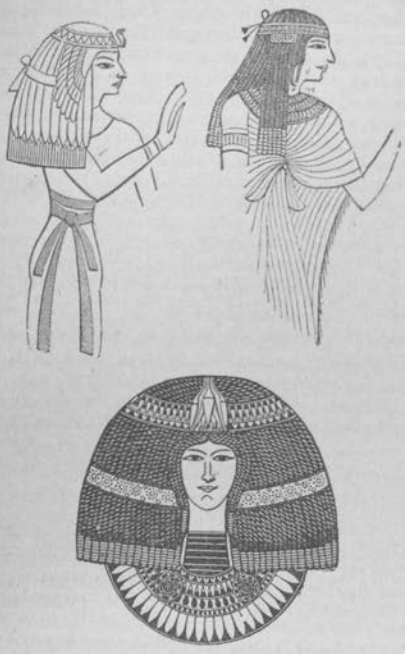
by the Hebrews: Josephus (*Vit.* § 11) notices an instance of false hair (*περιθετὴ κόμη*) being used for the purpose of disguise. Whether the ample ringlets of the Assyrian monarchs, as represented in the sculptures of Nineveh, were real or artificial, is doubtful (Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 328). Among the Medes the wig was worn by the upper classes (Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 2).

The usual and favourite colour of the hair was black (Cant. v. 11), as is indicated in the comparisons to a "flock of goats" and the "tents of Kedar" (Cant. iv. 1, i. 5): a similar hue is probably intended by the *purple* of Cant. vii. 5, the term being broadly used (as the Greek *πορφύρεος* in a similar application = *μέλας*, Anacr. 28). A fictitious hue was occasionally obtained by sprinkling gold-dust on the hair (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 3). It does not appear that dyes were ordinarily used; the "Carmel" of Cant. vii. 5 (R. V.) has been understood as = כַּרְמִיל (A. V. margin, *crimson*), but without good reason. Herod is said to have dyed his grey hair for the purpose of concealing his age (*Ant.* xvi. 8, § 1), but the practice may have been borrowed from the Greeks or Romans, among whom it was common (Aristoph. *Eccles.* 736; Martial, *Ep.* iii. 43; Propert. ii. 18, 24, 26): from Matt. v. 36, we may infer that it was not usual among the Hebrews. The approach of age was marked by a *sprinkling* (זָרַק, Hos. vii. 9; cp. a similar use of *spargere*, Propert. iii. 4, 24) of grey hairs, which soon overspread the whole head (Gen. xlii. 38, xliv. 29; 1 K. ii. 6, 9; Prov. xvi. 31, xx. 29). The reference to the *almond* in Eccles. xii. 5 is explained of the blossoms of that tree, as emblematic of old age: these blossoms turn to a snowy white before they fall from the tree (Wright, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 259). Pure white hair was deemed characteristic of the Divine Majesty (Dan. vii. 9; Rev. i. 14).

The chief beauty of the hair consisted in curls, whether of a natural or artificial character. The Hebrew terms are highly expressive: to omit the word צַמָּה,—rendered "locks" in Cant. iv. 1, 3, vi. 7, and Is. xlvii. 2, but more probably meaning a *veil* (R. V.),—we have תַּלְתַּלִּים (Cant. v. 11), properly pendulous flexible boughs (according to the LXX., *ἐλάται*, the shoots of the palm-tree), which supplied an image of the *coma pendula*; צִיצִת (Ezek. viii. 3), a similar image borrowed from the curve of a blossom; עֲנָק (Cant. iv. 9), a lock falling over the shoulders like a chain of ear-pendant (*in uno crine colli tui*, Vulg., which is better than the A. V. and R. V., "with one chain of thy neck"); רְהָטִים (Cant. vii. 5, A. V. "galleries," R. V. "tresses"), properly the channels by which water was brought to the flocks, which supplied an image either of the *coma fluens*, or of the regularity in which the locks were arranged; דַּלָּה (Cant. vii. 5), again an expression for *coma pendula*, borrowed from the threads hanging down from an unfinished woof; and lastly מַעֲשֵׂה מְקֻשָּׁה (Is. iii. 24, A. V. and R. V. "well set hair"), properly *plaited work*, i.e. gracefully curved locks (see Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[5] in loco). With regard to the mode of dressing the hair, we have no very precise information; the terms used are of a general character, as of Jezebel (2 K. ix. 30), וַתֵּיטֶב, i.e. she *adorned* her head; of Judith (x. 3), *διέταξε*, i.e. *arranged* (the E. V. has "braided," and the Vulg. *discriminavit*, here used in a technical sense in the reference to the *discriminale* or hair-pin); of Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 4), *κεκοσμημένος τῇ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης*; and of those who adopted feminine fashions (*B. J.* iv. 9, § 10), *κόμας συνθετιζόμενοι*. The terms used in the N. T. (*πλέγμασιν*, 1 Tim. ii. 9; *ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν*, 1 Pet. iii. 3) are also of a general character; Schleusner (*Lex.* s. v.) understands them of *curling* rather than plaiting. The arrangement of Samson's hair into seven locks, or more properly *braids* (מַחְלְפוֹת, from חָלַף, *to interchange*; *σειραί*, LXX.; Judg. xvi. 13, 19), involves the practice of plaiting, which was also familiar to the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 335 [1878]) and Greeks (Hom. *Il.* xiv. 176). The locks were probably kept in their place by a fillet as in Egypt (Wilkinson, *l. c.*).

Ornaments were worked into the hair, as practised by the modern Egyptians, who "add to each braid three black silk cords with little

ornaments of gold" (Lane, i. 71): the LXX. understands the term שְׁבִיסִים (Is. iii. 18, A. V. and R. V. "cauls"; R. V. marg. *networks*) as applying to such ornaments (ἐμπλόκια);



Egyptian Wigs. (Wilkinson.)

Schroeder (*de Vest. Mul. Heb.* cap. 2) approves of this, and conjectures that they were *sun-shaped*, i.e. circular, as distinct from the "round tires like the moon," *i.e.* the crescent-shaped ornaments used for necklaces; but the true meaning can hardly be said to be settled (see Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[5]). The Arabian women attach small bells to the tresses of their hair (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, i. 133). Other terms, sometimes understood as applying to the hair, are of doubtful signification (consult on each Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[5]), *e.g.* חֲרִיטִים (Is. iii. 22; *acus*; "crisping-pins"), more probably *purses* (R. V. "satchels"), as in 2 K. v. 23 ("bags"); קִשֻּׂרִים (Is. iii. 20, "head-bands"; R. V. "sashes"), *bridal girdles*, according to Schroeder and other authorities; פְּאֵרִים (Is. iii. 20, *discriminalia*, Vulg., *i.e.* pins used for keeping the hair parted; cp. Jerome *in Rufin.* iii. cap. ult.), more probably *turbans* (R. V. "head-tires"). Combs and hair-pins are mentioned in the Talmud; the Egyptian combs were made of wood and double, one side having large and the other small teeth (Wilkinson, ii. 343 [1878]); from the ornamental devices worked on them we may infer that they were worn in the hair. With regard to other ornaments worn about the head, see HEAD-DRESS. The Hebrews, like other nations of antiquity, anointed the hair profusely with ointments, which were generally compounded of various aromatic ingredients (Ruth iii. 3; 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Ps. xxiii. 5, xlv. 7, xcii. 10; Eccles. ix. 8; Is. iii. 24); more especially on occasion of festivities or hospitality (Matt. vi. 17, xxvi. 7; Luke vii. 46; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 4, § 1, *χρισάμενος μύροις τὴν κεφαλήν, ὡς ἀπὸ συνουσίας*). It is perhaps in reference to the glossy appearance so imparted to it that the hair is described as purple (Cant. vii. 5).

It appears to have been the custom of the Jews in our Saviour's time to swear by the hair (Matt. v. 36), much as the Egyptian women still swear by the side-lock, and the men by their beards (Lane, i. 52, 71, notes).

Hair was employed by the Hebrews as an image of what was *least valuable* in man's person (1 Sam. xiv. 45; 2 Sam. xiv. 11; 1 K. i. 52; Matt. x. 30; Luke xii. 7, xxi. 18; Acts xxvii. 34), as well as of what was *innumerable* (Ps. xl. 12, lxix. 4), or particularly *fine* (Judg. xx. 16). In Is. vii. 20, some writers consider the hair to represent the various productions of the field, trees, crops, &c.; like *ὄρος κεκομημένον ὕλῃ* of Callim. *Dian.* 41, or the *humus comans* of Stat. *Theb.* v. 502; but this interpretation is not in favour with Delitzsch[4] or Dillmann[5]. Hair, "as the hair of women" (Rev. ix. 8), is taken by some to mean long and undressed hair, which in later times was regarded as an image of barbaric rudeness (Hengstenberg, *Comm.* in loco).

[W. L. B.] [F.]

HAK-KA'TAN (הַקָּטָן = *the young* or *the small*; B. Ἀκαταν, A. Ἀκκατάν; *Eccetan*). Johanan, son of Hakkatan, was the chief of the Bene-Azgad who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra viii. 12). The name is probably Katan, with the definite article prefixed. In the Apocryphal Esdras it is ACATAN.

HAK-KOZ (הַקּוֹץ; B. ὁ Κώς, A. Ἀκκώς; *Accos*), a priest, the chief of the seventh course in the service of the sanctuary, as appointed by David (1 Ch. xxiv. 10). In Ezra ii. 61 (B. Ἀκούς, A. Ἀκκὼς) the name occurs again as that of a family of priests; though here the prefix is taken by our translators—and no doubt correctly—as the definite article, and the name appears as KOZ. The same thing also occurs in Neh. iii. 4 (Bא. Ἀκώς, A. Ἀκκώς), 21 (B. Ἀκώβ, A. Ἀκκώς). In Esdras, ACCOZ.

HAKU'PHA (חֲקוּפָא, ?= *bent*; B. Ἀφεικά, A. Ἀκουφά [Ezra]; B. Ἀχειφά, א. Ἀκειφά, A. Ἀχιφά [Neh.]; *Hacupha*). Bene-Chakupha were among the families of Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 51; Neh. vii. 53). In Esdras (v. 31) the name is given as ACIPHA.

HA'LAH (חָלַח; Ἀλαέ, Χαλάχ; *Hala*), which has nothing to do with the Calah of Gen. x. 11 [CALAH], is referred to as one of the places where Shalmaneser or Sargon settled the Israelites from Samaria (2 K. xvii. 6; xviii. 11: cp. also 1 Ch. v. 26). Being mentioned with Habor, on the river of Gozan, it has been identified with the Chalcitis (Χαλκῖτις) of Ptolemy (v. 18), placed by him between Anthemusia (cp. Strabo, xxvi. 1, § 27) and Gauzanitis [see GOZAN]. The Calachene mentioned by Strabo, upon the east side of the Tigris near Adiabene and the borders of Armenia, are regarded as lying too far north-eastwards; but it is worthy of notice that an Assyrian geo-

graphical list mentions, between Arbaha (Arrapachitis) and Rasappa (Reseph), a city called Halahhu (= Halahu), a name which corresponds perfectly with the Hebrew Halah, and may, therefore, be identified with it. Its exact position can hardly be determined. [T. G. P.]

HA'LAK, THE MOUNT (with the article, הַהָר הֶחָלָק = *the smooth* or *bare mountain:* in Josh. xi. B. Ἀχέλ, A. Ἀλάκ, F. Ἀαλάκ; in xii. B. Χελχά, A. Ἀλόκ, F. Αλάκ: *pars montis*), a mountain twice, and twice only, named as the southern limit of Joshua's conquests—"the Mount Halak which goeth up to Seir" (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7), but which has not yet been identified. It is apparently the mountain range on the east side of the *'Arabah*, or one of the bare mountain summits in that range. The word which is at the root of the name (supposing it to be Hebrew), and which has the force of smoothness or baldness, has ramified into other terms, as Helkah, an even plot of ground, like those of Jacob (Gen. xxxiii. 19) or Naboth (2 K. ix. 25); cp. also Helkath has-surim, the "field of the strong" (Stanley, *S. & P.*, App. § 20). [G.] [W.]

HAL'HUL (חַלְחוּל; B. Ἀλουά, A. Ἀλούλ; *Halhul*), a town of Judah in the mountain district, one of the group containing Bethzur and Gedor (Josh. xv. 58). Jerome, in the *Onomasticon* (under Elul, *OS.*[2] p. 152, 7), reports the existence of a hamlet (*villula*) named "Alula," near Hebron.[a] The name still remains unaltered, attached to a large village, *Hulhúl*, on a conspicuous hill a mile to the left of the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, nearly 4 miles from the latter. Opposite it, on the other side of the road, is *Beit Súr*, the modern representative of Bethzur, and further to the north is *Jedûr*, the ancient Gedor. The site is marked by numerous rock-hewn tombs and by the ruins of walls and foundations, among which stands a dilapidated mosque bearing the name of *Neby Yúnis*—the prophet Jonah (Rob. i. 216; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 329; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 284 sq.). In a Jewish tradition quoted by Hottinger (*Cippi Hebraici*, p. 32) it is said to be the burial-place of Gad, David's seer. See the citations of Zunz in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela* (ii. 437, n.). [G.] [W.]

HALI' (חֲלִי = *necklace;* B. Αλέφ, A. (?) Ὀολεί; *Chali*), a town on the boundary of Asher, named between Helkath and Beten (Josh. xix. 25). Nothing is known of its situation. Schwarz (p. 191) compares the name with Chelmon, the equivalent in the Latin, of CYAMON in the Greek of Judith vii. 3. Guérin (*Galilée*, ii. 62) proposes to identify it with *Kh. 'Alia*, about 13 miles S.E. of *Acre*. [G.] [W.]

HALICARNASSUS (Ἁλικάρνασσος) in CARIA, a city of great renown, as being the birthplace of Herodotus and of the later historian Dionysius, and as embellished by the Mausoleum erected by Artemisia, but of no Biblical interest except as the residence of a Jewish population in the periods between the Old and New Testament histories. In 1 Macc. xv. 23, this city is specified as containing such a population. The decree in Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, § 23, where the Romans direct that the Jews of Halicarnassus shall be allowed τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος, is interesting when compared with Acts xvi. 13. This city was celebrated for its harbour and for the strength of its fortifications; but it never recovered the damage which it sufferred after Alexander's siege in B.C. 334. A plan of the site is given in Ross, *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln* (iv. 30). Many of the sculptures of the Mausoleum are now in the British Museum, and are fully described by Sir C. Newton in *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*. The modern name of the place is *Budrûm*. [J. S. H.] [W.]

HALL (αὐλή; *atrium*), used of the court of the high-priest's house (Luke xxii. 55). Αὐλὴ is in A. V. Matt. xxvi. 69, Mark xiv. 66, John xviii. 15, "palace;" Vulg. *atrium;*—προαύλιον, Mark xiv. 68, "porch;" Vulg. *ante atrium*. In Matt. xxvii. 27, and Mark xv. 16, αὐλὴ is syn. with πραιτώριον, which in John xviii. 28 is in A. V. "judgment-hall." Αὐλὴ is the equivalent for חָצֵר, an enclosed or fortified space (Ges. p. 512), in many places in O. T., where Vulg. and A. V. have respectively *villa* or *viculus*, "village," or *atrium*, "court," chiefly of the Tabernacle or Temple. The hall or court of a house or palace would probably be an enclosed but uncovered space, *impluvium*, on a lower level than the apartments of the lowest floor which looked into it. The προαύλιον was the vestibule leading to it, called also Matt. xxvi. 71, πυλών. [HOUSE.] [H. W. P.]

HALLO'HESH (הַלּוֹחֵשׁ = *the whisperer* or *exorcist;* B. Ἀλωής, A. Ἀδώ; *Alohes*), one of the "chief of the people" who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 24). The name is Lochesh, with the definite article prefixed. That it is the name of a family, and not of an individual, appears probable from another passage in which it is given in the A. V. as

HALO'HESH (הַלּוֹחֵשׁ; B. Ἠλειά, A. Ἀλλωής; *Alohes*). Shallum, son of Hal-lochesh, was "ruler of the half part of Jerusalem" at the time of the repair of the wall by Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 12). According to the Hebrew spelling, the name is identical with HALLOHESH (so R. V. here). [W. A. W.] [F.]

HAM (חָם; Χάμ; *Cham*). **1.** The name of one of the three sons of Noah, always holding the middle place, when they are mentioned together and in the list of their descendants in Gen. x., where Japheth instead of Shem has the first place. It is probably derived from חָמַם, "to be warm," and may mean "swarthy" or "sunburnt."

The name of Ham alone of the three brothers appears in that of a country, Egypt being called the land of Ham (Ps. cv. 23, cvi. 22; cp. "tents of Ham," lxxviii. 51). These are poetical passages, and scarcely warrant our connecting the name Ham with the common Egyptian name of Egypt, Kemi, the "black" land. A more plausible comparison is with the Egyptian word Khem, the name of the god of generation, according to most Egyptologists, which however Mr. Renouf reads Ames. This divinity was

[a] It is not unworthy of notice that, though so far from Jerusalem, Jerome speaks of it as "in the district of Aelia."

regarded as the parent of the Negroes, the Nehes-u, the race-name for the blacks, and as having come from Punt, the Egyptian terrestrial Paradise, Arabia Felix and the opposite coast of Ethiopia (Lefébure, *Le Cham et l'Adam égyptiens: TSBA.* ix. 167 sq.). It must, however, be proved that Khem is the usual name of this divinity before the comparison can be accepted.

The list of Ham's descendants in Gen. x. is peculiar in consisting of names of persons or tribes not in ethnic form, in ethnic names in the singular and plural, and for its historical incidents. The order is first Cush, giving a list of tribes occupying a zone from Babylonia to Ethiopia above Egypt. [CUSH.] The next in the list of sons is Mizraim, a name in dual form, like Ephraim, but apparently not a personal name, the singular Mazor occurring. The name is commonly applied to Egypt, and the dual form held probably to indicate the twofold division of the country into the valley of Upper Egypt and the plain of Lower Egypt, or the Delta. The names of the Mizraite tribes which follow are all in the plural, and therefore we may here point מִצְרַיִם in the pl. instead of following the Masoretes in the dual pointing. Brugsch has discovered in hieroglyphics the transcription, letter for letter, of Mizraim in Mazrima, the brother of the Hittite king Khetasar, contemporary with Ramses II. (*Geogr. Inschrift.* ii. p. 25, No. 77, pl. xviii.). This Hebrew name, if it be so, in the midst of Hittite names of another stock of language, would be most noteworthy, and would point to the use of Hebrew in Egypt then prevalent, supposing that the name was there given to the Hittite prince. It is obvious that if this be an instance of the use of the dual form Mizraim as a singular proper name, it would modify what has been just said on the subject. The names of the tribes are very hard to identify. It is clear that their extension is along the North African coast, and that of Phoenicia, and possibly the Island of Crete. The first tribe, the Ludim, have the same name as the Ludim mentioned in Gen. x. under the name of their eponym, Lud the son of Shem (*v.* 22). According to the principle suggested in art. CUSH, that the occurrence of the same names in different genealogies indicates the settlement of the same tracts by different races,—a principle which seems to be proved in the case of the settlements in Arabia in the art. referred to,—the Hamite and Shemite Ludim would point to a double occupation of some country by the dark and tawny races. The Shemite Ludim have generally been identified with the Lydians, but only on account of the close similarity of name. In certain passages of the prophets Lud is mentioned with African nations as supplying mercenaries to Egypt (Jer. xlvi. 9; cp. Ezek. xxx. 4, 5). No African nation can be suggested at this time, and it is most likely that the Ionian and Carian mercenaries of the Saïte kings are intended. These kings were allied with the Lydian sovereigns, who could have sent them forces drawn from their Ionian and Carian neighbours and ultimately subjects. To conclude: it is possible that the original text read Lubim instead of Ludim, ל and ב being similar in the old Hebrew character.

The Anamim have not been identified. [ANAMIM.] The Lehabim have been supposed to be the Lubim or Libyans, the Rebu or Lebu of the Egyptian records, the elision of the weak guttural being common in Hebrew. If, however, the Ludim are Lubim, the Lehabim must be a different tribe. [LEHABIM.] The Naphtuhim are probably to be traced in the Coptic ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲓⲧ, ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲓⲗ, the name of the city of Marea and the surrounding territory. [NAPHTUHIM.] Pathrusim, the ethnic of Pathros, Pa-to-res, the south land, or Upper Egypt, is a clear identification. It may be observed that Mazor in the sing. occurs in apposition to Pathros, and that thus it would seem that Mazor and even Mizraim, dual in form but perhaps not dual in sense, may designate Lower Egypt. [PATHRUSIM; PATHROS.] Casluhim has not been identified. [CASLUHIM.] Caphtorim, the ethnic of Caphtor, may be Crete. The nation corresponds, according to the Egyptian data, to the Phoenicians. [CAPHTORIM; CAPHTOR.] The Philistines are mentioned as emigrants from the Casluhim, but their nationality seems fixed by their being apparently called Caphtorim, and stated to have come out of Caphtor [CAPHTOR; PHILISTINES]. Phut, the third in order of the sons of Ham, is in the later notices a nation connected with Egypt on the side of Africa, for which no likely identification has yet been proposed. Clearly the people were closely allied with Egypt in the time of the Assyrian and Babylonian wars, but more than this we cannot say. De Rougé indeed proposed to identify Phut with the Egyptian Punt, the name of the country and people of Arabia Felix and the opposite Ethiopian coast (*Recherches sur les Monuments, &c.*: *Mém. de l'Institut*, xxv. 2, pp. 228, 229). Cesare de Cara, the latest writer on the subject, rejects the identification on philological grounds (*Gli Hyksôs*, p. 170, note 2). See PHUT.

The Canaanites, unlike the rest of the Hamites, have been completely traced at least to their settlements in the land of Canaan. Recently, however, an important discovery has been made. The phrase "afterward were the families of the Canaanite spread abroad" (Gen. x. 18), intervening between the list and the statement of the limited extent of what we may call the first Canaanite settlement, is now of striking significance. Professor Sayce has restored to history the lost fact of the great Hittite dominion. From about B.C. 1400 for seven centuries the Hittites ruled or controlled Northern Syria and Asia Minor, being the most formidable rivals of the Egyptians; and thus at the same time the Egyptians, only kept in check by the Hittites on the east and the Libyans on the west, formed the central Hamite power, while the Phoenician merchants were already the carriers of the commerce of the world.

The race characters of the Hamites are probably best defined by the Egyptian representations of themselves, the Punt or Ethiopians of Arabia Felix and the opposite coast of Africa, and the Phoenicians, whom they call Kefa. They are brown, but fairer in the north, with straight hair and scanty beards. The Libyans are, in very early monuments of about B.C. 2500, of the same aspect, but in about B.C. 1400 of a different type; white, more muscular, and with fuller beards. This difference may have been

due to the colonization of Northern Africa by Iberians of the south of Europe, or pre-Hellenic islanders.

The Hamitic languages mainly belong to the Ethiopian stock, discussed in the *Nubische Grammatik* of Lepsius. The language of the Asiatic Cushites has not been recovered. The Canaanites all spoke Hebrew in Canaan, and the Phoenician is merely a dialect of Hebrew. The Hittites out of Canaan, however, spoke another language, not yet classed, but undoubtedly not Hebrew. It may therefore be doubted whether Hebrew was not adopted by them in Palestine from an older population, the extinct races of Palestine, the Rephaim, &c.; but this is a very obscure question.

An enquiry into Hamite civilization would lead us beyond the limits of an article. If we exclude the Libyans—who, as already shown, do not seem in the time at which they play a part in history, from B.C. 1400 downwards, to have been pure Hamites—we trace in all the race a power of administration, and thus of establishing settled government; in fact the earliest states seem to have been Hamite. Love of adventure in war or commerce is marked. Of their religions we cannot yet generalize. They certainly played a great part in history, though they fell before the vigour of the sons of Shem and the intelligence of those of Japheth. [R. S. P.]

2. (חָם, Gen. xiv. 5; Sam. חם, *Cham.*) According to the Masoretic text, Chedorlaomer and his allies smote the Zuzim in a place called Ham. If, as seems likely, the Zuzim be the same as the Zamzummim, Ham must be placed in what was afterwards the Ammonite territory. Hence it has been conjectured by Tuch and Delitzsch [1887], that Ham is but another form of the name of the chief stronghold of the children of *Ammon*, Rabbah, now *Am*-man. The LXX. and Vulg., however, throw some doubt upon the Masoretic reading: the former has, as the rendering of בָּהָם (וְאֶת־הַזּוּזִים), *καὶ ἔθνη ἰσχυρὰ ἅμα αὐτοῖς*; and the latter, *et Zuzim cum eis*, which shows that they read בָּהֶם: but the Mas. rendering seems the more likely, as each clause mentions a nation, and its capital or stronghold. The place cannot be identified for certain.

3. In the account of a migration of the Simeonites to the valley of Gedor, and their destroying the predecessors (see R. V.) of the pastoral inhabitants, they are said to have been "of Ham" (מִן־חָם; *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Χάμ*; *de stirpe Cham*, 1 Ch. iv. 40). This may indicate that a Hamite tribe was settled here, or, more precisely, that there was an Egyptian settlement. Others understand by the term Canaanite nomads (see Keil and Oettli [Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*] in loco). [G.] [F.]

HA'MAN (הָמָן, meaning uncertain. Cp. MV.[11]; Ἀμάν; *Aman*), the chief minister or vizier of king Ahasuerus (Esth. iii. 1). After the failure of his attempt to cut off all the Jews in the Persian empire, he was hanged on the gallows which he had erected for Mordecai. It is very improbable that he is the same Aman who is mentioned as the oppressor of Achiacharus (Tobit xiv. 10; see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). The Targum and Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 6, § 5) interpret the description of him—the Agagite—as signifying that he was of Amalekitish descent; but the opinion that he was of necessity an enemy to Israel, because called a Macedonian by the LXX. in Esth. iv. 24 (cp. iii. 1; Additions to Esther, xii. 6, xvi. 10), and therefore also hostile to Jewish interests, is not now so universally accepted as of old (see *Speaker's Comm.* on "Additions," &c. *ll. cc.*). Prideaux (*Connection*, anno 453) computes the sum which he offered to pay into the royal treasury at more than £2,000,000 sterling. [F.]

HA'MATH (חֲמָת [*fortress, citadel*]; Ἡμάθ, Ἐμάθ, Αἰμάθ; *Emath*) was probably the principal city of Upper Syria from the time of the Exodus until that of the Prophet Amos. It is situated in the valley of the Orontes, having, to the north- and south-east, the district of *Jebel-al-Aʻla*, and on the west, the *Nusairiyeh* Mountains (the *Mons Bargylus* of the ancients). The Orontes, which flows through Hamath from S.E. to N.W., forms a bend in the middle of the town. To the S.W., above Tripoli, there is an opening between the *Nusairiyeh* Mountains and the northern point of the Lebanon chain—the "entrance of Hamath," as it is called in Scripture, and the northern border of the Promised Land (Num. xxxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5; Ezek. xlvii. 13–21). A similar opening, but of much greater extent, occurs between the Anti-Lebanon and the low hills which lie eastward of Hamath. The valley of the Orontes runs N.E. and S.W., the city of Homs being situated near the intersection of the arms of the cross-shaped depression or valley thus formed. Northward the pass leads to Hamath, southward towards Baal-Gad in Coele-Syria, eastward to the great plain of the Syrian Desert, and westward to *Kalʻat-al-Hosn* and the Mediterranean. The whole of the tract around the city seems to have formed the kingdom of Hamath during the time of its independence, extending to the south of, and including, Riblah.

The Hamathites, like the Hittites, were a Hamitic race, and are included among the descendants of Canaan (Gen. x. 18). Though not in any way Semites, they possibly intermarried with the Semitic nations around. Being closely akin to the Hittites, whose neighbours they were, they were naturally often in alliance with them. The earliest notices of the city (Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5, &c.) show that it was a well-known place, but no mention of its power occurs until the time of David (2 Sam. viii. 10), when we learn that Toi, king of Hamath, with whom Hadadezer, king of Zobah, had "had wars," sent his son to David to congratulate him upon his victory over that king—an act of homage not without political significance. Hamath seems afterwards to have come under the dominion of Solomon (cp. 1 K. iv. 21–24 with 2 Ch. viii. 4), and its king was, no doubt, one of the many princes over whom that monarch ruled, who "brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life." The "store-cities" which Solomon built in Hamath (2 Ch. viii. 4) were, perhaps, staples for trade, the importance of the Orontes valley as a line of traffic being always great. On the death of Solomon, and the division of his kingdom,

Hamath seems to have regained her independence. In the Assyrian inscriptions of the time of Shalmaneser II. (about 860 B.C.) it appears as an independent power, under its own king Irḥuleni, in alliance with the Hittites, Damascus (under Addu-idri)*, Ahab of Israel, and several other states. About the year 810 B.C. Jeroboam the second "recovered Hamath" (2 K. xiv. 28). He seems to have dismantled the place, and on this account the prophet Amos (i. 1) couples "Hamath the great" with Gath, as an instance of desolation (Amos vi. 2). Tiglath-pileser, about 730 B.C., took tribute, among others, from Eni-ilu (עִינִאֵל), king of Hamath; and Sargon boasts of having "rooted out (?) the land of Hamath, and dyed the skin of the foolish (?) Ilu-bi'di (variant Yau-bi'di) like wool." Judging from the words of Sennacherib's Rabshakeh or "chief of the captains" (2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 13, &c.), that king seems also to have captured the place, but this may be simply a reference to the exploits of Sargon. From this time, however, it seems to have ceased to be a place of much importance. Antiochus Epiphanes changed its name to Epiphaneia, under which it was known to the Greeks and Romans from his time to that of St. Jerome (*Comment. in* Ezek. xlvii. 16), and possibly later. The natives, however, still called it Hamath; and its present name, *Hamāh*, is but very slightly altered from the ancient form. In 639 A.D. the city surrendered without resistance to the Moslems. Abulfedâ, the eminent Arab scholar, a descendant of the family of Saladin, was appointed governor of the district in 1310, and with his death in 1331 Hamah's prosperity declined.

Burckhardt visited Hamah in 1812. He describes it as situated on both sides of the Orontes, partly on a slope of a hill, partly on the plain, and as divided into four quarters,—*Hadher*, *El Djisr*, *El Aleyat*, and *El Medine*, the last being the quarter of the Christians. The city contained 4,446 houses, and the number of male inhabitants was nearly 11,000. The place has but few attractions. A number of catacombs are said to exist on the right bank, at some height above the river, and Burckhardt mentions the so-called "Hamah-stones" (now regarded as "Hittite") which have since attracted the attention of scholars, but resisted all attempts at decipherment. These stones are of black, close-grained basalt, and contain five inscriptions, one evidently imperfect. The town is dirty, the streets badly paved, and most of the houses are built of mud. It is remarkable for its water-wheels, some of which are of huge dimensions, and are used for raising the water of the Orontes to supply the houses and gardens in the upper part of the town. Though the town is unhealthy, the neighbourhood is very fruitful, and the commerce of the place is still of some importance (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 146, 147; Pococke, *Travels in the East*, vol. i.; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 244; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 406, 407; Murray's *Handbook of Syria*, pp. 538, 583.)

[G. R.] [T. G. P.]

* Identified with Ben-Hadad, whose full name was possibly Ben-Hadad-bidri

HA'MATH-ZO'BAH (חֲמַת־צוֹבָה; Βαασωβά; [A. Αἰμὰθ Σωβά;] *Emath-Suba*) is spoken of as having been attacked and conquered by Solomon (2 Ch. viii. 3). Many scholars regard it as the same as Hamath, looking upon it as being included in Aram-Zobah—a geographical expression which has usually a narrower meaning. It is possible, however, that Hamath-Zobah was another Hamath, so named to distinguish it from "Great Hamath," like Ramoth-*Gilead*, which is distinguished by the addition of Gilead from Ramah in Benjamin. It has also been conjectured that, at the time of Solomon's attack, Hamath and Zobah were united under the same king; hence the joining of the two names.

[G. R.] [T. G. P.]

HAMA'THITE, THE (הַחֲמָתִי; ὁ Ἀμαθί; *Amathaeus*, *Hamathaeus*), one of the families descended from Canaan, named last in the list (Gen. x. 18; 1 Ch. i. 16, B. om.). The place of their settlement was doubtless HAMATH.

HAMI'TAL, 2 K. xxiii. 31, the reading of A. V. [1611] for HAMU'TAL.

HAM'MATH (חַמַּת = *warm spring*; B. Ὡμαθαδακέθ—the last two syllables a corruption of the name following—A. Ἀμάθ; *Emath*), one of the fortified cities in the territory allotted to Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35). It is not possible from this list to determine its position, but the notices of the Talmudists, collected by Lightfoot in his *Chorographical Century* and *Chor. Decad*, leave no doubt that it was near Tiberias, one mile distant (Tal. Bab. *Megilla*, 2*b*)—in fact that it had its name, Chammath, "hot baths," because it contained those of Tiberias. In accordance with this are the slight notices of Josephus, who mentions it under the name of Emmaus as a "village not far (κωμὴ . . . οὐκ ἄπωθεν) from Tiberias" (*Ant.* xviii. 2, § 3), and as where Vespasian had encamped "before (πρὸ) Tiberias" (*B. J.* iv. 1, § 3). In both cases Josephus names the hot springs or baths, adding in the latter, that such is the interpretation of the name Ἀμμαοῦς, and that the waters are medicinal. The *Hammâm* still send up their hot and sulphureous waters, at a spot rather more than a mile south of the modern town, at the extremity of the ruins of the ancient city. The waters of the several springs have a temperature of from 142°·2 to 132°·2 Fahr., and are much used by the Jews of Tiberias for rheumatism (Rob. ii. 383–4; Van de Velde, ii. 399; Wilson, *Recovy. of Jerusm.* p. 362). These springs are sometimes confused with the hot springs of Gadara, which were situated at Hamtha in the valley of the *Yarmuk*, a sabbath day's journey from the town. [GADARA.] The traveller Parchi mentions a place called *El-Hami*, which he rightly identified with Hamtha (Zunz's *Appendix* to Benjamin of Tudela, ii. 403).

In the list of Levitical cities given out of Naphtali (Josh. xxi. 32) the name of this place seems to be HAMMOTH-DOR, and in 1 Ch. vi. 76 it is further altered to HAMMON. [G.] [W.]

HAMMEDA'THA (הַמְדָתָא; B. Ἀμαδάθος; A. Ἀναμαθδδος, Ἀμαθδδος [ix. 24]; *Amadathus*), father of the infamous Haman, and commonly de-

signated as the "Agagite" (Esth. iii. 1, 10, viii. 5, ix. 24), though also without that title (ix. 10). By Gesenius (*Lex.* 1855, p. 539; MV.[21] s. n.) the name is taken to be Medatha (Μαδάθας), preceded by the definite article. For other explanations, see Fürst, *HWB.*, and Simonis, *Onomasticon*, p. 586. The latter derives it from a Persian word meaning "double." For the termination, compare ARIDATHA. [G.] [F.]

HAMME'LECH (הַמֶּלֶךְ = *the king*; τοῦ βασιλέως; *Amelech*), rendered in the A. V. as a proper name (Jer. xxxvi. 26, xxxviii. 6); but there is no apparent reason for supposing it to be anything but the ordinary Hebrew word for "the king," *i.e.* in the first case Jehoiakim, and in the latter Zedekiah. If this be so, it enables us to connect with the royal family of Judah two persons, Jerachmeel and Malciah, who do not appear in the A. V. as members thereof. R. V. reads "the king's son" in the text, and *the son of H.* in marg. [G.] [W.]

HAMMER. The Hebrew language has several names for this indispensable tool. (1) *Pattîsh* (פַּטִּישׁ, connected etymologically with πατάσσω, *to strike*), which was used by the goldbeater (Is. xli. 7, A. V. and R. V. "carpenter") to overlay with silver and "smooth" the surface of the image; as well as by the quarry-man (Jer. xxiii. 29). (2) *Maqqābâh* (מַקֶּבָה. Cp. the name Maccabee), properly a tool for *hollowing*, hence a stonecutter's mallet (1 K. vi. 7), and generally any workman's hammer (Judg. iv. 21; Is. xliv. 12; Jer. x. 4). (3) *Halmûth* (הַלְמוּת), used only in Judg. v. 26, and then with the addition of the word "workmen's" by way of explanation. It was probably of wood, and "*the* hammer" kept for driving in tent-pegs (see Bertheau[2] on iv. 21). (4) A kind of hammer, named *mappēṣ* (מַפֵּץ), Jer. li. 20 (A. V. "battle-axe," R. V. marg. Or, *maul*), or *mēphîṣ* (מְפִיץ), Prov. xxv. 18 (A. V. and R. V. "maul"), was used as a weapon of war. "Hammer" is used figuratively for any overwhelming power, whether worldly (Jer. l. 23) or spiritual (Jer. xxiii. 29). [W. L. B.]

HAMMOLE'KETH, R. V. HAMMOLECHETH (הַמֹּלֶכֶת, with the article, = *the Queen* [cp. Ham-melech]; ἡ Μαλεχέθ; *Regina*), a woman introduced into the genealogies of Manasseh as daughter of Machir and sister of Gilead (1 Ch. vii. 17, 18), and as having among her children ABI-EZER, from whose family sprang the great judge Gideon. The Targum translates the name by דִּי מְלָכַת = who reigned. The Jewish tradition, as preserved by Kimchi in his commentary on the passage, is that "she used to reign over a portion of the land which belonged to Gilead," and that for that reason her lineage has been preserved. [G.] [F.]

HAM'MON (חַמּוֹן = *hot* or *sunny*; B. Ἐμμαών, A. Ἀμών; *Hamon*, *Ammon*). **1.** A city in Asher (Josh. xix. 28), apparently not far from Zidon-rabbah, or "Great Zidon." Guérin (*Galilée*, ii. 141) proposes to identify it with *Kh. Umm el-'Amûd*, near the coast, about 11 miles S. of Tyre, on the grounds that M. Renan found on the spot a Phoenician inscription, dedicated to "the God Hammon," and that the name may be traced in *W. Hamûl* and *'Ain Hamûl* close by. Dr. Schultz had previously suggested its identification with *'Ain Hamûl* (Rob. iii. 66), but this is doubtful both in etymology and position. There is a similar objection to Major Conder's suggestion (*Hbk. to Bib.* p. 413) that it was at *Kh. el-Hima*, to the E. of *Kh. Umm el-'Amûd*. Knobel (*s. v.*) identifies it with *Hammâna*, in *W. Hammâna*, E. of *Beirût*, but this is too far north for a town in Asher.

2. B. Χαμώθ; A. Χαμών. A city allotted out of the tribe of Naphtali to the Levites (1 Ch. vi. 76), and answering to the somewhat similar names HAMMATH and HAMMOTH-DOR in Joshua. [G.] [W.]

HAM'MOTH-DOR (חַמֹּת דֹּאר = *warm springs of Dor*; Νεμμάθ, A. Ἐμαθδώρ; *Ammoth Dor*), a city of Naphtali, allotted with its suburbs to the Gershonite Levites, and for a city of refuge (Josh. xxi. 32). Unless there were two places of the same or very similar name in Naphtali, this is identical with HAMMATH (see Dillmann[2] on Josh. xix. 35). Why the suffix Dor is added it is hard to tell, unless the word refers in some way to the situation of the place on the coast, in which fact only had it (as far as we know) any resemblance to DOR, on the shore of the Mediterranean. In 1 Ch. vi. 76 the name is contracted to HAMMON. [G.] [W.]

HAMO'NAH (הֲמוֹנָה; Πολύανδριον; *Amona*), the prophetic name of a city mentioned in a highly obscure passage of Ezekiel (xxxix. 16); apparently that of the place in or near which the multitudes of Gog should be buried after their great slaughter by God; hence its name —"multitude." [G.] [W.]

HAMO'N-GOG, THE VALLEY OF (גֵּי הֲמוֹן גּוֹג = *the ravine of Gog's multitude*; Γαὶ τὸ πολυάνδριον τοῦ Γώγ; *vallis multitudinis Gog*), the name to be bestowed on a ravine or glen, previously known as "the ravine of the passengers on the east of the sea," after the burial there of "Gog and all his multitude" (Ezek. xxxix. 11, 15).

HAMO'R (חֲמוֹר, *i.e.* in Heb. a large he-ass, the figure employed by Jacob for Issachar; Ἐμμώρ; *Hemor*), a Hivite (or according to the LXX. of Gen. xxxiv. 2, ὁ Χορραῖος, a Horite),[a] who at the time of the entrance of Jacob on Palestine was prince (*Nasi*) of the land and city of Shechem, and father of the impetuous young man of the latter name whose ill-treatment of Dinah brought destruction on himself, his father, and the whole of their city (Gen. xxxiii. 19; xxxiv. 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 18, 20, 24, 26). Hamor would seem to have been a person of great influence, because, though alive at the time, the men of his tribe are called after him *Bene-Hamor*, and he himself, in records narrating events long subsequent to this, is styled *Hamor-Abi-Shechem* (Josh. xxiv. 32;[a] Judg. ix. 28; Acts

[a] The LXX. have here read the word without its initial guttural, and rendered it παρὰ τῶν Ἀμορραίων, "from the Amorites."

vii. 16). In the second of these passages his name is used as a signal of revolt, when the remnant of the ancient Hivites attempted to rise against Abimelech son of Gideon. [SHECHEM.] For the title *Abi-Shechem*, "father of Shechem," cp. "father of Bethlehem," "father of Tekoah," and others in the early lists of 1 Ch. ii. iv. In Acts vii. 16 the name is given in the Greek form of EMMOR, and Abraham is said to have bought his sepulchre from the "sons of Emmor." [G.]

HAMU-EL (חַמּוּאֵל, *i.e.* Hammū'ēl [of uncertain etymology]; B. om., A. Ἀμουήλ; *Amuel*), a man of Simeon; son of Mishma, of the family of Shaul (1 Ch. iv. 26, ed. Baer), from whom, if we follow the records of this passage, it would seem that the whole tribe of Simeon located in Palestine were derived.

HA'MUL (חָמוּל = *spared*; Sam. חמואל; Ἰεμουήλ; *Amul*), the younger son of Pharez, Judah's son by Tamar (Gen. xlvi. 12; 1 Ch. ii. 5). Hamul was head of the family of the Hamulites (Num. xxvi. 21; LXX. *v.* 17; B. Ἰαμούν, AF. Ἰαμουήλ), but none of the genealogy of his descendants is preserved in the lists of 1 Chronicles, though those of the descendants of Zerah are fully given.

HAMULI'TES, THE (הַחֲמוּלִי; B. Ἰαμουνεί, A. Ἰαμουηλί, F. Ἰεμ-; *Amulitae*), the family (מִשְׁפַּחַת) of the preceding (Num. xxvi. 21).

HAMU'TAL (חֲמוּטָל; *Amital*), daughter of Jeremia of Libnah; one of the wives of king Josiah, and mother of the unfortunate princes Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 31, B. Ἀμειταί, A. Ἀμιτὰλ) and Mattaniah or Zedekiah (2 K. xxiv. 18, B. Μιτάτ, A. Ἀμιτάθ; Jer. lii. 1, B. Ἀμειταάλ, ℵA. Ἀμι-). In the last two passages the name is given in the original text as חֲמִיטָל, *Chamital*.

HANAM-EEL (חֲנַמְאֵל; Ἀναμεήλ; *Hanameel*; R. V. Hanamel), son of Shallum, and cousin of Jeremiah. When Judaea was occupied by the Chaldaeans, Jerusalem beleaguered, and Jeremiah in prison, the Prophet (*as* גֹּאֵל), having the right of redemption, bought a field of Hanameel in token of his assurance that a time was to come when land should be once more a secure possession (Jer. xxxii. 7, 8, 9, 12; and cp. *v.* 44). The suburban fields belonging to the tribe of Levi could not be sold (Lev. xxv. 34); but commentators see in Hanameel's invitation to Jeremiah that he should purchase the field a desire that a Levitical and priestly possession should not pass into non-priestly hands. The restriction imposed by the Law was less strictly observed as time went on. Cp. the case of Barnabas, a Levite (see *Speaker's Comm.*, note on Acts iv. 37). [F.]

HA'NAN (חָנָן = *gracious*; Ἀνάν; *Hanan*). **1.** One of the chief people of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 23).

2. The last of the six sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 38, ix. 44).

3. "Son of Maachah," *i.e.* possibly a Syrian of Aram-Maacah, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the extended list of 1 Ch. xi. 43.

4. Bene-Chanan were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 46; Neh. vii. 49). In the parallel list, 1 Esd. v. 30, the name is given as ANAN.

5. (LXX. omits.) One of the Levites who assisted Ezra in his public exposition of the Law (Neh. viii. 7). The same person is probably mentioned in x. 10 (B. om.; ℵ$^{c.a(ms)}$A. Ἀνάν), as sealing the covenant, since several of the same names occur in both passages.

6. One of the "heads" of the "people;" that is, of the laymen, who also sealed the covenant (x. 22).

7. (Αἰνάν; see Swete in loco.) Another of the chief laymen on the same occasion (x. 26).

8. Son of Zaccur, son of Mattaniah, whom Nehemiah made one of the storekeepers of the provisions collected as tithes (Neh. xiii. 13). He was probably a layman, in which case the four storekeepers represented the four chief classes of the people—priests, scribes, Levites, and laymen.

9. Son of Igdaliah, "the man of God" (Jer. xxxv. 4). The sons of Hanan had a chamber in the Temple. The LXX. B. gives the name twice —Ἰωνὰν υἱοῦ Ἀνανίου: ℵ. reads Ἀννὰν υἱοῦ Ἀνανίου. [G.] [F.]

HANA'NĒ-EL (R. V. HANANEL), **THE TOWER OF** (מִגְדַּל חֲנַנְאֵל; B. πύργος Ἀνανεήλ, A. -μ-, ℵ. (iii. 1) Ναεήλ; *turris Hananeel*), a tower which formed part of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 1, xii. 39). From these two passages, particularly from the former, it might almost be inferred that Hananeel was but another name for the Tower of Meah (הַמְּאָה = "the hundred;" R. V. Hammeah): at any rate they were close together, and stood between the sheep-gate and the fish-gate. This tower is further mentioned in Jer. xxxi. 38, as one of the limits of the restored Jerusalem, which the Prophet is announcing shall be "rebuilt to Jehovah," and "not be thrown down any more for ever." The remaining passage in which it is named (Zech. xiv. 10) also connects this tower with the "corner gate." In the Targum of Jonathan it is called *Pekôs* or *Pikkūs*. [JERUSALEM.] [G.] [F.]

HANA'NI (חָנָנִי, possibly contracted from חֲנַנְיָה: B. omits from *v.* 4, and reads Ἀναΐας in *v.* 25; A. in both cases, Ἀναΐ: *Hanani*). **1.** One of the sons of Heman, David's Seer, who were separated for song in the house of the Lord, and head of the eighteenth course of the service (1 Ch. xxv. 4, 25).

2. B. Ἀναμεί, A. Ἀναΐ. A Seer who rebuked Asa, king of Judah, for his want of faith in God, which he had shown by buying off the hostility of Benhadad I., king of Syria (2 Ch. xvi. 7). For this he was imprisoned by Asa (*v.* 10). He (or another Hanani) was the father of Jehu the Seer, who testified against Baasha (1 K. xvi. 1, 7) and Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xix. 2, xx. 34).

3. One of the priests who in the time of Ezra were connected with strange wives (Ezra x. 20). In Esdras the name is ANANIAS.

4. A brother of Nehemiah, who returned

B.C. 446 from Jerusalem to Susa (Neh. i. 2); and was afterwards made governor of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (vii. 2).

5. A priest mentioned in Neh. xii. 36 (B. omits; A. 'Αναί). [W. T. B.] [F.]

HANANI'AH (חֲנַנְיָה and חֲנַנְיָהוּ = *Jah is gracious*; B. [usually] 'Ανανίας; *Ananias* and *Hananias*. In N. T. 'Ανανίας; *Ananias*).

1. One of the fourteen sons of Heman the singer, and chief of the sixteenth out of the twenty-four courses or wards into which the 288 musicians of the Levites were divided by king David. The sons of Heman were especially employed to blow the horns (1 Ch. xxv. 4, 5, 23).

2. One of the chief captains of the army of king Uzziah (2 Ch. xxvi. 11).

3. Father of Zedekiah, one of the princes in the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah (Jer. xxxvi. 12).

4. Son of Azur, a Benjamite of Gibeon and a false prophet in the time of Zedekiah king of Judah. In the fourth year of his reign Hananiah withstood Jeremiah the Prophet, and publicly prophesied in the Temple that within two years Jeconiah and all his fellow-captives, with the vessels of the Lord's House which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away to Babylon, should be brought back to Jerusalem (Jer. xxviii.): an indication that treacherous negotiations were already secretly opened with Pharaoh-Hophra [EGYPT, p. 888, *col.* 1], and that strong hopes were entertained of the destruction of the Babylonian power by him. The preceding chapter (xxvii. 3) shows further that a league was already in progress between Judah and the neighbouring nations of Edom, Ammon, Moab, Tyre and Sidon, for the purpose of organising resistance to Nebuchadnezzar, in combination no doubt with the projected movements of Pharaoh-Hophra. Hananiah corroborated his prophecy by taking from off the neck of Jeremiah the yoke which he wore by Divine command (Jer. xxvii., in token of the subjection of Judaea and the neighbouring countries to the Babylonian empire), and breaking it, added, "Thus saith Jehovah, Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon from the neck of all nations within the space of two full years." But Jeremiah was bidden to go and tell Hananiah that for the wooden yokes which he had broken he should make yokes of iron, so firm was the dominion of Babylon destined to be for seventy years. The Prophet Jeremiah added this rebuke and prediction of Hananiah's death, the fulfilment of which closes the history of this false prophet: "Hear now, Hananiah; Jehovah hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith Jehovah, Behold I will send thee away from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die, because thou hast taught rebellion against Jehovah. So Hananiah the prophet died the same year, in the seventh month" (Jer. xxviii. 15, 16, R. V.). The above history of Hananiah is of great interest, as throwing much light upon the Jewish politics of that eventful time, divided as parties were into the partisans of Babylon on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other. It also exhibits the machinery of false prophecies, by which the irreligious party sought to promote their own policy, in a very distinct form. At the same time that it explains in general the sort of political calculation on which such false prophecies were hazarded, it supplies an important clue in particular by which to judge of the date of Pharaoh-Hophra's (or Apries') accession to the Egyptian throne, and the commencement of his ineffectual effort to restore the power of Egypt (which had been prostrate since Necho's overthrow, Jer. xlvi. 2) upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire. The leaning to Egypt, indicated by Hananiah's prophecy as having begun in the fourth of Zedekiah, had in the sixth of his reign issued in open defection from Nebuchadnezzar, and in the guilt of perjury, which cost Zedekiah his crown and his life (Ezek. xvii. 12–20; the date being fixed by a comparison of Ezek. viii. 1 with xx. 1). The temporary success of the intrigue which is described in Jer. xxxvii. was speedily followed by the return of the Chaldaeans and the destruction of the city, according to the prediction of Jeremiah. This history of Hananiah also illustrates the manner in which the false prophets hindered the mission, and obstructed the beneficent effects of the ministry, of the true Prophets; and it affords a remarkable example of the way in which they prophesied smooth things, and said peace when there was no peace (cp. 1 K. xxii. 11, 24, 25).

5. Grandfather of Irijah, the captain of the ward at the gate of Benjamin who arrested Jeremiah on a charge of deserting to the Chaldaeans (Jer. xxxvii. 13).

6. Head of a Benjamite house (1 Ch. viii. 24).

7. The Hebrew name of Shadrach. [SHADRACH.] He was of the house of David, according to Jewish tradition (Dan. i. 3, 6, 7, 11, 19; ii. 17). [ANANIAS.]

8. Son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. iii. 19), from whom CHRIST derived His descent. He is the same person who is by St. Luke called Ἰωαννᾶς, Joanna, and who, when Rhesa is discarded, appears there also as Zerubbabel's son. [GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.] The identity of the two names Hananiah and Joanna is apparent immediately we compare them in Hebrew. This identification is of great importance, as bringing St. Luke's genealogy into harmony with the Old Testament. Nothing more is known of this Hananiah.

9. The two names Hananiah and Jehohanan stand side by side (Ezra x. 28) as sons of Bebai, who returned with Ezra from Babylon.

10. A priest, one of the "apothecaries" or makers of the sacred ointments and incense (Ex. xxx. 22–38; 1 Ch. ix. 30), who built a portion of the wall of Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 8). He may be the same as the man mentioned in v. 30 as having repaired another portion. If so, he was the son of Shelemiah; perhaps the same as is mentioned in xii. 41.

11. Head of the priestly course of Jeremiah in the days of Joiakim the high-priest (Neh. xii. 12).

12. Ruler of the place (שַׂר הַבִּירָה; R. V. "governor of the castle") at Jerusalem under Nehemiah. He is described as "a faithful man, and one who feared God above many." His office seems to have been one of authority and trust,

and was perhaps the same as that of Eliakim, who was "over the house" in the reign of Hezekiah. [ELIAKIM.] The arrangements for guarding the gates of Jerusalem were entrusted to him with Hanani, the Tirshatha's brother. The opinion that the appointment of Hanani and Hananiah indicates that at this time Nehemiah returned to Persia, has no sufficient ground (see Hunter, *After the Exile*, ii. 172). Nehemiah seems to have been continuously at Jerusalem for some time after the completion of the wall (vii. 5, 65; viii. 9; x. 1). If, too, the term הַבִּירָה means, as Gesenius supposes, and as the use of it in Neh. ii. 8 makes not improbable, not the palace, but the fortress (see R. V.) of the Temple, called by Josephus *βάρις*, there is still less reason to imagine Nehemiah's absence. In this case Hananiah would be a priest, perhaps of the same family as the preceding.

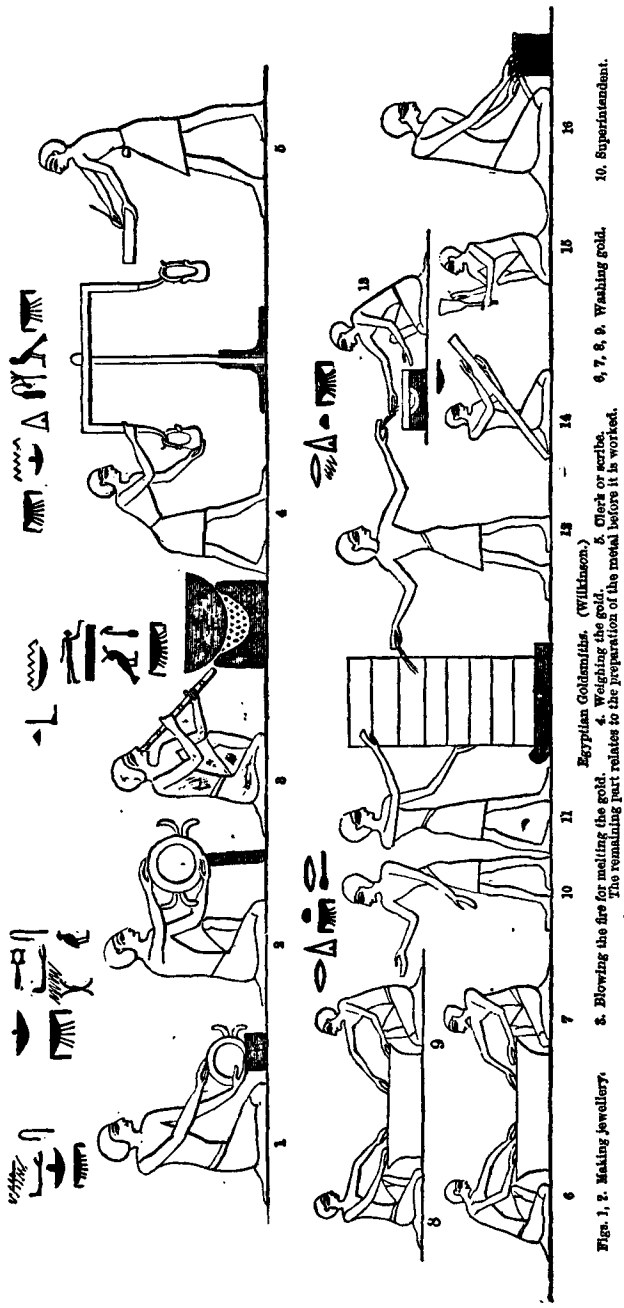
13. An Israelite (Neh. x. 23; Heb. *v.* 24). [ANANIAS.]

Other Hananiahs will be found under ANANIAS. [A. C. H.]

HANDICRAFT

(*τέχνη, ἐργασία*; *ars, artificium*; Acts xviii. 3, xix. 25; Rev. xviii. 22). Although the extent cannot be ascertained to which those arts whose invention is ascribed to Tubal-Cain were carried on, it is probable that this was proportionate respectively to the nomadic or settled habits of the antediluvian races. Among nomad races, as the Bedouin Arabs, or the tribes of Northern and Central Asia and of America, the wants of life, as well as the arts which supply them, are few; and it is only among the city-dwellers that both of them are multiplied and make progress. This subject cannot, of course, be followed out here: in the present article brief notices can only be given of such handicraft trades as are mentioned in Scripture.

1. The preparation of iron for use either in war, in agriculture, or for domestic purposes, was doubtless one of the earliest applications of labour; and, together with iron, working in brass, or rather copper alloyed with tin, bronze (נְחֹשֶׁת, Gesen. p. 875), is mentioned in the



Figs. 1, 2. Making Jewellery. Egyptian Goldsmiths. (Wilkinson.)
3. Blowing the fire for melting the gold. 4. Weighing the gold. 5. Clerk or scribe. 6, 7, 8, 9. Washing gold. 10. Superintendant.
The remaining part relates to the preparation of the metal before it is worked.

same passage as practised in antediluvian times (Gen. iv. 22). The use of this last is usually considered as an art of higher antiquity even than that of iron (Hesiod, *Works & Days*, 150; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. p. 152 [1878]), and there can be no doubt that metal, whether iron or bronze, must have been largely used, either in material or in tools, for the construction of the ark (Gen. vi. 14, 16). Whether the weapons for war or chase used by the early warriors of Syria and Assyria, or the arrow-heads of the archer Ishmael, were of bronze or iron cannot be ascertained; but we know that iron was used for warlike purposes by the Assyrians (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 194), and on the other hand that stone-tipped arrows, as was the case also in Mexico, were used in the earlier times by the Egyptians as well as the Persians and Greeks, and that stone or flint knives continued to be used by them, and by the inhabitants of the desert, and also by the Jews, for religious purposes after the introduction of iron into general use (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 353, 354, ii. 163; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 118; Ex. iv. 25; Josh. v. 2; 1st Egypt. Room, Brit. Mus. case 36, 37). In the construction of the Tabernacle, copper, but no iron, appears to have been used, though the use of iron was at the same period well known to the Jews, both from their own use of it and from their Egyptian education, whilst the Canaanite inhabitants of Palestine and Syria were in full possession of its use both for warlike and domestic purposes (Ex. xx. 25, xxv. 3, xxvii. 19; Num. xxxv. 16; Deut. iii. 11, iv. 20, viii. 9; Josh. viii. 31, xvii. 16, 18). After the establishment of the Jews in Canaan, the occupation of a smith (חָרָשׁ) became recognised as a distinct employment (1 Sam. xiii. 19). The designer of a higher order, such as Bezaleel, Aholiab, and others, appears to have been called specially חֹשֵׁב (Gesen. p. 531; Ex. xxxv. 30, 35, xxxvi. 1, 2; 2 Ch. xxvi. 15; Saalschütz, *Arch. Hebr.* c. 14, § 16). The smith's work and its results are often mentioned in Scripture (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 K. vi. 7; 2 Ch. xxvi. 14; Is. xliv. 12, liv. 16). Among the captives taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar were 1000 "craftsmen" and smiths, who were probably of the superior kind. (2 K. xxiv. 16; Jer. xxix. 2).

The worker in gold and silver (צוֹרֵף; ἀργυροκόπος, χωνευτής; *argentarius, aurifex*) must have found employment both among the Hebrews and the neighbouring nations in very early times, as appears from the ornaments sent by Abraham to Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 22, 53, xxxv. 4, xxxviii. 18; Deut. vii. 25). But, whatever skill the Hebrews possessed, it is quite clear that they must have learned much from Egypt

Egyptian Blowpipe, and small fireplace with cheeks to confine and reflect the heat. (Wilkinson.)

and its "iron-furnaces," both in metal-work and in the arts of setting and polishing precious stones; arts which were turned to account both in the construction of the Tabernacle and the making of the priests' ornaments, and also in the casting of the golden calf as well as its destruction by Moses, probably, as suggested by Goguet, by a method which he had learnt in Egypt (Gen. xli. 42; Ex. iii. 22, xii. 35, xxxi. 4, 5, xxxii. 2, 4, 20, 24, xxxvii. 17, 24, xxxviii. 4, 8, 24, 25, xxxix. 6, 39; Neh. iii. 8; Is. xliv. 12). Various processes of the goldsmiths' work

Tools of an Egyptian Carpenter. (Wilkinson.)

Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4. Chisels and drills.
5. Part of drill.
6. Nut of wood belonging to drill.
7, 8. Saws.
Fig. 9. Horn of oil.
10. Mallet.
11. Basket of nails.
12. Basket which held them.

are illustrated by Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 136, 152, 162 [1878]).

After the conquest frequent notices are found both of moulded and wrought metal, including

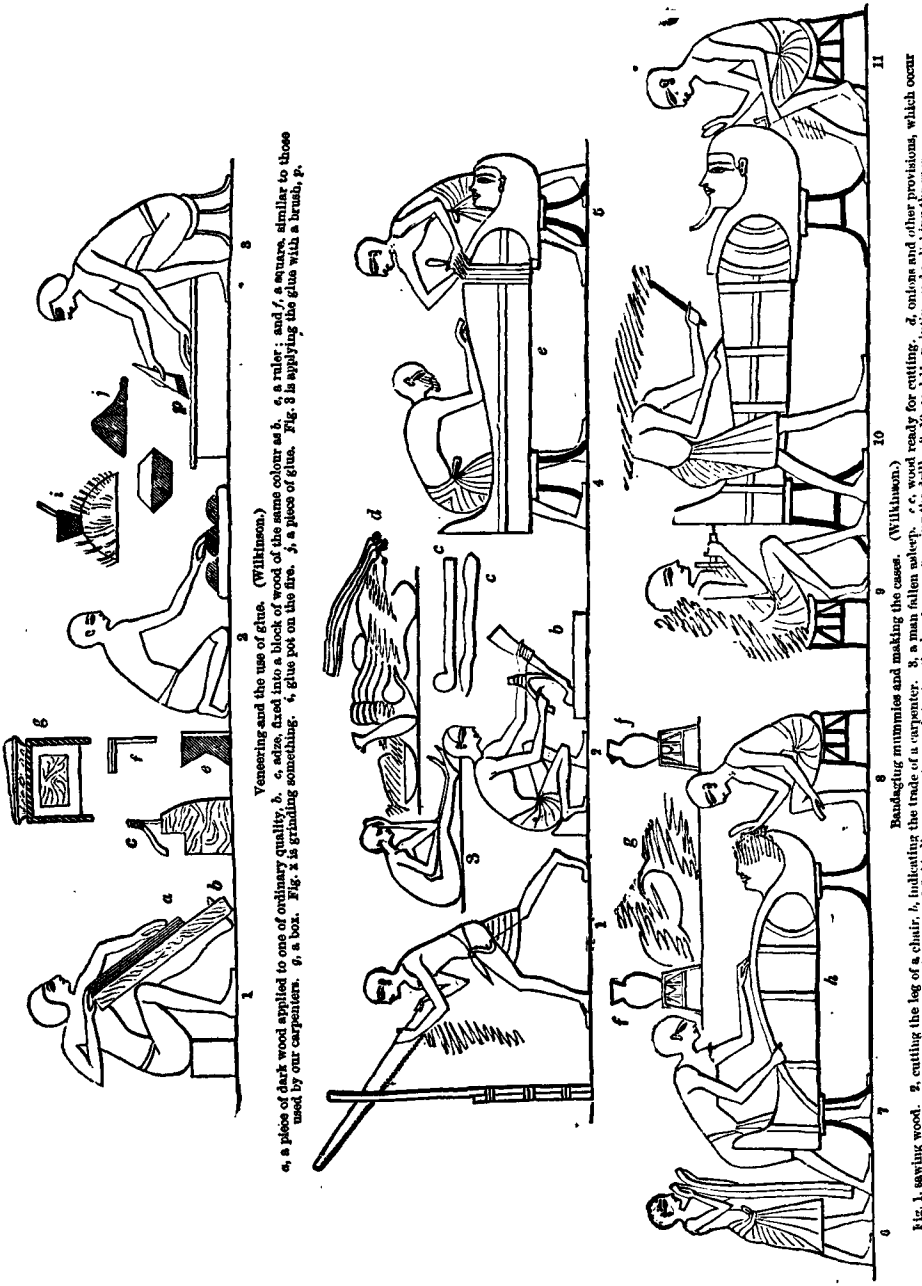


Fig. 1, sawing wood. 2, cutting the leg of a chair. 3, indicating the trade of a carpenter. 3, a man fallen asleep. *c, c*, wood ready for cutting. *d*, onions and other provisions, which occur again at *g*, with vases, *f, f*. 4, 5, and 7, binding mummies. 6, bringing the bandages. 9, using the drill. 8, 10, and 11, painting and polishing the case.

Weaving and the use of glue. (Wilkinson.)

a, a piece of dark wood applied to one of ordinary quality. *b*. *c*, adze, fixed into a block of wood of the same colour as *b*. *e*, a ruler; and *f*, a square, similar to those used by our carpenters. *g*, a box. Fig. 2 is grinding something. *i*, glue pot on the fire. *j*, a piece of glue. Fig. 3 is applying the glue with a brush, *p*.

Bandaging mummies and making the cases. (Wilkinson.)

xvii. 4; 1 K. vii. 13, 45, 46; Is. xli. 7; Wisd. xv. 4; Ecclus. xxxviii. 28; Bar. vi. 50, 55, 57; Wilkinson, ii. p. 162). [ZAREPHATH.] Even in the desert, mention is made of beating gold into plates, cutting it into wire, and also of setting precious stones in gold (Ex. xxxix. 3, 6, &c.; Beckmann, *Hist. of Inv.* ii. 414; Gesen. p. 1229).

Among the tools of the smith are mentioned —tongs (מֶלְקָחַיִם, λαβίς, *forceps*, Gesen. p. 761,

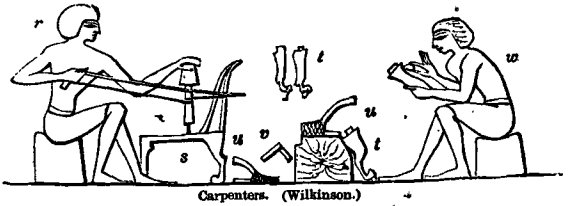
Is. vi. 6), hammer (פַּטִּישׁ, *σφυρά*, *malleus*, Gesen. p. 1101), anvil (פָּעַם, Gesen. p. 1118), bellows (כִּפָּח, *φυσητήρ*, *sufflatorium*, Gesen. p. 896; Is. xli. 7; Jer. vi. 29; Ecclus. xxxviii. 28; Wilkinson, ii. 316 [1878]).

In the N. T. Alexander "the coppersmith" (ὁ χαλκεὺς) of Ephesus is mentioned, where also was carried on that trade in "silver shrines" (*ναοὶ ἀργυροῖ*) which was represented by Demetrius the silversmith (*ἀργυροκόπος*) as being in danger from the spread of Christianity (Acts xix. 24, 28; 2 Tim. iv. 14).

2. The work of the carpenter (חָרָשׁ עֵצִים, *τέκτων*, *artifex lignarius*) is often mentioned in Scripture (*e.g.* Gen. vi. 14; Ex. xxxvii.; Is. xliv. 13). In the palace built by David for himself, the workmen employed were chiefly Phoenicians sent by Hiram (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Ch. xiv. 1), as most probably were those, or at least the principal of those, who were employed by Solomon in his works (1 K. v. 6). But in the repairs of the Temple, executed under Joash king of Judah, and also in the rebuilding under Zerubbabel, no mention is made of foreign workmen, though in the latter case the timber is expressly said to have been brought by sea to Joppa by Sidonians (2 K. xii. 11; 2 Ch. xxiv. 12; Ezra iii. 7). That the Jewish carpenters must have been able to carve with some skill is evident from Is. xli. 7, xliv. 13, in which last passage some of the implements used in the trade are mentioned: — the rule (שֶׁרֶד, *μέτρον*, *norma*, possibly a chalk pencil, Gesen. p. 1337), measuring-line (קָו, Gesen. p. 1201), compass (מְחוּגָה, *παραγραφίς*, *circinus*, Gesen. p. 450), plane, or smoothing instrument (מַקְצוּעָה, *κόλλα*, *runcina*, Gesen. pp. 1228, 1338), axe (גַּרְזֶן, Gesen. p. 302, or קַרְדֻּם, Gesen. p. 1236, *ἀξίνη*, *securis*).

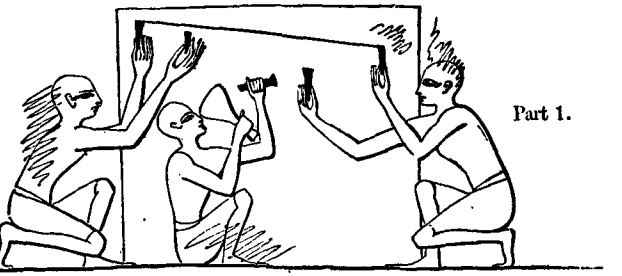
The process of the work, and the tools used by Egyptian carpenters, and also coopers and wheelwrights, are displayed in Egyptian monuments and relics; the former, including dovetailing, veneering, drilling, glueing, varnishing, and inlaying, may be seen in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 111–119. Of the latter many specimens, including saws, hatchets, knives, awls, nails, a hone, and a drill, also turned objects in bone, exist in the British Museum, 1st Egyp. Room, case 42–43, Nos. 6046–6188. See also Wilkinson, ii. p. 113, fig. 395.

In the N. T. the occupation of a carpenter (*τέκτων*) is mentioned in connexion with Joseph the husband of the Virgin Mary, and ascribed to our Lord Himself by way of reproach (Mark vi. 3; Matt. xiii. 55; and Just. Mart. *Dial. Tryph.* c. 88).

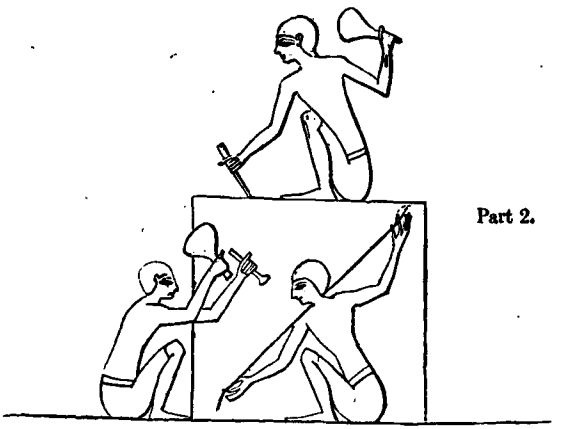


Carpenters. (Wilkinson.)

r drilling a hole in the seat of a chair, s. t t, legs of chair. u u, adzes. v, a square. w, man planing or polishing the leg of a chair.



Part 1.



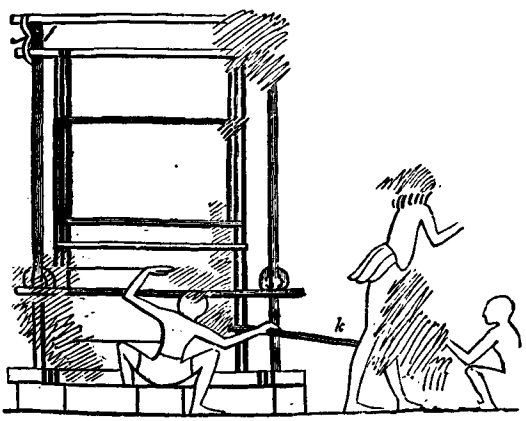
Part 2.

Masons. (Wilkinson.)

Part 1 levelling, and Part 2 squaring, a stone.

3. The masons (גֹּזְרִים, wall-builders, Gesen. p. 269) employed by David and Solomon, at least the chief of them, were Phoenicians, as is implied also in the word גְּבָלִים, men of Gebal, Jebail, Byblus (Gesen. p. 258; 1 K. v. 18; Ezek. xxvii. 9; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 179).

Among their implements are mentioned the saw (מַגֵּרָה, *πρίων*), the plumb-line (אֲנָךְ, Gesen. p. 125), the measuring-reed (קָנֶה, *κάλαμος, calamus*, Gesen. p. 1221). Some of these, and also the chisel and mallet, are represented on Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 313, 314), or preserved in the Brit. Mus. (1st Egyp. Room, Nos. 6114, 6038). The large stones used in Solomon's Temple are said by Josephus to have been fitted together exactly without either mortar or cramps, but the foundation stones to have been fastened with lead (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, § 2; xv. 11, § 3). For ordinary building, mortar, שִׁיד (Gesen. p. 1328), was used; sometimes, perhaps, bitumen, as was the case at Babylon (Gen. xi. 3). The lime, clay, and straw of which mortar is generally composed in the East, requires to be very carefully mixed and united so as to resist wet (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 27; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 206). The wall "daubed with untempered mortar" of Ezekiel (xiii. 10) was perhaps a sort of cob-wall of mud or clay without lime (תָּפֵל, Gesen. p. 1516),



An Egyptian loom. (Wilkinson.)
k is a shuttle, not thrown, but put in with the hand. It had a hook at each end.

which would give way under heavy rain. The use of whitewash on tombs is remarked by our Lord (Matt. xxiii. 27. See also Mishn. *Maaser Sheni*, v. 1). Houses infected with leprosy were required by the Law to be replastered (Lev. xiv. 40–45).

4. Akin to the craft of the carpenter is that of ship and boat building, which must have been exercised to some extent for the fishing-vessels on the lake of Gennesaret (Matt. viii. 23, ix. 1; John xxi. 3, 8). Solomon built, at Ezion-geber, ships for his foreign trade, which were manned by Phoenician crews, an experiment which Jehoshaphat endeavoured in vain to renew (1 K. ix. 26, 27, xxii. 48; 2 Ch. xx. 36, 37).

5. The perfumes used in the religious services, and in later times in the funeral rites of monarchs, imply knowledge and practice in the art of the "apothecaries" (רֹקְחִים, *μυρεψοί, pigmentarii*), who appear to have formed a guild or association (Ex. xxx. 25, 35; Neh. iii. 8; 2 Ch. xvi. 14; Eccles. vii. 1, x. 1; Ecclus. xxxviii. 8).

6. The arts of spinning and weaving both wool and linen were carried on in early times, as they are still usually among the Bedouins, by women. The women spun and wove goat's hair and flax for the Tabernacle, as in later times their skill was employed in like manner for idolatrous purposes. One of the excellences attributed to the good housewife is her skill and industry in these arts (Ex. xxxv. 25, 26; Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11; 2 K. xxiii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 16; Prov. xxxi. 13, 24; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 65: cp. Hom. *Il.* i. 123; *Od.* i. 356, ii. 104). The loom, with its beam (מָנוֹר, *μεσάντιον, liciatorium*, 1 Sam. xvii. 7; Gesen. p. 883), pin (יָתֵד, *πάσσαλος, clavus*, Judg. xvi. 14; Gesen. p. 643), and shuttle (אֶרֶג, *δρομεύς*, Job vii. 6; Gesen. p. 146), was, perhaps, introduced later, but as early as David's time (1 Sam. xvii. 7), and worked by men, as was the case in Egypt, contrary to the practice of other nations. This trade also appears to have been practised hereditarily (1 Ch. iv. 21; Herod. ii. 35; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 339).

Together with weaving we read also of embroidery, in which gold and silver threads were interwoven with the body of the stuff, sometimes in figure patterns, or with precious stones set in the needlework (Ex. xxvi. 1, xxviii. 4, xxxix. 6–13).

7. Besides these arts, those of dyeing and of dressing cloth were practised in Palestine, and those also of tanning and dressing leather (Josh. ii. 15–18; 2 K. i. 8; Matt. iii. 4; Acts ix. 43; Mishn. *Megill.* iii. 2). Shoemakers, barbers, and tailors are mentioned in the Mishna (*Pesach.* iv. 6): the barber (גַּלָּב, *κουρεύς*, Gesen. p. 283), or his occupation, by Ezekiel (v. 1; Lev. xiv. 8; Num. vi. 5; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 11, § 5; *B. J.* i. 27, § 5; Mishn. *Shabb.* i. 2), and the tailor (i. 3): plasterers, glaziers, glass vessels, painters, and goldworkers are mentioned in the Mishna (*Cel.* viii. 9, xxix. 3–8; xxx. 1).

Tentmakers (*σκηνοποιοί*) are noticed in the Acts (xviii. 3), and frequent allusion is made to the trade of the potters.

8. Bakers (אֹפִים, Gesen. p. 136) are noticed in Scripture as carrying on their trade (Jer. xxxvii. 21; Hos. vii. 4; Mishn. *Cel.* xv. 2); and the well-known valley Tyropoeon probably derived its name from the occupation of the cheese-makers, its inhabitants (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, 1). Butchers, not Jewish, are spoken of in 1 Cor. x. 25.

Trade in all its branches was much developed after the Captivity; and for a father to teach his son a trade was reckoned not only honourable but indispensable (Mishn. *Pirke Ab.* ii. 2; *Kiddush.* iv. 14). Some trades, however, were regarded as less honourable (Jahn, *Bibl. Arch.* § 84).

Some, if not all trades, had special localities, as was the case formerly in European, and is now in Eastern, cities (Jer. xxxvii. 21; 1 Cor. x. 25; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 1, and 8, § 1;

Mishn. *Becor.* v. 1; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 20; Chardin, *Voyages*, vii. 274, 394; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 145).

One feature, distinguishing Jewish from other workmen, deserves peculiar notice, viz. that they were not slaves, nor were their trades necessarily hereditary, as was and is so often the case among other, especially heathen nations (Jahn, *Bibl. Antiq.* c. v. §§ 81–84; Saalschütz, *Hebr. Arch.* c. 14; Winer, s. v. *Handwerke*). [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; POTTERY; GLASS; LEATHER.] [H. W. P.]

HANDKERCHIEF, NAPKIN, APRON. Of these terms, as used in the A. V., the first two = σουδάριον, the last = σιμικίνθιον: they are classed together, inasmuch as they refer to objects of a very similar character. Both words are of Latin origin: σουδάριον = *sudarium* from *sudo*, "to sweat;" the Lutheran translation preserves the reference to its etymology in its rendering, *Schweisstuch*; σιμικίνθιον = *semicinctium*, i.e. "a half girdle." Neither is much used by classical writers; the *sudarium* is referred to as used for wiping the face (*candido frontem sudario tergeret*, Quintil. vi. 3), or hands (*sudario manus tergens, quod in collo habebat*, Petron. *in Fragm. Trugur.* cap. 67); and also as worn over the face for the purpose of concealment (Sueton. *in Neron.* cap. 48); the word was introduced by the Romans into Palestine, where it was adopted by the Jews, in the form סידרא as = מִטְפַּחַת, in Ruth iii. 15. The *sudarium* is noticed in the N. T. as a wrapper in which to fold up money (Luke xix. 20)—as a cloth bound about the head of a corpse (John xi. 44, xx. 7), being probably brought from the crown of the head under the chin — and lastly as an article of dress that could be easily removed (Acts xix. 12), probably a handkerchief worn on the head like the *keffieh* of the Bedouins. The *semicinctium* is noticed by Martial xiv. *Epigr.* 153, and by Petron. *in Satyr.* cap. 94. The distinction between the *cinctus* and *semicinctium* consisted in its width (Isidor. *Orig.* xix. 33): with regard to the character of the σιμικίνθιον, the only inference from the passage in which it occurs (Acts xix. 12) is that it was easily removed from the person, and probably was worn next to the skin. According to Suidas, the distinction between the *sudarium* and the *semicinctium* was very small, for he explains the latter by the former, σιμικίνθιον· φακιόλιον ἢ σουδάριον, the φακιόλιον being a species of head-dress: Hesychius likewise explains σιμικίνθιον by φακιόλιον. According to the scholiast (*in Cod. Steph.*), as quoted by Schleusner (*Lex.* s. v. σουδάριον), the distinction between the two terms is that the *sudarium* was worn on the head, and the *semicinctium* used as a handkerchief. The difference was probably not in the shape, but in the use of the article. We may conceive them to have been bands of linen of greater or less size, which might be adapted to many purposes, like the *lungi* of the Arabs, which is applied sometimes as a girdle, at other times as a turban (Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 321). [W. L. B.]

HANDMAID. [CONCUBINE, SLAVE.]

HA'NES (חָנֵס; *Hanes*), a place in Egypt, only mentioned in Is. xxx. 4: "For his princes are at Zoan, and his ambassadors are come to Hanes." The LXX. has ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐν Τάνει ἀρχηγοὶ ἄγγελοι πονηροί, evidently following an entirely different reading.

Two identifications have been proposed: (1) with Tehaphnehes or Daphnae; (2) with Khinensu or Heracleopolis Magna. It has been argued (see the 1st edition of this Dict.) that Hanes must have been on the eastern frontier. When the princes had come to Zoan, the chief royal city at the time, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the ambassadors were at Daphnae. The Chald. Paraph. may have been influenced by this idea in choosing Tehaphnehes. But as an abbreviation of this name, Hanes seems out of all analogy, and thus the identification philologically too daring. On examining the text, the alternative seems preferable. The verb נָגַע, used of the ambassadors, both in Kal and in Hiphil, as here, means primarily "to touch" or "reach to"; and in a secondary sense, "to come to." If therefore we would be strictly literal, the verb probably implies that Hanes was beyond Zoan. The old Egyptian civil name of Heracleopolis Magna, Khinensu, in Assyrian Khi-ni-in-shi, is preserved in the Coptic ϩⲛⲉⲥ, ϩⲛⲏⲥ, ϭϩⲛⲉⲥ, and the Arabic Ahnás-el-Medeeneh, اهناس المدينة, the name of a modern village believed to mark the site. The city of Khinensu was anciently the capital of two dynasties of Heracleopolite kings, the ninth and tenth of Manetho's list, who intervened between the last Memphite dynasty and the first Theban. They have recently been identified by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, from the inscriptions of the tombs of Asyoot (*Report of Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1889, p. 11 sq.). In later times Heracleopolis does not seem to have played an important part in history until the break-up of the Egyptian monarchy, about B.C. 750, when the country was resolved into its original elements, the nomes; a condition which lasted about a century, until the successful effort of Psammetichus II. to reunite Egypt under a single sceptre. During this period Khinensu was the seat of one of the petty kings. At the date of the prophecy the titular king of all Egypt had his seat at Zoan, or Tanis, while the real over-lord was the Ethiopian of Napata. The rule of the Ethiopian depended on his power to resist the strength of Assyria. Consequently the phantom Pharaoh of Zoan and the little kings of the nomes occasionally rose to comparative importance. At a moment of this kind a neighbouring power would naturally address itself to Zoan and to one of the Upper Egyptian rulers, of whom the prince of Khinensu was the most northern, and would thus naturally represent the second chief addressed by envoys from a Palestinian kingdom. The princes would be more properly sent to Pharaoh at Zoan, the ambassadors to the inferior ruler of Hanes. We have still to determine the date of the embassy. It was addressed to Pharaoh (*vv.* 2, 3) and the Egyptians (*vv.* 2, 3, 7; xxxi. 1, 3). It therefore cannot be the embassy of Hoshea, king of Israel. to So, or Shebek (2 K. xvii. 4), the Ethiopian king or over-lord of Egypt. The conditions suit the embassy of Hezekiah to Pharaoh, to which Sennacherib made contemptuous allusion in his message to

the King of udah (2 K. xviii. 20, 21). The whole context of the two chapters of Is. xxx., xxxi. points to Jerusalem and her miraculous deliverance from Assyria. [R. S. P.]

HANGING. [PUNISHMENT.]

HANGING; HANGINGS. These terms represent both different words in the original, and different articles in the furniture of the Temple. (1.) The "hanging" (מָסָךְ; ἐπίσπαστρον; *tentorium*) was a curtain or "covering" (as the word radically means) to close an entrance; one was placed before the door of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 36, 37, xxxix. 38); it was made of variegated stuff wrought with needlework, and was hung on five pillars of acacia wood: another was placed before the entrance of the court (Ex. xxvii. 16, xxxviii. 18; Num. iv. 26); the term is also applied to the vail that concealed the Holy of Holies, in the full expression "vail of the *covering*" (Ex. xxxv. 12, xxxix. 34, xl. 21; Num. iv. 5). [CURTAINS, 2.]

(2.) The "hangings" (קְלָעִים; ὑστία; *tentoria*) were used for covering the walls of the court of the Tabernacle, just as tapestry was in modern times (Ex. xxvii. 9, xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 9; Num. iii. 26, iv. 26). The rendering in the LXX. implies that they were made of the same substance as the sails of a ship, *i.e.* (as explained by Rashi) "meshy, not woven:" this opinion is, however, incorrect, as the material of which they were constructed was "fine twined linen." The hangings were carried only five cubits high, or half the height of the walls of the court (Ex. xxvii. 18; cp. xxvi. 16). [TABERNACLE.]

In 2 K. xxiii. 7, the term *bāttīm*, בָּתִּים, strictly "houses" (A. V. and R. V. text "hangings"), is probably intended to describe tents (A. V. marg.) used as portable sanctuaries. [W. L. B.]

HAN-I-EL (חֲנִיאֵל, i.e. Channiel, R. V. "Hanniel"=*gift* (or *grace*) *of God*; Ἀνιήλ; *Haniel*), one of the sons of Ulla, a chief prince, and a choice hero in the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 39).

HAN'NAH (חַנָּה=*grace*, or *beauty*; Ἄννα; *Anna*), one of the wives of Elkanah, and mother of Samuel (1 Sam. i. ii.); a prophetess of considerable repute, though her claim to that title is based upon one production only, viz. the hymn of thanksgiving for the birth of her son. The hymn is in the highest order of prophetic poetry; its resemblance to that of the Virgin Mary (cp. 1 Sam. ii. 1–10 with Luke i. 46–55; see also Ps. cxiii.) has been noticed by commentators; and it is specially remarkable as containing the first designation of the Messiah under that name. In the Targum it has been subjected to a process of magniloquent dilution. [SAMUEL.] Modern critics do not hesitate to affirm that "in style and tone the Song throughout bears the marks of a later age than that of Hannah," even if it be admitted that "sober criticism" will "not assert categorically that the Song *cannot* be by Hannah" (cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.*, p. 21). [T. E. B.] [F.]

HANNA'THON (חַנָּתוֹן, (?) = *graceful*; B. Ἀμώθ, A. Ἐννωθών; *Hanathon*), one of the cities of Zebulun, a point apparently on the northern boundary (Josh. xix. 14). Major Conder has proposed its identification with *Kefr 'Anân*, S.W. of *Safed*, which is mentioned in the Mishna (*Shebiith*, ix. 2) as marking the northern limit of Lower Galilee (*PEF. Mem.* i. 205).

[G.] [W.]

HAN-NI-EL (חַנִּיאֵל; Ἀνιήλ; *Hanniel*), son of Ephod; as prince (*Nasi*) of Manasseh, he assisted in the division of the Promised Land (Num. xxxiv. 23). The name is the same as HANIEL.

HANO'CH (חֲנוֹךְ [see ENOCH]; Ἐνώχ; *Henoch*). **1.** The third in order of the children of Midian, and therefore descended from Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 4). In the parallel list of 1 Ch. i. 33, the name is given in the A. V. as HENOCH (R. V. "Hanoch").

2. (חֲנוֹךְ; Ἐνώχ; *Henoch.*) Eldest son of Reuben (Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14; Num. xxvi. 5; 1 Ch. v. 3), and founder of the family of

HANO'CHITES, THE (הַחֲנֹכִי; δῆμος τοῦ Ἐνώχ; *familia Henochitarum*), Num. xxvi. 5.

HA'NUN (חָנוּן=*he who hath received mercy*; B. Ἀννών, A. Ἀὼν and Ἀνών [Sam.], BA. Ἀνάν, ℵ. sometimes Ἀννάν [Ch.]; *Hanon*; Assyr. *Hanunu*). **1.** Son of Nahash (2 Sam. x. 1, 2; 1 Ch. xix. 1, 2), king of Ammon, who dishonoured the ambassadors of David (2 Sam. x. 4), and involved the Ammonites in a disastrous war (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Ch. xix. 6). [W. T. B.]

2. A man who, with the people of Zanoah, repaired the ravine-gate in the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 13; Ἀνούν).

3. A man specified as "the sixth son of Zalaph," who also assisted in the repair of the wall, apparently on the east side (Neh. iii. 30; BA. Ἀνούμ, ℵ. Ἀνάμ). [W. A. W.]

HAPA (חֲפָא; Ἄπις). The name of the Egyptian sacred bull Apis occurs in the LXX. of Jer. xlvi. (LXX. xxvi.) 15, where the Masoretic מַדּוּעַ נִסְחַף אַבִּירֶיךָ, "Why are thy valiant men swept away?" (A. V. "Why are thy strong ones?" or marg. *Why is thy strong one?* R. V.) is rendered by the LXX. διὰ τί ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἄπις, ὁ ἐκλεκτός σου. Hence it is conjectured by Frankl that the text from which the LXX. was translated read מַדּוּעַ נָם חֲפָא בָּחֳרֶיךָ (*Studien ueber die Septuaginta und Peschito zu Jeremia*, pp. 14, 20, 21). This is certainly agreeable with the imagery of this prophecy, in which there are two other similar figures. "Egypt is a very fair heifer; but destruction [marg. Or, *the gadfly*] out of the north is come" [marg. *it is come upon her*] (v. 20). The mercenaries are also compared to "calves of the stall" (v. 21). The parallel allusion to the sacred bull of Osiris, Apis, and to the sacred cow Aha-t, sometimes represented as a heifer (Lanzoni, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. i. 1, 2), of the mother-goddesses Athor and Isis (*id.* p. 3), is sufficiently remarkable; and if the reading "gadfly" be correct, the reference to the Graeco-Phoenician story of Io, or Aha-t, is probable. But it may be argued that the reference to the heifer led the LXX. translators to imagine Apis, and there is no doubt that either

they had a very different text here from the Masoretic, or that they allowed themselves a great liberty of translation. [R. S. P.]

HAPHRA'IM, R. V. and A. V. 1611 **HAPHARA'IM** (חַפְרַיִם, *i.e.* Chaphāraìm; B. Αγελν, A. Αφεραείμ; *Hapharaïm*), a city of Issachar, mentioned next to Shunem (Josh. xix. 19). The name possibly signifies "two pits." By Eusebius and Jerome it is spoken of as still known under the name of Afarea (Αφραλα) and as standing 6 miles north of Legio (*OS.*[2] p. 241, 61; p. 130, 28). The Afarea of Eusebius and Jerome is now apparently the important ruin, *Kh. el-Farriyeh*, 5½ Eng. miles N.W. of Lejjûn. But this site seems too far to the west for Haphraim, which should be looked for nearer to *Solam* (the ancient Shunem). Two miles west of this place stands the village of *el-'Afûleh* (العفولة), which may be the representative of Chapharaim, *Ain* having taken the place of the *Cheth*. [G.] [W.]

HA'RA (הרא = *mountain land*; LXX. om.; *Ara*), a place mentioned with Halah, Habor, and the river of Gozan, in connexion with the deportation into captivity of the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh by the king of Assyria (1 Ch. v. 26). It may be *Media magna* (MV.[11]); it is hardly probable that it was the same as Harran. [F.]

HARA'DAH (הַחֲרָדָה, with the article, = *the trembling*; Χαραδάθ; *Arada*), a desert station of the Israelites (Num. xxxiii. 24, 25); its position is uncertain. [H. H.]

HA'RAN. **1.** (הָרָן: Αβράν; Jos. Αράνης: *Aran*). The third son of Terah, and therefore youngest brother of Abram (Gen. xi. 26). Three children are ascribed to him—Lot (*vv.* 27, 31), and two daughters, viz. Milcah, who married her uncle Nahor (*v.* 29), and Iscah (*v.* 29), of whom we merely possess her name, though by some (*e.g.* Josephus) she is held to be identical with Sarah. Haran was born in Ur of the Chaldees, and he died there while his father was still living (*v.* 28). His sepulchre was still shown there when Josephus wrote his history (*Ant.* i. 6, § 5). The ancient Jewish tradition is that Haran was burnt in the furnace of Nimrod for his wavering conduct during the fiery trial of Abraham (see the Targum Ps.-Jonathan; Jerome's *Quaest. in Genesim*, and the notes thereto in the edit. of Migne). This tradition seems to have originated in a translation of the word Ur, which in Hebrew signifies "fire." It will be observed that although this name and that of the country appear the same in the A. V., there is in the original a certain difference between them; the latter commencing with the harsh guttural Cheth.

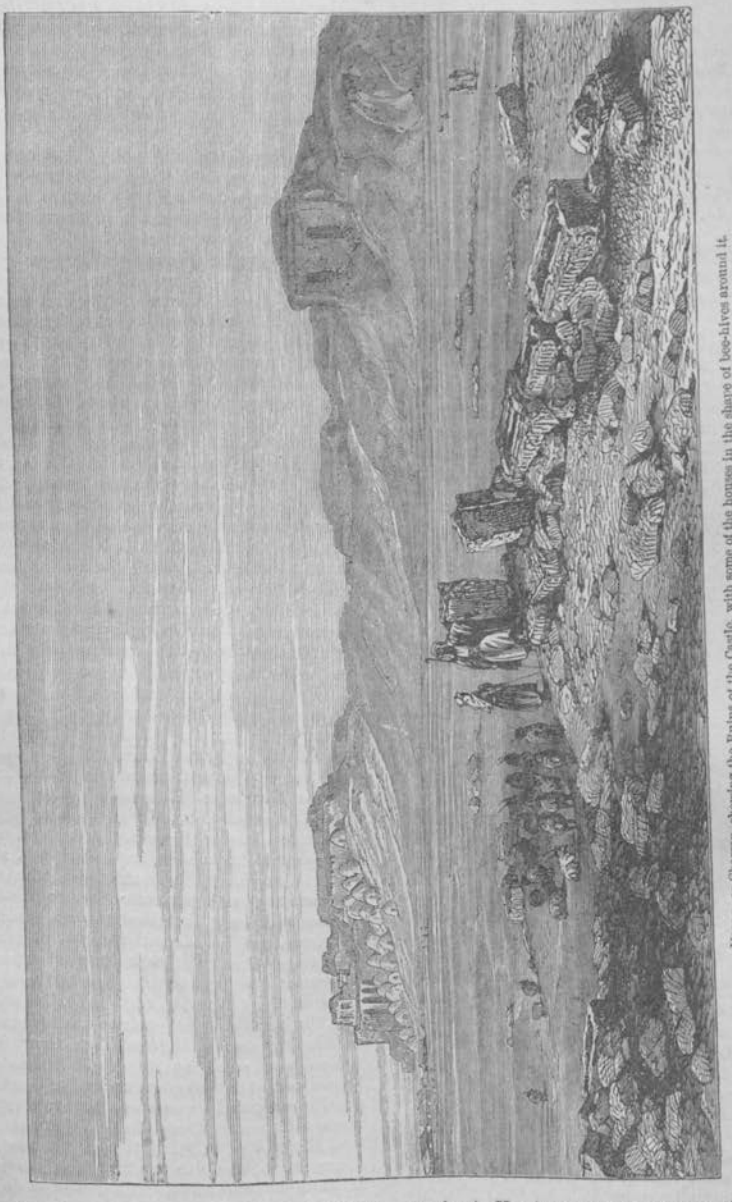
2. (B. Αἰδάν, A. Αράν; *Aran.*) A Gershonite Levite in the time of David, one of the family of Shimei (1 Ch. xxiii. 9). [G.] [W.]

HA'RAN (חָרָן, LXX. Χαβράν; *Haran*) is the name of the place to which Abraham migrated from Ur of the Chaldees, and where the descendants of his brother Nahor established themselves. Haran is therefore called "the city of Nahor" (cp. Gen. xxiv. 10 with xxvii. 43). It is said to be in Mesopotamia (Gen. xxiv. 10), or, more definitely in Padan-aram (xxv. 20), which is the "cultivated district at the foot of the hills" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 129 n.), a name well applying to the beautiful stretch of country which lies below Mount Masius between the *Khabour* and the Euphrates [PADAN-ARAM]. Here, about midway in this district, is a town still called *Harrân*, which really never seems to have changed its appellation, and beyond any reasonable doubt is the Haran or Charran of Scripture (Bochart's *Phaleg*, i. 14; Ewald's *Geschichte*, i. 384).

The foundation of the city is lost in antiquity, but Assyrian or Babylonian influence probably predominated at an early date, as is indicated by the fact that the name, in Assyro-Babylonian, is Harran, meaning "road," and is written with the ideograph expressing that word. It was probably so called as the crossing-point of the Syrian, Assyrian, and Babylonian trade-route. It is often mentioned in cuneiform literature, Tiglath-pileser I. (about 1120 B.C.) boasting of having taken or killed elephants "in the land of Haran (*ina mât Harrani*) and on the banks of the Khabour;" and Sargon says that he "spread out his shadow over the city Haran (*eli âli Ḫarrana ṣalula-šu ittrusu*), and as a soldier of Anu and Dagon wrote its laws." Sennacherib (2 K. ix. 12) boasts of having conquered Gozan, *Haran*, Reseph, and the Beni-Eden; and the city is mentioned as a considerable trading-centre in Ezek. xxvii. 23. The patron-deity of the city was the moon-god, called Sin by the Assyrians, and the city was celebrated for his worship from exceedingly ancient times, as is indicated by Assurbanipal, and also by Nabonidus, who relates that the god Sin was angry with Haran and with his temple E-ḫulḫul ("the house of joy") within it, and he therefore allowed the *Umman-Manda* (Medes or Scyths) to come and destroy the temple. Nabonidus, however, received (so he relates) from the gods Merodach and Sin, in a dream, instructions to rebuild the temple; and when Nabonidus pointed out that the *Umman-Manda* still surrounded the city, the destruction of those hordes was revealed to him, which destruction took place under Cyrus three years later. Nabonidus was thus enabled to continue and complete the work of Shalmaneser II. and Assurbanipal with great magnificence, and he adorned the city of Haran at the same time. It was famous among the Romans for being near the scene of the defeat of Crassus (Plin. *N. H.* v. 24). About the time of the Christian era it appears to have formed part of the kingdom of Edessa (Mos. Chor. ii. 32), which was ruled by Abgarus. Afterwards it passed with that kingdom under the dominion of the Romans, and appears as a Roman city in the wars of Caracalla (Mos. Chor. ii. 72) and Julian (Jo. Malal. p. 329). It was the seat of a bishopric in the 4th century, and possessed a magnificent cathedral, the ruins of which still remain. It is remarkable that the people of Haran retained until a late date the Chaldean language and the worship of Chaldean deities.

Haran lies on the Belias (Belich, ancient Bilichus), a small affluent of the Euphrates, which falls into it at about long. 39°. It now consists of a low range of mounds or hills on

both sides of the river. The ruins of the castle, with its square columns 8 ft. thick supporting an arched roof 30 ft. high, are very conspicuous. There are also several more modern ruins. The walls, though in a state of dilapidation, are yet continuous throughout. They are very irregular. One of the gateways is flanked by three towers. Near the city is a well, traditionally pointed out as the one at which Rebekah was met, and there is also a mosque outside the walls. A fragment of an Assyrian lion has been found among the ruins of the town.



Haran, or Charran, showing the Ruins of the Castle, with some of the houses in the shape of bee-hives around it.

The modern Haran is now a small village inhabited by a few families of 'Arabs (cp. Ainsworth, in the *PSBA.*, May 5, 1891, pp. 385–391).[a]

In the A. V. of the New Testament the name follows the Greek form, and is given as Charran (Acts vii. 2, 4), but the R. V. has Haran.

[G. R.] [T. G. P.]

[a] Dr. Beke's view, that Haran is to be identified with the village *Haran-el-Awamad*, about four hours east of Damascus, cannot be accepted.—[F.]

HARA'RITE, THE (הַהַרְרִי, perhaps = *the mountaineer*, Ges. *Thes.* p. 392; *de Arari*, or

Orori, Ararites): the designation of three men connected with David's guard.

1. (ὁ Ἀρουχαῖος.) "AGEE, a Hararite" (R. V.), father of Shammah, the third of the three chiefs of the heroes (2 Sam. xxiii. 11. In the parallel passage, 1 Ch. xi., the name of this warrior is entirely omitted).

2. (ὁ Ἀρωδίτης.) "SHAMMAH the Hararite" is named as one of the thirty in 2 Sam. xxiii. 33. In 1 Ch. xi. 34 the name is altered to Shage (Luc. Σαμαιά). Kennicott's conclusion, from a minute investigation, is that the passage should stand in both, "Jonathan, son of Shammah the Hararite" (2 Sam. xxiii. 11)—Shammah being identical with Shimei, David's brother (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco).

3. (Σαραουρίτης, ὁ Ἀρορί.) "SHARAR (2 Sam. xxiii. 33) or SACAR (1 Ch. xi. 35) the Hararite" (R. V. "the Ararite") was the father of Ahiam, another member of the guard. Kennicott is inclined to consider Sacar to be the correct name.

HARBO'NA (חַרְבוֹנָא, possibly from the Pers. = *ass-driver*; Bא. Θάῤῥα, A. Ὀαρεβωά; *Harbona*), the third of the seven chamberlains, or eunuchs, who served king Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10), and who suggested Haman's being hung on his own gallows (vii. 9). In the latter passage the name is

HARBO'NAH (חַרְבוֹנָה; BA. Βουγαθάν, א*. -ά, א^c.a -ζάν; *Harbona*).

HARE (אַרְנֶבֶת, *'arnèbeth*; δασύπους; *lepus*; Arab. ارنب, *'arneb*) occurs only in Lev. xi. 6 and Deut. xiv. 7, amongst the animals disallowed as food by the Mosaic Law. There is no doubt at all that *'arnèbeth* denotes "a hare." The hare is at this day called *arneb* (ارنب) by the Arabs in Palestine and Syria (see Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*,[2] ii. 154). The δασύπους, *i.e.* "rough foot," is identical with λαγώς, and is the term which Aristotle generally applies to the hare: indeed he only uses the latter word once in his *History of Animals* (viii. 27, § 4). The rabbit (*L. cuniculus*) was unknown to the ancient Hebrews; nor is it known in Syria or Palestine. It is indigenous only in Western Europe and North Africa: wherever it is found elsewhere, it has been introduced. It is doubtful whether Aristotle was acquainted with the rabbit, as he never alludes to any burrowing λαγὼς or δασύπους; but, on the other hand, see the passage in vi. 28, § 3, where the young of the δασύπους are said to be "born blind," which will apply to the rabbit alone. Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 55) expressly notices rabbits (*cuniculi*), which occur in such numbers in the Balearic Islands as to destroy the harvests. He also notices the practice of ferreting these animals, and thus driving them out of their burrows. The hare is considered by the Syrians as well as the Arabs as an animal of the chase, and is pursued by greyhounds, or more frequently, among the Bedouin, by trained falcons. Its flesh is highly prized by the Arabs, though some of the more scrupulous of the Turks decline to eat it. But the Moslems tell one that the hare chews the cud, and therefore is clean. The Armenian Christians refuse to eat it, but not Greek Christians. The hare was forbidden to the Israelites because it has not a cloven hoof; the remark that it chews the cud being only parenthetical. It was generally believed that it chewed the cud from

Greyhound and Hare. (From a bronze bowl, Nimrud.)

its habit of constantly grinding its teeth and moving its jaws, after the manner of ruminating animals. But in rodents such as the hare, the incisor teeth continue to grow through life, and must be kept to the proper length, by this constant grinding. If one tooth be accidentally broken off, the tooth that meets it grows on, and often by its length prevents the animal from feeding.

Moses speaks of animals according to appearances, and not with the precision of a comparative anatomist, and his object was to show why the hare should be interdicted, though to all appearance it chewed the cud, viz. because it did not divide the hoof.

There are two species of hares natives of different parts of Palestine, and two or three others which occasionally occur near the borders of the land:—

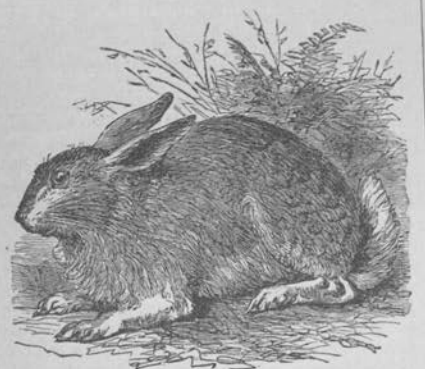
1. *Lepus syriacus* (Hemp. and Ehr. *Symb. Phys.* ii. tab. 15).—This is the only species in the wooded and cultivated districts of Palestine. Down the coast it is found from Lebanon and

Lepus syriacus (Hemp. and Ehr.).

Hermon to Philistia. I have also found it everywhere in the wooded and mountainous regions of Northern Syria, north of Lebanon. It is very little smaller than the English hare, and very like it in colour, being about 2 inches less in total length, and with rather shorter ears. It has four young at a birth. It has not been observed beyond the limits of Syria.

2. *Lepus aegyptius* (Geoffr. *Descr. de l'Égypte*, Mamm. tab. 6).—The Egyptian is the common hare of the southern region of Judaea, of the wilderness of Beersheba, and of the Jordan valley. It is smaller than our hare, the body from tip of nose to root of tail measuring only 18 inches. The ears are very long, fringed inside with white hairs. It is of a light sandy or isabelline colour above, and almost white beneath. It is found through all the desert parts of Egypt, reaching Palestine from the south-west, as the following species does from the south-east.

3. *Lepus sinaiticus* (Hemp. and Ehr. *Symb. Phys.* ii. tab. 15).—This species is smaller than



Lepus sinaiticus (Hemp. and Ehr.).

the preceding, but with ears fully as long. It has a long and very narrow head, and the fur of a sandy colour, but with a reddish hue which distinguishes it from the Egyptian hare. It is the hare of the Sinaitic Peninsula, and I never obtained it in Palestine except in the wâdys by the Dead Sea.

4. *Lepus isabellinus* (Rüpp, *Atlas*, p. 52, tab. 20).—The Nubian hare is very rare, only found in the sandy deserts of the South-East. I possess one specimen which I procured there, and I have never seen another. It is of a rich yellowish fawn colour, lighter than that of the Egyptian hare, which it generally resembles, but is decidedly smaller. It is the hare of Nubia and Sennaar, but not of Abyssinia and Egypt. The distribution of these various hares seems to be not so much geographical, as dependent on the character of the soil, and their ranges overlap and cross each other most irregularly.

5. *Lepus judaeus* (Gray, *Ann. and Mag. Nat. Hist.* 3rd ser. vol. xx. p. 222).—Dr. Gray named as above a specimen collected by me and placed it in a new genus (*culagos*). But it seems to me so like the Persian species, described by Mr. Blanford (*Eastern Persia*, ii. p. 80) as *Lepus craspedotis*, that I do not propose to separate them. My specimen came from the N.E. corner of Palestine, near the Syrian desert. [H. B. T.]

HAR'EL (with the def. art. הָהַרְאֵל; τὸ ἀριήλ; *Ariel*). In the margin of Ezek. xliii. 15 (A. V.) the word rendered "altar" in the text (R. V. "upper altar") is given *Harel*, i.e. *the mountain of God*. The LXX., Vulg., and Arab. evidently regarded it as the same as "Ariel" in the same verse (see Delitzsch [4] on Is. xxix. 1, whose opinion is not accepted by Dillmann [5]). Our translators followed the Targum of Jonathan in translating it "altar." Junius explains it of the ἐσχάρα or hearth of the altar of burnt offering, covered by the network on which the sacrifices were placed over the burning wood. This explanation Gesenius adopts, and brings forward as a parallel the Arab. أُرْج, *'ireh*, "a hearth or fireplace," akin to the Heb. אוּר, *'ûr*, "light, flame." The *QPB.*[2] (Ezek. *l. c.*), adopting the sense of hearth, connects the text and marg. rendering by taking "the altar to be the lesser symbol of the mountain of the Elohim." [F.]

HA'REPH (חָרֵף; B. 'Αρείμ, A. 'Αρεί; *Hariph*), a name occurring in the genealogies of Judah, as a son of Caleb, and as "father of Bethgader" (1 Ch. ii. 51, only). In the lists of Ezra ii. and Neh. vii. the similar name HARIPH is found; but nothing appears to establish a connexion between the two. [G.] [F.]

HA'RETH (R. V. HERETH), THE FOREST OF (יַעַר חָרֶת; ἐν πόλει [a] [reading עיר for יער], B. Σαρείκ, A. 'Αριάθ; *in saltum Haret*), in which David took refuge, after, at the instigation of the prophet Gad, he had quitted the "hold" or fastness of the cave of Adullam—if indeed it was Adullam and not Mizpeh of Moab, which is not quite clear (1 Sam. xxii. 5). Nothing appears in the narrative by which the position of this forest, which has long since disappeared, can be ascertained, except the very general remark that it was in the "land of Judah," *i.e.* according to Josephus, the inheritance proper of that tribe, τὴν κληρουχίαν τῆς φυλῆς, as opposed to the "desert," τὴν ἐρημίαν, in which David had before been lurking (*Ant.* vi. 12, § 4). We might take it to be the "wood" in the "wilderness of Ziph" in which he was subsequently hidden (xxiii. 15, 19), but that the Hebrew term is different (*choresh* instead of *ya'ar*). According to Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 243, 21) Arith was in his day the village Arath, to the west of Jerusalem. The name is perhaps preserved in *Kharâs*, a small village, surrounded by olive-trees, about 3 miles S.E. of *'Aîd el-Mâ*, Adullam (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 305). [G.] [W.]

HARHAI'AH (חַרְחָיָה; T[r]. 'Αραχίος, Swete om.; *Araia*). Uzziel, son of Charhaiah, of the goldsmiths, assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 8 [see Baer in loco]).

HAR'HAS (חַרְחַס; B. 'Αραάς, B.[2] [Mai] 'Αρδάς, A. 'Αράς; *Araas*), an ancestor of Shallum, the husband of Huldah, the prophetess in

[a] The same reading is found in Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 12, § 4). This is one of three instances in this chapter alone in which the reading of Josephus departs from the Hebrew text, and agrees with the LXX.

the time of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 14). In the parallel passage in Chronicles the name is given as HASRAH.

HAR'HUR (חַרְחוּר, ? = *inflammation*; Ἀρούρ [Ezra]; *Harhur*). Bene-Charchur were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 51; Neh. vii. 53, B. Ἀρούμ, A. -ρ). In the Apocryphal 1 Esd. (v. 31), the name has become ASSUR.

HA'RIM (חָרִם). **1.** (B. Χαρήβ, A. Χαρήμ; *Harim.*) A priest who had charge of the third division in the house of God (1 Ch. xxiv. 8).

2. (B. om., A. Ἠρέμ [Ezra]; B. Ἠράμ, ℵ. Ἠρά [Neh.].) Bene-Harim, probably descendants of the above, to the number of 1017, came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 39; Neh. vii. 42). [CARME.] The name, probably as representing the family, is mentioned amongst those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 5, B. Εἰράμ [see Swete, *l. c.*]); and amongst the priests who had to put away their foreign wives were five of the sons of Harim (Ezra x. 21, BℵA. Ἠράμ). In the parallel to this latter passage in 1 Esd. ix. 21, the name is given EANES (but see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco).

3. (B. om., A. Ὀρέμ.) It further occurs in a list of the families of priests "who went up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua," and of those who were their descendants in the next generation—in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. ii. 15). In the former list (xii. 4; BA. om., ℵ$^{c.a(mg)}$. Ρεούμ) the name is changed to REHUM (רחם to חרם) by a not unfrequent transposition of letters. [REHUM.]

4. Another family of Bene-Harim, 320 in number, came from the Captivity in the same caravan (Ezra ii. 32; Neh. vii. 35; Ἠράμ). These were laymen, and seem to have taken their name from a place; at least the contiguous names in the list are certainly those of places. These also appear among those who had married foreign wives (Ezra x. 31; Ἠράμ), as well as those who sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 27; BA. Ἠράμ, ℵ. Ρεούμ). [G.] [F.]

HA'RIPH (חָרִף; *Hareph*). 112 of the Bene-Chariph returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 24; B. Ἀρείφ, A. -μ). The name occurs again among the "heads of the people" who sealed the covenant (x. 19; B. Ἀρείφ, see Swete, *l. c.*). In the lists of Ezra ii. 18, and 1 Esd. v. 16, Hariph appears as JORAH[a] and AZEPHURITH respectively. An almost identical name, Hareph, appears in the lists of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 51; B. Ἀρείμ, A. Ἀρεί) as the father of Bethgader [HARUPHITE]. [G.] [F.]

HARLOT (זוֹנָה, often with אִשָּׁה, נָכְרִיָּה, קְדֵשָׁה). That this condition of persons existed in the earliest states of society is clear from Gen. xxxviii. 15. So Rahab (Josh. ii. 1), who is said by the Chaldee paraph. (ad loc.) to have been an innkeeper;[a] but if there were such persons, considering what we know of Canaanitish morals (Lev. xviii. 27), we may conclude that they would, if women, have been of this class. The Law forbids (xix. 29) the father's compelling his daughter to sin, but does not mention it as a voluntary mode of life on her part without his complicity. It could indeed hardly be so. The isolated act which is the subject of Deut. xxii. 28, 29, is not to the purpose. Male relatives[b] were probably allowed a practically unlimited discretion in punishing family dishonour incurred by their women's unchastity (Gen. xxxviii. 24). The provision of Lev. xxi. 9, regarding the priest's daughter, may have arisen from the fact of his home being less guarded owing to his absence when ministering, as well as from the scandal to sanctity so involved. Perhaps such abominations might, if not thus severely marked, lead the way to the excesses of Gentile ritualistic fornication, to which indeed, when so near the sanctuary, they might be viewed as approximating (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 268). Yet it seems to be assumed that the harlot class would exist; and the prohibition of Deut. xxiii. 18, forbidding offerings from the wages of such sin, is perhaps due to the contagion of heathen example, in whose worship practices abounded which the Israelites were taught to abhor. The term קְדֵשָׁה (meaning properly "consecrated") points to one description of persons, and נָכְרִיָּה ("strange woman") to another, of whom this class mostly consisted. The first term refers to the impure worship of the Syrian[c] Astarte (Num. xxv. 1: cp. Herod. i. 199; Justin, xviii. 5; Strabo, viii. 378, xii. 559; Val. Max. ii. 6, 15; August. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 4), whose votaries, as idolatry progressed, would be recruited from the daughters of Israel; hence the common mention of both these sins in the Prophets, the one indeed being a metaphor of the other (Is. i. 21, lvii. 8; Jer. ii. 20: cp. Ex. xxxiv. 15, 16; Jer. iii. 1, 2, 6; Ezek. xvi., xxiii.; Hos. i. 2, ii. 4, 5, iv. 11, 13–15, v. 3). The latter class would grow up with the growth of great cities and of foreign intercourse, and would hardly enter into the view of the Mosaic institutes. As regards the fashions involved in the practice, similar outward marks seem to have attended its earliest forms to those which we trace in the classical writers, *e.g.* a distinctive dress and a seat by the wayside (Gen. xxxviii. 14: cp. Ezek. xvi. 16, 25; Bar. vi. 43;[d] Petron. Arb. *Sat.* xvi.; Juv. vi. 118 sq.; Dougtaei *Analect. Sacr.* Exc. xxiv.). Public singing in the streets occurs also (Is. xxiii. 16; Ecclus. ix. 4). Those who thus published their infamy were of the worst repute, others had houses of resort, and both classes seem to

[a] Dr. Hackett (*B. D.* Am. ed. *s. n.*), giving to Jorah (יוֹרָה) the meaning of *first or early rain*, makes it = Hariph, to which Gesenius gives the significance of *autumnal rain*, or the early rain which begins to fall in Palestine about the middle of October.

[a] Deyling, *Observ. Sacr.* ii. 470, פנדקיתא, i.e. πανδοκευτρία.

[b] Philo (*lib. de Spec. Legib.* 6, 7) contends that whoredom was punished under the Mosaic Law with stoning; but this is by Selden (*de Ux. Heb.* iii. 18) shown to be unfounded.

[c] So at Corinth were 1,000 ἱεροδοῦλοι dedicated to Aphrodite and the gross sins of her worship, and similarly at Comana, in Armenia (Strabo, *ll. c.*).

[d] Αὗται αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς παρίοντας ξυναρπάζουσι (Theophr. *Char.* xxxi.). So Catullus (Carm. xxxvii. 16) speaks conversely of *semitarii moechi*.

have been known among the Jews (Prov. vii. 8–12, xxiii. 28; Ecclus. ix. 7, 8); the two women in 1 K. iii. 16 lived as Greek hetaerae sometimes did, in a house together (*Dict. Gr. & Rom. Ant.* s. v. *Hetaera*). The baneful fascination ascribed to them in Prov. v., vi., vii., may be compared with what Chardin says of similar effects among the young nobility of Persia (*Voyages en Perse*, i. 163, ed. 1711), as also may Luke xv. 30, for the sums lavished on them (*ib.* p. 162). In earlier times the price of a kid is mentioned (Gen. xxxviii.), and great wealth doubtless sometimes accrued to them (Ezek. xvi. 33, 39; xxiii. 26). But lust, as distinct from gain, appears as the inducement in Prov. vii. 14, 15 (see Dougtaei *Anal. Sacr.* ad loc.), where the victim is further allured by a promised sacrificial banquet (cp. Ter. *Eun.* iii. 3). Some of the expressions in Prov. vii. 22–27, cp. v. 4, 5, seem to point to private assassination as an object, to which such women, used as a lure, were the means—a practice known to have recently prevailed among the Oriental Thugs. The "harlots" are classed with "publicans," as those who lay under the ban of society, in the N. T. (Matt. xxi. 32). No doubt they multiplied with the increase of polygamy, and consequently lowered the estimate of marriage. The corrupt practices imported by Gentile converts into the Church occasion most of the other passages in which allusions to the subject there occur (1 Cor. v. 1, 9, 11; 2 Cor. xii. 21; 1 Thess. iv. 3; 1 Tim. i. 10). The decree in Acts xv. 29 has occasioned doubts as to the meaning of πορνεία there, chiefly from its context, which may be seen discussed at length in Deyling's *Observ. Sacr.* ii. 470 sq.; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 468; Spencer and Hammond, ad loc. The simplest sense, however, seems the most probable. The children of such persons were held in contempt, and could not exercise privileges nor inherit (John viii. 41; Deut. xxiii. 2; Judg. xi. 1, 2). On the general subject see Michaelis' *Laws of Moses*, Bk. v. art. 268; Selden, *de Ux. Heb.* i. 16, iii. 12, and *de Jur. Natur.* v. 4; Schoettgen and the authorities quoted by him. [H. H.]

The words וְהַזֹּנוֹת רָחֲצוּ, A. V. "and they washed his armour" (1 K. xxii. 38), should be (cp. R. V.) "now the harlots washed themselves *there*," which is not only the natural rendering, but in accordance with the LXX. and Josephus.

HARNE'PHER (חַרְנֵפֶר; B. Ἀναρφάρ, A. Ἀναφάρ; *Harnapher*), one of the sons of Zophah, of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 36).

HARO'D, THE WELL OF (better "the spring of Charod," *i.e.* "of the trembling," עֵין חָרֹד; B. πηγὴν Ἀράδ, A. τὴν γῆν Ἰαέρ; *fons qui vocatur Harad*), a spring by (עַל) which Gideon and his great army encamped on the morning of the day which ended in the rout of the Midianites (Judg. vii. 1), and where the trial of the people by their mode of drinking apparently took place. The word, slightly altered, recurs in the proclamation to the host—"Whosoever is fearful and trembling (חָרֵד, *chārēd*) let him return" (*v.* 3): but it is impossible to decide whether the name Charod was, as Dean Stanley proposes, bestowed on account of the trembling, or whether the mention of the trembling was suggested by the previously existing name of the fountain: either would suit the paronomastic vein in which these ancient records so delight. The word *chārēd* (A. V. "was afraid") recurs in the description of another event which took place in this neighbourhood, possibly at this very spot—Saul's last encounter with the Philistines—when he "was afraid, and his heart trembled greatly," at the sight of their fierce hosts (1 Sam. xxviii. 5). The *'Ain Jalûd*, "spring of Goliath," with which Dean Stanley would identify Harod (*S. & P.*), is very suitable to the circumstances, as being at present the largest spring in the neighbourhood, and as forming a pool of considerable size, at which great numbers might drink (Rob. ii. 323; cp. Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 308 sq.). But if at that time so copious, would it not have been seized by the Midianites before Gideon's arrival? However, if the *'Ain Jalûd* be not this spring, we are very much in the dark, since the "hill of Moreh," the only landmark afforded us (vii. 1), has not been recognised. The only hill of Moreh of which we have any certain knowledge was by Shechem, 25 miles to the south. If *'Ain Jalûd* be Harod, then *Jebel Duhy* must be Moreh. Riehm (*s. v.*) suggests that the spring may be identical with "the fountain that is in Jezreel" (1 Sam. xxix. 1). Conder (*Tent Work*, ii. 69) identifies it with *'Ain el-Jem'ain*, "spring of the two assemblies," at the foot of the eastern slope of Mt. Gilboa.

Josephus (*Ant.* v. 6, § 3) seems to have believed that Gideon assembled his men east of Jordan, and tried them at "the river" that is at the Jordan, on the left bank of which they encamped before passing over.

It is quite possible that the name *Jalûd* is a corruption of Harod. In that case it is a good example of the manner in which local names acquire a new meaning in passing from one language to another. Harod itself probably underwent a similar process after the arrival of the Hebrews in Canaan, and the paronomastic turn given to Gideon's speech, as above, may be an indication of the change. On the other hand *Jalûd* may be a corruption of the name Gilead, which seems to have been attached to a portion of the range of Gilboa (Judg. vii. 3); or it may have had its origin in a confusion between Taluth and Jaluth, the Arab names of Saul and Goliath. A curious tradition, perhaps due to this confusion, existed in the 4th century (*Itin. Hierosol.*), that David killed Goliath near Jezreel. During the Crusades *'Ain Jalûd* was known to the Franks as *Tubania* (Wm. of Tyre, xxii. 26). [G.] [W.]

HARO'DITE, THE (הַחֲרֹדִי; B. ὁ Ῥουδαῖος, A. ὁ Ἀρουδαῖος, Ἐνακὰ ὁ Ἀρωδαῖος; *de Harodi*), the designation of two of the thirty-seven warriors of David's guard, SHAMMAH and ELIKA (2 Sam. xxiii. 25), doubtless derived from a place named Harod, either that just spoken of or some other. In the parallel passage of Chronicles by a change of letter the name appears as HARORITE.

HARO'EH (הָרֹאֶה, *i.e.* hā-Rō'ĕh = *the seer*; B. Αἰώ, A. Ἀρωέ), a name occurring in the genealogical lists of Judah as one of the sons of

"Shobal, father of Kirjath-jearim" (1 Ch. ii. 52). The Vulg. translates this and the following words, *qui videbat dimidium requietionum*. A somewhat similar name—REAIAH—is given in iv. 2 as the son of Shobal, but there is nothing to establish the identity of the two.

HARO'RITE, THE (הַחֲרוֹרִי; B. ὁ Ἀδί, A. Θαδί; *Ararites*), the title given to SHAMMOTH, one of the warriors of David's guard (1 Ch. xi. 27). We have here an example of the minute discrepancies which exist between these two parallel lists. In this case it appears to have arisen from an exchange of ר, D, for ר, R, and that at a very early date, since the LXX. is in agreement with the present Hebrew text. But there are other differences, for which see SHAMMAH.

HARO'SHETH (חֲרֹשֶׁת, *Charōsheth = working in wood, stone,* &c., Ges.: B. Ἀρεισώθ, A. Ἀσειρώθ; in v. 16, A. δρυμοῦ: *Haroseth*), or rather "Harosheth of the Gentiles," as it was called (probably for the same reason that Galilee was similarly defined afterwards), from the mixed races that inhabited it, was the residence of Sisera, captain of Jabin, king of Canaan (Judg. iv. 2), whose capital, Hazor, was one of the fenced cities assigned to the children of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36). It was from Harosheth that Sisera marched, with 900 chariots, when he heard that Barak was at Mount Tabor (Judg. iv. 13); and to the same place his discomfited host was pursued by the victorious Israelites (v. 16). Probably from intermarriage with the conquered Canaanites, the name of Sisera became afterwards a family name (Ezra ii. 53). Neither is it irrelevant to allude to this coincidence in connexion with the moral effects of this decisive victory; for Hazor, once "the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh. xi. 6, 10), had been taken and burnt by Joshua; its king, Jabin I., put to the sword; and the whole confederation of the Canaanites of the north broken and slaughtered in the celebrated battle of the waters of Merom (Josh. xi. 5–14)—the first time that "chariots and horses" appear in array against the invading host, and are so summarily disposed of, according to Divine command, under Joshua; but which subsequently the children of Joseph feared to face in the valley of Jezreel (Josh. xvii. 16–18), and which Judah actually failed before in the Philistine plain (Judg. i. 19). Herein was the great difficulty of subduing plains, similar to that beside which Harosheth stood. It was not till the Israelites had asked for and obtained a king, that they began "to multiply chariots and horses" to themselves, contrary to the express words of the Law (Deut. xvii. 16), as it were to fight the enemy with his own weapons. The first instance occurs in 2 Sam. viii. 4, cp. 1 Ch. xviii. 4; next in the histories of Absalom, 2 Sam. xv. 1, and of Adonijah, 1 K. i. 5; while the climax was reached under Solomon (1 K. iv. 26). And then it was that their decadence set in! They were strong in faith, when they hamstrung the horses, and burned the chariots with fire, of the kings of Hazor, of Madon, of Shimron, and of Achshaph (Josh. xi. 1). And yet so rapidly did they decline when their illustrious leader was no more, that the city of Hazor had risen from its ruins; and in contrast to the kings of Mesopotamia and of Moab (Judg. iii.), who were both of them foreign potentates, another Jabin, the territory of whose ancestors had been assigned to the tribe of Naphtali, claimed the distinction of being the first to revolt against and shake off the dominion of Israel in his newly acquired inheritance. But the victory won by Deborah and Barak was well worthy of the song of triumph which it inspired (Judg. v.), and of the proverbial celebrity which ever afterwards attached to it (Ps. lxxxiii. 9, 10). The whole territory was gradually won back, to be held permanently, as it would seem (Judg. iv. 24); at all events we hear nothing more of Hazor, Harosheth, or the Canaanites of the north, in the succeeding wars.

The site of Harosheth has not yet been certainly identified; but *el-Hârithiyeh*, first proposed for it by Thomson (*Land & Book*, ii. 143), and accepted by Riehm (*s. v.*), Conder (*Tent Work*, i. 132), and Geikie (*H. L. & the Bible*, ii. 262), seems best to meet the requirements of the Bible narrative. *El-Hârithiyeh*, situated in the gorge of the Kishon, and commanding the road between the two plains of *Acre* and Esdraelon, must have been a place of great military importance, and one well adapted to be the head-quarters of the commander of the king of Canaan's army. Dr. Thomson supposes that Heber the Kenite was encamped on Esdraelon at the time of the battle, and mentions (*l. c.*) in support of this view, that, on one occasion, he met Bedawîn who had come down from the high ground north of Nazareth to pass the cold winter months on the plain. Conder (*Tent Work*, i. 133) identifying Kedesh with *Kh. Kadish*, near the sea of Galilee, and Zaanaim with *Bessum*, places Heber's camp on the basaltic plain, *Sahel el-Ahma;* but it seems scarcely probable that Sisera would have fled to a place in rear of the victorious Israelites. Stanley, who gives a graphic description of the battle (*Jewish Church*, i. 322 sq.), supposes Harosheth to have been in the north, "on the outskirts of Lebanon," and Sisera to have met his death, three days after the battle, on the plain near Kedesh Naphtali. But a more natural inference from the narrative (Judg. iv., v.) is that Sisera was killed on the day of the battle, and that the pursuit to Harosheth ended the same day. Tristram (*Bib. Places*, p. 278) identifies Harosheth with *Tell Hara*, on a hill above the *el-Hûleh* lake, near *Kades*. [E. S. Ff.] [W.]

HARP is the uniform rendering in the A. V. of the Hebrew *Kinnōr* (כִּנּוֹר), and is for the first time mentioned in Gen. iv. 21. Yet, although it is of all musical instruments the first named in the Bible, it would be a mistake to suppose that the Scriptures wished thereby to convey the idea that *Kinnōr*[a] was the oldest musical instrument invented. On the contrary, in the nature of things, proceeding from the simple to the complicated, wind-instruments must have preceded instruments of percussion, as these again must have preceded stringed

[a] *Kinnōr*, though not the oldest musical instrument, by being a term for a contrivance from which all stringed instruments have successively sprung, has although of masculine gender itself, a feminine plural.

instruments. People first whistled, then sang, then blew, then beat, and finally touched strings with fingers, or plectron, or bow. [DANCE; FLUTE.]

The shape, as well as the size of the *Kinnōr* differed not only in different ages and different countries, but also on different occasions in the same age and the same country. In 1 Sam. x. 5 it is mentioned as one of the four musical instruments borne before the young prophets. This would show that *Kinnōr* was a portable instrument, whilst it would appear from the same book (xviii. 10) that it was an instrument of somewhat large proportions, as it had to be placed near a wall.

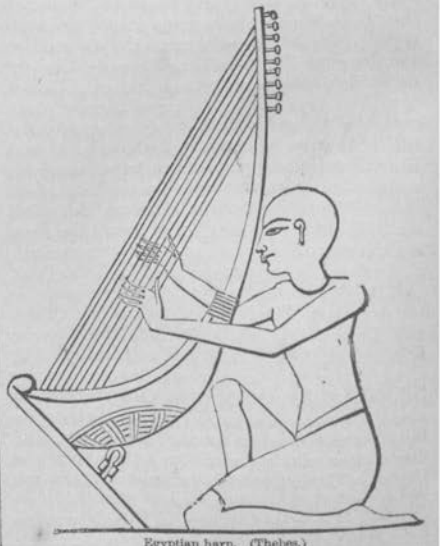
Although *Kinnōr*[b] is uniformly rendered by the A. V. "harp," it is yet a question to be settled

Ancient Assyrian harp. (Nimrud.)

whether it really means a "harp," or a "lute," or a "lyre," or a "psaltery," or a "guitar," &c. One of the Rabbis (Midrash *Tehillim*, lxxxi. 3) identifies the *Kinnōr* with the "psaltery" (*Nēbel*), the only difference between the two being the number of strings they respectively had. If this were true, it would show both great poverty of original invention, and great fertility in the modification of old inventions, in the time of David. For it must not be forgotten that there were four thousand musicians (1 Ch. xxiii. 5) and probably many somewhat different musical instruments in existence at his time, and yet

Later Assyrian harp. (Kouyunjik.)

there are not twelve entirely different ones mentioned. Hence there must have been various



Egyptian harp. (Thebes.)

[b] On the other hand, the *Kinnōrōth 'Al-Hassheminith* (1 Ch. xv. 21) cannot signify harps with eight strings, or harps on, or set to, the *Sheminith*, as the *Sheminith* is clearly a music-band (AIJELETH SHAHAR), and the *Kinnōrōth* were only played by the music-masters to direct (לְנַצֵּחַ) this eighth band [ALAMOTH].

kinds of *Kinnōrōth*, even as we positively know that there were at least ten kinds of *Nebālim*, if not more, to which the expression "on the tenth *Nèbel*" (בנבל עשור, Ps. xxxiii. 2)* clearly points. [This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of the "tenth Nebel" having had ten strings.]

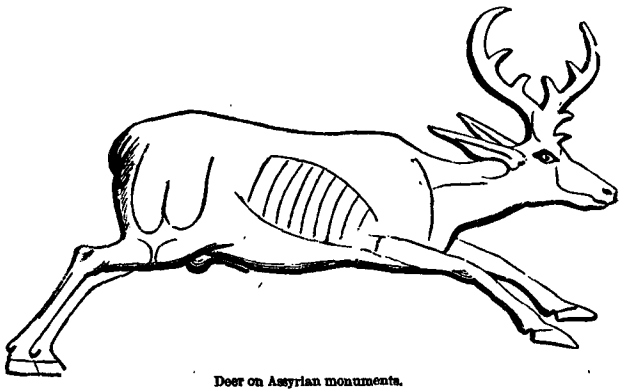
King David must have been a musician of no mean order on various instruments, as appears from the Scriptures, but the *Kinnōr* was his favourite one. On it he composed his wonderful rhythmical Psalms, and on it he chiefly excelled. The Rabbis (Talmud Yerushalmi *Berakhoth*, i. 1; Babli *ibidem*, leaf 3 *b*) suggested his partiality for, and dexterity on, this instrument, by ascribing to his *Kinnōr* the virtues of an Aeolian harp, which played of its own accord under the influence of the "midnight air." [S. M. S.-S.]

HARROW. The word so rendered 2 Sam. xii. 31, 1 Ch. xx. 3 (חָרִיץ), is probably a threshing machine; the verb rendered "to harrow" (שָׂדַד, Job xxxix. 10), and "to break clods" (Is. xxviii. 24; Hos. x. 11), expresses apparently this latter process, and is so far analogous to our harrowing: but whether done by any such machine as we call "a harrow," is very doubtful. Possibly the instrument called מַעֲדֵר, "mattock," in Is. vii. 25 (specially there for hill-culture), might have been used. In modern Palestine, oxen are sometimes turned in to trample the clods, and in some parts of Asia a bush of thorns is dragged over the surface; but all these processes, if used, occur (not after, but) before the seed is committed to the soil. This is clearly shown in Is. xxviii. 24, Hos. x. 11, where "plow" and "open and break clods" are distinguished in the earlier verse, and followed by "sow" in the next. [See AGRICULTURE.] [H. H.]

HAR'SHA (חַרְשָׁא, MV.[11] = *deaf*: in Neh. BNA. Ἀδασάν; in Ezra, BA. Ἀρησά: *Harsa*). Bene-Charsha, sons of Charsha, were among the families of Nethinim who came back from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 52; Neh. vii. 54). In the parallel list in Esdras the name is CHAREA.

HARSITH, THE GATE (Jer. xix. 2, R.V.). In A. V. the text reads "east gate," marg. *sun gate*; R. V. marg. *gate of potsherds*. A gate of Jerusalem which led to Tophet (cp. *vv.* 6, 14) in the valley of Hinnom, and on the S. side of the city [JERUSALEM]. [W.]

HART, HIND (אַיָּלָה, אַיָּל *'ayyāl*, *'ayyālāh*; Arab. ايل, ايلة; ἔλαφος; *cervus*).* All English versions, *hart*, *hind*—the male and female of the deer. The hart is mentioned incidentally among clean animals in Deut. xii. 15, and from the many allusions to it in O. T. must have been familiar to the Israelites. It is not mentioned in the lists of clean and unclean animals in Lev. or Deut.; for though well known in Egypt and Palestine, it could not exist in the Arabian desert, fitted only for antelopes, and not for deer. No species of deer, except the more diminutive roebuck, can be said to be common in Palestine at the present day, though the fallow deer, *Cervus dama*, L. (*Dama vulgaris* of later writers), is not quite extinct in the north. Hasselquist found it on Mount Tabor in the last century, and we once met with it in some wood not many miles N.W. of Safed. We believe there are still a few on the banks of the Litany river and in the wooded district behind Sidon. It must



Deer on Assyrian monuments.

have been very common in ancient times, as it is the native deer of Asia Minor, Cilicia, the Southern Taurid, and Armenia, where in suitable cover we found it still abundant; and if our identification be correct, it is mentioned in 1 K. iv. 23, among the daily articles of food at king Solomon's table. Our English fallow deer, never found except semi-domesticated, are derived from Asia Minor; though the species is now found wild in Sardinia and Spain. It must have existed in the Lebanon in very early times, as its teeth have been found there in bone breccia, in caves along with those of other animals. It would be more easily exterminated than the antelopes or the wild goats, from its partiality for open glades, and the outskirts of forests.

The only other deer to which *'ayyāl* can refer is the red deer, *Cervus elaphus*, L., of which we found the teeth in considerable abundance in the breccia of caverns in Lebanon. As however these were mingled with those of the reindeer (*Cervus tarandus*, L.) and the elk (*Cervus alces*, L.), they probably belong to the prehistoric period. But it should be noted that though no red deer is now found in Egypt or its frontiers, yet we find it depicted in the temples at Beni-Hassan; and a small

* עָשׂוֹר is, and cannot be anything else than, an ordinal. Genesis xxiv. 55 must therefore be translated thus: "And her brother and her mother said, Let the damsel abide with us a year or a (the) tenth part thereof." That יָמִים may, and often does, mean a year will be seen from Ex. xiii. 10; Lev. xxv. 29, &c. A few days are called in Hebrew יָמִים אֲחָדִים (Gen. xxix. 20).

race of red deer, which has been separated by zoologists as *Cervus barbarus*, Bennet, is still found in the Djereed in the south of Tunis, and in parts of Algeria and Morocco. It is probably this species which was known to the Egyptians, and it is the only one of the Deer family which exists in Africa. But there is no evidence that the Barbary deer ever extended east of the Nile.

Barbary deer.

The name Ajalon, given to more than one place in Palestine, means "the place of deer," and the many scriptural allusions to its habits show that the deer was familiar to the inspired writers. The first occurrence of the word in Scripture is in Jacob's blessing of his children: "Naphtali is a hind let loose" (Gen. xlix. 21), which has been explained as prophetic of the gallant conduct of that tribe when, under Barak, "Zebulun and Naphtali jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field." In the passage in Genesis the LXX. have evidently read אַיָּלָה for אַיָּלָה, and rendered it by *στέλεχος ἀνείμενον*, "a luxuriant terebinth," but in this they have not been followed by the Vulgate. The inscription to Ps. xxii., Aijeleth Shahar, translated in the margin as "the hind of the morning," has been supposed to refer to some tune or melody known by that name. [AIJELETH SHAHAR.]

Many characteristics of the deer are used as illustrations in the poetical Books of Scripture. Its swiftness: "Then shall the lame man leap as a hart" (Is. xxxv. 6). "Behold, he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills. My beloved is like a roe or a young hart" (Cant. ii. 8, 9). Its surefootedness: "He maketh my feet like hinds' feet" (2 Sam. xxii. 34; Ps. xviii. 33; Hab. iii. 19). Its activity is the quality referred to in Jacob's blessing of Naphtali. Its gentle and affectionate disposition is taken by the wise man as an image of a tender wife: "Let her be as the loving hind" (Prov. v. 19). Its shyness and avoidance of the haunts of men (Job xxxix. 1) are noted, and its timidity, which causes it to cast its young at the sound of thunder (Ps. xxix. 9). Its maternal affection is used by Jeremiah to illustrate the dire pressure of famine upon Jerusalem, under the misery of which "the hind also calved in the field and forsook it, because there was no grass" (xiv. 5). As the deer could only obtain water at certain places in the wilderness, and those far off, so the Psalmist could only join in the ordinances of God at the Tabernacle, from which he was far distant: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God" (Ps. xlii. 1). All these traits correspond with the character of the fallow deer better than with that of any other. [H. B. T.]

HARU'M (הָרֻם, ? = *elevated;* BA. Ἰαρείμ; *Arum*). A name occurring in one of the most obscure portions of the genealogies of Judah, in which Coz is said to have begotten "the families of Aharhel son of Harum" (1 Ch. iv. 8).

HARU'MAPH (חֲרוּמָף = *slit-nosed,* Ges.; B. Ἐρωμάθ, A. -φ, א. Ἐλωμάθ; *Haromaph*), father or ancestor of Jedaiah, who assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

HARU'PHITE, THE (הַחֲרֻפִי; B. ὁ Χαραφεί, A. Ἀρουφί; *Haruphites*), the designation of Shephatiahu, one of the Korhites who repaired to David at Ziklag when he was in distress (1 Ch. xii. 5). The Masorets read the word Hariphite, and point it accordingly, חֲרִיפִי. [HARIPH.] The town of Haruph is perhaps represented by *Kh. Kharûf*, south of *'Aid el-Mâ*, Adullam (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 313).

HA'RUZ (חָרוּץ = *zealous;* Ἀρούς; *Harus*), a man of Jotbah, father of Meshullemeth, queen of Manasseh, and mother of AMON king of Judah (2 K. xxi. 19).

HARVEST. [AGRICULTURE.]

HASADI'AH (חֲסַדְיָה; B. Ἀσαδία, A. Ἀσβαεσδ'; *Hasadia*), one of a group of five persons among the descendants of the royal line of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 20), apparently sons of Zerubbabel, the leader of the return from Babylon. It has been conjectured that this latter half of the family was born after the restoration, since some of the names, and amongst them this one —*beloved of Jehovah*—appear to embody the hopeful feeling of that time. [ASADIAS.]

HASENU'AH (הַסְּנוּאָה, *i.e.* has-Senû'ah = *the hated;* B. Ἀανά, A. Ἀσανοῦα; *Asana*), a Benjamite, of one of the chief families in the tribe (1 Ch. ix. 7). The name is really Senuah, with the definite article prefixed.

HASHABI'AH (חֲשַׁבְיָה, and with final *û*, חֲשַׁבְיָהוּ; *Hasabias, Hasabia, Hasebias, Hasebia*), a name signifying *regarded of Jehovah*, much in request among the Levites, especially at the date of the return from Babylon.

1. A Merarite Levite, son of Amaziah, in the line of Ethan the singer (1 Ch. vi. 45, Hebr. *v.* 30; B. Ἀσεβεί, A. -ι).

2. Another Merarite Levite (1 Ch. ix. 14; B. Ἀσαβιά, A. -βιου).

3. CHASHABIAHU: another Levite, the fourth of the six sons of Jeduthun (the sixth is omitted here, but is supplied in *v.* 17), who

played the harp in the service of the house of God under David's order (1 Ch. xxv. 3; B. 'Ασαβιά, A. -ιας), and had charge of the twelfth course (*v.* 19).

4. CHASHABIAHU: one of the Hebronites, *i.e.* descendants of Hebron the son of Kohath, one of the chief families of the Levites (1 Ch. xxvi. 30; BA. 'Ασαβίας). He and the 1700 men of his kindred had superintendence for king David over business both sacred and secular on the west[a] of Jordan. Possibly this is the same person as

5. The son of Kemuel, who was "prince (שַׂר) of the tribe of Levi in the time of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 17; BA. 'Ασαβίας).

6. CHASHABIAHU: another Levite, one of the "chiefs" (שָׂרִים) of his tribe, who officiated for king Josiah at his great Passover-Feast (2 Ch. xxxv. 9; BA. 'Ασαβιά). In the parallel account of 1 Esdras the name appears as ASSABIAS.

7. A Merarite Levite who accompanied Ezra from Babylon (Ezra viii. 19; B. 'Ασεβεία, A. -ια). In 1 Esdras the name is ASEBIA.

8. One of the chiefs of the priests (and therefore of the family of Kohath) who formed part of the same caravan (Ezra viii. 24; B. 'Ασαβιά, A^{vid} Σαβία). In 1 Esdras the name is ASSANIAS.

9. "Ruler" (שַׂר) of half the circuit or environs (פֶּלֶךְ) of Keilah; he repaired a portion of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 17; BℵA. 'Ασαβιά).

10. One of the Levites who sealed the covenant of reformation after the return from the Captivity (Neh. x. 11; B. om., ℵ$^{c.a\ (mg)}$A. 'Εσεβίας). Probably this is the person named as one of the "chiefs" (רָאשֵׁי) of the Levites in the times immediately subsequent to the return from Babylon (xii. 24; cp. *v.* 26).

11. Another Levite, son of Bunni (Neh. xi. 15; BA. om., ℵ$^{c.a\ mg\ sup}$ 'Ασαβίας). Notwithstanding the remarkable correspondence between the lists in this chapter and those in 1 Ch. ix.—and in none more than in this verse compared with 1 Ch. ix. 14—it does not appear that they can be identical, inasmuch as this relates to the times after the Captivity, while that in Chronicles refers to the original establishment of the Ark at Jerusalem by David, and of the Tabernacle (cp. *vv.* 19, 21, and the mention of Gibeon, where the Tabernacle was at this time, in *v.* 35). But see NEHEMIAH.

12. Another Levite in the same list of attendants on the Temple; son of Mattaniah (Neh. xi. 22; B. 'Ασαβιά, ℵ. -εια).

13. A priest of the family of Hilkiah in the days of Joiakim son of Jeshua; that is, in the generation after the return from the Captivity (Neh. xii. 21, om. BℵA., ℵ$^{c.a\ mg\ inf}$ 'Ασαβίας; cp. *vv.* 1, 10, 26).

HASHAB'NAH (חַשַׁבְנָה[b]; BA. 'Εσαβανά [see Swete in loco]; *Hasebna*), one of the chief ("heads") of the "people" (*i.e.* the laymen) who sealed the covenant at the same time with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 25).

HASHABNI'AH (חַשַׁבְנְיָה; B., 'Ασαβανάμ, A. 'Ασβανία; *Hasebonia*). **1.** Father of Hattush, who repaired part of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

2. *Hasebnia.* A Levite who was among those who officiated at the great fast under Ezra and Nehemiah when the covenant was sealed (Neh. ix. 5). This and several other names are omitted in the LXX.

HASHBADA'NA (חַשְׁבַּדָּנָה, see Olshausen, *Lehrb.* § 277, k. 4; B. om., A. 'Ασαβααμά, ℵ$^{ca\ mgs}$ 'Ασαβδανά; *Hasbadana*), one of the men (probably Levites) who stood on Ezra's left hand while he read the Law to the people in Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 4).

HA'SHEM (הַשֵּׁם; BA. om., A. 'Ασάμ; *Assem*). The sons of Hashem are named amongst the members of David's guard in the catalogue of 1 Ch. (xi. 34). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. 32, we find "the sons of Jashen." The text is corrupt, and is variously restored by Driver (*Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* l. c.), and by Kennicott (*Dissertation*, pp. 198–203).

HASHMAN'NIM (חַשְׁמַנִּים = *fat ones*; πρέσβεις; *legati*). This word only occurs in the Hebrew of Ps. lxviii. 31: "Princes [hashmannim] shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia [Cush] shall haste to stretch out her hands unto God" (R. V.). This has been thought to be an Egyptian word, but the idea must now be abandoned in favour of the rendering of the A. V. and R. V. [R. S. P.]

HASHMO'NAH (חַשְׁמֹנָה = *fruitfulness*; B. Σελμωνᾶ, A. 'Ασελμωνᾶ; *Hesmona*), a station of the Israelites, mentioned Num. xxxiii. 29, as next before Moseroth, which, from xx. 28 and Deut. x. 6, was near Mount Hor; this tends to indicate the locality of Hashmonah. Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, ii. 509) takes Hashmonah to be the same as Heshmon (Josh. xv. 21), and locates it in the mountains of the *'Azázimeh*; but this is too far from Mount Hor. [H. H.] [W.]

HASHU'B (חָשׁוּב, *i.e.* Chashshūb = *intelligent*; 'Ασούβ; *Asub*). The reduplication of the Sh has been overlooked in the A. V., but retained by the R. V., and the name is identical with that elsewhere more correctly given as HASSHUB.

1. A son of Pahath-Moab who assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 11).

2. Another man who assisted in the same work, but at another part of the wall (Neh. iii. 23).

3. The name is mentioned again among the heads of the "people" (that is, the laymen) who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 23). It may belong to either of the foregoing.

4. A Merarite Levite (Neh. xi. 15). In 1 Ch. ix. 14, he appears again as HASSHUB.

HASHU'BAH (חֲשֻׁבָה = *esteemed*; B—'Ασουβέ, A. 'Ασεβά; *Hasaba*), the first of a

[a] This is one of the instances in which the word *'ēber* (beyond) is used for the west side of Jordan. To remove the anomaly, the A. V. has rendered it "on this side" (R. V. "beyond").

[b] This and the name following are considered by Olshausen (*Lehrb. d. Heb. Sprache*, § 277 h) as forms of חשביהו (HASHABIAH).—[F.]

group of five men, apparently the latter half of the family of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. iii. 20). For a suggestion concerning these persons, see HASADIAH.

HA'SHUM (חֻשִׁם = *rich, distinguished:* B. Ἀσέμ, A. (Ezra) Ἀσούμ; B. Ἡσάμ, A. -ά (Neh.): *Hasum, Hasom, Hasem*). **1.** Bene-Chashum, two hundred and twenty-three in number, came back from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 19; Neh. vii. 22). Seven men of them had married foreign wives, from whom they had to separate (Ezra x. 33). The chief man of the family was among those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 18).

2. (A. Ἀσώμ, B. omits; *Asum.*) The name occurs amongst the priests or Levites who stood on Ezra's left hand while he read the Law to the congregation (Neh. viii. 4). In 1 Esd. ix. 44 the name is given corruptly as LOTHASUBUS.

HASHU'PHA (חֲשֻׁפָא = *uncovered;* B. Ἀσφά, ℵA. Ἀσειφά; *Hasupha*), one of the families of Nethinim who returned from captivity in the first caravan (Neh. vii. 46). The name is accurately HASUPHA, as in Ezra ii. 43. [ASIPHA.]

HAS'RAH (חַסְרָה; B. Χελλής, A. Ἐσσερή; *Hasra*), the form in which the name HARHAS is given in 2 Ch. xxxiv. 22 (cp. 2 K. xxii. 14).

HASSENA'AH (הַסְנָאָה; B. Ἀσάν, ℵ. Ἀσανάα, A. Ἀσανά; *Asnaa*). The Benē-hassenā'ăh, "sons of Hassenaah," rebuilt the fish-gate in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 3). The name is doubtless that of the place mentioned in Ezra ii. 35, and Neh. vii. 38—SENAAH, with the addition of the definite article. Perhaps it has some connexion with the rock or cliff SENEH (1 Sam. xiv. 4).

HASSHU'B (חַשּׁוּב = *intelligent;* Ἀχούβ; *Assub*), a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. ix. 14). He appears to be mentioned again in Neh. xi. 15, in what may be a repetition of the same genealogy; but here the A. V. has given the name as HASHUB.

HASU'PHA (חֲשׁוּפָא = *uncovered;* B. Ἀσουφέ, A. -ά; *Hasupha*). Benē-Chasūphā were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 43). In Nehemiah the name is inaccurately given in the A. V. HASHUPHA; in Esdras it is ASIPHA.

HAT. [HEAD-DRESS.]

HATA'CH (הֲתָךְ; B. Ἀχραθαῖος; *Athach*), one of the eunuchs (A. V. and R. V. "chamberlains") in the court of Ahasuerus, in immediate attendance on Esther (Esth. iv. 5, 6, 9, 10). The LXX. alters *v.* 5 to τὸν εὐνοῦχον αὐτῆς.

HATHA'TH (חַתָּת = *fearful;* Ἀθάθ: *Hathat*), a man in the genealogy of Judah: one of the sons of Othniel the Kenizzite, the well-known judge of Israel (1 Ch. iv. 13).

HATIP'HA (חֲטִיפָא, ? = *captive:* B. Ἀτουφά, A. Ἀτιφά; in Neh. BℵA. Ἀτειφά: *Hatipha*). Bene-Chatipha were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 54; Neh. vii. 56). [ATIPHA.]

HAT'ITA (חֲטִיטָא: A. Ἀτιτά; in Ezra, B. Ἀτητά, in Neh. B. Ἀτειτά: *Hatita*). Bene-Chatita were among the "porters" or "children of the porters" (הַשֹּׁעֲרִים, *i.e.* the gate-keepers), a division of the Levites who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45). In Esdras the name is abbreviated to TETA.

HAT'TIL (חַטִּיל: in Ezra, B. Ἀτειά, in Neh. B. Ἐγήλ; in Ezra, A. Ἀττίλ, in Neh. Ἐττήλ: *Hatil*). Bene-Chattīl, "sons of C.," were among the "children of Solomon's slaves" who came back from Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 57; Neh. vii. 59). [HAGIA.]

HAT'TUSH (חַטּוּשׁ; B. Χαττούς, A. Χετ-; *Hattus*). **1.** A descendant of the kings of Judah, apparently one of the "sons of Shechaniah" (1 Ch. iii. 22), in the fourth or fifth generation from Zerubbabel. A person of the same name, expressly specified as one of the "sons of David of the sons of Shechaniah," accompanied Ezra on his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezra viii. 2), whither Zerubbabel himself had also come only seventy or eighty years before (Ezra ii. 1, 2). Indeed in another statement Hattush is said to have actually returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 2). At any rate he took part in the sealing of the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 4). To obviate the discrepancy between these last-mentioned statements and the interval between Hattush and Zerubbabel in 1 Ch. iii., Lord A. Hervey proposes to read the genealogy in that chapter as if he were the nephew of Zerubbabel, Shemaiah in *v.* 22 being taken as identical with Shimei in *v.* 19. For these proposals the reader is referred to Lord H.'s *Genealogies*, pp. 103, 307, 322, &c. [LETTUS; SHECHANIAH.]

2. (BℵA. Ἀτούθ, A. Αὐτούς.) Son of Hashabniah; one of those who assisted Nehemiah in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

HAURAN (חוֹרָן; Αὐρανῖτις; the modern Arabic حوران. Gesenius derives it from חוֹר, "a cave," but possibly the meaning is "hollow" or "vale"). This word only occurs in Ezek. xlvii. 16, 18, as the name of a region. It was the eastern part of Bashan joining GOLAN (which see), and formed one of the four provinces north of Gilead, which Josephus enumerates as Auranitis, Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, and Batanea (*Wars*, i. 20, § 4), now called the districts of *Haurân, Lejja, Jaulân*, and *El Butein*. It was part of the tetrarchy of Philip (Luke iii. 1; Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 11, § 4). The name seems to occur in its Hebrew form in the Mishna (*Rosh hash-Shanah*, ii. 4), and was never lost, being well known to the Arab geographers and to the Crusaders.

The passage in Ezekiel is somewhat difficult of translation; it appears to draw the boundary of the land of Israel between (מִבֵּין) Damascus on the one side, and Hauran and Gilead on the other (see the rendering of the R. V.).

The Hauran is a level plain of rich volcanic arable soil, still celebrated for its corn, but having little natural supply of water. In the Roman period it supported a large population, and it contains a great number of ruined sites of cities and villages dating from the 2nd to the 6th century A.D. The theory that these are "giant cities" of the time of the Hebrew conquest has no foundation: the remains are not superior in size to those of the same period found in other parts of Palestine and Syria, and the age of the buildings is attested with unusual exactitude by the dates giving often the day of the month as well as the year of their erection. Of these Greek inscriptions no less than twenty are known within the limits of the Haurân, and a yet larger number in other parts of Bashan (see Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, Nos. 2392–2413). The earliest belong to the time of Herod the Great; the latest perhaps is a Christian text of 641 A.D. at the monastery of Job, in the traditional "land of Uz," which was in the 4th century supposed to be in the Hauran, though clearly placed in Edom by the O. T. account. Nothing is known of the condition of this region before the Christian era, with the exception of the names of certain of its towns mentioned in the Book of Joshua. The region is enumerated with Beth Ammon, Edom, Moab, and Zobah on Cylinder A of the Annals of Assur-bani-pal. It was conquered in 13 A.H. by the Moslems, and its period of civilised prosperity seems then to have passed away. It is described in Burckhardt's *Travels* and in the works of De Vogüé and Waddington, and has also been well described by G. Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*) in 1886, though his journey did not extend to the eastern part of the region, which has, however, been frequently visited, and is fairly well known. The name is often loosely applied to the whole of Bashan, which included the four provinces named above; but the strict application is to the eastern part of the plain—east of the Jaulân. Wetzstein's *Reisebericht über den Haurân*, 1860, is one of the best books on the subject, and Graham's tour is given in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxviii. 226–263. The buildings standing in ruins in the cities are well given in the plates of De Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale*, and many of these, including Herod's temple at Si'ah, he discovered in 1862.

The Hauran is remarkable for its subterranean buildings, which are usually some 10 or 12 yards in length by about 6 in breadth, and 10 ft. high, often forming cave villages difficult of access. The name of the region may perhaps be derived from them, for they are mentioned very early in a Greek text from Canatha (Waddington, 2329), which includes the words, "King Agrippa, friend of Caesar and friend of the Romans, says . . . of a life like that of wild beasts . . . I know not how till now in many parts of the country dwelling in caves . . ." This custom is, however, not altogether peculiar to the Haurân. Dolmens and other rude stone monuments occur in the Haurân as in the Jaulân, and in Gilead and Moab, which are probably of high antiquity. The modern villages are poor and small, but the region being 1500 to 2000 feet above the sea, is healthy, with a dry air and a constant breeze from the sea. The inhabitants are mainly Druses or nomadic Arab tribes (see BASHAN). [C. R. C.]

HAVENS, FAIR. [FAIR HAVENS.]

HAVILAH (חֲוִילָה; Εὐειλάτ, Εὐιλάτ, Εὐειλά, Εὐιλά; *Hevila*). **1.** "The Land of the Havilah;" a region famed for its products of fine gold, "bdellium," and "onyx stone," and surrounded by the river Pison (Gen. ii. 11, 12). [EDEN.]

2. One of the five sons of Cush the son of Ham (Gen. x. 7; 1 Ch. i. 9). Cush is the Assyrian *Kûsu*, *Kûshu*; that is, Upper Egypt, including Meroë or Ethiopia.

3. One of the thirteen sons of Joktan, a descendant of Shem (Gen. x. 29; 1 Ch. i. 23). The seats of the Joktanites appear to have lain along the west and south sides of the great peninsula of Arabia, where some of their tribal names, notably Sheba and Hazarmaveth, the Arabic *Hadhramaut* and *Sabâ*, are identified with certainty. This agrees fairly well with the datum of Gen. xxv. 18, where Havilah appears as the south-eastern limit of the Ishmaelite Arabs; and with that of 1 Sam. xv. 7, where, however, the reading is doubtful.[a]

That we should find indications of kindred stocks on the opposite sides of a narrow sea like the Arabian Gulf is not, perhaps, remarkable. The existence of a Cushite or African Havilah and Joktanite or Arabian Havilah may be taken as evidence of an early connexion between the peoples thus known by a common designation. But when we come to ask whether that name itself can be identified in later geography, we are somewhat embarrassed by the number of suggestions offered by modern writers. Bochart thought of خولان, *Khaulân*; a district in *Tihâmah*, midway between *Sana'a* and Mecca. K. Niebuhr (*Beschr. von Arabien*, S. 270) and J. D. Michaelis (*Spicileg.* 202; *Suppl.* 685) agree with him.[b] Gesenius (*Thesaur.* s. v.) is for Strabo's Χαυλοταῖοι, the Chaulotaeans, who were neighbours of the Nabataeans and Hagarenes in Northern Arabia. The uniform spelling of the Septuagint may, however, indicate that the initial sound of the Hebrew חוילה was the soft *heth* (ح), rather than the harsh *cheth* (خ). Εὐειλάτ or Εὐειλά may be contrasted with spellings like Χεβρών. This suggestion derives some support from the fact that the Arabic Version has حويلا, *Hawîlâ*, with the soft letter (ح), in Gen. x. 29; 1 Sam. xv. 7. The name of the

[a] Wellhausen proposes *Telaim*, comparing 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

[b] Niebuhr, referring to Gen. x. 7 and xxv. 18, observes that "this little district" of Khaulân was apparently the Havilah of the Cushites and "the southern border of the Ishmaelites" (p. 270). He also mentions another small district of the same name, situate a few miles S.E. of Sana'a, which he thinks may may have been the Havilah of Gen. x. 29.

town حويلة, Huwailah, in the district of *Lahsā* or *Haṭ'ar*, on the Persian Gulf, would therefore agree better with the Hebrew Havilah, with which, indeed, Kautzsch has compared it (Riehm, s. v. *Havila*). But this point perhaps lies too far to the east for a Joktanite settlement. No clear trace of the name Havilah has yet been found in the cuneiform inscriptions.

A remarkable notice in Jacut's *Mu'g'am* (vol. iii. p. 636) states that حويل, *Ḥawīl*, was the dialect spoken by "the descendants of Midian, the son of Abraham," and by the people of مهرة, Mahrah, the well-known district situate to the east of Hadhramaut. This looks like an unquestionable relic of the ancient name Havilah.

The Cushite Havilah, on the other hand, appears to have survived in the classical Aualitae (Ptol. iv. 7; Plin. vi. 28); a people with a town Aualis, now زيلع, *Zeila'*, on the African coast, south of the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. As Gesenius points out, this may have been the opinion of Saadiah, who transcribes חוילה by زويلة, *Zawīlah*, in Gen. ii. 11, x. 7, xxv. 18; cp. 1 Ch. i. 9, 23. [C. J. B.]

HA'VOTH-JA-IR, R. V. HAVVOTH-JA-IR (חַוֹּת יָאִיר, *i.e.* Chavvoth Jair, "villages of J.;" ἐπαύλεις and κώμαι Ἰαΐρ, Θανώθ; *vicus, Avoth Jair, viculus Jair*), certain villages on the east of Jordan, in Gilead or Bashan. The word Chavvah, which occurs in the Bible in this connexion only, is perhaps best explained by the similar term in modern Arabic, which denotes a small collection of huts or hovels in a country place (see the citations in Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 451; and Stanley, *S. & P.*, App. § 84).

(1.) The earliest notice of the Havvoth-jair is in Num. xxxii. 41, in the account of the settlement of the Transjordanic country, where Jair, son of Manasseh, is stated to have taken some villages (A. V. "the small towns," R. V. "the towns") of Gilead—which was allotted to his tribe—and to have named them after himself, Havvoth-jair. (2.) In Deut. iii. 14 (R. V.) it is said that Jair "took all the region of Argob, unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites; and called them, even Bashan, after his own name, Havvoth-jair." (3.) In the records of Manasseh in Josh. xiii. 30, and 1 Ch. ii. 23 (A. V., in both "towns of Jair"), the Havvoth-jair are reckoned with other districts as making up sixty "cities" (ערים). In 1 K. iv. 13 they are named as part of the commissariat district of Ben-geber, next in order to the "sixty great cities" of Argob. They had evidently become more important, as has been the case in our own country with more than one place still designated as a "hamlet," though long since a populous town. (4.) No less doubtful is the number of the Havvoth-jair. In 1 Ch. ii. 22 they are specified as twenty-three, but in Judg. x. 4, as thirty. In the latter passage, however, the allusion is to a second Jair, by whose thirty sons they were governed, and for whom the original number may have been increased. The word עֲיָרִים, "cities," is perhaps employed here for the sake of the play which it affords with עַיָּרִים, "ass-colts." [JAIR; BASHAN-HAVOTH-JAIR.]

[G.] [W.]

HAWK (נֵץ, *nêṣ*; *ἱέραξ*; *accipiter*), the translation of the above-named Hebrew term,

Falco saker.

which occurs in Lev. xi. 16 and Deut. xiv. 15 as one of the unclean birds, and in Job xxxix. 26, where it is asked, "Doth the *nêṣ* fly by thy wisdom and stretch her wings towards the south?" This may apply either to the migratory habits of many of the smaller birds of prey, or to their power of flying right in the sun's eye without being dazzled by its rays. The ancients believed this to be a power peculiar to eagles and hawks (Aelian, *H. A.* x. 14). Pliny believed that all hawks except one were migratory (x. 9). In this, however, he was in error. Moreover many species are residents in one country and migrants in another. The commonest of the smaller raptorial birds in Palestine is the kestrel, *Tinnunculus alaudarius* (Gm.), identical with our common but very beautiful English bird. In the Jordan valley and in the Eastern forests, among the ruins of Rabbath Ammon and Gerash, in the desolate gorges of the Dead Sea up to the confines of the Southern deserts, among the luxuriant gardens of the coast and in the sacred recesses of the mosques of Hebron and Jerusalem, it equally abounds. It is generally gregarious, ten or twenty pairs nesting in the same ruins. It often builds in the recesses of caverns occupied by griffons, and is the only bird which the eagles appear to admit as close neighbours. Another very pretty species is the lesser kestrel (*Tinnunculus cenchris*, Naum.), always distinguished by the natives, and, unlike the last, only a spring and summer resident. It lives in large colonies often in the towns, as in the roofs of the old quarried caves at Nazareth, or in the towers of mosques and churches. It feeds entirely on insects, and may

be seen towards evening in the open glades, or in the lanes between the gardens about villages, catching cockchafers in its claws on the wing. It is distinguished by its white claws. The word *nêts* is doubtless generic, as appears from the expression in Deut. and Lev. "after his kind," and includes various other species of the smaller *Falconidae*, such as the sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter nisus*, L.), which is very common in the country districts, and a permanent resident; the rarer Levant sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter brevipes*, Sev.), the black-shouldered hawk (*Elanus caeruleus*, Desf.). the hobby (*Falco subbuteo*, L.), the merlin (*Falco aesalon*, Tunst.), Eleonora's falcon (*F. eleonorae*, Géné), and a few other rarer visitors. Besides the above-named smaller hawks, the two magnificent species, *F. saker* and *F. lanarius*, are summer visitors to Palestine. On one occasion, while riding with an Arab guide, I observed a falcon of large size rise close to us. The guide, when I pointed it out to him, exclaimed, "*Taïr Saq'r.*" Taïr, the Arabic for "bird," is universally throughout N. Africa and the East applied to those falcons which are capable of being trained for hunting, *i.e.* "the bird," *par excellence*. These two species of falcons, and perhaps the hobby and goshawk (*Astur palumbarius*), are employed by the Arabs in Syria and Palestine for the purpose of taking partridges, sand-grouse, quails, herons, gazelles, hares, &c. Dr. Russell (*Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*,[2] ii. p. 196) has given the Arabic names of several falcons, but it is probable that some at least of these names apply rather to the different sexes than to distinct species. See a very graphic description of the sport of falconry, as pursued by the Arabs of N. Africa, in the *Ibis*, i. p. 284; and cp. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 208.

Whether falconry was pursued by the ancient Orientals or not, is a question we have been unable to determine decisively. No representation of such a sport occurs on the monuments of ancient Egypt (see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 221), neither is there any definite allusion to falconry in the Bible. With regard, however, to the negative evidence supplied by the monuments of Egypt, we must be careful ere we draw a conclusion; for the camel is not represented, though we have Biblical evidence to show that this animal was used by the Egyptians as early as the time of Abraham; still, as instances of various modes of capturing fish, game, and wild animals are not unfrequent on the monuments, it seems probable the art was not known to the Egyptians. Nothing definite can be learnt from the passage in 1 Sam. xxvi. 20, which speaks of "a partridge hunted on the mountains," as this may allude to the method of taking these birds by "throw-sticks," &c. [PARTRIDGE.] The hind or hart "panting after the water-brooks" (Ps. xlii. 1) may appear at first sight to refer to the mode at present adopted in the East of taking gazelles, deer, and bustards, with the united aid of falcon and greyhound; but, as Hengstenberg (*Comment. on Ps.* l. c.) has argued, it seems pretty clear that the exhaustion spoken of is to be understood as arising not from pursuit, but from some prevailing drought, as in Ps. lxiii. 1, "My soul thirsteth for Thee *in a dry land*" (see also Joel i. 20). The poetical version of Tate and Brady—

> "As pants the hart for cooling streams
> When heated in the chase,"

has therefore somewhat prejudged the matter. For the question as to whether falconry was known to the ancient Greeks, see Beckmann, *History of Inventions* (i. 198–205, Bohn's ed.).

[W. H.] [H. B. T.]

HAY (חָצִיר, *chāṣīr*; ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ χλωρός, χόρτος; *prata*, *herba*), the rendering of the A. V. in Prov. xxvii. 25, and Is. xv. 6, of the above-named Heb. term, which occurs frequently in the O. T., and denotes "grass" of any kind, from an unused root, "to be green." [GRASS.] In Num. xi. 5, this word is properly translated "leeks." [LEEK.] Harmer (*Observat.* i. 425, ed. 1797), quoting from a MS. paper of Sir J. Chardin, states that hay is not made anywhere in the East, and that the *foenum* of the Vulg. (*aliis locis*) and the "hay" of the A. V. are therefore errors of translation. It is true that the modern Orientals do not make hay in our sense of the term; but they do mow thin grass with a scythe, and that both when withered and green, and lay it up in heaps for future use. I have often seen a considerable quantity thus piled up. The ancients did the same, as we see from Ps. xxxvii. 2, "They shall soon be cut down (יִמָּלוֹ), and wither as the green herb;" Ps. lxxii. 6, "Like rain upon the *mown* grass" (גֵּז). See also Amos vii. 1, "The king's mowings" (גִּזֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ); and Ps. cxxix. 7, where of the "grass upon the housetops" (*Poa annua*?) it is said that "the reaper (קוֹצֵר) filleth not his hand" with it, "nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom." We do not see therefore, with the author of *Fragments in Continuation of Calmet* (No. clxxviii.), any gross impropriety in our version of Prov. xxvii. 25, or in that of Is. xv. 6. "Certainly," says this writer, "if the *tender grass*[a] is but just beginning to show itself, the hay, which is grass cut and dried after it has arrived at maturity, ought by no means to be associated with it, still less ought it to be placed before it." But (accepting the A. V. translation) where is the impropriety? The *tender grass* (דֶּשֶׁא) may refer to the springing *after-grass*, and the "hay" to the *hay-grass*. However, in the two passages in question, where alone the A. V. renders *chāṣīr* by "hay," the word would certainly be better translated by "grass" (R. V. marg.). We may remark that there is an express Hebrew term for "dry grass" or "hay," viz. *chăshāsh*,[b] which, apparently from an unused root signifying "to be dry,"[c] is

[a] 'The hay appeareth (R. V. "is carried"), and the tender grass sheweth itself, and herbs of the mountains are gathered" (Prov. xxvii. 25).

[b] חָשִׁישׁ, allied to the Arabic حشيش (*cheshish*), which Freytag thus explains, "Herba, *pecul.* siccior: *scil.* Papulum siccum, foenum (ut رطب viride et recens)."

[c] The Arabs of the desert always call the dry juiceless herbage of the Sahara, which is ready-made hay while it is growing, *cheshish*, in contradistinction to the fresh grass of better soils.—[H. B. T.]

rendered in the only two places where the word occurs (Is. v. 24 [R. V. "dry grass"], xxxiii. 11) "chaff" in the English Versions. We do not, however, mean to assert that the *chashash* of the Orientals represents our modern English hay. The "dry grass" was not stacked, but only cut in small quantities, and then consumed. The grass of "the latter growth after the king's mowings" (Amos vii. 1) or second crop (לֶקֶשׁ), like our *after-grass*, denotes the mown grass as it grows afresh after the first cutting; like the *Chordum foenum* of Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 28). [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

HAZA'-EL (חֲזָאֵל = *God hath seen*; Ἀζαήλ; *Hazaël*) was a king of Damascus, who reigned from about B.C. 886 to B.C. 840. He appears to have been previously a person in a high position at the court of Benhadad, and was sent by his master to Elisha, when that prophet visited Damascus, to inquire if he would recover from the malady under which he was suffering. Elisha's answer that Benhadad would surely recover, but that he would also surely die, and his announcement to Hazael that he would one day be king of Syria, which seems to have been the fulfilment of the commission given to Elijah (1 K. xix. 15) to appoint Hazael king, led to the murder of Benhadad by his ambitious servant, who forthwith mounted the throne (2 K. viii. 7–15. See BENHADAD). He was soon engaged in hostilities with Ahaziah king of Judah, and Jehoram king of Israel, for the possession of the city of Ramoth-Gilead (ibid. viii. 28). The Assyrian inscriptions show that about this time a bloody and destructive war was being waged between the Assyrians on the one side, and the Syrians, Hittites, Hamathites, and Phoenicians on the other. [See DAMASCUS.] Benhadad had recently suffered several severe defeats at the hands of the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II.; and upon the accession of Hazael the war was speedily renewed. Hazael took up a position in the fastnesses of the Anti-Libanus, but was there attacked by the Assyrians, who defeated him with great loss, killing 16,000 of his warriors, and capturing 1121 chariots, with his camp. Hazael fled, and was besieged by Shalmaneser in Damascus. Three years later the Assyrians once more entered Syria in force, and took possession of some of his strongholds. After this, internal troubles appear to have occupied the attention of the Assyrians, who made no more expeditions into these parts for about a century. The Syrians rapidly recovered their losses; and towards the close of the reign of Jehu, Hazael led them against the Israelites (about B.C. 860), whom he "smote in all their coasts" (2 K. x. 32), thus accomplishing the prophecy of Elisha (ibid. viii. 12). His main attack fell upon the eastern provinces, where he ravaged "all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon [R. V. "by the valley of Arnon"], even Gilead and Bashan" (ibid. x. 33). After this he seems to have held the kingdom of Israel in a species of subjection (ibid. xiii. 3–7, and 22); and towards the close of his life he even threatened the kingdom of Judah. Having taken Gath (ibid. xii. 17; cp. Amos vi. 2), he proceeded to attack Jerusalem, defeated the Jews in an engagement (2 K. xxiv. 24), and was about to assault the city, when Joash induced him to retire by presenting him with "all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and in the king's house" (2 K. xii. 18). Hazael appears to have died about the year B.C. 840 (ibid. xiii. 24), having reigned 46 years. He left his crown to his son Benhadad (2 K. xiii. 3). His "house" at Damascus is alluded to in Amos i. 4, probably as a well-known or beautiful palace.

[G. R.] [T. G. P.]

HAZAI'AH (חֲזָיָה = *Jah hath seen*; B. Ὀζειά, A. -*ια*; *Hazia*), a man of Judah of the family of the Shilonites (R. V.; A. V. "Shiloni"), or descendants of SHELAH (Neh. xi. 5).

HAZAR-ADDAR, &c. [HAZER.]

HAZA'R-MA'VETH (חֲצַרְמָוֶת = *the court of death*, Ges.: B. Ἀσυρμώθ, A. Σαρμώθ [Gen.]; B. om., A. Ἀραρώθ [1 Ch.]: *Asarmoth*), the third, in order, of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 26; 1 Ch. i. 20). The name is found on Sabaean inscriptions, and is preserved, almost literally, in the Arabic *Ḥaḍramaut* (حضرموت), and as the appellation of a province and an ancient people of Southern Arabia (cp. MV.[11] *s. n.*; Delitzsch [1887], and Dillmann[2] on Gen. *l. c.*). The province of Ḥaḍramaut is situate east of the *modern* Yemen (anciently, as shown in ARABIA, the limits of the latter province embraced almost the whole of the south of the peninsula), extending to the districts of Shihr and Mahreh. Its capital is Shibám, a very ancient city, of which the native writers give curious accounts, and its chief ports are Mirbát, Zafári [SEPHAR], and Kisheem, from whence a great trade was carried on, in ancient times, with India and Africa. Ḥaḍramaut itself is generally cultivated, in contrast to the contiguous sandy deserts (called El-Aḥkáf, where lived the gigantic race of 'Ad); is partly mountainous, with watered valleys, and is still celebrated for its frankincense (El-Idrisi, ed. Jomard, i. p. 54; Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 245), exporting also gum-arabic, myrrh, dragon's blood, and aloes; the latter, however, being chiefly from Socotra, which is under the rule of the Sheykh of Kesheem (Niebuhr, *l. c.* sq.). The early kings of Ḥaḍramaut were Joktanites, distinct from the descendants of Yaarub, the progenitor of the Joktanite Arabs generally; and it is hence to be inferred that they were separately descended from Hazarmaveth. They maintained their independence against the powerful kings of Himyer, until the latter were subdued at the Abyssinian invasion (Ibn-Khaldoon, *ap.* Caussin, *Essai*, i. 135 sq.). The Greeks and Romans called the people of Ḥaḍramaut, variously, Chatramotitae, Chatrammitae, &c.; and there is little doubt that they were the same as the Adramitae. The modern people, although mixed with other races, are strongly characterised by fierce, fanatical, and restless dispositions. They are enterprising merchants, well known for their trading and travelling propensities. [E. S P.]

HAZAZON-TAMAR, 2 Ch. xx. 2. [HAZEZON-TAMAR.]

HAZEL. The translation in A. V. of לוּז, *lūz;* Arab. لوز, *lauz.* The R. V. renders it "almond tree," in Gen. xxx. 37, the only passage where the word occurs, as one of the three trees from which Jacob cut the rods which he peeled. The LXX. render it by *κάρυον*, a generic term for any kind of kernel fruit, and equally applicable to the almond and the hazel. The Vulgate has *virgas amygdalinas.* There can be no question that the identification of the Vulgate and the R. V. is correct. We have for it the high authority of Celsius, who has exhaustively discussed the subject; and the fact of the common Arabic name of the almond-tree being identical should be conclusive. Besides which the almond is indigenous in Palestine and in Mesopotamia; the hazel is not found in these countries, being a native of more northern and western regions. [ALMOND.] [H. B. T.]

HAZELELPO'NI (הַצְּלֶלְפּוֹנִי), of uncertain meaning; B. Ἐσηλεββών, A. Ἐσηλελφών; *Asalelphuni*), the sister of the sons of Etam in the genealogies of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 3). The name has the definite article prefixed, and is accurately "the Tzelelponite," as of a family rather than an individual. [F.]

HA'ZER (חָצֵר, *i.e.* Chāṣēr, from חָצַר, to surround or enclose), a word which is of not unfrequent occurrence in the Bible in the sense of a "court" or quadrangle to a palace[a] or other building, but which topographically seems generally employed for the "villages" of people in a roving and unsettled life, the semi-permanent collections of dwellings which are described by travellers among the modern Arabs to consist of rough stone walls covered with the tent cloths, and thus holding a middle position between the tent of the wanderer—so transitory as to furnish an image of the sudden termination of life (Is. xxxviii. 12)—and the settled, permanent town.

As a proper name it appears in the A. V.—

1. In the plural, HAZERIM and HAZEROTH, for which see below.

2. In the slightly different form of HAZOR.

3. In composition with other words, giving a special designation to the particular "village" intended. When thus in union with another word, the name is Hazar (Chasar). The following are the places so named, and it should not be overlooked that they are all in the wilderness itself, or else quite on the confines of civilised country:—

1. HAZAR-ADDAR (חֲצַר אַדָּר: in Num. ἔπαυλις Ἀράδ; in Josh. B. Σαράδα, A. Ἀδδαρά: *Villa nomine Adar, Addar*), a place named as one of the landmarks on the southern boundary of the land promised to Israel, between Kadesh-barnea and Azmon (Num. xxxiv. 4). In the specification of the south boundary of the country actually possessed (Josh. xv. 3), the name appears in the shorter form of Addar (A. V. Adar), and an additional place is named on each side of it. The site of Hazar-addar does not appear to have been encountered in modern times. Riehm (*s. v.*) suggests that it may possibly be the same place as Hezron (Josh. xv. 3).

The LXX. reading might lead to the belief that Hazar-addar was identical with ARAD, a Canaanite city which lay in this direction, but the presence of the *Ain* in the latter name forbids such an inference.

2. HAZAR-ENAN (חֲצַר עֵינָן = *village of springs;* in Num., B. Ἀσεναείμ, AF. Ἀσερναίν; *Villa Enan, Atrium Enon, A. Enan*), the place at which the northern boundary of the land promised to the children of Israel was to terminate (Num. xxxiv. 9), and the eastern boundary commence (*v.* 10). It is again mentioned in Ezekiel's prophecy (xlvii. 17, xlviii. 1) of what the ultimate extent of the land will be. These boundaries are traced by Mr. Porter, who would identify Hazar-enan with *Kuryetein* = "the two cities," a village more than 60 miles E.N.E. of Damascus, the chief ground for the identification apparently being the presence at *Kuryetein* of "large fountains," the only ones in that "vast region,"—a circumstance with which the name of Hazar-enan well agrees (Porter, *Damascus*, i. 252, ii. 358). The great distance from Damascus and the body of Palestine is the main impediment to the reception of this identification. Keil (*s. v.*) suggests the springs near the waterparting between the Orontes and Leontes; Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 8), *'Ain el-'Asy*, one of the principal sources of the Orontes.

3. HAZAR-GADDAH (חֲצַר גַּדָּה; B. Σεραί, A. Ἀσεργαδδά; *Aser-Gadda*), one of the towns in the southern district of Judah (Josh. xv. 27), named between Moladah and Heshmon. No trace of the situation of this place appears in the *Onomasticon*, or in the works of modern travellers. In the map of the *PEF.* (Sheet xxv.) a site named *el-Ghurra* is marked as close to Moladah (*el-Milh*), but it is perhaps too much to assume that Gaddah has taken this form by the change so frequent in the East of D to R.

4. HAZAR-HAT-TICON, R. V. HAZER-HAT-TICON (חֲצַר הַתִּיכוֹן = *the middle village;* Αὐλὴ τοῦ Σαυνάν, A. corrupt; *Domus Tichon*), a place named in Ezekiel's prophecy of the ultimate boundaries of the land (Ezek. xlvii. 16), and specified as being on the boundary (אֶל־גְּבוּל) of Hauran. It is not yet known; but Wetzstein (*Reisebericht*, p. 100) suggests its identification with *Hadhar*, to the north of *Jebel Druze*, and on the east border of *el-Lejah.*

5. HAZAR-SHUAL (חֲצַר שׁוּעָל = *fox-village:* B. Χολασεωλά, Ἀρσωλά, Ἐσηρεουλάβ; A. Ἀσαρσουλά, Σερσουλά, Ἐσερσουάλ: *Hasersual, Hasar-suhal*), a town in the southern district of Judah, lying between Hazar-gaddah and Beersheba (Josh. xv. 28, xix. 3; 1 Ch. iv. 28). It is mentioned in the same connexion after the return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 27). The site has not yet been conclusively recovered; but in the map of the *PEF.* (Sheet xxv.) a site, *Kh. S'aweh*, is marked at about the right spot, which may be a corruption of the original name.

[a] In 2 K. xx. 4, the Masorets (*Keri*) have substituted חָצֵר (A. V. "court") for the חָצִיר of the original text. The same change should probably be made in Jer. xli. 7. [See ISHMAEL, 6.]

6. HAZAR-SUSAH (חֲצַר סוּסָה = *horse-village;* B. Σαρσουσέν, A. Ἀσερσουσίμ; *Hasersusa*), one of the "cities" allotted to Simeon in the extreme south of the territory of Judah (Josh. xix. 5). Neither it nor its companion BETH-MARCABOTH, the "house of chariots," are named in the list of the towns of Judah in chap. xv., but they are included in those of Simeon in 1 Ch. iv. 31 (*see v.* 7), with the express statement that they existed before and up to the time of David. Dean Stanley has suggested (*S. & P.* p. 160) that they were the depôts and stations for the chariots and horses, such as those which in Solomon's time went to and fro between Egypt and Palestine. This view is supported by the inscriptions of Thothmes III., and by the *Tell Amarna* letters which mention Canaanite and Egyptian chariots in Palestine at a very early period. The names, if not Hebrew, are apparently Semitic. But they may perhaps be in the former language of the country, adopted by the Hebrews, and so altered as to bear a meaning in Hebrew. This is exactly the process which the Hebrew names have in their turn undergone from the Arabs, and is in fact one which is well known to have occurred in all languages, though not yet recognised in the particular case of the early local names of Palestine. Guérin (*Judée*, iii. 172) suggests its identification with *Sûsieh*, E.N.E. of *es-Semû'a*, Eshtemoa; Tristram (*Bibl. Places*, p. 25) with *Beit Susîn*, on the caravan road from Gaza to Egypt.

7. HAZAR-SUSIM (חֲצַר סוּסִים = *the village of horses;* B. Ἡμισυσεσαράμ, A. Ἡμισυσεσαίμ; *Hasarsusim*), the form under which the preceding name appears in the list of the towns of Simeon in 1 Ch. iv. 31. [G.] [W.]

HAZE'RIM. The AVIMS, or more accurately the Avvim, a tribe commemorated in a fragment of very ancient history, as the early inhabitants of the south-western portion of Palestine, are therein said to have lived (R. V.) "in villages (A. V. "Hazerim," בְּחַצֵרִים; Ἀσηδώθ, AF. Ἀσηρώθ; *Haserim*) as far as Gaza" (Deut. ii. 23), before their expulsion by the Caphtorim. The word is the plural of HAZER, noticed above, and, as far as we can now appreciate the significance of the term, it implies that the Avvim were a wandering tribe who had retained in their new locality the transitory form of encampment of their original desert life. Professor Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, ii. 428) points out that the Avvim were the southernmost of the tribes inhabiting the Canaanitish territory (Josh. xiii. 3, 4), and identifies Hazerim with the mountains of the *'Azâzimeh*, at the southern extremity of the Negeb. [G.] [W.]

HAZE'ROTH (חֲצֵרוֹת = *pastoral enclosures, camping grounds;* Ἀσηρώθ, in Deut. Αὐλῶν; *Haseroth:* Num. xi. 35, xii. 16, xxxiii. 17; Deut. i. 1), a station of the Israelites in the desert, mentioned next to Kibroth-Hattaavah, and perhaps recognisable in the Arabic حضرة, *Hudherah* (Robinson, i. 151; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 81, 82), which lies about eighteen hours' distance from Sinai on the road to *'Akabah*. For a description of *'Ain Hudherah*, and the curious Bedawi legend connecting it with a lost caravan, see *Ordnance Survey of Sinai*, i. 66, 122, 303; and Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, i. 258 sq. [HAZER.] [W.]

HAZEZO'N-TA'MAR and HAZAZO'N-TA'MAR (חֲצְצֹן תָּמָר; in Gen. Ἀσασὰν Θαμάρ, in 2 Ch. B. Ἀσὰμ Θαμαρά, A. Ἀνασὰν Θ'; *Asason Thamar*), the names under which, at a very early period of the history of Palestine, and in a document believed by many to be the oldest of all these early records, we first hear of the place which afterwards became EN-GEDI. The Amorites were dwelling at Hazazon-tamar when the four kings made their incursion, and fought their successful battle with the five (Gen. xiv. 7). The name occurs only once again—in the records of the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xx. 2)—when he is warned of the approach of the horde of Ammonites, Moabites, Mehunim, and men of Mount Seir, whom he afterwards so completely destroyed, and who were no doubt pursuing thus far exactly the same route as the four kings had done a thousand years before them. Here the explanation, "which is En-gedi," is added. The existence of the earlier appellation, after En-gedi had been so long in use, is a remarkable instance of the tenacity of these old Oriental names, of which more modern instances are frequent. See ACCHO, BETHSAIDA, &c. The name possibly survives in *Wâdy Husâsah*, north of *'Ain Jidy*, En-gedi.

Hazazon-tamar is interpreted in Hebrew to mean the "pruning or felling of the palm" (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 512). Jerome (*Quaest. in Gen.*) renders it *urbs palmarum*. This interpretation of the name is borne out by the ancient reputation of the palms of En-gedi (Ecclus. xxiv. 14, and the citations from Pliny, given under that name). The Samaritan Version has פלון כדי = the Valley of Cadi, possibly a corruption of En-gedi. The Targums have En-gedi.

Perhaps this was "the city of palm-trees" (*'Ir hat-temārīm*) out of which the Kenites, the tribe of Moses' father-in-law, went up into the wilderness of Judah, after the conquest of the country (Judg. i. 16). If this were so, the allusion of Balaam to the Kenite (Num. xxiv. 21) is at once explained. Standing as he was on one of the lofty points of the highlands opposite Jericho, the western shore of the Dead Sea as far as Engedi would be before him, and the cliff, in the clefts of which the Kenites had fixed their secure "nest," would be a prominent object in the view. This has been already alluded to by Dean Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 225, n. 4). The allusion may, however, be to CAIN, *Yukin*, which forms a conspicuous point on the horizon as seen from the Moabite hills (Conder, *MS. note*). [G.] [W.]

HAZI-EL (חֲזִיאֵל = *seen of God;* B. Ελιήλ, A. Ἀζιήλ; *Hosiel*), a Levite in the time of king David, of the family of Shimei, the younger branch of the Gershonites (1 Ch. xxiii. 9).

HAZO' (חָזוֹ; Ἀζαῦ; *Azau*), a son of Nahor by Milcah his wife (Gen. xxii. 22). The name is compared by Friedrich Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 307) with the cuneiform (*mât*) *Ha-zu-u*,

(the land) *Hazū*; a district bordering on Northern Arabia, and mentioned in the inscriptions along with *Bāzu*, which is the Assyrian equivalent of the Biblical Buz (Gen. xxii. 21). The phonetic correspondence of the two names is complete (Heb. ô = Assyr. ū). See also Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 141. [C. J. B.]

HA'ZOR (חָצוֹר: Ἀσώρ; A. in 1 K. ix. 15, Ἀσέρ: *Asor, Hasor*). **1.** A fortified city, which on the occupation of the country was allotted to Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36). Its position was apparently between Ramah and Kedesh (ib. xii. 19), on the high ground overlooking the Lake of Merom (*ὑπέρκειται τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης*, Joseph. *Ant.* v. 5, § 1). There is no reason for supposing it a different place from that of which Jabin was king (Josh. xi. 1), both when Joshua gained his signal victory over the northern confederation, and when Deborah and Barak routed his general Sisera (Judg. iv. 2, 17; 1 Sam. xii. 9). It was the principal city of the whole of North Palestine, "the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh. xi. 10, and see *Onomasticon*, Asor). Like the other strong places of that part, it stood on an eminence (לְחֵי, Josh. xi. 13, A. V. "strength," R. V. "mounds"), but the district around must have been on the whole flat, and suitable for the manœuvres of the "very many" chariots and horses which formed part of the forces of the king of Hazor and his confederates (Josh. xi. 4, 6, 9; Judg. iv. 3). Hazor was the only one of those northern cities which was burnt by Joshua; doubtless it was too strong and important to leave standing in his rear. Whether it was rebuilt by the men of Naphtali, or by the second Jabin (Judg. iv.), we are not told, but Solomon did not overlook so important a post; and the fortification of Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, the points of defence for the entrance from Syria and Assyria, the plain of Esdraelon, and the great maritime lowland respectively, was one of the chief pretexts for his levy of taxes (1 K. ix. 15). Later still it is mentioned in the list of the towns and districts whose inhabitants were carried off to Assyria by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 29; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 11, § 1). It also not improbably occurs in Tobit i. 2, under the corrupt form of ASER. We encounter it once more in 1 Macc. xi. 67, where Jonathan, after encamping for the night at the "water of Gennesar," advances to the "plain of Asor" (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 7: the Greek text of the Maccabees has prefixed an *n* from the preceding word, *πέδιον*; E. V. Nasor) to meet Demetrius, who was in possession of Kadesh (xi. 63; Joseph. as above). [NASOR.]

The site of Hazor has not yet been certainly ascertained, but it has been proposed to identify it with:—(1) *Tell Harrah*, a prominent isolated hill, rising steeply above *'Ain el-Mellahah*, at the N. end of the great plain *Ard el-Kheit*, and 1¾ miles from Lake *Hûleh*, "waters of Merom." On the top of the hill, which is 2½ miles S.E. of Kedesh, are extensive ruins of an old town, with its enclosing wall and acropolis. Much of the masonry, undressed blocks of stone set without mortar, seems to be very old (Wilson, *PEF. Mem.* i. 238; Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 363 sq.). (2) *Tell el-Khurcibeh*, a hill at the S. end of the *Merj Kades*, 2½ miles from Kedesh, and 3½ miles from Lake *Hûleh*. The ruins on the hill consist of shapeless heaps of stones, with no trace of fortifications or large structures (Rob. iii. 364–5; Riehm, *s. v.*). (3) Conder has pointed out (*PEF. Mem.* i. 204) that the name *Hadireh*, the Arabic equivalent of Hazor, occurs in *Jebel Hadireh* and *Merj Hadireh*, 3¼ miles S.S.W. of Kedesh and 5½ miles from Lake *Hûleh*. Though *Jebel Hadireh* is close to the point at which the main road to the north crosses the deep, rocky *W. Hendâj*, it does not appear to have been occupied by a fortress, for no ruins are mentioned in connexion either with the hill or the plain. The distance from the lake is also too great if the statement of Josephus be accepted as correct.

Several places bearing names probably derived from ancient Hazors, have been discovered in this district. A list will be found in Rob. iii. 366, note (and cp. also Van de Velde, *Syria & P.* ii. 178; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 304). But none of these answer to the requirements of this Hazor.

2. (B. Ἀσοριωραίν, A. omits; *Asor.*) One of the "cities" of Judah in the extreme south, named next in order to Kedesh (Josh. xv. 23). It is mentioned nowhere else, nor has it yet been identified. The LXX. B. unites Hazor with the name following it; which causes Reland to maintain that they form but one (*Pal.* pp. 144, 708): but the LXX. text of this list is so corrupt, that it seems impossible to argue from it.

3. (LXX. omits; *Asor nova.*) Hazor-Hadattah, = "new Hazor," possibly contra-distinguished from that just mentioned; another of the southern towns of Judah (Josh. xv. 25). The words are improperly separated in the A. V. [HADATTAH.]

4. (B. Ἀσερών αὕτη Ἀσώρ, A. Ἀσερώμ κ.τ.λ.; *Aesron, haec est Asor.*) "Hezron which is Hazor" (Josh. xv. 25); but whether it be intended that it is the same Hazor as either of those named before, or that the name was originally Hazor, and had been changed to Hezron, we cannot now decide.

5. (A. Ἀσώρ, B. omits; *Asor.*) A place in which the Benjamites resided after their return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 33). From the places mentioned with it, as Anathoth, Nob, Ramah, &c., it would seem to have lain north of Jerusalem, and at no great distance therefrom. It is perhaps *Kh. Hazzûr*, E. of *Neby Samwîl* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 43, 114); or the same place with BAAL-HAZOR, though there is no positive evidence beyond the name in favour of such an identification.

6. (ἡ αὐλή; *Asor.*) In Jer. xlix. 28–33 Hazor apparently denotes a region of Arabia under several sheikhs, "kingdoms of H." (*v.* 28; cp. xxv. 24), whose desolation is predicted in connexion with Kedar. The inhabitants are described as dwelling, like the Bedawîn tribes of the present day, without gates or bars (*v.* 31; cp. Ezek. xxxviii. 11, and see HAZER, HAZERIM), from which circumstance the name is perhaps derived (Winer, *RWB.* s. v. Hazor; Riehm, *HWB.* s. v.; *Dict. of Bible*, Amer. ed., art. *Hazor* (6)).

The word is combined with Baal in BAAL-HAZOR, with Ain in EN-HAZOR. [G.] [W.]

HEAD-DRESS. The Hebrews do not appear to have regarded a covering for the head as an essential article of dress. The earliest notice we have of such a thing is in connexion with the sacerdotal vestments, and in this case it is described as an ornamental appendage "for glory and for beauty" (Ex. xxviii. 40). The absence of any allusion to a head-dress in passages where we should expect to meet with it, as in the trial of jealousy (Num. v. 18) and the regulations regarding the leper (Lev. xiii. 45), in both of which the "uncovering of the head" refers undoubtedly to the *hair*, leads to the inference that it was not ordinarily worn in the Mosaic age; and this is confirmed by the practice, frequently alluded to, of covering the head with the mantle. Even in after-times it seems to have been reserved especially for purposes of ornament: thus the *Ṣānīph* (צָנִיף) is noticed as being worn by nobles (Job xxix. 14), ladies (Is. iii. 23), and kings (Is. lxii. 3), while the *Pe'ēr* (פְּאֵר) was an article of holiday dress (Is. lxi. 3, A. V. "beauty," R. V. "garland;" Ezek. xxiv. 17, 23), and was worn at weddings (Is. lxi. 10): the use of the *μίτρα* was restricted to similar occasions (Judith xvi. 8; Bar. v. 2). The former of these terms undoubtedly describes a kind of *turban:* its primary sense (צָנַף, "to roll around") expresses the folds of linen *wound round* the head, and its form probably resembled that of the high-priest's *Miṣnēpheth* (a word derived from the same root, and identical in meaning, for in Zech. iii. 5 *Ṣānīph* = *Miṣnēpheth*), as described by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 3). The renderings of the term in the A. V., "hood" (Is. iii. 23, R. V. "turban"), A. V. and R. V. "diadem" (Job xxix. 14, R. V. marg. *turban;* Is. lxii. 3), A. V. and R. V. "mitre" (Zech. iii. 5, R. V. marg. *turban*), do not convey the right idea of its meaning. The other term, *Pe'ēr*, primarily means an *ornament*, and is so rendered in the A. V. (Is. lxi. 10; see also *v.* 3, "beauty," R. V. "garland" in both *vv.*), and is specifically applied to the head-dress from its ornamental character. It is uncertain what the term properly describes: the modern turban consists of two parts—the *Kaook*, a stiff, round cap occasionally rising to a considerable height, and the *Shash*, a long piece of muslin wound about it (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 104): Josephus' account of the high-priest's head-dress implies a similar construction; for he says that it was made of thick bands of linen doubled round many times, and sewn together; the whole covered by a piece of fine linen to conceal the seams. Saalschütz (*Archaeol.* i. 27, note) suggests that the *Ṣānīph* and the *Pe'ēr* represent the *Shash* and the *Kaook*, the latter rising high above the other, and so the more prominent and striking feature. In favour of this explanation it may be remarked that the *Pe'ēr* is more particularly connected with the *Miṣnā'āh*, the high cap of the ordinary priests, in Ex. xxxix. 28; while the *Ṣānīph*, as we have seen, resembled the high-priest's mitre, in which the cap was concealed by the linen folds. The objection, however, to this explanation is that the etymological force of *Pe'ēr* is not brought out: may not that term have applied to the jewels and other ornaments with which the turban is frequently decorated (Russell, i. 106), some of which are represented in the illustrations below taken from Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* Appendix A? The term used for putting on either the *Ṣānīph* or the *Pe'ēr* is חָבַשׁ, "to bind round" (Ex. xxix. 9; Lev. viii. 13): hence the words in Ezek. xvi. 10, "I girded thee about

Modern Syrian and Egyptian Head-dresses.

with fine linen," are to be understood of the turban; and by the use of the same term Jonah (ii. 5) represents the weeds as wrapped like a turban round his head. The turban now worn in

Modern Egyptian Head-dresses. (Lane.)

the East varies very much in shape; the most prevalent forms are shown in Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 102.

If the *Ṣānīph* and the *Pe'ēr* were reserved for holiday attire, it remains for us to inquire whether any and what covering was ordinarily worn over the head. It appears that frequently the robes supplied the place of a head-dress, being so ample that they might be thrown over the head at pleasure: the *Rādīd* and the *Tsā'iph* at all events were so used [DRESS], and the veil served a similar purpose. [VEIL.] The ordinary head-dress of the Bedouin consists of the

kiffyeh, a square handkerchief, generally of red and yellow cotton, or cotton and silk, folded so that three of the corners hang down over the back and shoulders, leaving the face exposed,

Bedouin Head-dress: the Kiffyeh.

and bound round the head by a cord (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 48). It is not improbable that a similar covering was used by the Hebrews on certain occasions: the "kerchief" in Ezek. xiii. 18 being understood by some as a kind of wrap or head-covering (see Fried. Delitzsch in Baer's ed. of Ezekiel, p. xiii.); and the *σιμικίνθιον* (Acts xix. 12, A. V. and R. V. "apron"), as explained by Suidas (*τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φόρημα*), was applicable to the purposes of a head-dress. [HANDKERCHIEF.] Neither of these cases, however, supplies positive evidence on the point, and the general absence of allusions leads to the inference that the head was usually uncovered, as is still the case in many parts of Arabia (Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 73). The introduction of the Greek hat (*πέτασος*) by Jason, as an article of dress adapted to the gymnasium, was regarded as a national dishonour (2 Macc. iv. 12): in shape and material the *Petasus* very much resembled the common felt hats of this country (*Dict. of Gk. & Rom. Ant.* art. *Pileus*).

The Assyrian head-dress is described in Ezek. xxiii. 15 under the terms סְרוּחֵי טְבוּלִים, A. V. "exceeding in dyed attire" (R. V. marg., *with dyed turbans*). The R. V. marg. is the more correct, *tebûlim* describing not the coloured material of the head-dress, but a head-band or turban (*fasciis obvolvit*, Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 542; cp. Fried. Delitzsch in Baer's ed. of Ezek. *l. c.*). The term *s'rūchē* expresses the flowing character of the Eastern head-dress, as it falls down over the back (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 308). The word rendered A. V. "hats" (R. V. marg., *turbans*) in Dan. iii. 21 (כְּרְבָּלָא) is more probably a *cloak* (R. V. "tunics"). [W. L. B.] [F.]

HEARTH. 1. אָח; *ἐσχάρα*; *arula* (Ges. p. 69), a pot or brazier for containing fire. 2. מוֹקֵד *m.* and מוֹקְדָה *f.*; *καύστρα*, *καῦσις*; *incendium* (Ges. p. 620). 3. כִּיּוֹר, or כִּיֹּר (Zech. xii. 6); *δαλός*; *caminus*; in dual, כִּיֹּרִים (Lev. xi. 35); *χυτρόποδες*; *chytropodes*; A. V. and R. V. text "ranges for pots," R. V. marg. *stewpans* (Ges. p. 672).

One way of baking much practised in the East is to place the dough on an iron plate, either laid on or supported on legs above the vessel sunk in the ground, which forms the oven. This plate or "hearth" is in Arabic طاجن, *tajen*; a word which has probably passed into Greek in *τήγανον*. The cakes baked "on the hearth" (Gen. xviii. 6, *ἐγκρυφίας*, *subcinericios panes*) were probably baked in the existing Bedouin manner, on hot stones covered with ashes. The "hearth" of king Jehoiakim's winter palace, Jer. xxxvi. 23, was possibly a pan or brazier of charcoal (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 58; P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, i. 437; Harmer, *Obs.* i. p. 477, and note; Rauwolff, *Travels*, ap. Ray, ii. 163; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 231; Niebuhr, *Desc. de l'Arabie*, p. 45; Schleusner, *Lex. Vet. Test.* *τήγανον*; Gesen. *s. v.* עֲנָה, p. 997). [FIRE.] [H. W. P.]

HEATH, A. V. and R. V. (עֲרוֹעֵר, *'ărō'ēr*, and עַרְעָר, *'ar'ār*[a]; *ἡ ἀγριομυρίκη*, *ὄνος ἄγριος*; *myrica*). The prophet Jeremiah compares the man "who maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord," to the *'ar'ār* in the desert (xvii. 6; R. V. marg. *a tamarisk* [see below]). Again, in the judgment of Moab (xlviii. 6), to her inhabitants it is said, "Flee, save your lives, and be like the *'ărō'ēr* in the wilderness," where the margin has *a naked tree*, R. V. marg. as in xvii. 6. There seems no reason to doubt Celsius' conclusion (*Hierob.* ii. 195), that the *'ar'ār* is identical with the *'ar'ar* (عرعر) of Arabic writers, which is a species of juniper. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 125–6) states that when he was in the pass of Nemela he observed juniper trees (Arab. *'ar'ar*) on the porphyry rocks above. The berries, he adds, have the appearance and taste of the common juniper, except that there is more of the aroma of the pine. "These trees were ten or fifteen feet in height, and hung upon the rocks even to the summits of the cliffs and needles." This is the *Juniperus Sabina*, L., or savin, with small scale-like leaves, which are pressed close to its gnarled stem, a gloomy-looking bush of stunted appearance, and cropped close by the wild goats, inhabiting the most sterile soil (see *English Cycl. N. Hist.* iii. 311); a character which is obviously well suited to the *naked* or *destitute* tree spoken of by the prophet. The R. V. marg. has *tamarisk* (MV.[11]), on what ground it is difficult to conceive, for the tamarisk is well known as the طرفا, *tarfa*, and not *'ar'ar*. There is no true heath in Palestine south of Lebanon. Rosenmüller's explanation of the Hebrew word, which is also adopted by Maurer, "qui destitutus versatur" (*Schol. ad Jer.* xvii. 6), is very unsatisfactory. Not to mention the *tameness* of the comparison, it is evidently contradicted by the antithesis in *v.* 8: "Cursed is he that trusteth in man . . .

[a] From the root עָרַר, "to be naked," in allusion to the *bare* nature of the rocks on which the *Juniperus Sabina* often grows. Cp. Ps. cii. 17, תְּפִלַּת הָעַרְעָר, "the prayer of the destitute" (or ill clad).

he shall be like the juniper that grows on the bare rocks of the desert. Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord . . . he shall be as a tree planted by the waters." The contrast between the shrub of the arid desert and the tree growing by the waters is very striking; but Rosenmüller's interpretation appears to us to spoil the whole. Even more unsatisfactory is Michaelis (*Supp. Lex. Heb.* p. 1971), who thinks "guinea hens" (*Numida meleagris*) are intended! Gesenius (*Thes.* pp. 1073–4) understands these two Hebrew terms to denote "parietinae, aedificia eversa" (ruins); but it is more in accordance with the scriptural passages to suppose that some tree is intended, which explanation, moreover, has the sanction of the LXX. and Vulgate, and of the modern use of a kindred Arabic word. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

HEATHEN. The Hebrew words גּוֹי, גּוֹיִם, *gōi*, *gōyīm*, together with their Greek equivalents ἔθνος, ἔθνη (see Cremer, *Bibl.-theolog. Wörterb. d. N. Tlichen Gräcität*, s. n.), have been somewhat arbitrarily rendered "nations," "Gentiles," and "heathen" in the A. V. It will be interesting to trace the manner in which a term, primarily and essentially general [including the Jews themselves] in its signification, acquired that more restricted sense which was afterwards attached to it. Its development is parallel with that of the Hebrew people, and its meaning at any period may be taken as significant of their relative position with regard to the surrounding nations.

1. While as yet the Jewish nation had no political existence, *gōyīm* denoted generally the nations of the world, especially including the immediate descendants of Abraham (Gen. xviii. 18; cp. Gal. iii. 16). The latter, as they grew in numbers and importance, were distinguished in a most marked manner from the nations by whom they were surrounded, and were provided with a code of laws and a religious ritual which made the distinction still more peculiar. They were essentially a separate people (Lev. xx. 23); separate in habits, morals, and religion, and bound to maintain their separate character by denunciations of the most terrible judgments (Lev. xxvi. 14–38; Deut. xxviii.). On their march through the desert they encountered the most obstinate resistance from Amalek, "chief of the *gōyīm*" (Num. xxiv. 20), in whose sight the deliverance from Egypt was achieved (Lev. xxvi. 45). During the conquest of Canaan and the subsequent wars of extermination, which the Israelites for several generations carried on against their enemies, the seven nations of the Canaanites—Amorites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, Perizzites, and Girgashites (Ex. xxxiv. 24), together with the remnants of them who were left to prove Israel (Josh. xxiii. 13; Judg. iii. 1; Ps. lxxviii. 55), and teach them war (Judg. iii. 2)—received the especial appellation of *gōyīm*. With these the Israelites were forbidden to associate (Josh. xxiii. 7), not in any spirit of hatred, but as a defensive measure; intermarriages were prohibited (Josh. xxiii. 12; 1 K. xi. 2); and as a warning against disobedience the fate of the nations of Canaan was kept constantly before their eyes (Lev. xviii. 24, 25; Deut. xviii 12). They are ever associated with the worship of false gods, and the foul practices of idolaters (Lev. xviii., xx.), and these constituted their chief distinctions, as *gōyīm*, from the worshippers of the one God, the people of Jehovah (Num. xv. 41; Deut. xxviii. 10). This distinction was maintained in its full force during the early times of the monarchy (2 Sam. vii. 23; 1 K. xi. 4–8, xiv. 24; Ps. cvi. 35). It was from among the *gōyīm*, the degraded tribes who submitted to their arms, that the Israelites were permitted to purchase their bond servants (Lev. xxv. 44, 45), and this special enactment seems to have had the effect of giving to a national tradition the force and sanction of a law (cp. Gen. xxxi. 15). In later times this regulation was strictly adhered to. To the words of Eccles. ii. 7, "I bought men-servants and maid-servants," the Targum adds, "of the children of Ham, and the rest of the foreign nations."

And not only were the Israelites forbidden to intermarry with these *gōyīm*, but the latter were virtually excluded from the possibility of becoming naturalised. An Ammonite or Moabite was shut out from the congregation of Jehovah even to the tenth generation (Deut. xxiii. 3), while an Edomite or Egyptian was admitted in the third (*rv.* 7, 8). The necessity of maintaining a separation so broadly marked is ever more and more manifest as we follow the Israelites through their history, and observe their constantly recurring tendency to idolatry. Offence and punishment followed each other with all the regularity of cause and effect (Judg. ii. 12, iii. 6–8, &c.). On the other hand, heathen who turned from their idolatrous and evil ways to the purer faith, were assured of God's forgiveness and of a welcome from Israelites (cp. Is. lvi. 3, 6, 7).

2. But, even in early Jewish times, the term *gōyīm* received by anticipation a significance of wider range than the national experience (Lev. xxvi. 33, 38; Deut. xxx. 1); and as the latter was gradually developed during the prosperous times of the monarchy, the *gōyīm* were the surrounding nations generally, with whom the Israelites were brought into contact by the extension of their commerce, and whose idolatrous practices they readily adopted (Ezek. xxiii. 30; Amos v. 26). Later still, it is applied to the Babylonians who took Jerusalem (Neh. v. 8; Ps. lxxix. 1, 6, 10), to the destroyers of Moab (Is. xvi. 8), and to the several nations among whom the Jews were scattered during the Captivity (Ps. cvi. 47; Jer. xlvi. 28; Lam. i. 3, &c.), the practice of idolatry still being their characteristic distinction (Is. xxxvi. 18; Jer. x. 2, 3, xiv. 22). This signification it retained after the return from Babylon, though it was used in a more limited sense as denoting the mixed race of colonists who settled in Palestine during the Captivity (Neh. v. 17), and who are described as fearing Jehovah, while serving their own gods (2 K. xvii. 29–33; Ezra vi. 21).

Tracing the synonymous term ἔθνη through the Apocryphal writings, we find that it is applied to the nations around Palestine (1 Macc. i. 11), including the Syrians and Philistines of the army of Gorgias (1 Macc. iii. 41; iv. 7, 11, 14), as well as the people of Ptolemais, Tyre and Sidon (1 Macc. v. 9, 10, 15). They were image-worshippers (1 Macc. iii. 48; Wisd. xv. 15), whose customs and fashions the Jews seem

still to have had an unconquerable propensity to imitate, but on whom they were bound by national tradition to take vengeance (1 Macc. ii. 68; 1 Esd. viii. 85). Following the customs of the *gōyīm* at this period denoted the neglect or concealment of circumcision (1 Macc. i. 15), disregard of sacrifices, profanation of the Sabbath, eating of swine's flesh and meat offered to idols (2 Macc. vi. 6–9, 18; xv. 1, 2), and adoption of the Greek national games (2 Macc. iv. 12, 14). In all points Judaism and heathenism are strongly contrasted. The "barbarous multitude" in 2 Macc. ii. 21 are opposed to those who played the man for Judaism, and the distinction now becomes an ecclesiastical one (cp. Matt. xviii. 17). In 2 Esd. iii. 33, 34, the "gentes" are defined as those "qui habitant in seculo" (cp. Matt. vi. 32; Luke xii. 30).

As the Greek influence became more extensively felt in Asia Minor, and the Greek language was generally used, Hellenism and heathenism became convertible terms, and a Greek was synonymous with a foreigner of any nation. This is singularly evident in the Syriac of 2 Macc. v. 9, 10, 13: cp. John vii. 35; 1 Cor. x. 32; 2 Macc. xi. 2.

In the N. T. again we find various shades of meaning attached to ἔθνη. In its narrowest sense it is opposed to "those of the circumcision" (Acts x. 45; cp. Esth. xiv. 15, where ἀλλοτρίος =ἀπερίτμητος), and is contrasted with Israel, the people of Jehovah (Luke ii. 32), thus representing the Hebrew גּוֹיִם at one stage of its history. But, like *gōyīm*, it also denotes the people of the earth generally (Acts xvii. 26; Gal. iii. 14). In Matt. vi. 7 ἐθνικὸς is applied to an idolater.

But, in addition to its significance as an ethnographical term, *gōyīm* had a moral sense which must not be overlooked. In Ps. ix. 5, 15, 17 (cp. Ezek. vii. 21) the word stands in parallelism with רְשָׁעִים, *rāshā'*, the wicked, as distinguished by his moral obliquity (see Hupfeld on Ps. i. 1); and in *v.* 17 the people thus designated are described as "forgetters of God," that know not Jehovah (Jer. x. 25). Again in Ps. lix. 5 it is to some extent commensurate in meaning with בֹּגְדֵי אָוֶן, *bōg'dē 'āven*, "iniquitous transgressors;" and in these passages, as well as in Ps. x. 15, it has a deeper significance than that of a merely national distinction, although the latter idea is never entirely lost sight of.

In later Jewish literature a technical definition of the word is laid down which is certainly not of universal application. Elias Levita (quoted by Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 665) explains the sing. *gōi* as denoting one who is not of Israelitish birth. This can only have reference to its after signification; in the O. T. the singular is never used of an individual, but is a collective term, applied equally to the Israelites (Josh. iii. 17) as to the nations of Canaan (Lev. xx. 23), and denotes simply a body politic. Another distinction, equally unsupported, is made between גּוֹיִם, *gōyīm*, and אֻמִּים, *'ummīm*, the former being defined as the nations who had served Israel, while the latter were those who had not (*Jalkut Chadash*, fol. 20, No. 20; Eisenmenger, i. 667). Abarbanel on Joel iii. 2 applies the former to both Christians and Turks, or Ishmaelites, while in *Sepher Juchasin* (fol. 148, col. 2) the Christians alone are distinguished by this appellation. Eisenmenger gives some curious examples of the disabilities under which a *gōi* laboured. One who kept sabbaths was judged deserving of death (ii. 266), and the study of the law was prohibited to him under the same penalty; but on the latter point the doctors are at issue (ii. 209). On the other hand, the Talmud has many beautiful passages recognising the virtues and rights of the heathen, and inspired by the same tenderness as that of Isaiah lvi. (see Hamburger, *RE.* s. v. "Heiden"). [W. A. W.] [F.]

HEAVEN. There are four Hebrew words thus rendered in the O. T., which we may briefly notice. 1. רָקִיעַ (στερέωμα; *firmamentum*; Luth. *Veste*), a solid expanse, from רָקַע "to beat out"; a word used primarily of the hammering out of metal (Ex. xxxix. 3; Num. xvi. 38). The fuller expression is רְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם (Gen. i. 14 sq.). That Moses understood it to mean a *solid* expanse is clear from his representing it as the barrier between the upper and lower waters (Gen. i. 6 sq.), *i.e.* as separating the reservoir of the celestial ocean (Ps. civ. 3, xxix. 3) from the waters of the earth, or those on which the earth was supposed to float (Ps. cxxxvi. 6). Through its open lattices (אֲרֻבּוֹת, Gen. vii. 11; 2 K. vii. 2, 19; cp. κόσκινον, Aristoph. *Nub.* 373) or doors (דְּלָתַיִם, Ps. lxxviii. 23) the dew and snow and hail are poured upon the earth (Job xxxviii. 22, 37, where we have the curious expression "bottles of heaven," *utres coeli*). This firm vault, which Job describes as being "strong as a molten looking-glass" (xxxvii. 18), is transparent, like pellucid sapphire, and splendid as crystal (Dan. xii. 3; Ex. xxiv. 10; Ezek. i. 22; Rev. iv. 6), upon which rests the throne of God (Is. lxvi. 1; Ezek. i. 26), and which is opened for the descent of Angels, or for prophetic visions (Gen. xxviii. 17; Ezek. i. 1; Acts vii. 56, x. 11). In it, like gems or golden lamps, the stars are fixed to give light to the earth, and regulate the seasons (Gen. i. 14–19); and the whole magnificent, immeasurable structure (Jer. xxxi. 37) is supported by the mountains as its pillars, or strong foundations (Ps. xviii. 7; 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Job xxiv. 11). Similarly the Greeks believed in an οὐρανὸς πολύχαλκος (Hom. *Il.* v. 504), or σιδήρεος (Hom. *Od.* xv. 328), or ἀδάμαστος (Orph. *Hymn. ad Coelum*), which the philosophers called στερέμνιον, or κρυσταλλοειδές (Emped. *ap.* Plut. *de Phil. plac.* ii. 11; Artemid. *ap.* Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 13; quoted by Gesenius, *s. v.*). It is clear that very many of the above notions were mere metaphors resulting from the simple primitive conception, and that later writers among the Hebrews had arrived at more scientific views, although of course they retained much of the old phraseology, and are fluctuating and undecided in their terms. Elsewhere, for instance, the heavens are likened to a curtain (Ps. civ. 2; Is. xl. 22). In A. V. "heaven" and "heavens" are used to render not only רָקִיעַ, but also מָרוֹם, שְׁחָקִים, and שָׁמַיִם, for which reason we have thrown together under the former word

the chief features ascribed by the Jewish writers to this portion of the universe.

2. שָׁמַיִם (Ch. שְׁמַיִן) is derived from שָׁמָה, "to be high." This is the word used in the expression "the heaven and the earth," or "the upper and lower regions" (Gen. i. 1), which was a periphrasis to supply the want of a single word for the Cosmos (Deut. xxxii. 1; Is. i. 2; Ps. cxlviii. 13). "Heaven of heavens" is the Hebrew expression for infinity (Neh. ix. 6; Ecclus. xvi. 18).

3. מָרוֹם, used for "heaven" in Ps. xviii. 16; Jer. xxv. 30; Is. xxiv. 18 (A. V. "on high"). Properly speaking, it means a mountain, as in Ps. cii. 19, Ezek. xvii. 23. It must not, however, be supposed for a moment that the Hebrews had any notion of a "Mountain of Meeting," like *Albordsh*, the northern hill of Babylonish mythology (Is. xiv. 13), or the Greek *Olympus*, or the Hindoo *Meru*, the Chinese *Kuenlun*, or the Arabian *Caf* (see Kalisch, *Gen.* p. 24, and the authorities there quoted), since such a fancy is incompatible with the pure monotheism of the Old Testament.

4. שְׁחָקִים, "expanses," with reference to the *extent* of heaven, as the last two words were derived from its *height*; hence this word is often used together with שָׁמַיִם, as in Deut. xxxiii. 26; Job xxxv. 5. In the A. V. it is sometimes rendered "clouds," for which the fuller term is עָבֵי שְׁחָקִים (Ps. xviii. 12). The word שָׁחַק means first "to pound," and then "to wear out." So that, according to some, "clouds" (from the notion of *dust*) is the *original* meaning of the word. Gesenius, however, rejects this opinion (*Thesaur.* s. v.; see MV.[11]).

In one passage גַּלְגַּל is rendered "heaven" (Ps. lxxvii. 18), but the word means "a wheel," as it is everywhere else translated. The verse should be rendered "The voice of thy thunder was in the rolling," or "in the whirlwind" (R. V.; *in Wirbel*, Ewald, and so too Gesenius, Hitzig, &c.). Kimchi, however, understands it of the *globe* or *sphere* of heaven, and he is followed by Luther and the A. V. Some have compared it to *προχὸς τῆς γενέσεως* (Jas. iii. 6), which has no connexion with it.

In Ps. lxviii. 4 עֲרָבָה is rendered "heavens," but the meaning is "Him Who rideth through *the deserts*" (R. V.). The Targum and Talmud were here probably led astray by the analogy of Deut. xxxiii. 26. The LXX. and the Vulg. erroneously render it "the West" (Perowne *on the Psalms*, in loco).

In Is. v. 30 עֲרִיפִים is rendered "heavens." The R. V. renders it "clouds," and the marg. gives *destructions*. The Hebrew text is here doubtful.

In the N. T. we frequently have the word *οὐρανοί*, which some consider to be a Hebraism, or a plural of excellence (Schleusner, *Lex. Nov. Test.* s. v.). St. Paul's expression *ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ* (2 Cor. xii. 2) has led to much conjecture. Grotius said that the Jews divided the heaven into three parts: viz. 1. Nubiferum, the air or atmosphere, where clouds gather; 2. Astriferum, the firmament, in which the sun, moon, and stars are fixed; 3. Empyreum, or Angeliferum, the upper heaven, the abode of God and His Angels, *i.e.* 1. עוֹלָם שְׁפַל (or רָקִיעַ); 2. עוֹלָם הַתִּיכוֹת (or שָׁמַיִם); and 3. עוֹלָם הָעֶלְיוֹן (or "heaven of heavens," שְׁמֵי שְׁמַיִם). This curiously explicit statement is entirely unsupported by Rabbinic authority, but it is hardly fair of Meyer to call it a *fiction*, for it may be supposed to rest on some vague Biblical evidence (cp. Dan. iv. 12, "the fowls of the heaven;" Gen. xxii. 17, "the stars of the heaven;" Ps. ii. 4, "He that sitteth in the heavens," &c.). The Rabbis spoke of two heavens (cp. Deut. x. 14, "the heaven and the heaven of heavens"), or seven (*ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς οὕς τινες ἀριθμοῦσι κατ' ἐπανάβασιν*, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 7, 636). "Resch Lakisch dixit septem esse coelos, quorum nomina sunt, 1. velum; 2. expansum; 3. nubes; 4. habitaculum; 5. habitatio; 6. sedes fixa; 7. Araboth," or sometimes "the treasury." At the sin of Adam, God ascended into the first; at the sin of Cain, into the second; during the generation of Enoch, into the third, &c.; afterwards God descended downwards into the sixth at the time of Abraham, into the fifth during the life of Isaac, and so on down to the time of Moses, when He redescended into the first (see many passages quoted by Wetstein, *ad* 2 Cor. xii. 2). Of all these definitions and deductions we may remark simply with Origen, *ἑπτὰ δὲ οὐρανοὺς ἢ ὅλως περιωρισμένον ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν αἱ φερόμεναι ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλουσι γραφαί* (*c. Cels.* vi. 289).

If nothing has here been said on the secondary senses attached to the word "heaven," the omission is intentional. The object of this article is not practical, but exegetical; not theological, but critical and explanatory. A treatise on the nature and conditions of future beatitude would here be wholly out of place. We may however remark that as heaven was used metaphorically to signify the abode of Jehovah, it is constantly employed in the N. T. to signify the abode of the spirits of the just, and is described by symbols suggestive of light, and love, and peace (see for example Matt. v. 12, vi. 20; Luke x. 20, xii. 33; 2 Cor. v. 1; Col. i. 5). [F. W. F.]

HEAVE-OFFERING. [SACRIFICE.]

HE'BER (חֶבֶר, once חֵבֶר; Χόβωρ, Χάβερ, Ἀβαρ[a]; *Haber, Heber*), a name wholly distinct from EBER (עֵבֶר; Ἔβερ; *Heber*) and its cognate HEBREW [EBER; HEBREW].

Heber occurs in the O. T. as the name of the following individuals and houses:—

1. A grandson of Asher, and founder of a leading house or clan of that tribe (Gen. xlvi. 17; Num. xxvi. 45), whose line is perhaps

[a] So 1 Ch. viii. 17, with a softer pronunciation of the initial guttural. In 1 Ch. iv. 18, the name appears as Ἀβειά (B.), but Ἄβερ (A.). In 1 Ch. v. 13, the reading is corrupt; and in 1 Ch. viii. 22, the LXX. seems to have read עֵבֶר, Obed. The Vulgate transcribes both Heber and Eber by *Heber*, except in Judg. v. 11, 17, 21; v. 24, where it has *Haber*. Hence the Heber of Luke iii. 35, A. V.; corrected to Eber, R. V.

carried down to the fifth or sixth generation in 1 Ch. vii. 32–39 (see notes on this passage in Bp. Ellicott's *Commentary*).

2. A Judahan chief, son of Mered and his Jewish as distinct from his Egyptian wife, grandson of an otherwise unknown Ezra, and "father" or founder of Socho (1 Ch. iv. 18). [SOCHO.]

3. The head of a Gadite house or clan, settled in the Bashan (1 Ch. v. 13).

4. An offshoot or subdivision of the Benjaminite clan of Elpaal (1 Ch. ix. 17).

5. A subdivision of the Benjaminite clan of Shashak (1 Ch. ix. 22).

6. The Kenite, the husband of Jael, the heroine of the Song of Deborah (Judg. v. 24 sq.). Heber was the head of a Kenite clan, belonging to that branch of this interesting people which claimed descent from Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses (Num. x. 29), and was settled in the extreme south of Canaan (Judg. i. 16). [KENITES.] He and his clan had migrated to the north, and were encamped in the neighbourhood of Kedesh at the time of his wife's famous exploit (Judg. iv. 11, 17). [JAEL.] [C. J. B.]

HEBERITES, THE (הַחֶבְרִי; B. *δ Χοβερεί*, AF. -ι (*v.* 29); *Heberitae*), descendants of Heber, a branch of the tribe of Asher.

HEBREW, HEBREWS (עִבְרִי, עִבְרִיָּה, עִבְרִית, עִבְרִים; *Ἑβραῖος*, *Ἑβραϊκός*; *Hebraeus*, *Hebraei*, *Hebraïcus*). In modern usage, "Hebrews" is a synonym of "Jews" or "Israelites" (cp. Shakespeare's "an Ebrewe Jew"), and Hebrew is the common designation of their ancient language. In the O. T., the term is not used at all in the latter sense. The sacred tongue is either "the lip (= speech) of Canaan" (Is. xix. 18), a fact which indicates what is otherwise known from Phoenician inscriptions—the close dialectical affinity of the language of Israel with that of Tyre and Sidon; or "Jewish," a later appellation, dating from the time when the southern kingdom had become the sole surviving representative of the nation (2 K. xviii. 26; Neh. xiii. 24). At a still later period, when an Aramaic dialect had displaced the old language of Judaea, the new vernacular was called "Hebrew;" so that we find Aramaic forms like Bethesda, Gabbatha, Golgotha, styled Hebrew in the N. T. (John v. 2; xix. 13, 17).[a]

In this connexion we may note that the Greek *Ἑβραῖος*, whence the Latin *Hebraeus* and our "Hebrew," was directly derived, not from the old and strictly Hebrew term עִבְרִי, *'Ibrī*, but from the Aramaic עִבְרָאִי, *'Ibray*; עִבְרָיָא, *'Ebrāyā*.

As a national name, the term "Hebrew" (*'Ibrī*) first appears in a very ancient historical fragment preserved in the Book of Genesis, where we read of "Abram the Hebrew" (Gen. xiv. 13).[b] According to analogy, this expression can only refer to Abram's tribal or national extraction; that is, to his descent from עֵבֶר, *'Eber* [EBER]. The Patriarch is called a Hebrew, or rather an Ibrite, to distinguish him from his Amorite (Canaanite) allies. Whether Eber was ever a strictly personal[c] or always a tribal designation, is perhaps immaterial for present purposes. It seems enough to note that Shem is called, in the older source of Genesis (J), "the father of all the *benē 'Eber*" (Gen. x. 21), and that *benē 'Eber* is as evidently a national designation as *benē Lōt* (Ps. lxxxiii. 8), or *benē Qèdem* (Job i. 3), or *benē Yisrā'ēl*. But if we ask what tribes or peoples were included under this designation, we find that it is a name of the widest reference, including, according to the same source (the Jahvist), Joktan and his numerous sons (that is, the tribes of W. and S. Arabia, and probably the eastern shore of the Red Sea; Gen. x. 25–30), as well as all the peoples which, like Ishmael, Edom, and Israel, claimed descent from Abram the Ibrite. Further, if Peleg (Gen. x. 25) denotes an Aramean stock or country, as it appears to do from the ethnographic genealogy given in what is probably a later source (the Priestly Legislation, Gen. xi. 17 sqq., P), the *benē 'Eber* included Aramean peoples beyond the Euphrates (Serug, Nahor). With this may perhaps be compared the obscure passage, Num. xxiv. 24, where Asshur and Eber stand side by side. Another passage of the Jahvist so far agrees with it, in that Qemuel the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, is there called "the father of Aram," *i.e.* of the Aramean peoples (Gen. xxii. 20 sq.).[d]

No positive results follow from the comparison of עֵבֶר, 'Eber, the proper name (Gen. x. 21), with its homophone עֵבֶר, which, as a noun, means "the country on the other side," usually of a river, *τὸ πέραν*, *ἡ Περαία*, whether the Euphrates (עבר הנהר, Is. vii. 20) or the Jordan (עבר הירדן, Gen. l. 10, 11, and often). It is obvious that the use of such an expression must be relative to the position of the person

[a] The psalms which were the war-songs of Judas Maccabeus were, doubtless, some of those comprised in the canonical collection (2 Macc. xii. 37). And an official revival of Hebrew is attested by the coins of the period. On the other hand, the words reported to have been spoken by our Lord on certain solemn occasions, e.g. *Talitha kumi* (Mark v. 41), are Aramaic; and it seems probable that the "Hebrew" in which St. Paul addressed the Jews (Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2) was Palestinian Aramaic. As distinguished from this language, the true Hebrew came to be known as "the sacred tongue" (לשון הקדש).

[b] The value of this narrative, as a whole, has of late years received independent confirmation from cuneiform research. See Schrader, *KAT.*[2] ad loc.

[c] Some may think it a personal name in 1 Ch. v. 13, viii. 12, 22; Neh. xii. 20.

[d] According to P, Aram is a son of Shem, and brother of Arphaxad the grandfather of Eber (Gen. x. 22–24). In the same list Eber is grandson of Arphaxad (*vv.* 13, 14). Ewald interpreted this to mean that the Hebrew peoples had a tradition that their original home was in Arrapachitis (Ptolemy, vi. 1), N. of Assyria. Without assuming the identity of this name with Ur-Casdim (so Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, i. 114, note), which the progress of cuneiform discovery has shown to be wrong, we may still hold, with these great scholars, that other names in the list, *e.g.* Serug, Nahor, Haran, mark stages in the progress of the Hebrew migrations from the north-east to the south and south-west. Ewald sees in Abraham's departure from Ur of the Chaldees [UR], and in Jacob's from Charran, "only continuations of the migratory movements of this primitive people" (*Hist. Isr.*, pp. 268 sq., 284–287, Eng. Tr.).

who uses it. Accordingly, in the passages just cited it denotes the country east of the rivers; but in Num. xxxii. 19, 1 K. iv. 24, it designates their western sides. Yet many, following the Jewish interpreters (Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*; Rashi),[a] have supposed that Abram was originally called "the Hebrew" (Ibrite) by the Canaanites, because he came as an immigrant into their country from the other side (*'éber*) of the Great River. They support their opinion by the assertion that Hebrews continued to be the name by which Abram's descendants the Israelites were known to foreigners, while Israel or benē Israel was the title they preferred among themselves. But it does not appear that Abraham's tribe was the first or the only one that crossed the Euphrates and wandered into Syria-Palestine (see note [d]). Similar movements of nomadic tribes must have often occurred in antiquity. Nor can the supposed distinction be established from the usage of the O. T., where foreigners often speak of "Israel." Besides, if throughout the O. T. period the benē Israel were known to foreigners as Hebrews, it would be strange that no trace of this name should be found in the contemporary records of Egypt and Assyria. This, however, is actually the case.[b]

The simple truth is that Israel or benē Israel was the collective name of the people whose gentilic designation was Hebrews or Ibrites.

The term Israelite (ישראלי, fem. ישראלית) is of late origin, and occurs only in a single passage (Lev. xxiv. 10, 11).[c] [C. J. B.]

HEBREW LANGUAGE [see SHEMITIC LANGUAGES].

HEBREWESS (עִבְרִיָּה; Ἑβραία; *Hebraea*). A Hebrew woman (Jer. xxxiv. 9).

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[a] The LXX. renders הָעִבְרִי by ὁ περατής, as if the word were to be pointed הֶעָבְרִי; cp. 1 Sam. xiii. 7, *Sept.* Aquila corrects into ὁ περαίτης, "the man from the other side," a term used by Josephus for a Peraean (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 4).

[b] The *Aperiu*, *Apuriu*, *Apura*, or *Aper*, of the Egyptian monuments, a people famous for horse-breeding and horsemanship, who were still settled in the nome of Heliopolis long after the Exodus, are no longer supposed to have anything to do with the Hebrews (Ebers, *Aegypten*, i. 316; Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Eng. Tr. by M. Brodrick, pp. 318 sq.). Nor has any trace of the name Hebrews been found in cuneiform documents. The northern kingdom was the Land or House of Chumri or Chumria, the southern the Land of Yaûdu or Yaûdi, to the Assyrian invaders of Israel and Judah. Tiglath-Pileser II. calls Ahaz Yaûdâi, a Jew; and so Hezekiah is styled Sennacherib. It is very doubtful whether Achabbu mât Sir'ilâi, "Ahab the Sir'ilite," mentioned by Shalmaneser II., is to be identified with Ahab of Israel. We might transcribe *Su'ulâi*, as well as *Sir'ilâi*. On the other hand, Israel occurs on the Moabite stone (9th cent. B.C.), as was only to be expected, in the case of an inscription belonging to a kindred people close at hand, and speaking the same language.

[c] Cruden gives sixteen references for *Israelite*, *Israelites*, and two for *Israelitish*, in the O. T. In 2 Sam. xvii. 25 the true reading is Ishmaelite, as corrected by the Chronicler (1 Ch. ii. 17). In all the other passages the Hebrew term is Israel, except Lev. *l. c.*

HEBREWS, THE EPISTLE TO. The following points will be noticed in succession:—

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I. TEXT.—The original authorities for determining the text of the Epistle are, as in the case of the other Books of the New Testament, numerous and varied. There are, however, from the circumstances of the history of the Epistle, comparatively few quotations from it, and these within a narrow range, during the first three centuries.

The Epistle is contained in whole or in part in the following sources:—

i. *Manuscripts.*—The entire Epistle is preserved in the *Primary Uncials*, ℵ, A, D_2; in the *Secondary Uncials*, K_2, P_2; and in nearly three hundred *cursive* MSS., which are known more or less completely. The Vatican MS. (B) is defective after ix. 14, καθα[ριεῖ]; and L_2 after xiii. 10, ἐκ ἔχουσιν. More or less considerable fragments of the Epistle are found in C, H_2, M_2, N_2, and in two MSS. described by Dr. C. R. Gregory, ψ (nearly complete) and ב.

The Epistle is not contained in the Graeco-Latin MSS. F_2, G_2. The Greek archetype of these MSS. was mutilated before either of them was written.

ii. *Versions.*—There are two distinct *Latin* texts of the Epistle: the *Old Latin*, represented by *d* (the Latin version of D_2), of which *e* is a copy with a few corrections; and the *Vulgate Latin*. The Old Latin text is singularly corrupt; and the Vulgate seems not to have been made by the author of the translation of the Epistles of St. Paul. The Epistle is also contained in the two *Syriac* Versions, the *Peshitto* and the *Harclean*; and the missing portion of the latter Version, which is found in the Cambridge MS., has recently been published by Prof. Bensly (1889). The Peshitto text is supposed to be the work of a distinct translator (Wichelhaus, *De Vers. Simp.* p. 86). Of the three *Egyptian* Versions of the Epistle, the *Memphitic* (Coptic) is complete; of the *Thebaic* (Sahidic) and the *Bashmuric*, which was derived from the Thebaic, only fragments remain.

The Epistle is found entire in the later Versions, *Armenian*, *Aethiopic*, *Slavonic*; but it appears not to have been included in the Gothic (Bernhardt, *Vulfila*, &c., s. xxiv.).

The text of the Epistle is on the whole well preserved, but there are some passages in which it is not unlikely that primitive errors have passed into all our existing copies: *e.g.* iv. 2; xi. 4, 37; xii. 11; xiii. 21; see also x. 1. Some primitive errors have been corrected in later MSS.: vii. 1; xi. 35.

The following passages offer variations of considerable interest, and serve as instructive exercises on the principles of textual criticism:

i. 2, 8; ii. 9; iv. 2; vi. 2, 3; ix. 11; x. 34; xi. 13; xii. 7.

The general contrast between the early and later texts is well seen by an examination of the readings in i. 2, 3, 12; ii. 1, 14; iii. 1, 9; v. 4; vi. 10; vii. 11, 16; viii. 4, 11; ix. 1, 9, 10; xi. 3, 13; xii. 15, 18, 20; xiii. 9.

II. TITLE.—In the oldest MSS. (BNA: C is defective, but it has the subscription ΠΡΟC ЄΒΡΑΙΟΥC) the title of the Epistle, like that of the other Epistles to Churches, is simply ΠΡΟC ЄΒΡΑΙΟΥC, "to Hebrews." There is no title or colophon to the Epistle in D_2, but it has a running heading ΠΡΟC ЄΒΡΑΙΟΥC. The Egyptian Versions have the same simple title, *To the Hebrews*. This inscription was gradually enlarged. Later Greek MSS. give *Παύλου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἑβραίους*, as in the Epistle to the Romans &c. (P_2), and, at greater length, *τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ πανευφήμου ἀποστόλου Παύλου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἑβραίους* (L_2). Sometimes historical statements are inwoven in the title: *ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας διὰ Τιμοθέου ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴ ἐκτεθεῖσα ὡς ἐν πίνακι* (M_2); *Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἑβραίοις τάδε συγγενέσιν* (f. Scr.).

The title forms no part of the original document; but it must have been given to the Book at a very early date, when it first passed into public use as part of a collection of apostolic letters. And it was rightly given in regard to the permanent relation which the Book occupies towards the whole message of the Gospel. For, while the treatment of the subjects with which it deals and the subjects themselves are of universal interest, the discussion is directed by special circumstances. The arguments and reflections in their whole form and spirit, even more than in special details, are addressed to "Hebrews,"—men, that is, whose hearts were filled with the thoughts, the hopes, the consolations, of the Old Covenant, such perhaps as, under another aspect, are described as *οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς* (Acts x. 45, xi. 21; Gal. ii. 12; Col. iv. 11; Tit. i. 10).

Tertullian has preserved an interesting notice of another name, which was given to the Epistle in North Africa, and which apparently dates from a time earlier than the formation of the collection of Apostolic Epistles. He quotes it definitely as *Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos (de Pudic.* 20); and the number of *στίχοι* assigned to *the Epistle of Barnabas* which is included in the African (Latin) Stichometry contained in the *Cod. Clarom.* (D_2) proves beyond reasonable doubt that the Epistle to the Hebrews is there described by that name. There is not, however, the least evidence that this Epistle was ever called "the Epistle to the Laodicenes" (not in Philastr. *Haer.* 29 or *Cod. Boern.* G_2), or "the Epistle to the Alexandrines" (*Can. Murat.*: "fertur etiam ad Laudicenses [epistola], alia ad Alexandrinos Pauli nomine finctae ad haeresem Marcionis, et alia plura quae in Catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest"), although it might be described as "directed to meet (*πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν*) the teaching of Marcion" (cp. *Hist. of N. T. Canon*, p. 537).

Wherever the nature of the Book is defined by early writers it is called an "Epistle." The description is substantially correct, though the construction of the writing is irregular. It opens without any address or salutation (cp. 1 John i. 1), but it closes with salutations (xiii. 24 sq.). There are indeed personal references throughout, and in the course of the Book there is a gradual transition from the form of an "essay" to that of a "letter": ii. 1; iii. 1, 12; iv. 1, 14; v. 11; vi. 9; x. 19; xiii. 7, 22 sq.

The writer himself characterises his composition as *λόγος παρακλήσεως* (xiii. 22); and the verb which he uses of his communication (*διὰ βραχέων ἐπέστειλα, l. c.*), while it does not necessarily describe a letter, yet presupposes a direct personal address, though personal relationships are kept in the background till the end.

III. POSITION.—The places occupied by the Epistle in different authorities indicate the variety of opinions which were entertained in early times as to its authorship.

In the oldest Greek MSS. (NABC) it comes immediately before the Pastoral Epistles following 2 Thess.; and this is the position which it generally occupies in MSS. of the Memphitic Version (Woide, *App. Cod. Alex. N. T.* p. 19; Lightfoot *ap.* Scrivener, *Introd.* pp. 386 sq., 390). This order is followed also by many later MSS. (H_2P_2 17, &c.), and by many Greek Fathers.

In *Cod. Vat.* (B) there is important evidence that it occupied a different position in an early collection of Pauline Epistles. In this MS. there is a marginal numeration which shows that the whole collection of Pauline Epistles was divided, either in its archetype or in some earlier copy, into a series of sections numbered consecutively. In this collection the Epistle to the Hebrews came between the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Ephesians.

This arrangement preserved by B approximates to that of the Thebaic and Bashmuric Versions, in which the Epistle comes between 2 Corinthians and Galatians (Zoega, *Cat. Codd. in Mus. Borg.* pp. 186, 140; cp. Lightfoot *ap.* Scrivener, *l. c.* pp. 339, 404). Cassiodorus (*Instit.* 14) gives another arrangement of the same type, placing the Epistle between Colossians and 1 Thessalonians.

In the Syriac Versions the Epistle comes after the Pastoral Epistles and Philemon; and this order, which was followed in the mass of later Greek MSS. (K_2 L_2, &c.), probably under Syrian influence, has passed into the "Received text." Cp. Epiph. *Haer.* xlii. p. 373.

The same order is found in Latin MSS. For in the West the Epistle did not originally form part of the collection of the writings of St. Paul; and other clear traces remain of the absence of the Book from the apostolic collection. Thus in *Cod. Clarom.* D_2 the Epistle appears as an appendix to the Pauline Epistles, being separated from the Epistle to Philemon by the Stichometry. The archetype of this MS., and the original text from which the Gothic Version was made, evidently contained only thirteen Epistles of St. Paul.

Thus at the earliest date at which we find a collection of St. Paul's Epistles in circulation in the Church, the Epistle to the Hebrews was by some definitely included in his writings, occupying a place either among or at the close of the Epistles to Churches: by others it was treated as an appendix to them, being set after the

private letters: with others, again, it found no place at all among the apostolic writings.

IV. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—The earliest direct notice of the Epistle, quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 14) from Clement of Alexandria, states that it "was written (by Paul) to Hebrews in the Hebrew language (*i.e.* the Aramaic dialect current in Palestine at the time, Acts xxii. 2) and translated (into Greek) by Luke." This statement was repeated from Eusebius (and Jerome who depended on him), as it appears, and not from Clement himself, by a series of later writers both in the East and West (Theodoret, Euthalius, John of Damascus, Œcumenius, Theophylact, Primasius, Rabanus Maurus, Thomas Aquinas: see Bleek, p. 8 sq.; Credner, *Einl.* p. 533), but there is not the least trace of any independent evidence in favour of the tradition, nor is it said that any one had ever seen the original Hebrew document. The unsupported statement of Clement, which Origen discredits by his silence, is thus the whole historical foundation for the belief that the Epistle was written in "Hebrew." The opinion however, which was incorporated in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, became universally current in the West in the Middle Ages; and it was maintained by one or two scholars in the last century (J. Hallet, J. D. Michaelis). Lately it has again found a vigorous advocate in J. H. R. Biesenthal (*Das Trostschreiben d. Ap. Paulus an d. Hebräer*, 1878; cp. Panek, *Comm. in Ep. Prolegg.* § 2, 1882), who thinks that the Epistle was written in "the dialect of the Mishna, the language of the schools" in the Apostolic age, into which he has again rendered the Greek.

Not to dwell on the insufficiency of the statement of Clement, in the absence of all collateral external testimony, to justify the belief that the Epistle was written in Hebrew, internal evidence appears to establish absolutely beyond question that the Greek text is original and not a translation from any form of Aramaic. The vocabulary, the style, the rhetorical characteristics of the work, all lead to the same conclusion. It is (for example) impossible to imagine any Aramaic phrase which could have suggested to a translator the opening clause of the Epistle, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως; and similar difficulties offer themselves throughout the Book in the free and masterly use of compound words which have no Aramaic equivalents (*e.g.* μετριοπαθεῖν, v. 2; εὐπερίστατος, xii. 1). The structure of the periods is bold and complicated, and the arrangement of the words is often singularly expressive (*e.g.* ii. 9). Paronomasias (*e.g.* i. 1; ii. 10; v. 8; vii. 23 sq.; ix. 28; x. 34, 38 sq.) are at least more likely to have been due to the writer than to have been introduced or imitated by a translator. But on the other hand stress must not be laid on a (falsely) assumed change in the meaning of διαθήκη in ix. 15 sq., or the obviously fortuitous hexameter in the common text of xii. 13.

A still more decisive proof that the Greek text is original lies in the fact that the quotations from the O. T. are all (except x. 30 ‖ Deut. xxxii. 35) taken from the LXX., even when the LXX. differs from the Hebrew (*e.g.* ii. 7, παρ' ἀγγέλους; x. 38, καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται; xii. 5 sq. μαστιγοῖ). And arguments are based on peculiarities of the LXX., so that the quotations cannot have been first introduced in the translation from Aramaic to Greek (*e.g.* x. 5 sq., σῶμα κατηρτίσω; xii. 26 sq., ἅπαξ).

V. DESTINATION.—The letter is described in all existing copies as addressed "to Hebrews"; and Tertullian, who assigned the authorship to Barnabas, gave it the same destination (*de Pudic.* 20, "Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos"). There is, as has been already seen (§ III.), no evidence that it ever bore any other address.

In itself the title "Hebrew" is not local but national. It describes a quality of race and not of dwelling. But the Book itself enables us to define more exactly the circumstances and character of those to whom it was written.

There is no trace of any admixture of heathen converts among them; nor does the letter touch on any of the topics of heathen controversy (not xiii. 9). It is therefore scarcely possible that it could have been written to a mixed Church generally, or to the Jewish section of a mixed Church. In either case allusions to the relations of Jew and Gentile could scarcely have been avoided.

They were a small body (v. 12), and they were addressed separately from "their leaders" (xiii. 24). At the same time they were in a position to be generous, and for this trait they were and had been distinguished (vi. 10).

Their special trials came through disappointment of their first expectations. They had failed to grow under the discipline of experience, and so had degenerated: v. 11 sq. (νωθροὶ γεγόνατε); vi. 1; x. 25.

The widening breach between the Church and the Synagogue rendered it necessary at last to make choice between them, and "the Hebrews" were in danger of apostasy: ii. 1, 3; iii. 6, 12 sq.; iv. 1, 3, 11; vi. 6; x. 25, 29, 39. They had need therefore of effort and patience: iv. 14; vi. 11 sq.; x. 23, 36; xii. 1, 3 sq., 12 sq.

In earlier days they had borne reproach and hardships: x. 32 sq.; still they "had not yet resisted unto blood": xii. 3 sq.; though some at least "in bonds" claimed their sympathy and help: xiii. 3; and perhaps their former "leaders" had suffered even to martyrdom (xiii. 7).

From these individual traits it is clear that the letter is addressed to a definite Society and not to "Hebrew" Christians generally. This is proved yet more directly by the fact that the writer hoped to visit them (xiii. 23), as he had been with them before (xiii. 19). At the same time, though he spoke of them as "brethren" (iii. 1) and "beloved" (vi. 1), he does not speak of them as "children" (τέκνα).

The living portraiture of the character and position of this definite and marked Society will repay careful study (v. 11 sq.; vi. 9 sq.; x. 32 sq.; xii. 3 sq.); and whatever obscurity may hang over its local position, its spiritual features stand out with vivid clearness. We have in the Epistle to the Hebrews a picture of early Christian life such as is drawn in detail nowhere else (cp. 3 John), and which still, as we must see, represents a necessary phase in the growth of the Church. The first enthusiasm and the first hope had passed away. Believers began to reckon loss and gain. Some were inclined to overrate the loss; and we learn elsewhere that dark clouds hung over the close of the Apostolic age. Cp. 2 Tim. i. 15; Apoc. ii., iii.; 2 Pet. iii. 1 sq.; 1 John ii. 18 sq.

We might have expected it to be otherwise, and we do in fact unconsciously clothe the first centuries in light. But in this Letter the reality of imperfection meets us; and in the very sadness of the portraiture we feel with fresh force that Christianity is historical, entering into life, and subject to the common influences of life.

The phase of feeling traced in the Epistle has been spoken of as a necessary one in the development of Christian life. It is not difficult to see how this was so. Those who suffered in the trial were Jews; and the narrative of the Acts shows plainly with what loyal devotion the first believers from among the Jews observed the Law. Even at a later date St. Paul before the Sanhedrin claimed to be a true Jew. For a time this fellowship of the Church and Synagogue was allowed on both sides (*cp.* Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23). Little by little the growth of the Gentile element in the Church excited the active hostility of the Jews against the whole body of Christians, as it troubled the Jewish converts themselves. This hostility could not fail to be intensified in Palestine by the spread of aggressive nationalism there shortly before the outbreak of the Jewish war (*cp.* Jos. *de B. J.* ii. 23, 29 sq.; iv. 11 sq.); and it is not unlikely that the solemn cursing of the heretics (*Minîm*) in the Synagogues, which became an established custom after the fall of Jerusalem (Weber, *Altsynag. Theol.* 147 sq.), may have begun from that time (*cp.* Just. M., *Dial.* 16, and Otto's note; Epiph. *Haer.* xxix. 9, i. p. 124).

Meanwhile the Jewish converts had had ample time for realising the true relations of Christianity and Judaism. Devotion to Levitical ritual was no longer innocent, if it obscured the characteristic teaching of the Gospel. The position which rightly belonged to young and immature Christians was unsuited to those who ought to have reached the fulness of truth (v. 11 sq.). Men who won praise for their faith and constancy at the beginning of a generation, which was emphatically a period of transition, might well deserve blame and stand in peril of apostasy, if at the end of it they simply remained where they had been at first. While as yet the national unbelief of the Jews was undeclared, it was not possible to foresee that the coming of Christ would bring the overthrow of the old order. The approaching catastrophe is not realised in the earlier Apostolic writings. In the Epistle to the Hebrews it is shown to be imminent. In the Gospel and Epistles of St. John it is, as it were, lost in the fulness of the life of the Church.

We can see then, generally, what was the character of the body to whom the Letter was addressed. Where can we look for such a body? Some have found it in the "Hebrew" Christians of Asia Minor generally, or in some special congregation of Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, or Africa, and more particularly at Antioch or Rome or Alexandria. Lately the opinion that the Letter was addressed to the Roman Church has found considerable favour. But the dominant conception of the Old Testament Institutions as centering in sacrificial and priestly ordinances seems to be fatal to all these theories, which are not supported by any direct evidence, for no conclusion can be fairly drawn as to the original destination of the Epistle from the fact that Clement of Rome was acquainted with it. Such a view, unlike that of the observance of special days or meats, must be generally dependent in a large measure upon local circumstances of a narrow range. It is possible, indeed, that special circumstances with which we are unacquainted may have influenced the feelings of a small society, and there was in fact a "Synagogue of Hebrews" at Rome (Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, ii. 517); but we naturally look, if there is nothing to determine our search otherwise, to some place where Judaism would present itself with practical force under this aspect.

In this way our choice is limited to Egypt, with the Temple at Leontopolis, and to Palestine, with the Temple at Jerusalem. Nowhere else would the images of sacrifice and intercession be constantly before the eye of a Jew.

There is very little evidence to show that the Temple at Leontopolis exercised the same power over the Alexandrian Jews as that at Jerusalem exercised over the Palestinian Jews and the Jews generally. Even in Egypt the Temple at Jerusalem was recognised as the true centre of worship. Nor is there the least ground for thinking that any of the divergences in the Epistle from the details of the Temple ceremonial coincide with peculiarities in the service at Leontopolis. On the contrary the furniture of the Temple at Jerusalem was more like that of the Tabernacle, which is described in the Epistle, than was that of the Egyptian Temple. But on the other hand it is certain that the kind of feeling which the Epistle is designed to meet must have been powerful at Jerusalem, and in its neighbourhood. The close connexion of the early Church with the Temple, the splendour and venerable majesty of the ritual, could not fail to make the thought of severance from Judaism most grievous to those who had hitherto been able to share in its noblest services according to the custom of their youth.

Nor is it a serious objection to this conclusion that the Temple is nowhere mentioned in the Epistle, and that the ritual details are those of the Tabernacle and not those of the second Temple. The readers were influenced by the actual form in which the Mosaic ordinances were embodied. The writer, perhaps from his external circumstances, or more probably in order to lay his reasoning on its deepest foundation, goes back to the first institution of the system. He shows how the original design of the priestly ritual of the Law, and therefore, of necessity, of all partial and specific embodiments of it, was satisfied by Christ. The Temple service, with all its peculiarities, finally drew its sanction from the Law. The ritual of the Tabernacle was the divine type of which the ritual of the Temple was the authoritative representation. And, according to the popular tradition, it was believed that "the Tabernacle" and its furniture, which had been removed by Jeremiah from the first Temple before its destruction, would in due time be restored (2 Macc. ii. 4 sq., and Grimm's notes).

And further it must be added that the Temple, like the kingdom with which it was co-ordinate, was spiritually a sign of retrogression. It was an endeavour to give fixity to that which was

essentially provisional. And thus the writer of the Epistle, by going back to the fundamental legislation, significantly indicates that the spirit of the Mosaic Law first found accomplishment in Christ, and not in that outward Levitical system in which it seemed superficially to receive its perfect embodiment.

It is then most reasonable from general considerations to find the Society to whom the Letter was addressed in Jerusalem, or in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

In accordance with this view, it may be added that Eusebius speaks on written authority (*ἐξ ἐγγράφων*) of the Church of Jerusalem as having "been wholly composed of Hebrews" (*συνεστάναι τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ Ἑβραίων πιστῶν, H. E.* iv. 5; cp. vi. 14) up to the time of the revolt under Hadrian. Up to the same date all the Bishops were "of the circumcision" (*l. c.*).

So also in the Clementine Homilies (xi. 35), "James that is called brother of the Lord" is said to be "entrusted with the administration of the Church of the Hebrews in Jerusalem" (*πεπιστευμένος ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν Ἑβραίων διέπειν ἐκκλησίαν*); and "the letter of Clement" prefixed to the same work, is addressed to "James the lord and Bishop of Bishops, who administers the holy Church of Hebrews in Jerusalem" (*διέποντι τὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἁγίαν Ἑβραίων ἐκκλησίαν*).

It may therefore be fairly concluded that when the title *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* was added to the Epistle, it was an expression of the belief that the letter was addressed to the Church of Jerusalem, or some sister Church in Palestine dependent upon it.

The conclusion which has been reached is not beyond doubt, but it satisfies the conditions of the problem most simply. It is indeed possible that exceptional circumstances which cannot now be determined may have given occasion to the Letter. It is, for example, quite conceivable, as has been already admitted, that a society of "Hebrews" at Rome may have been led to develop the sacrificial theory of Judaism and to insist upon it, and so to call out "the word of exhortation." Such conjectures, however, need not detain us. It is well to recognise how little we can determine by the help of the data at present available. That which is beyond doubt, that which indeed alone concerns us, is the spiritual character of the readers of the Epistle. This we can clearly grasp wherever it may have been developed. And it is unquestionable that it would be likely—most likely—to be developed in Palestine.

W. Grimm has discussed in considerable detail (*Zeitschrift wissensch. Theol.*, 1870, 19 sq.) the claims of Rome, Jerusalem, and Alexandria to be considered as the place to which the Epistle was directed. He decides against all, and suggests Jamnia. It is better to acquiesce in simply recognising the conditions which the place must satisfy.

VI. DATE.—The date of the Epistle is fixed within narrow limits by its contents. A generation of Christians had already passed away (xiii. 7; ii. 3). There had been space for great changes in religious feeling (x. 32), and for religious growth (v. 11 sq.).

On the other hand, the Levitical service is spoken of as still continued (viii. 4: ix. 6, 9; x. 1 sq.; xiii. 10 sq.); and, even if the references to its present continuance could be explained away (cp. Just. *Dial.* 117; Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 25), it is inconceivable that such a national calamity as the Jewish war should be unnoticed if it had already broken out, and still more, if it had been decided. Indeed, the prospect of exclusion from the privileges of the old service is the very essence of the trial of "the Hebrews;" and the severity of the trial is in itself a decisive proof of the influence which the Temple ritual exercised at the time.

The letter may then be placed in the critical interval between A.D. 64, the government of Gessius Florus, and 67, the commencement of the Jewish war, and most probably just before the breaking of the storm in the latter year, as the writer speaks of the visible signs of the approach of "the day" (x. 25; cp. viii. 13, *ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ*); and indicates the likelihood of severer trials for the Church (xii. 4, *οὔπω*; xiii. 13 sq.).

The theories which assign the Epistle to a later date, after the persecution of Domitian, or in the time of Trajan, seem to be utterly irreconcilable with the conditions and scope of the writing.

VII. PLACE OF WRITING.—Tradition is silent as to the place from which the Epistle was written. No independent authority can be given to the subscription which is found in A, *ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης*. This, as in the case of similar subscriptions to the other Epistles, appears to have been a deduction from the Epistle itself (xiii. 23, 24). And so it is given in the words of the text, and enlarged in later MSS.: *e.g.* P_2, *ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας*. K_2, *ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας διὰ Τιμοθέου*. H_2, *Παύλου ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας διὰ Τιμοθέου*. Nor again is there anything in the Epistle itself which leads to a definite conclusion. No argument can be drawn from the mention of the release of Timothy (xiii. 23), for nothing is known of the event to which reference is made; and the phrase *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* (xiii. 24), which seems at first sight to promise more, gives no certain result; for the words may be so rendered as to describe a body of Christians in Italy ("those in Italy send salutations from Italy," or more simply "those who belong to Italy," "Italian Christians"), or a body of Italian Christians who were with the writer in a foreign land ("those here from Italy"). The place of writing must therefore be left in complete uncertainty.

VIII. STYLE AND LANGUAGE.—The language of the Epistle is both in vocabulary and in style purer and more vigorous than that of any other Book of the N. T.

i. The vocabulary is singularly copious. It includes a large number of words which are not found elsewhere in the apostolic writings, very many which occur in this Book only among the Greek Scriptures, and some which are not quoted from any other independent source. Even when allowance is made for the requirements of the peculiar topics with which the writer deals, the number of peculiar words is still remarkable. In the Pastoral Epistles, however, the proportion is still greater.

Dr. Thayer (*Lexicon to N. T.*) reckons the same number of peculiar words (168) in the

Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the latter is the longer in about the proportion of 21 to 15.

The following words are not quoted from any source independent of the Epistle: *ἀγενεαλόγητος* (vii. 3); *αἱματεκχυσία* (ix. 22); *ἔκτρομος* (xii. 21, marg.); *εὐπερίστατος* (xii. 1); *θεατρίζειν* (x. 33: *ἐκθεατρίζειν* in Polyb.); *μισθαποδότης* (xi. 6) and *μισθαποδοσία* (ii. 2; x. 35; xi. 26) for the classical *μισθοδότης* and *μισθοδοσία*; *πρόσχυσις* (xi. 28); *συγκακουχεῖν* (xi. 25); *τελειωτής* (xii. 2).

The list of classical words which are found in the Epistle and in no other part of the Greek Scriptures is large: *ἀκλινής* (x. 23); *ἀκροθίνιον* (vii. 4); *ἀλυσιτελής* (xiii. 17); *ἀμήτωρ, ἀπάτωρ* (vii. 3); *ἀναλογίζεσθαι* (xii. 3); *ἀνασταυροῦν* (vi. 6); *ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι* (xii. 4); *διόρθωσις* (ix. 10); *ἐκδοχή* (x. 27); *ἐκλανθάνειν* (xii. 5); *ἐνυβρίζειν* (x. 29); *ἐπεισαγωγή* (vii. 19); *εὐαρέστως* (xii. 28); *κατάδηλος* (vii. 15); *κατασκιάζειν* (ix. 5); *ὄγκος* (xii. 1); *παραπλησίως* (ii. 14); *συμπαθεῖν* (iv. 15; x. 34); *συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν* (ii. 14); *τομώτερος* (iv. 12); *ὑπείκειν* (xiii. 17).

Other words peculiar to the Epistle among Biblical writings belong to the later stage of Greek literature:—

ἀθέτησις (vii. 18; ix. 26); *ἄθλησις* (x. 32); *ἀκατάλυτος* (vii. 16); *ἀμετάθετος* (vi. 17 sq.); *ἀπαράβατος* (vii. 24); *ἀφορᾶν* (xii. 2); *δυσερμήνευτος* (v. 11); *εὐποία* (xiii. 16); *καταγωνίζεσθαι* (xi. 33); *Λευιτικός* (vii. 11); *μεσιτεύειν* (vi. 17); *μετριοπαθεῖν* (v. 2); *πολυμερῶς, πολυτρόπως* (i. 1); *σαββατισμός* (iv. 9); *τραχηλίζειν* (iv. 13); *τυμπανίζειν* (xi. 35); *ὑποστολή* (x. 39).

The absence of some words (*e.g.* *πληροῦν, εὐαγγέλιον, οἰκοδομεῖν, μυστήριον*) is remarkable.

ii. The style is even more characteristic of a practised scholar than the vocabulary. It would be difficult to find anywhere passages more exact and pregnant in expression than i. 1–4; ii. 14–18; vii. 26–28; xii. 18–24. The language, the order, the rhythm, the parenthetical involutions, all contribute to the total effect. The writing shows everywhere traces of effort and care. In many respects it is not unlike that of the Book of Wisdom, but it is nowhere marred by the restless striving after effect which not unfrequently injures the beauty of that masterpiece of Alexandrine Greek. The calculated force of the periods is sharply distinguished from the impetuous eloquence of St. Paul. The author is never carried away by his thoughts. He has seen and measured all that he desires to convey to his readers before he begins to write. In writing he has, like an artist, simply to give life to the model which he has already completely fashioned. This is true even of the noblest rhetorical passages, such as ch. xi. Each element, which seems at first sight to offer itself spontaneously, will be found to have been carefully adjusted to its place, and to offer in subtle details results of deep thought, so expressed as to leave the simplicity and freshness of the whole perfectly unimpaired. For this reason there is perhaps no Book of Scripture in which the student may hope more confidently to enter into the mind of the author if he yields himself with absolute trust to his words. No Book represents with equal clearness the mature conclusions of human reflection.

The contrast of the style of the Epistle with that of St. Paul may be noticed in the passages which are quoted as echoes of St. Paul's language: ii. 10: cp. Rom. xi. 36; iii. 6: cp. Rom. v. 2; xi. 12: cp. Rom. iv. 19. The richer fulness of expression is seen in corresponding phrases: *e.g.* Col. iii. 1, compared with xii. 2.

The writer does not use St. Paul's rhetorical forms *τί οὖν; τί γάρ; ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις . . ., μὴ γένοιτο, ἄρα οὖν, οὐκ οἴδατε* (Credner, *Einl.*, p. 547). On the other hand, we notice the peculiar phrases *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, ἔλαθον ξενίσαντες.*

The close resemblance of the language of the Epistle to that of St. Luke was noticed by Clement of Alexandria (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14: . . . Λουκᾶν [φησίν] . . . *μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρῶτα εὑρίσκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν πράξεων*—the form of expression is remarkable), and his criticism was repeated by later writers. The significance of the coincidences may have been overrated, but no impartial student can fail to be struck by the frequent use of words characteristic of St. Luke among the writers of the N. T., *e.g.* *διαμαρτύρεσθαι* (ii. 6), *ἀρχηγός* (ii. 10), *ὅθεν* (ii. 17), *ἱλάσκεσθαι* (ii. 17), *μέτοχος* (iii. 1), *περικεῖσθαι* accus. (v. 2), *εὔθετος* (vi. 7), *καταφεύγειν* (vi. 18), *πατριάρχης* (vii. 4), *εἰς τὸ παντελές* (vii. 25), *σχεδόν* (ix. 22), *ἀνώτερον* (x. 8), *παροξυσμός* (x. 24), *ὕπαρξις* (x. 34), *ἀναστάσεως τυγχάνειν* (xi. 35), *ἔντρομος* (xii. 21), *ἀσάλευτος* (xii. 28), *οἱ ἡγούμενοι* (xiii. 7), *ἀναθεωρεῖν* (xiii. 7).

IX. PLAN.—The general progress of thought in the Epistle is clear; but, at the same time, in a writing so many-sided, where subjects are naturally foreshadowed and recalled, differences of opinion must arise as to the main divisions of the argument. The following arrangement gives at least an intelligible view of the main relations of the different parts of the Book.

THE THEME OF THE EPISTLE; THE FINALITY OF CHRISTIANITY: i. 1–4.

THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SON, THE MEDIATOR OF THE NEW REVELATION, TO ANGELS: i. 5–ii. 18.

II. MOSES, JOSHUA, JESUS, THE FOUNDERS OF THE OLD ECONOMY AND OF THE NEW: iii., iv.

III. THE HIGH-PRIESTHOOD OF CHRIST, UNIVERSAL AND SOVEREIGN (MELCHIZEDEK): v.–vii.

IV. THE FULFILMENT OF CHRIST'S PRIESTLY WORK: viii. 1–x. 18.

V. THE APPROPRIATION AND VITAL APPLICATION OF THE TRUTH LAID DOWN: x. 19–xii.

A PERSONAL EPILOGUE: xiii.

These chief divisions can be followed a little more in detail:

THE THEME OF THE EPISTLE; THE FINALITY OF CHRISTIANITY: i. 1–4.

i. *The contrast of the Old Revelation and the New in method, time, persons* (*vv.* 1, 2).

ii. *The nature and the work of the Son, in regard to His Divine Personality and to the Incarnation* (*v.* 3).

iii. *Transition to the development of the argument* (*v.* 4).

I. The Superiority of the Son, the Mediator of the new Revelation, to Angels: i. 5–ii. 18.
  i. *The testimony of Scripture* (i. 5–14).
  ii. *The peril of rejecting the new revelation through the Son* (ii. 1–4).
  iii. *The fulfilment of the divine destiny of man in the Son of man (Jesus) through suffering* (ii. 5–18).

II. Moses, Joshua, Jesus: the Founders of the Old Economy and of the New: iii., iv.
  i. *Moses and Jesus: the servant and the Son* (iii. 1–6).
    (1) A general view of the dignity of Jesus (*vv.* 1, 2).
    (2) Moses represents a house: Jesus the maker of it (*vv.* 3, 4).
    (3) Moses a servant: Jesus a Son (*vv.* 5, 6).
  ii. *The promise and the people under the Old and the New Dispensations* (iii. 7–iv. 13).
    (1) The condition of faith (iii. 7–19).
    (2) The promise remaining (iv. 1–13).
  iii. *Transition to the doctrine of the High-priesthood, resuming* ii. 17, 18 (iv. 14–16).

III. The High-priesthood of Christ, universal and sovereign (Melchizedek): v.–vii.
  i. *The characteristics of a High-priest, sympathy and divine appointment, fulfilled in Christ* (v. 1–10).
  ii. *Progress through patient effort the condition of the knowledge of Christian mysteries* (v. 11–vi.).
  iii. *The characteristics of Christ, as absolute High-priest, shadowed forth by Melchizedek (King-priest)* (vii.).

IV. The Fulfilment of Christ's priestly Work: viii. 1–x. 18.
  i. *A general view of the scheme and condition of Christ's High-priestly work* (ch. viii.).
    (1) The scheme of Christ's work (viii. 1–6).
    (2) The new Covenant (*vv.* 7–13).
  ii. *The Old Service and the New: the Atonement of the Law, and the Atonement of Christ* (ch. ix.).
    (1) The Sanctuary and Priests under the Old Covenant (ix. 1–10).
    (2) The High-priestly Atonement under the New Covenant (*vv.* 11–28).
  iii. *The Old Sacrifices and the New; abiding efficacy of Christ's one Sacrifice* (x. 1–18).
    A summary of reassurance.

V. The Appropriation and vital Application of the Truth laid down: x. 19–xii. 29.
  i. *The privileges, perils, encouragements of the Hebrews* (x. 19–39).
  ii. *The past triumphs of Faith* (xi.).
  iii. *The general application of the lessons of the past to the present season of trial* (xii.).

A personal Epilogue: xiii.
  Detailed and specific instructions. Close.

One feature in this plan will strike the student. The central portion of each of the first three divisions is mainly occupied with solemn warnings; while the last division is a most grave and earnest exposition of the duties which follow from the confession of Christ's priestly work. The writer is unwilling, even in the development of truth, to allow the loftiest conception of the Gospel to appear to be a theory only. It is for him intensely practical; and the note of entire and reverential awe closes his description of the privileges of Christians (xii. 28 sq.).

X. Characteristics.—The Epistle to the Hebrews is one of three Books in the N. T. specially addressed to those who were Jews by descent, the other two being the Gospel according to St. Matthew and the Epistle of St. James (Jas. i. 1, *ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς*). To these, however, 1 Peter, probably addressed to those who had passed through Judaism to Christianity, may be added (1 Pet. i. 1, *ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Πόντου . . .*).

Each of these Books is marked by a characteristic view of the Faith. St. Matthew, according to general consent, gives the lineaments of the Davidic King. In St. James we have the power of "a perfect law" (Jas. i. 25; ii. 8): in St. Peter the accomplishment of prophecy (1 Pet. i. 10–12): in the Epistle to the Hebrews the efficacy of an eternal priesthood (Heb. vii. 23 sq.).

This general connexion indicates the true position of the Epistle, which is a final development of the teaching of "the three," and not a special application of the teaching of St. Paul. It is, so to speak, most truly intelligible as the last voice of the Apostles of the circumcision, and not as a peculiar utterance of the Apostle of the Gentiles (Gal. ii. 9 sq.). The Apostles of the circumcision regarded Judaism naturally with sympathy and even with affection, as that through which they had been led little by little to see the meaning of the Gospel. The Apostle of the Gentiles, with all his love for his countrymen and all his reverence for the work wrought through the Old Covenant, no less naturally regarded Judaism, as it was, as a system which had made him a persecutor of the Faith. For St. Paul the Law is a code of moral ordinances; for the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is a scheme of typical provisions for atonement. For the one it is a crushing burden; for the other it is a welcome if imperfect source of consolation. And it is in virtue of this general interpretation of the spirit of the Levitical system that the unknown Apostle to whom we owe the Epistle to the Hebrews was fitted to fulfil for the Church the part which was providentially committed to him.

The difference between St. Paul and the writer of the Epistle in their view of the Law may be presented in another light. St. Paul regards the Law mainly in relation to the requirements of man's discipline; his fellow Apostle in relation to the fulfilment of God's counsel. For St. Paul the Law was an episode, intercalated, as it were, in the course of revelation (Rom. v. 20, *παρεισῆλθεν*); for the writer of the Epistle, it was a shadow of the realities to which the promise pointed. It is closely connected with this fundamental distinctness of the point of vision of the two teachers that St. Paul dwells with dominant interest on the individual aspect of the Gospel, the writer of the Epistle on its social aspect: for the one the supreme contrast is between flesh and spirit, for the other

between the image and the reality, the imperfect and the perfect; for the one Christ is the direct object of personal faith, for the other the fulfiller of the destiny of man.

But this difference, however real and intelligible, does not issue in any opposition between the two writers. Both views are completely satisfied by the Incarnation; and each writer recognises the truth which the other develops. In the Epistle to the Ephesians St. Paul gives the widest possible expression to the social lessons of the Faith; and the writer to the Hebrews emphasises with the most touching solemnity the significance of personal responsibility (*e.g.* ch. vi.). At the same time the writer to the Hebrews suggests the unity, the harmonious unfolding, of the Divine plan, in a way which is foreign to the mode of thought of him who was suddenly changed from a persecutor to an Apostle. His eyes rest on one heavenly archetype made known to men as they could bear the sight in various degrees. He presupposes a divine ideal of the phenomenal world and of outward worship. This, he argues, was shadowed forth in the Mosaic system; and found its perfect embodiment under the conditions of earth in the Christian Church. He looks therefore with deep sympathy upon the devotion with which the Hebrews had regarded the provisions made by the Law for dealing with the power and guilt of sin. He enters into their feelings and points out how Christ satisfied them by His Person and His work.

This being so, the circumstances in which the Hebrews were placed led him naturally to develop the conception of Christ's priestly office. They had experienced a double disappointment. The shame of the sufferings of the Messiah had not been effaced, as many had hoped, by a glorious Return. It became evident that the Jews as a people would not receive Him. The national unbelief of Israel, apart from all direct persecution, brought with it a growing alienation of the Synagogue from the Church. The right of participation in the ministrations of the Temple could not, it became more and more clear, be retained by Christians who held their faith. The Hebrew Christians therefore were constrained to ask, whether there was to be no kingdom for Israel? Whether Christians were to be deprived of the manifold consolations of sacrificial worship and priestly atonement? The Epistle is an answer to the questions. The writer shows that the difficulty which arose from the sufferings of the Son of man (Jesus) included the solution of the difficulty which was felt in exclusion from the Temple: that he who remained a Jew outwardly could not but miss in the end the message and the inheritance of Christ, just as the Christian who understands his position is essentially independent of every support of the Old Covenant and heir of all its promises: that which seemed to be the weakness of the Gospel was revealed upon a closer vision to be its strength. In proportion as men can feel what Christ is (such is the writer's argument) they can feel also how His death and His advocacy more than supply the place of all sacrifices and priestly intercessions, how they lay open the victory of humanity in the Son of man over sin and death. In other words, under this light the Death of Christ becomes intelligible in itself without regard to the thought of a Return. The sense of His present priestly action gains a new force. The paradox of a suffering Messiah is disclosed in its own glory.

At the same time the writer goes beyond Judaism. The Gospel, as he presents it, is the fulfilment of the purpose of Creation and not only of the Mosaic system. Melchizedek is a more prominent figure in his treatment of the O. T. than Abraham. Thus the work of Judaism is made to appear as a stage in the advance towards a wider work which could not be achieved without a preparatory discipline. So regarded, the provisions of the Law can be seen in their full meaning, and by the help of their typical teaching a suffering Messiah can be acknowledged by the true Jew in His Majesty.

Thus the immediate purpose of the writer was fulfilled: and that which was an answer to the difficulties of the Hebrew Christian has been made the endowment of the whole Church. For in this Epistle we have what *is* found in no other Book of the N. T., that which may be called a philosophy of religion, of worship, of priesthood, centered in the Person of Christ. The form of the doctrine is determined by the O. T. foundations, but the doctrine itself is essentially new. In the light of the Gospel the whole teaching of the O. T. is seen to be a prophecy, unquestionable in the breadth and fulness of its scope.

But while the thoughts of the absolute value of Christ's sufferings and of the application of their virtue to men are brought out with prevailing force, it is not argued that all difficulty is removed from the present prospect of Christianity. There are still, the writer implies, difficulties in the state of things which we see. We cannot escape from them. But enough can be discerned to enable men to wait patiently for the appointed end. There is a triumph to come; and, in looking forward to this, Christians occupy the position which the Saints have always occupied, the position of faith, of faith under trials. The heroic records of ch. xi. lead up to the practical charge of xii. 1 sq.

Meanwhile the writer calls upon his readers to make their choice boldly. Judaism was becoming, if it had not already become, anti-Christian. It must be given up (xiii. 19). It was "near vanishing away" (viii. 13). It was no longer debated whether a Gentile Church could stand beside the Jewish Church, as in the first period of conflict in the apostolic age; or whether a Jewish Church should stand beside the Gentile Church, as in the next period. The Christian Church must be one and independent. And thus the Epistle is a monument of the last crisis of conflict out of which the Catholic Church rose.

This view of the relation of the Church to the Temple is the more impressive from the prominence which is assigned in the Epistle to the O. T., both to the writings and to the institutions which it hallows. There is not the least tendency towards disparagement of the one or the other. From first to last it is maintained that God *spoke to the fathers in the Prophets*. The message through the Son takes up and crowns all that had gone before. In each respect the New is the consummation of the

Old. It offers a more perfect and absolute Revelation, carrying with it a more perfect and absolute Mediation, and establishing a more perfect and absolute Covenant, embodying finally the connexion of God and man. There is nothing in the Old which is not taken up and transfigured in the New.

For it is assumed throughout the Epistle that all visible theocratic institutions answer to a Divine antitype (archetype). They are (so to speak) a translation into a particular dialect of eternal truths: a representation under special conditions of an absolute ideal. In some sense which we can feel rather than define, the eternal is declared to lie beneath the temporal (xii. 27). In virtue of this truth, the work of Christ and the hope of the Christian are both described under Jewish imagery, without the least admixture of the millenarian extravagances which gained currency in the second century. There is for the believer a priestly consecration (x. 22), an altar (xiii. 10), a sabbath-rest (iv. 9).

It follows therefore that in studying the Levitical ritual we must recognise that there is a true correspondence of the seen with the unseen, a correspondence which extends to the fulness of life, and not simply a correspondence of a world of ideas (*κόσμος νοητός*), as Philo supposed, to a world of phenomena.

The same principle holds still under the Christian dispensation. We see the reality but only in figures (*e.g.* Rev. xxi. 16). Judaism was the shadow, and Christianity is the substance; yet both are regarded under the conditions of earth.

But the figures have an abiding significance. There is a heavenly city in the spiritual world, an organised body of rational beings; "a congregation" (*ἐκκλησία*) which answers to the full enjoyment of the privileges of social life: xi. 10 (*ἡ τοὺς θεμ. ἐχ. πόλις*); xi. 16; xii. 22 sq. (cp. viii. 11; xi. 10; xiii. 14). There is also a heavenly sanctuary there, which was the pattern of the earthly, to confirm the eternal duty and joy of worship: viii. 2, 5.

In this aspect the Epistle fulfils a universal work. It is addressed to Hebrews, and meets, as we have seen, their peculiar difficulties, but at the same time it deals with the largest views of the Faith. This it does not by digression or contrast. It discloses the catholicity of the Gospel by the simple interpretation of its scope. It does not insist on the fact as anything new or strange. It does not dwell on "the breaking down of the middle wall of partition" (Ephes. ii. 14), or on "the mystery which in other ages was not made known . . . that the Gentiles are . . . fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus" (Ephes. iii. 4 sq.; Rom. xvi. 25 sq.). The equality of men as men in the sight of God is implied in the declaration which is made of the Person and the Work of Christ. Faith is the condition of a divine fellowship, and that is essentially universal. The truth that there is no difference between Jew and Gentile has passed beyond the stage of keen controversy. It is acknowledged in the conception which has been gained of the Incarnation.

Viewed in this light, the Epistle to the Hebrews forms a complement to the Gospel of St. John. Both Books assume the universality of Christianity as the one religion of humanity without special argument (cp. John i. 12). Both regard "the Jews"—the men who clung to that which was transitory as if it were absolute and eternal—as enemies of Christ. Both recognise completely the provisional office of the Old Dispensation (John iv. 22). But they do this from different sides. The Epistle to the Hebrews enables us to see how Christianity is the absolute fulfilment of the idea of the positive institutions of the Law through which it was the good pleasure of God to discipline men, while the Fourth Gospel shows us in the *Word become flesh* the absolute fulfilment of the idea of creation which underlies the whole of the O. T.

One further observation must still be made. The style of the Book is characteristically Hellenistic,—perhaps we may say, as far as our scanty evidence goes, Alexandrine; but the teaching itself is, like that of St. John, characteristically Palestinian. This is shown not only by the teaching on details, on the heavenly Jerusalem, and the heavenly Sanctuary, on Satan as the king of death, on Angels, on the two ages (cp. Riehm, *Lehrbegriff*, pp. 248, 652 sq.), but still more by its whole form. The writer holds firmly to the true historical sense of the ancient history and the ancient legislation. Jewish ordinances are not for him, as for Philo, symbols of transcendental ideas, but elements in a preparatory discipline for a Divine manifestation upon earth. Christ is High-Priest not as the eternal Word, but as the Incarnate Son Who has lived and suffered and conquered as true man. At the same time the Apostle teaches us to recognise the Divine method in the education of the world. He shows us how God has used (and, as we are led to conclude, how He uses still) transitory institutions to awaken, to develop, to chasten, human thoughts of spiritual things. The Epistle is, to sum up all most briefly, the seal of the divine significance of all life. The interpretation, given in its salient points, of the record of the O. T., and of the training of Israel, is a prophetic light for the interpretation of the history of mankind.

XI. THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The use which is made of the O. T. in the Epistle offers an interesting subject for study in regard to (i.) the range of the quotations, (ii.) the mode of citation, and (iii.) the principles of interpretation which the writer assumes.

(i.) Of twenty-nine direct quotations, twenty-three are taken from the Pentateuch and the Psalms, the fundamental Law and the Book of common devotion. The absence of detailed illustrations from the history of the kingdom, and the fewness of the references to the teaching of the Prophets, are both striking facts. It is yet more remarkable that, with two exceptions (2 Sam. vii. 14; Is. viii. 17 sq.), all the primary passages which are quoted to illustrate the true nature of the Person and Work of Christ are taken from the Psalms. No direct prophetic word is quoted. Nor again is anything quoted from the Prophets on the inefficiency of ritual sacrifices. It is further to be noticed, as a mark of the individuality of the writer, that of the twenty-nine passages which are reckoned as direct quotations, twenty-one are peculiar to the Epistle. The text of the quotations agrees, with three exceptions, with some form of the LXX., and particularly with the text of *Cod.*

Alex. (A). In eight passages it agrees with the LXX. against the present Hebrew text.

(ii.) The quotations are without exception made anonymously. There is no mention anywhere of the name of the writer (iv. 7 is no exception to the rule). God is presented as the speaker through the person of the Prophet, except in the one place where He is directly addressed (ii. 6 sq.): *e.g.* i. 5, 7 λέγει, 13; v. 5. In two places the words are attributed to Christ (ii. 11, 13; x. 5 sq.). In two other places the Holy Spirit specially is named as the speaker (iii. 7 sq.; x. 15: cp. ix. 8).

This assignment of the written word to God, as the Inspirer of the message, is most remarkable when the words spoken by the Prophet in his own person are treated as divine words, as words spoken by Moses (i. 6; iv. 4: cp. *vv.* 5, 7, 8; x. 30) and by Isaiah (ii. 13: cp. also xiii. 5).

There is nothing really parallel to this general mode of quotation in the other Books of the N. T. Where the word λέγει occurs elsewhere, it is for the most part combined either with the name of the Prophet or with "Scripture" (Rom. iv. 3; x. 16, 19; xi. 9). And when God is the subject, as is rarely the case, the reference is to words directly spoken by God (2 Cor. vi. 2; Rom. ix. 15, 25).

This "personal" character of citation is the more significant when it is remembered how frequent elsewhere (in St. Paul for example) are the forms (καθὼς) γέγραπται (sixteen times in the Epistle to the Romans), ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, and the like, which never occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and whereas St. Paul not unfrequently quotes the words of God as "Scripture" simply (*e.g.* Rom. ix. 17), it has been seen that in this Epistle prophetic words recorded in Scripture are treated as "words of God."

(iii.) It has been already observed that the writer of the Epistle everywhere assumes that there is a spiritual meaning in the whole record of the O. T. This deeper sense is recognised in the history both personal (vii. 1 sq.) and national (iv. 1 sq.): in the Mosaic ritual (ix. 8): in the experience of typical characters (ii. 13); and in the general teaching (ii. 6 sq.). Every detail in the record is treated as significant; and even the silence of the narrative suggests important thoughts (vii. 3).

Generally it may be said that Christ and the Christian dispensation are regarded as the one end to which the O. T. points, and in which it finds its complete accomplishment, not as though the Gospel were the answer to the riddle of the Law (as is taught in the Letter of Barnabas), but as being the consummation in life of that which was prepared in life. They therefore who acknowledged Jesus as the Christ, when they realised His Nature, could not fail to see that He had abrogated the outward system of Judaism by fulfilling it.

The use which the author makes of Holy Scripture is, in other words, not dialectic or rhetorical, but interpretative. The Christian faith is assumed, and the Hebrews are taught by him to recognise in the O. T. the foreshadowings of that growing purpose which the Gospel completes and crowns. This being so, his object is not to show that Jesus fulfils the idea of the Christ, and the Christian Church the idea of Israel, but, taking this for granted, to mark the relation in which the Gospel stands to the Mosaic system, as part of one Divine whole. Looking back therefore over the course of the Divine discipline of humanity, outlined in the O. T., he marks how Christ, Lawgiver and Priest, fulfilled perfectly the offices which Moses (ch. iii.), Aaron (ch. v.), and Melchizedek (ch. vii.) held in typical and transitory forms. And yet more than this, how as man He fulfilled the destiny of fallen man through suffering (ch. ii.). For he places the destiny of man in connexion with the record of Creation. Man, he implies, was made in order to enter into the rest of God; and lest he should seem to have finally lost his original inheritance by sin, he points out that this was confirmed to him afterwards by a promise.

The accomplishment of the Divine purpose for man necessarily required a long preparation. Even if he had not fallen, he would have needed the discipline of life to reach the Divine likeness through a free moral growth. The sinless Son of man "learnt obedience" (v. 8). As it is, the necessity of the discipline is twofold. Divine gifts have to be exercised; and human failures have to be repaired. The capacities and needs of man have to be revealed and satisfied. Thus the purpose of God for man indicated in creation is wrought out in two ways, by that which we may speak of as a natural growth through the unfolding of the life of the nations, and by a special discipline. Both elements are recognised in the Epistle. Melchizedek is set forth as the representative of the natural growth of man in fellowship with the divine spirit. The revelation to Israel (the "Law") is interpreted as the special preparation and foreshadowing of a fellowship of man with God, in spite of sin and death.

In marking the course of this special revelation the writer distinguishes the work of the Messianic people (Ex. xix. 5 sq.) and the work of the personal Messiah, typified on the one side by the Davidic king, and on the other side by the afflicted and faithful Servant of the Lord.

Both works are marked in the Epistle in their main outlines. Especially it will be observed that in dealing with the work of the Messianic people the writer of the Epistle emphasises the three great stages in the determination of their privileges and their office: i. The original promise to Abraham; ii. The discipline of the Law; iii. The new promise. These three crises mark three special forms of the Divine Covenant (Dispensation, διαθήκη), by which God is pleased to enter into a living fellowship with His people, the Covenant of grace, the Covenant of works, and the final Covenant of Divine fellowship based on perfect knowledge and sympathy.

The fulfilment of this last great promise (Jer. xxxii.) leads up to the thought of the work of the personal Messiah; and in no other Book of the N. T. is the Messiah presented with equal fulness of delineation. Each trait in the portraiture is connected with some preparatory sign in the O. T. The Christ, revealed in the Son of man, is shown to be all for which the people had looked, satisfying every hope and claim, without change or loss.

Thus we can read how the manifold teachings of the past in life and in institutions were concentrated on the final revelation of the Gospel. These had their fulfilment at the Coming of the Christ; and no less the spiritual experiences of those to whom they were first given have an application to Christians still. What was written of encouragement to Israel on the entrance into Canaan (xiii. 5), on the approach to the sanctuary (xiii. 6), in the prophetic delineation of the Messianic age (xii. 12 sq.), and in the words of the wise (xii. 5 sq.), was of force for the Hebrews in their crisis of trial, and is of force for the Church in all time. Counsels of patience (x. 37 sq.) and warnings of judgment (x. 27) from the Prophets and the Law are still addressed to those who are under a Divine discipline. In one sense the revelation given through the Son is final and unchanging (xii. 26), but its meaning is brought home to believers by a living voice, and we also must listen heedfully if haply the voice may sound in our ears "To-day" with a fresh message for us (iii. 7, &c.).

XII. HISTORY AND AUTHORSHIP.—In discussing the history of any one of the writings of the N. T. it is necessary to bear in mind the narrow range of the scanty remains of the earliest Christian literature, and the little scope which they offer for definite references to particular Books. It might perhaps have been expected that the arguments of the Epistle to the Hebrews would have given it prominence in the first controversies of the Church, but this does not appear to have been the case. Traces of its use occur indeed in the oldest Christian writing outside the Canon, the letter written by Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, but it is not referred to by name till the second half of the second century. There can be no doubt that Clement was familiar with its contents. He not only uses its language (*ad Cor.* 17, 36), but imitates its form in such a way (*ad Cor.* 9, 12, 45) as to show that he had the text before him; but the adaptations of words and thoughts are made silently, without any mark of quotation or any indication of the author from whom they are borrowed (cp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 38; Hier. *de Vir. ill.* 15). The fact that the Book was known at Rome at this early date is of importance, because it was at Rome that the Pauline authorship was most consistently denied, and for the longest period. In this connexion it is of interest that there are several coincidences of expression with the Epistle in the Shepherd of Hermas, which seem to be sufficient to show that Hermas also was acquainted with it.

The other evidence which can be alleged to show that the Epistle was known by the earliest Christian writers is less clear. Polycarp gives the Lord the title of "High-Priest" (ch. 12, *pontifex*), a title which is peculiar to this Epistle among the apostolic writings, but it is not possible to conclude certainly that he derived it directly from the Book. So again when Justin Martyr speaks of Christ as "Apostle" (*Apol.* i. 12, 63; Heb. iii. 1), and applies Ps. cx. to Him (*Dial.* 96, 113), he may be using thoughts which had become current among Christians, though these correspondences with characteristic features of the Epistle are more worthy of consideration because Justin has also several coincidences with its language (viii. 7 sq., *Dial.* 34; ix. 13 sq., *Dial.* 13; xii. 18 sq., *Dial.* 67).

On the other hand, the Epistle was not included among the apostolic writings received by Marcion; nor does it find any place in the Muratorian Canon, while by this catalogue it is distinctly excluded from the Epistles of St. Paul ("*septem* scribit ecclesiis").

Towards the close of the second century there is evidence of a knowledge of the Epistle in Alexandria, North Africa, Italy, and the West of Europe. From the time of Pantaenus it was held at Alexandria to be, at least indirectly, the work of St. Paul and of canonical authority; and this opinion, supported in different forms by Clement and Origen, came to be generally received among the Eastern Greek Churches in the third century.

Meanwhile a Latin translation of the Epistle found a limited public recognition in North Africa, but not as a work of St. Paul. So Tertullian speaks of it as being "more widely received among the Churches than *The Shepherd*" (*de Pudic.* 20, "utique receptior apud ecclesias illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum"). Cyprian, however, never quotes it, and, by repeating the statement peculiar to Western writers that St. Paul "wrote to seven churches" (*de Exhort. Mart.* 11), he also implicitly denies its Pauline authorship.

In Italy and Western Europe the Epistle was not held to be St. Paul's, and by consequence, as it seems, it was not held to be canonical. Hippolytus (Lagarde, pp. 64, 89, 118, 149) and Irenaeus (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 26) were acquainted with it, but they held that it "was not Paul's" (Steph. Gobar. *ap.* Phot. *Cod.* 232); and if Irenaeus had held it to be authoritative Scripture, he could hardly have failed to use it freely in his Book "against heresies." Caius also reckoned only thirteen Epistles of St. Paul (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 20; Hier. *de Vir. ill.* 59); and Eusebius, where he mentions the fact, adds that the opinion was "still held by some Romans."

It is impossible to decide certainly whether the Epistle formed a part of the earliest Syriac Version. The position which it holds in the Peshitto at present shows at least that it was not regarded strictly as one of St. Paul's Epistles, but as an appendix to the collection. In accordance with this view it is called simply the "Epistle to the Hebrews," and not, after the usage in the other Epistles, "the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews."

This meagre account indicates all the independent external evidence which has been preserved by tradition as to the origin of the Epistle. Later writers simply combine and repeat the views which it represents in various ways. To speak summarily, when the Book first appears in general circulation three distinct opinions about it had already obtained local currency. At Alexandria the Greek Epistle was held to be not directly but mediately St. Paul's, as either a free translation of his words or a reproduction of his thoughts. In North Africa it was known to some extent as the work of Barnabas and acknowledged as a secondary authority. At Rome and in Western Europe it was not included in the collection of the Epistles of St. Paul, and had no apostolic weight.

In order to decide between these conflicting judgments, and to account for their partial acceptance, it is necessary to examine the primary evidence more in detail.

The testimony of Alexandria is the earliest and the most explicit. It has been preserved by Eusebius from lost writings of Clement and Origen. Clement, he writes (*H. E.* vi. 14), says in his "Outlines" (Ὑποτυπώσεις), "that the Epistle is Paul's, and that it was written to Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke translated it with zealous care and published it to the Greeks; whence it is that the same complexion of style is found in the translation of this Epistle and in the Acts. [Further] that the [ordinary] phrase 'Paul an Apostle' was not placed at the head of the Epistle for good reason; for, he says, in writing to Hebrews who had formed a prejudice against him and viewed him with suspicion, he was wise not to repel them at the beginning by setting his name there." The last clause only is quoted in Clement's own words, but there can be no doubt that Eusebius has given correctly the substance of what he said, as far as it goes, but much is left undetermined which it would be important to know. There is nothing to indicate the source of Clement's statement, or how far it was the common opinion of the Alexandrine Church at the time, or whether the hypothesis of a Hebrew original was framed to explain the peculiarities of the un-Pauline style. In part this deficiency may be supplied by another quotation from Clement, in regard to the Epistle, which Eusebius makes in the same place: "The blessed presbyter [Pantaenus] used to say: since the Lord was sent to the Hebrews, as being the Apostle of the Almighty, Paul through modesty, as was natural since he had been sent to the Gentiles, does not style himself Apostle of the Hebrews, both for the sake of the honour due to the Lord, and because it was a work of supererogation for him to write to the Hebrews, since he was herald and Apostle of the Gentiles." It appears then that the exceptional character of the Epistle had attracted attention at Alexandria in the generation before Clement, and that an explanation was offered of one at least of its peculiarities. It is possible therefore, though not probable, that Clement may have derived from his master the idea of a Hebrew original. At any rate the idea was compatible with what he had learnt from Pantaenus as to the authorship of the Greek text.

The judgment of Origen is quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 25) in his own words. Every one competent to judge of language must admit, he remarks, that the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews is not that of St. Paul, and he adds that every one conversant with the Apostle's teaching must agree that the thoughts are marvellous and in no way inferior to his acknowledged writings, and then after a while he continues: "If I were to express my own opinion, I should say that the thoughts are the thoughts of the Apostle, but the language and the composition that of one who recalled from memory and, as it were, made notes of what was said by his master. If therefore any Church holds this Epistle as Paul's, let it be approved for this also [as for holding unquestioned truths], for it was not without reason that the men of old time have handed it down as Paul's [that is, as substantially expressing his thoughts]. But who wrote the Epistle God only knows certainly. The account that has reached us is twofold: some say that Clement, who became Bishop of the Romans, wrote the Epistle, others that Luke wrote it, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts. But on this I will say no more."

The testimony is of the highest value as supplementary to and in part explaining that of Clement. Origen does not refer to any "Hebrew" original. It is not possible then that this hypothesis formed part of the ancient tradition of Alexandria. It was a suggestion which Origen did not think it worth while to discuss. He was aware that some Churches did not receive the Epistle as St. Paul's. In the strictest sense of authorship he agreed with them. At the same time he held that in a true sense it could be regarded as St. Paul's, as embodying thoughts in every way worthy of him.

Thus Clement and Origen, both familiar with the details of the tradition of "the men of old time" to whom they refer, agree in regarding the Greek Epistle as St. Paul's only in a secondary sense. Clement regards it as a free translation of an original, so made by St. Luke as to show the characteristics of his style: Origen regards it as a scholar's eloquent reproduction of his master's teaching. Each view must have been consistent with what was generally received; and this can only have been that the Epistle rightly had a place among the apostolic letters, though its immediate authorship was uncertain. The practice of Clement and Origen is an application of this judgment. Both use the Epistle as St. Paul's without any qualification, because it was naturally placed in connexion with his writings; and Origen once went so far as to say that he was prepared to show that "the Epistle was Paul's" in reply to those "who rejected it as not written by Paul" (*Ep. ad Afric.* 9); and in another passage, preserved indeed only in a Latin translation, he speaks of "fourteen Epistles of St. Paul" (*Hom. in Jos.* vii.).

Looking back over the records of the first three centuries, Eusebius expressed the judgment to which the facts pointed plainly with all their apparent discrepancies. In different places he ranks the Epistle among "the acknowledged" (iii. 25) and the "controverted" Books (vi. 13). He held himself that it was originally written in "Hebrew," and that Clement of Rome (rather than St. Luke) had translated it, on the ground of its likeness to Clement's own Letter both in style and subject-matter (iii. 38). He used the Greek text as St. Paul's habitually; and reckoned his Epistles as fourteen (*H. E.* iii. 3), though he noticed that "some rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews on the ground that it was controverted (ἀντιλέγεσθαι) by the Roman Church as not being Paul's." At the same time this judgment was justified on the plea that it was reasonable "on the ground of its antiquity that it should be reckoned with the other writings of the Apostle" (*H. E.* iii. 38). Such a statement would be inconsistent with the idea that he held it to be St. Paul's in the same sense as the other Epistles. He held it to be canonical Scripture and Pauline, so to speak, for ecclesiastical use. Eusebius in other words, like

Origen, was chiefly concerned to maintain the canonicity of the Epistle, and he upheld its ultimate Pauline authorship as connected with its apostolic authority.

It will be evident from the facts which have been given how slender is the historical evidence for the Pauline authorship of the Epistle when it is traced to the source. The unqualified statements of later writers simply reproduce the testimony of Clement or Origen as interpreted by their practice. But it is not clear that any one among the earliest witnesses attributed the Greek text to St. Paul. It is certain that neither Clement nor Origen did so, though they used the Epistle as his without reserve. What they were concerned to affirm for the Book was Pauline, or, we may say more correctly, apostolic authority.

Viewed in this light, the testimony of Alexandria is not irreconcilable with the testimony of the West. The difference between the two springs from the different estimate which they made of the two elements of the problem, canonicity and authorship. The Alexandrines emphasised the thought of canonicity, and, assured of this, placed the Epistle in connexion with St. Paul. The Western Fathers emphasised the thought of authorship, and, believing that the Epistle was not properly St. Paul's, denied its canonical authority. The former were wrong in requiring Pauline authorship as the condition of canonicity: the latter were wrong in denying the canonicity of a Book of which St. Paul was not recognised as the author. Experience has shown us how to unite the positive conclusions on both sides. We have been enabled to acknowledge that the canonical authority of the Epistle is independent of its Pauline authorship. The spiritual insight of the East can be joined with the historical witness of the West. And if we hold that the judgment of the Spirit makes itself felt through the consciousness of the Christian Society, no Book of the Bible is more completely recognised by universal consent as giving a Divine view of the facts of the Gospel, full of lessons for all time, than the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The practical judgment of Alexandria found formal expression in a Festal Epistle of Athanasius (A.D. 367). Among the Books of the Old and New Testaments which he reckons as "held canonical and divine," he enumerates "fourteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul" in the order of the oldest MSS. ("... 2 Thess., Hebrews, 1 Timothy..."). And from his time this reckoning of the "fourteen Epistles" became universal among Greek writers; but there is no reason to suppose that either he or the other Fathers who followed him wished to go beyond the testimony of Clement and Origen and Eusebius.

From the 4th century the canonical authority of the Epistle came to be recognised in the West, and in part, as a consequence, its Pauline authorship. Fathers like Hilary, who were familiar with Greek writers, naturally adopted little by little their mode of speaking of it. Still the influence of the old belief remained; and Jerome shows that the judgment which Eusebius notes in his time still survived unchanged. "The custom of the Latins," he says, "does not receive it among the canonical Scriptures as St. Paul's" (*Ep. ad Dard.* 129). And while he himself rightly maintained its canonical authority and used it freely, he was even scrupulously careful to indicate in his quotations that he did not by so doing decide the question of its authorship. Augustine adopted the same general view as Jerome, and under his influence lists of Books for use in Church were authorised at three African Councils —at Hippo in 393, and at Carthage in 397 and 419. In these the Epistle to the Hebrews was included; and henceforward, while the doubts as to the authorship of the Epistle were noticed from time to time, the canonical authority of the Book was not again called in question in the West till the time of the Reformation. The Catalogue of the second Council of Carthage was transcribed in a letter of Innocent I. to Exsuperius, and became part of the Law of the Roman Church.

It is needless to follow in detail the statements of later writers. A few interesting traces of old doubts survive. Some commentators deal only with thirteen Epistles of St. Paul (Hilary of Rome, Migne, *P. L.* xvii. pp. 45 sq.; Pelagius, *P. L.* xxx. pp. 645 sq.; cp. Cassiod. *de Inst. div. litt.* iv. 8), though Hilary and Pelagius speak of the Epistle to the Hebrews elsewhere as a Book of the Apostle. But the notices as to the authorship of the Book are for the most part simple repetitions of sentences of Jerome. Here and there a writer of exceptional power uses his materials with independence, but without real knowledge. Thomas Aquinas, for example, marshals the objections to the Pauline authorship and the answers to them in a true scholastic form, and decides in favour of the Pauline authorship on the ground of ancient authority, and because "Jerome receives it among the Epistles of Paul."

At the revival of Greek learning in Europe, when "the Grammarians" ventured to re-open questions of Biblical criticism, the authorship and, in part, the authority of the Epistle was called in question. On this, as on other similar subjects, Card. Cajetan spoke freely. Erasmus, with fuller knowledge, expressed his doubts "not as to the authority, but as to the author of the Epistle; doubts," he added characteristically, "which would remain till he saw a distinct judgment of the Church upon the point." Luther denied the Pauline authorship of the Book without hesitation, and, referring to the earlier traditions, conjectured that it was more likely to have been written by Apollos (cp. Bleek, p. 249 n.). Calvin, while maintaining the full apostolical authority of the Epistle, professed that he "could not be brought to think that it was St. Paul's." He thought that it might be a work of St. Luke or of Clement. Beza also held that it was written by a disciple of St. Paul. At first he inclined to adopt Luther's conjecture as to the authorship, but this opinion he afterwards withdrew silently.

The review of the historical evidence as to the authorship of the Epistle will have shown sufficiently that there was no clear or uniform tradition on the subject in the early Church. Obvious circumstances are adequate to explain why the names of St. Paul and St. Luke, Barnabas and Clement, were connected with it; and in no case is the external testimony of such a character as to justify the belief that it was

derived from a tradition contemporary in origin with the Book. It remains therefore to consider how far internal testimony helps towards the solution of the question. The direct evidence furnished by the Epistle is slight, though there is not the least indication that the writer wished to conceal his personality. He was intimately acquainted with those whom he addressed: vi. 9 sq.; x. 34 (*τοῖς δεσμίοις συνεπαθήσατε*); xiii. 7; xiii. 19 (*ἵνα τάχιον ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν*), but the last clause does not necessarily imply that he belonged to their society, or that he was in confinement. He speaks of Timothy as a common friend: xiii. 23 (*γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν* T. *ἀπολελυμένον*), and there is no reason to question the identity of this Timothy with the companion of St. Paul. He places himself in the second generation of believers, as one who had received the Gospel from those who heard the Lord (ii. 3).

This last statement has been justly held to be a most grave (or indeed fatal) objection to the Pauline authorship. It is not possible to reconcile it without unnatural violence with St. Paul's jealous assertion of his immediate discipleship to Christ (contrast Gal. i. 1, 11 sq.). On the other hand, these few notices might all apply equally well to St. Luke or Barnabas or Clement.

The indirect evidence supplied by the Epistle is important at least negatively. The language and teaching offer materials for comparison with writings of the four authors suggested by tradition. With St. Luke the comparison is practically confined to the language: with Barnabas, if we assume that his letter is authentic, Clement, and St. Paul, it embraces both language and teaching.

It has been already seen that the earliest scholars who speak of the Epistle notice its likeness in style to the writings of St. Luke; and when every allowance has been made for coincidences which consist in forms of expression which are found also in the LXX. or in other writers of the N. T., or in late Greek generally, the likeness is unquestionably remarkable. No one can work independently at the Epistle without observing it (cp. p. 1313). But it is not possible to establish any sure conclusion on such a resemblance. The author of the Epistle may have been familiar with the writings of St. Luke themselves, or he may have been in close connexion with the Evangelist or with those whose language was moulded by his influence. In any case the likeness of vocabulary and expression is not greater than that which exists between 1 Peter and the Epistles of St. Paul. If indeed it were credible that the Epistle was originally written in "Hebrew," then the external and internal evidence combined would justify the belief that the Greek text is due to St. Luke. If that opinion is out of the question, the historical evidence for St. Luke's connexion with the Epistle is either destroyed or greatly weakened, and the internal evidence gives no valid result.

The superficial resemblances between the Epistle and the Letter of Clement, both in vocabulary and form, are very striking. It would be easy to draw up a list of parallelisms in words and manner sufficient to justify the judgment of Eusebius. But these parallelisms are more than counterbalanced by differences in both respects. Clement has an unusually large number of peculiar words; and his heaping together of co-ordinate clauses (as 1, 3, 20, 35, 36, 45, 55), his frequent doxologies (20, 38, 43, 45, 50, 58, 59), and to a certain extent his method of quotation, sharply distinguish his writing from the Epistle to the Hebrews. Moreover a closer examination of the parallelisms with the Epistle makes it clear that they are due to a use of it, like the use which is made of the Epistles of St. Paul (*e.g.* c. 49). And, what is of far greater moment, the wide difference between the two works in range of thought, in dogmatic depth, in prophetic insight, makes it impossible to suppose that the Epistle to the Corinthians could have been written after the Epistle to the Hebrews by the same writer. Clement is essentially receptive and imitative. He combines, but he does not create. Even if the external evidence for connecting him with the Epistle were greater than it is, the internal evidence would be incompatible with any other connexion than that of a simple translator.

Some differences in style between the Epistle and the writings of St. Paul have been already noticed. A more detailed inquiry shows that these cannot be adequately explained by differences of subject or of circumstances. They characterise two men, and not only two moods or two discussions. The student will feel the subtle force of the contrast if he compares the Epistle to the Hebrews with the Epistle to the Ephesians, to which it has the closest affinity. But it is as difficult to represent the contrast by an enumeration of details as it is to analyse an effect. It must be felt for a right appreciation of its force. So it is also with the dogmatic differences between the writer and St. Paul.

There is unquestionably a sense in which Origen is right in saying that "the thoughts" of the Epistle are the thoughts of St. Paul. The writer shows the same broad conception of the universality of the Gospel as the Apostle of the Gentiles, the same grasp of the age-long purpose of God wrought out through Israel, the same trust in the atoning work of Christ and in His present sovereignty. He speaks with the same conscious mastery of the Divine Counsel. But he approaches each topic from a different side. He looks at all as from within Israel, and not as from without. He speaks as one who step by step had read the fulfilment of the Old Covenant in the New without any rude crisis of awakening or any sharp struggle with traditional errors. His Judaism has been all along the Judaism of the prophets and not that of the Pharisees, of the O. T. and not of the schools (cp. p. 1314 sq.).

The differences between the Epistle and the Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas involve a contrast of principles and not simply of details, both in the treatment of the O. T. Scriptures and in the treatment of the Levitical system. The spiritual interpretation of the historical records in the Epistle of Barnabas is arbitrary and trivial (*e.g.* cc. ix., xv.). The Levitical legislation had, according to this writing, no historical, no disciplinary value whatever. The outward embodiment of the enigmatic ordinances was a pernicious delusion. Christians alone had the key to their meaning.

We are left then with a negative conclusion. The Epistle cannot be the work of St. Paul, and still less the work of Clement. It may have been written by St. Luke. It may have been written by Barnabas, if the Epistle of Barnabas is apocryphal. The scanty evidence which is accessible to us supports no more definite judgment.

One conjecture, however, remains to be noticed, not indeed for its own intrinsic worth, but because it has found favour with many scholars. Luther, as we have seen, with characteristic originality conjectured that it was the work of Apollos. The sole ground for the conjecture is the brief description of Apollos which is found in the N. T. (Acts xviii. 24 sq.; 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 4 sq.). But the utmost which can be deduced from these notices is that Apollos, so far as we know, might have written the Epistle; just as what we know of Silas is consistent with the opinion that he wrote it, and has even suggested it. But on the other hand it is to be remembered that there is not the least evidence that Apollos wrote anything, or that he was the only man or the only Alexandrian in the Apostolic age who was "learned ... and mighty in the Scriptures," or that he possessed these qualifications more than others among his contemporaries, or that, in the connexion in which they are noticed, they suggest the presence of the peculiar power which is shown in the Epistle. The wide acceptance of the conjecture as a fact is only explicable by our natural unwillingness to frankly confess our ignorance on a matter which excites our interest.

And yet in this case the confession of ignorance is really the confirmation of an inspiriting faith. We acknowledge the Divine authority of the Epistle, self-attested and ratified by the illuminated consciousness of the Christian Society: we measure what would have been our loss if it had not been included in our Bible; and we confess that the wealth of spiritual power was so great in the early Church that he who was enabled to commit to writing this view of the fulness of the Truth has not by that conspicuous service even left his name for the grateful reverence of later ages. It was enough that the faith and the love were there to render ministry to the Lord (Matt. xxvi. 13).

In the course of this century the authorship of the Epistle has been debated with exhaustive thoroughness. Bleek's Introduction to his Commentary is a treasury of materials, arranged and used with scrupulous fairness. It would be difficult to make any important additions to his view of the external facts. All the recent Commentaries discuss the question more or less fully. It will be enough to refer to some representative writers who advocate the claims of particular men to the authorship. The case for St. Paul is maintained, with various modifications, by Ebrard, Hofmann, Biesenthal, Kay: for St. Luke, by Delitzsch: for Apollos, by Alford, Kurtz, Farrar: for Barnabas, by Grau, Renan, Zahn (cp. Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 318 sq.).

Commentaries. — The most important early Commentaries are those of CHRYSOSTOM (xxxiv. *Homilies*; Migne, *P. Gr.* lxiii.), OECUMENIUS (Migne, *P. Gr.* cxix.), THEOPHYLACT (Migne, *P. Gr.* cxxv.), EUTHYMIUS (ed. Calogeras, 1887), among the Greeks; and of PRIMASIUS (Migne, *P. Lat.* lxviii., also under the name of HAYMO, *id.* cxvii.), HERVEUS BURGIDALENSIS (Migne, *P. Lat.* clxxxi.), THOMAS AQUINAS, among the Latins.

Of later commentators the following may be named out of many as having a representative value:—

16th cent.: ERASMUS (1516), CALVIN (1539), BEZA (1565).

17th cent.: LUD. TONA (1611), CORN. A LAPIDE (1614), ESTIUS (1614), GROTIUS (1632), SZLICHTING (1634), HAMMOND (1653).

18th cent.: WHITBY (1700), BENGEL (1742).

19th cent.: BLEEK (1828–40), THOLUCK (1836–1850), EBRARD (1850), DELITZSCH (1857), KURTZ (1869), EWALD (1870), HOFMANN (1873), MOLL (1877, ed. 3), LÜNEMANN (1878, ed. 4), KEIL (1885) (Germany).

In England many separate Commentaries have been published in late years in addition to those contained in Commentaries on the whole N. T.: *e.g.* by Davidson (A. B., 1879), Edwards (T. C., 1892[4]), Farrar (F. W., 1883), Rendal (F., 1883), Vaughan (C. J., 1890), Westcott (B. F., 1889).

The work of Riehm (E. K. A.) on the teaching of the Epistle (*Der Lehrbegriff d. Hebräerbriefs dargestellt*, 1858, 1867) is of the highest value.

[B. F. W.]

HEB-RON (חֶבְרוֹן = *union*: Χεβρών; in 1 Ch. xv. 9, B. Χεβρώμ: *Hebron*). **1.** The third son of Kohath, who was the second son of Levi; the younger brother of Amram, father of Moses and Aaron (Ex. vi. 18; Num. iii. 19; 1 Ch. vi. 2, 18, xxiii. 12). The immediate children of Hebron are not mentioned by name (cp. Ex. vi. 21, 22), but he was the founder of a "family" (*Mishpāchāh*) of Hebronites (Num. iii. 27, xxvi. 58; 1 Ch. xxvi. 23, 30, 31) or Bene-Hebron (1 Ch. xv. 9, xxiii. 19), who are often mentioned in the enumerations of the Levites in the passages above cited. JERIAH was the head of the family in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiii. 19, xxvi. 31, xxiv. 23: in the last of these passages the name of Hebron does not now exist in the Hebrew, but has been supplied in the A. V. and R. V. from the other lists). In the last year of David's reign we find them settled at Jazer in Gilead (a place not elsewhere named as a Levitical city), "mighty men of valour" (בְּנֵי חַיִל), 2,700 in number, who were superintendents for the king over the two and a half tribes in regard to all matters sacred and secular (1 Ch. xxvi. 31, 32). At the same time 1700 of the family under Hashabiah held the same office on the west[a] of Jordan (*v.* 30).

2. This name appears in the genealogical lists of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. ii. 42, 43), where Mareshah is said to have been the "father of Hebron," who again had four sons,

[a] The expression here is (R. V.) "had the oversight of Israel beyond (מֵעֵבֶר) Jordan westward (מִיָּמָּה)," &c. "Beyond Jordan" generally means "on the east;" but here, induced probably by the word following, "westward," our translators have rendered it "on this side" (cp. Deut. i. 1, 5; Josh. ix. 1, &c. See Dillmann[2] *ll.* cc.). Were Hashabiah and his brethren settled on the western side of the Transjordanic country?

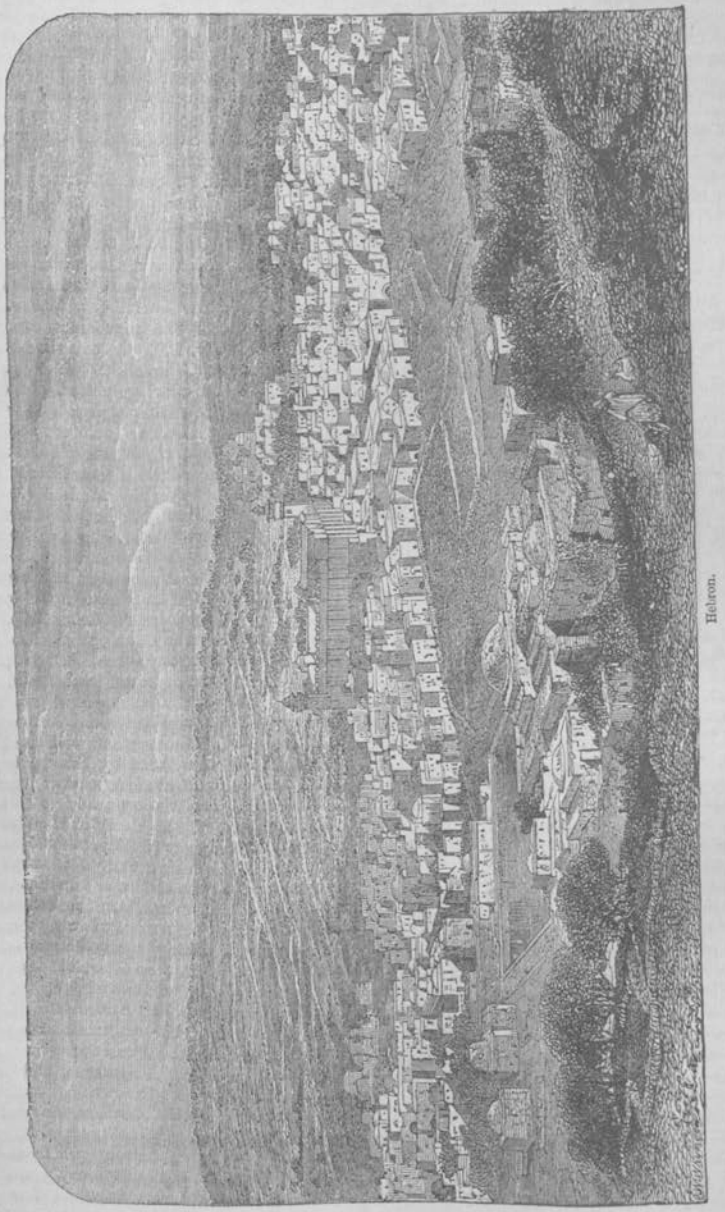
one of whom was Tappuach. The three names just mentioned are those of places, as are also many others in the subsequent branches of this genealogy—Ziph, Maon, Bethzur, &c. But it seems impossible to say whether these names are those of the places themselves or of persons who founded them. [G.] [W.]

HEB-RON (חֶבְרוֹן; Χεβρὼμ and Χεβρών; *Hebron*, 1 Macc. v. 65 *Chebron*; Arab. الخليل = "the friend"). **1.** A city of Judah (Josh. xv. 54), situated among the mountains (Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 11), 22 Roman miles south of Jerusalem (Euseb. *s. v.* Ἀρβώ, *OS.*[2] p. 233, 65), and 20 miles north of Beersheba (*OS.*[2] p. 248, 100). Hebron is one of the oldest existing Bible towns; and in this respect it is the rival of Damascus. It was built "seven years before Zoan in Egypt" (Num. xiii. 22), or according to Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 9, § 7), who says that it was in his day 2,300 years old, before Memphis; and it was a well-known town when Abram pitched his tent "by the oaks of Mamre," after separating from Lot on the heights of Bethel (Gen. xiii. 18). Its original name was Kirjath-Arba, R. V. Kiriath-A. (קִרְיַת־אַרְבַּע; LXX., Κιριαθ-αρβοκ-σεφέρ, Gen. xxiii. 2, xxxv. 27; Josh. xv. 54, xx. 7; Judg. i. 10), "the city of Arba;" so called from Arba, "the greatest man among the Anakim" (Josh. xiv. 15) and the father of Anak (xv. 13, xxi. 11). [ANAKIM.] By later writers it was interpreted as the "city of four," which Jerome explains (*OS.*[2] p. 120, 9; *Ep. Paul.* § 11) as referring to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam, who were buried there. [KIRJATH-ARBA.] Hebron was also sometimes called Mamre (Gen. xxiii. 19, xxxv. 27), probably from Abram's friend and ally Mamre, the Amorite (xiv. 13, 24), under the shadow of whose oaks the Patriarch dwelt (xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1). [MAMRE.] Its modern name, *el-Khalîl*, "the Friend," *i.e.* of God, is that by which Muhammadans call Abraham (cp. Is. xli. 8; Jas. ii. 23).

The chief interest of Hebron arises from its having been the home and the burial-place of the Patriarchs, and the scene of some of the most remarkable events in their lives. Abram dwelt there during the interval between his sojourn at Bethel and Beersheba (Gen. xiii. 18), and there his name was changed to Abraham (xvii. 5). It was "by the oaks of Mamre," at Hebron, that Abraham entertained the Angels unawares (xviii.); there Isaac was born; and there Sarah died (xxiii. 2), and was buried in the "cave of the field of Machpelah," which the Patriarch bought from Ephron the Hittite as a burial-place for his family (xxiii. 3–20). The city then apparently belonged to the children of Heth, who ratified by their presence (*vv.* 17, 18) the contract between Abraham and Ephron. [HITTITES.] It was also the home, for a portion of their lives, of Isaac and Jacob (xxxv. 27; xxxvii. 14); thence Jacob and his sons probably went down to Egypt (xxxvii. 14; cp. xlvi. 1); and there the three Patriarchs and their wives, excepting Rebecca, were buried (xlix. 30, 31; l. 13). Hebron was visited by the twelve spies (Num. xiii. 22); and after Joshua had killed the king Hoham, destroyed the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword (Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, 26, 36–39; xi. 21; xii. 10), it was given to Caleb, who drove out the Anakim (xiv. 13, xv. 13, 14; Judg. i. 20; cp. 1 Ch. ii. 42, 43). It was one of the six cities of refuge (Josh. xx. 7), and was given to the Kohathite Levites (Josh. xxi. 11, 13; 1 Ch. vi. 2, 55, 57). During the time of the Judges it is mentioned in connexion with one of Samson's exploits (Judg. xvi. 3). Hebron acquired new importance when David, who, whilst living in Philistia, maintained friendly relations with its chiefs (1 Sam. xxx. 31), made it the seat of government, and his place of residence during the 7½ years that he reigned over Judah (2 Sam. ii. 1, 3, 11, 32; cp. 1 Kings ii. 11; 1 Ch. xxix. 27). There six sons were born to David (2 Sam. iii. 5; 1 Ch. iii. 1–4); there he was joined by the "men-of-war"; and there he was anointed king over all the tribes of Israel (2 Sam. v. 1, 3; 1 Ch. xi. 1–3, xii. 23, 38). Hebron was the scene of the cruel murder of Abner by Joab (2 Sam. iii. 27) and the place of his burial (iii. 32, iv. 12); and beside the pool the murderers of Ishbosheth were hanged (iv. 12). At this time it contained a sanctuary of Jehovah, to which pilgrimages were made and offerings vowed (2 Sam. xv. 7), possibly the ancient sepulchres of the founders of the nation within the enclosure at Machpelah (see Jerome, *Quaest. Heb.* on 2 Sam. xv. 7); or perhaps the site of the altar erected by Abram (Gen. xiii. 18). Josephus, indeed (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 1), makes Hebron, and not Gibeon, the site of the "high place" where Solomon prayed for wisdom and knowledge (2 Ch. i. 3–13). Absalom raised the standard of revolt at Hebron (2 Sam. xv. 7–10); and at a later date it was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 10). It was re-occupied after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 25), but afterwards fell into the hands of the Edomites, from whom it was captured by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 65; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 6). During the interval between the conquest of Galilee by the Romans, and the final siege of Jerusalem, it was seized by Simon Bar-Gioras, but was shortly afterwards captured and burnt by Cerealis, one of the commanders of Vespasian (*B. J.* iv. 9, §§ 7, 9). Early in the 4th century Eusebius describes it (*OS.*[2] p. 233, 65) as a large town, κώμη μεγίστη; and it is mentioned in connexion with the tombs of the Patriarchs by all the earlier pilgrims. In the 6th century it was taken by the Arabs, when they conquered Palestine, and during their occupation it was visited by Arculf, who describes the city as having been long destroyed (ii. 8), and by Willibald, who calls it *Aframia* (*E. T.* p. 20). In A.D. 1100, after the capture of Jerusalem, it was occupied by the Crusaders; it had then been destroyed by the Saracens, and lay for a time in ruins, being known as *castellum* or *praesidium ad sanctum Abraham* (Saewulf, *E. T.* p. 45; Albert Aq. vi. 15, 41, 43, x. 32, xii. 22). In 1187 it was made the seat of a Latin bishopric (Will. Tyr. xx. 3), but twenty years later it reverted to the Moslems, in whose hands it has ever since remained. It is now one of the four sacred towns of Palestine, and has a population of about 17,000 Moslems and 1200 Jews.

Modern Hebron is, for the most part, situated on the left bank of a valley running from N.W. to S.E., and is built partly on the hill slope and partly in the valley. It has no walls, but the

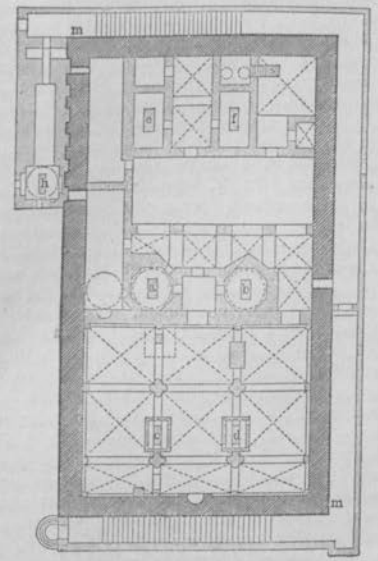
ends of the main streets are closed by gates. The town is divided into four quarters, and the houses are built of stone, with flat roofs having domes in the middle. It is well supplied with water; there are six springs in its immediate vicinity, and ten wells of large size. Amongst these are *'Ain Keshkaleh*, which perhaps retains a trace of the name ESHCOL; *'Ain el-Judeideh*, a fine spring in a vault where, according to a mediaeval tradition, Adam and Eve mourned for Abel; *Bir Ibrahim*, said to be as old as the time of Abraham, and *Bir Yakûb*. In the valley



Hebron.

amidst the olive-trees and gardens is a "pool," 85 ft. long and 55 ft. broad, and lower down a larger one, 133 ft. square and 21 ft. deep, which is of ancient construction, and traditionally supposed to be that by which the murderers of Ishbosheth were hanged (2 Sam. iv. 12). The most conspicuous object in the town is the *Haram*, or "sacred area," 197 ft. long and 111 ft. broad, within which are the tombs of the Patriarchs [MACHPELAH]. The masonry of the enclosing walls is identical in character with that of the Wailing Place at Jerusalem,

and is therefore almost certainly Herodian. The *Haram* at Hebron would almost seem to have been a copy in miniature of that at Jerusalem. In both a level platform is obtained by massive walls of large stones with marginal drafts. At Hebron the wall above the platform rises to a height of 25 ft., and is ornamented with pilasters; and this appears to have been the case at JERUSALEM. At the N.W. and S.E. corners of the *Haram* there are lofty minarets; and within the enclosure are a mosque, originally a 12th-century church, and the shrines of the Patriarchs



Plan of the Mosque at Hebron.

a. Shrine of Abraham; b. of Sarah; c. of Isaac; d. of Rebecca; e. of Jacob; f. of Leah; h. of Joseph. m, m. Minarets.

and their wives. (For the *Haram*, see Conder in *PEF. Mem.* iii. 333 sq.; and, for the cave itself, Cte. Riant, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. 411 sq.). On the N.W. side of the Haram is a ruined fortress.

The sides of the valley in which Hebron lies are clothed with luxuriant vineyards, whilst groves of grey olive and other fruit trees give variety to the scene. Above *'Ain el-Judeideh*, westward of the *Haram*, rise the terraced sides of *Jebel er-Rumeidy*, on which are the *Deir el-Arba in*, containing the traditional tombs of Jesse and Ruth, and the *Kabr Hebrûn*, held by the Jews of Hebron to be the tomb of Abner. At the foot of the hill is the *Ager Damascenus*, from the red earth of which, according to tradition, Adam was made; Theodoricus (xxxiv.) and John of Würzburg (xxi.) state that the earth was eaten by the inhabitants and exported to Egypt. About 2 miles west of the *Haram* is a fine *Sindián*, called "Abraham's oak," which from the 12th century has been pointed out to Christians as the tree beneath which Abraham pitched his tent.

The Jews following ancient tradition place the oak of Mamre at *Haram Râmet el-Khulil*, a remarkable ruin 2 miles north of Hebron, which was formerly called Drys, Δρῦς, or Terebinthus (Euseb. and Jerome, *OS.*[2] p. 257, 27; p. 148, 16; *Itin. Hierosol.*). Some of the earlier pilgrims distinguished Hebron the old city from the later town that had gathered round the *spelunca duplex* in which the Patriarchs were buried. Thus Theodosius (xxi.) makes Terebinthus 4 miles from the *spelunca duplex*, and the latter 2 miles from Hebron. Arculf (ii. 9) places the cave 1 furlong E. of Hebron and the oak of Mamre 1 mile to the north; Abbot Daniel (li.–liii.) makes the cave 2 versts from the oak, which was on a high mountain, and half a verst from Hebron; Benjamin of Tudela says (*E. T.* p. 86) that the ancient city was situated on the hill, and in ruins, whilst the modern town was in the valley. Guérin suggests (*Judée*, iii. 243) that the ancient city of Hebron was on *Jebel er-Rumeidy*. It may perhaps be inferred from Gen. xxiii. 19 that the cave of Machpelah was to the east of Hebron; but it seems unnecessary to suppose that the town was on a hill. Caleb's portion, "the fields of the city" (Josh. xxi. 12), probably included *Wâdy Tuffuh*, the traditionary Eshcol, and the whole network of valleys near the town; and the "vale of Hebron" (Gen. xxxvii. 14), the valley that runs down from "Abraham's oak" (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 305–308, 316, 322, 332 sq.; Rob. ii. 75 sq.; *Hbk. S. and P.*; Sepp, *Jerusalem und H. L.* i. 594 sq.; Rosen, *ZDMG.* xii. 477; Guérin, *Judee*, iii. 214 sq.). [W.]

2. R. V. EBRON (עֶבְרוֹן and עֶבְרֹן; B. Ἐλβών, A. Ἀχράν; *Achran*, later editions *Abran*). One of the towns in the territory of Asher (Josh. xix. 28), on the boundary of the tribe. It is named next to Rehob, and is apparently in the neighbourhood of Sidon. By Eusebius and Jerome it is merely mentioned (s. v. Achran, *OS.*[2] p. 242, 73; p. 130, 8), and no one in modern times has discovered its site (see some conjectures in Dillmann[2] in loco). It will be observed that the name in the original is quite different from that of Hebron, the well-known city of Judah (No. 1), although in the A. V. they are the same, our translators having represented the *Ain* by H, instead of by G, or by the vowel only, as is their usual custom. But, in addition, it is not certain whether the name should not rather be Ebdon or Abdon (עבדון), since that form is found in many MSS. (Davidson, *Hebr. Text*; Ges. *Thes.* p. 980), and since an Abdon is named amongst the Levitical cities of Asher in other lists, which otherwise would be unmentioned here. On the other hand, the old Versions (excepting only the Vat. LXX., which is obviously corrupt) unanimously retain Ebron. [ABDON.] [G.] [W.]

HEBRONITES, THE (חֶבְרוֹנִי; *Hebroni, Hebronitae*). A family of Kohathite Levites, descendants of Hebron, the son of Levi (Num. iii. 47 [BA. Χεβρωνεῖς, F. om.], xxvi. 58 [B. Χεβρωνεί, A. -ων, F. -ωνι]; 1 Ch. xxvi. 23, Χεβρών). In the time of David, the chief of the family west of Jordan was Hashabiah; while on the east, in the land of Gilead, were Jerijah and his brethren, "men of valour," over the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch. xxvi. 30–32). [W. A. W.]

HEDGE (גְּדֵרָה, גָּדֵר; מְסוּכָה, מְשׂוּכָה; φραγμός). The first three words thus rendered

in the A. V., as well as their Greek equivalent, denote simply that which surrounds or encloses, whether it be a stone wall (גָּדֵר, *gēder*, Prov. xxiv. 31; Ezek. xlii. 10), or a fence of other materials. גָּדֵר, *gādēr*, and גְּדֵרָה, *g'dērāh*, are used of the hedge of a vineyard (Num. xxii. 24; Ps. lxxxix. 40; 1 Ch. iv. 23), and the latter is employed to describe the wide walls of stone, or fences of thorn, which served as a shelter for sheep in winter and summer (Num. xxxii. 16). The stone walls which surround the sheepfolds of modern Palestine are frequently crowned with sharp thorns (Thomson, *Land and the Book*, i. 299), a custom at least as ancient as the time of Homer (*Od.* xiv. 10), when a kind of prickly pear (ἄχερδος) was used for that purpose, as well as for the fences of corn-fields at a later period (Arist. *Eccl.* 355). In order to protect the vineyards from the ravages of wild beasts (Ps. lxxx. 12), it was customary to surround them with a wall of loose stones or mud (Matt. xxi. 33; Mark xii. 1), which was a favourite haunt of serpents (Eccles. x. 8), and a retreat for locusts from the cold (Nah. iii. 17). Such walls are described by Maundrell as surrounding the gardens of Damascus. "They are built of great pieces of earth, made in the fashion of brick and hardened in the sun. In their dimensions they are each two yards long and somewhat more than one broad, and half a yard thick. Two rows of these, placed one upon another, make a cheap, expeditious, and, in this dry country, a durable wall" (*Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 487). A wall or fence of this kind is clearly distinguished in Is. v. 5 from the tangled hedge, מְשׂוּכָה, *m'sūcāh* (מְסוּכָה, Mic. vii. 4), which was planted as an additional safeguard to the vineyard (cp. Ecclus. xxviii. 24), and was composed of the thorny shrubs with which Palestine abounds. The prickly pear, a species of cactus, so frequently employed for this purpose in the East at present, is believed to be of comparatively modern introduction. The aptness of the comparison of a tangled hedge of thorn to the difficulties which a slothful man conjures up as an excuse for his inactivity, will be at once recognised (Prov. xv. 19; cp. Hos. ii. 6). The narrow paths between the hedges of the vineyards and gardens, with a fence on either side (Num. xxii. 24), are distinguished from the "highways," or more frequented tracks, in Luke xiv. 23. [W. A. W.]

HEDGEHOG. The rendering in Is. xxxiv. 12 in Coverdale's translation of קִפֹּד, *kippōd*; ἐχῖνος πελεκάν, Aq.; κύκνος, Theod. in Zeph. ii. 14; *ericius*. In R. V. "porcupine," in this and the other two passages where it occurs, viz. Is. xiv. 23, Zeph. ii. 14. But A. V. has in all "bittern." [BITTERN.] [H. B. T.]

HE'GAI (הֵגַי, Pers. name, Ges.; Γαΐ; *Egeus*), one of the eunuchs (A. V. "chamberlains") of the court of Ahasuerus, who had special charge of the women of the harem (Esth. ii. 8, 15). According to the Hebrew text, he was a distinct person from the "keeper of the concubines"—Shaashgaz (*v.* 14), but the LXX. have the same name in *v.* 14 as in *v.* 8, while in *v.* 15 they omit it altogether. In *v.* 3 the name is given under the different form of

HE'GE, R. V. HEGAI (הֵגֵא; *Egeus*, probably a Persian name). *Aja* signifies eunuch in Sanscrit, in accordance with which the LXX. have τῷ εὐνούχῳ. Hegias, Ἡγίας, is mentioned by Ctesias as one of the people about Xerxes (Gesenius, *Thes.* Addenda, p. 83 *b*).

HEIFER (עֶגְלָה, פָּרָה; δάμαλις; *vacca*). The Hebrew language has no expression that exactly corresponds to our heifer; for both *'eglāh* and *pārāh* are applied to cows that have calved (1 Sam. vi. 7–12; Job xxi. 10; Is. vii. 21): indeed *eglah* means a young animal of any species, the full expression being *'eglath bāqār*, "heifer of kine" (Deut. xxi. 3; 1 Sam. xvi. 2; Is. vii. 21). The heifer or young cow was not commonly used for ploughing, but only for treading out the corn (Hos. x. 11; but see Judg. xiv. 18), when it ran about without any "muzzle" (Deut. xxv. 4); hence the expression an "unbroken heifer" (Hos. iv. 16; A. V. "backsliding," R. V. "stubborn"), to which Israel is compared. A similar sense has been attached to the expression "calf of three years old," i.e. *unsubdued*, in Is. xv. 5, Jer. xlviii. 34; but it is much more probably to be taken, with R. V., as a proper name, *'Eglath Shelishiyāh*, such names being not uncommon. The sense of "dissolute" is conveyed undoubtedly in Amos iv. 1. The comparison of Egypt to a "fair heifer" (Jer. xlvi. 20) may be an allusion to the well-known form under which Apis was worshipped (to which we may also refer the words in *v.* 15, as understood in the LXX., "Why is the bullock [μόσχος ἐκλεκτός] swept away?"); the "destruction" threatened being the bite of the gad-fly (R. V. marg.), to which the word *gēreṣ* would fitly apply. "To plough with another man's heifer" (Judg. xiv. 18) implies that an advantage has been gained by unfair means. The proper names Eglah, Eneglaim, and Parah are derived from the Hebrew terms at the head of this article. [W. L. B.]

HEIR. The Hebrew institutions relative to inheritance were of a very simple character (see Bloch, *Das Mos.-Talm. Erbrecht*, Budapest, 1890). Under the Patriarchal system the property was divided among the sons of the legitimate wives (Gen. xxi. 10, xxiv. 36, xxv. 5), a larger portion being assigned to one, generally the eldest, on whom devolved the duty of maintaining the females of the family. [BIRTHRIGHT.] The sons of concubines were portioned off with presents (Gen. xxv. 6): occasionally they were placed on a par with the legitimate sons (Gen. xlix. 1 sq.), but this may have been restricted to cases where the children had been adopted by the legitimate wife (Gen. xxx. 3). At a later period the exclusion of the sons of concubines was rigidly enforced (Judg. xi. 1 sq.). Daughters had no share in the patrimony (Gen. xxxi. 14), but received a marriage portion, consisting of a maid-servant (Gen. xxix. 24, 29), or some other property. As a matter of special favour they sometimes took part with the sons (Job xlii. 15). The Mosaic Law regulated the succession to real property thus: it was to be divided among the sons, the eldest receiving a double portion (Deut. xxi. 17), the others equal shares: if there were no sons, it went to the daughters (Num. xxvii. 8), on the condition that

they did not marry out of their own tribe (Num. xxxvi. 6 sq.; Tob. vi. 12, vii. 13), otherwise the patrimony was forfeited (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, § 5). If there were no daughters, it went to the brother of the deceased; if no brother, to the paternal uncle; and, failing these, to the next of kin (Num. xxvii. 9–11). In the case of a widow being left without children, the nearest of kin on her husband's side had the right of marrying her, and in the event of his refusal the next of kin (Ruth iii. 12, 13): with him rested the obligation of redeeming the property of the widow (Ruth iv. 1 sq.), if it had been either sold or mortgaged: this obligation was termed מִשְׁפַּט הַגְּאֻלָּה ("the right of redemption"), and was exercised in other cases besides that of marriage (Jer. xxxii. 7 sq.). If none stepped forward to marry the widow, the inheritance remained with her until her death, and then reverted to the next of kin. The object of these regulations evidently was to prevent the alienation of the land, and to retain it in the same family: the Mosaic Law enforced, in short, a strict entail. Even the assignment of the double portion, which under the patriarchal *régime* had been at the disposal of the father (Gen. xlviii. 22), was by the Mosaic Law limited to the eldest son (Deut. xxi. 15–17). The case of Achsah, to whom Caleb presented a field (Josh. xv. 18, 19; Judg. i. 15), is an exception: but perhaps even in that instance the land reverted to Caleb's descendants either at the death of Achsah or in the year of Jubilee. The land being thus so strictly tied up, the notion of *heirship*, as we understand it, was hardly known to the Jews: succession was a matter of right, and not of favour—a state of things which is embodied in the Hebrew language itself, for the word יָרַשׁ (A. V. "to inherit") implies *possession*, and very often *forcible* possession (Deut. ii. 12; Judg. i. 29, xi. 24), and a similar idea lies at the root of the words אֲחֻזָּה and נַחֲלָה, generally translated "inheritance." Testamentary dispositions were in a sense superfluous (Bloch, § 63): the nearest approach to the idea is the *blessing*, which in early times conveyed temporal as well as spiritual benefits (Gen. xxvii. 19, 37; Josh. xv. 19). The references to wills in St. Paul's writings are borrowed from the usages of Greece and Rome (Heb. ix. 17), whence the custom was introduced into Judaea: several wills are noticed by Josephus in connexion with the Herods (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 1, xvii. 3, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 2, § 3).

With regard to *personal* property, it may be presumed that the owner had some authority over it, at all events during his lifetime. The admission of a slave to a portion of the inheritance with the sons (Prov. xvii. 2) probably applies only to the personalty. A presentation of half the personalty formed the marriage portion of Tobit's wife (Tob. viii. 21). A distribution of goods during the father's lifetime is implied in Luke xv. 11–13: a distinction may be noted between *οὐσία*, a general term applicable to personalty, and *κληρονομία*, the *landed* property, which could only be divided after the father's death (Luke xii. 13).

There is a striking resemblance between the Hebrew and Athenian customs of heirship, particularly as regards heiresses (*ἐπίκληροι*), who were, in both nations, bound to marry their nearest relation: the property did not vest in the husband even for his lifetime, but devolved upon the son of the heiress as soon as he was of age, who also bore the name, not of his father, but of his maternal grandfather. The object in both countries was the same, viz. to preserve the name and property of every family (*Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.*, art. Epikleros). [W. L. B.] [F.]

HEL-AH (חֶלְאָה = *rust*; B. Ἀωδά, A. Ἀλαά; *Halaa*), one of the two wives of Ashur, father of Tekoa (1 Ch. iv. 5). Her three children are enumerated in *v.* 7. In the LXX. the passage is very much confused, the sons being ascribed to wives different from those named in the Hebrew text.

HE'LAM (חֵילָם; Αἰλάμ; *Helam*), a place east of the Jordan, but west of the Euphrates ("the river"), at which the Syrians were collected by Hadarezer, and at which David met and defeated them (2 Sam. x. 16, 17). In the latter verse the name appears as Chelamah (חֶלְאָמָה), but the final syllable is probably only the particle of motion. This longer form, Χαλαμάκ, is inserted by the B. text[a] of the LXX. in *v.* 16 as if the name of the river, but A. omits; while in the two other places it has Αἰλάμ, corresponding to the Hebrew text (see Wellhausen in loco). By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, § 3) the name is given as Χαλαμά, and as being that of the king of the Syrians beyond Euphrates —*πρὸς Χαλαμὰν τὸν τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτου Σύρων βασιλέα*.

In the Vulgate no name is inserted after *fluvium*; but in *v.* 16, for "came to Helam," we find *adduxit exercitum eorum*, reading חֵילָם, "their army." This too is the rendering of the old translator Aquila—*ἐν δυνάμει αὐτῶν*—of whose version *v.* 16 has survived. In *v.* 17 the Vulgate agrees with the A. V.

Many conjectures have been made as to the locality of *Helam*; but to none of them does any certainty attach. The most feasible perhaps is that it is identical with Alamatha, a town, named by Ptolemy, on the west of the Euphrates near Nicephorium. [G.] [W.]

HEL'BAH (חֶלְבָּה, *fat*, and so *fruitful*; B. Χεβδά, A. Σχεδίαν; *Helba*), a town of Asher, probably on the plain of Phoenicia, near Sidon (Judg. i. 31). [W.]

HEL'BON (חֶלְבוֹן); T^r. Χελβών, A. Χεβρών), a place only mentioned once in Scripture. Ezekiel (xxvii. 18), in describing the wealth and commerce of Tyre, says, "Damascus was thy merchant in the wine of Helbon." The Vulgate translates these words *in vino pingui*; and some other ancient Versions also make the word descriptive of the quality of the wine. There can be no doubt, however, that Helbon is a proper name. Strabo speaks of the wine of Chaly-

[a] This is probably a late addition, since in the LXX. text, as it stood in Origen's *Hexapla*, Χαλαμὰκ was omitted after ποταμοῦ (see Bardht, *ad loc.*).

חלבון (οἶνον ἐκ Συρίας τὸν Χαλυβώνιον) from Syria as among the luxuries in which the kings of Persia indulged (xv. 735); and Athenaeus assigns it to Damascus (i. 22). Geographers formerly represented Helbon as identical with the city of Aleppo, called *Haleb* (حلب) by the Arabs; but there are strong reasons against this. The whole force and beauty of the description in Ezekiel consists in this, that in the great market of Tyre every kingdom and city found ample demand for its own staple products. Why, therefore, should the Damascenes supply wine of Aleppo, conveying it a long and difficult journey overland? If strange merchants had engaged in this trade, we should naturally expect them to be some maritime people who could carry it cheaply along the coast from the port of Aleppo.

In 1853 the writer directed attention to a village and district within a few miles of Damascus, still bearing the ancient name *Helbon* (the Arabic حلبون corresponds exactly to the Hebrew חֶלְבוֹן), and still celebrated as producing the finest grapes in the country (see *Journal of Sac. Lit.* July 1853, p. 260; *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 330 sq.). There cannot be a doubt that this village, and not Aleppo, is the Helbon of Ezekiel and Strabo. The village is situated in a wild glen, high up in Antilebanon. The remains of some large and beautiful structures are strewn around it. The bottom and sides of the glen are covered with terraced vineyards; and the whole surrounding country is rich in vines and fig-trees (*Handbk. for Syr. and Pal.* pp. 495–6; Wetzstein, *ZDMG.* xi. 490; Rob. iii. 472). The wine of Helbon is mentioned in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and Assurbanipal (Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 425). The Chalybon of Ptolemy (v. 15) is probably Aleppo, *Haleb*. [J. L. P.] [W.]

HELCHI'AH (Χελκίας, B. -κει-; *Helcias*), 1 Esd. viii. 1. [HILKIAH.]

HELCHI'AS (*Helcias*), the same person as the preceding, 2 Esd. i. 1. [HILKIAH.]

HEL'DAI (חֶלְדַי, (?) = *worldly*; B. Χολδεά, A. Χολδαΐ; *Holdai*). **1.** The twelfth captain of the monthly courses for the Temple service (1 Ch. xxvii. 15). He is specified as "the Netophathite," and as a descendant of Othniel.

2. An Israelite who seems to have returned from the Captivity; for whom, with others, Zechariah was commanded to make certain crowns as memorials (Zech. vi. 10). In *v.* 14 the name appears to be changed to HELEM. The LXX. translate παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων.

HE'LEB (חֵלֶב = *milk*; B. omits, A. Αλάφ; *Heled*), son of Baanah, the Netophathite, one of the heroes of king David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 29). In the parallel list the name is given as

HE'LED (חֶלֶד; B. Χθαόδ, A. Ἐλάδ; *Heled*), 1 Ch. xi. 30.

HE'LEK (חֶלֶק = *a portion*; in Num. [*v.* 34], B. Χέλεγ, A. Χελέκ, F. Χελέχ; in Josh., B. Κέλεζ, A. Φελέκ: *Helec*), one of the descendants of Manasseh; the second son of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 30), and founder of the family of the HELEKITES. The Bene-Chelek, "children of Helek," are mentioned in Josh. xvii. 2 as of much importance in their tribe. The name has not however survived; at least it has not yet been met with.

HE'LEKITES, THE (הַחֶלְקִי, *i.e.* "the Chelkite;" B. ὁ Χελεγεί, AF. ὁ Χελεκί; *familia Helecitarum*), the family descended from the foregoing (Num. xxvi. 30; LXX. *v.* 34).

HE'LEM (חֵלֶם = *a blow*; B. Βαλαάμ, A. Ἐλάμ; *Helem*). **1.** A man named among the descendants of Asher, in a passage evidently much disordered (1 Ch. vii. 35). If it be intended that he was the brother of Shamer, then he may be identical with Hotham, in *v.* 32, the name having been altered in copying; but this is mere conjecture. Burrington (i. 265) quotes two Hebrew MSS., in which the name is written חלם, Cheles.

2. (LXX. τοῖς ὑπομένουσι.) A man mentioned only in Zech. vi. 14. Apparently the same who is given as HELDAI in *v.* 10.

HE-LEPH (הֶלֶף; B. Μοολάμ, A. Μελέφ—both include the preposition prefixed; *Heleph*), the place from which the boundary of the tribe of Naphtali started (Josh. xix. 33), but where situated, or on which quarter, cannot be ascertained from the text. Van de Velde (*Memoir*, p. 320) proposes to identify it with *Beit Lif*, a village situated on a hill-top nearly mid-way between *Râs Abyâd* and *Kades*; and on the edge of a very marked ravine, which probably formed part of the boundary between Naphtali and Asher (Van de Velde, *Syria*, i. 233). The identification, however, is uncertain. [G.] [W.]

HE'LEZ (חֶלֶץ, (?) = *activity*; in Sam. B. Σελλής—the initial Σ is probably from the end of the preceding word—A. Ἐλλής; 1 Ch. xxvii. 10, B. Χέσλης, A. Χελλής; *Heles, Helles*). **1.** One of "the thirty" of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Ch. xi. 27: in the latter, חֶלֶץ), an Ephraimite, and captain of the seventh monthly course (1 Ch. xxvii. 10). In both these passages of Chronicles he is called "the Pelonite," of which Kennicott decides that "the Paltite" of Samuel is a corruption (*Dissertation*, &c., pp. 183–4; see, however, Driver on Sam. *l. c.*). [PALTITE.]

2. (Χέλλης; *Helles.*) A man of Judah, son of Azariah (1 Ch. ii. 39); a descendant of Jerahmeel, of the great family of Hezron.

HE'LI (Ἡλί, Ἡλεί; *Heli*), the father of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary (Luke iii. 23); maintained by Lord A. Hervey, the investigator of the genealogy of Christ, to have been the real brother of Jacob, the father of the Virgin herself (Hervey, *Genealogies*, pp. 130, 138). The name, as we possess it, is the same as that employed by the LXX. in the O. T. to render the Hebrew עֵלִי, ELI the high-priest.

2. The third of three names inserted between

ACHITOB and AMARIAS in the genealogy of Ezra, in 2 Esd. i. 2 (cp. Ezra vii. 2, 3).

HELI'AS, 2 Esd. vii. 39. [ELIJAH.]

HELIODO'RUS (Ἡλιόδωρος), the treasurer (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων) of Seleucus Philopator, who was commissioned by the king, at the instigation of Apollonius [APOLLONIUS], to carry away the private treasures deposited in the Temple at Jerusalem. According to the narrative in 2 Macc. iii. 9 sq., he was stayed from the execution of his design by a "great apparition" (ἐπιφάνεια), in consequence of which he fell down "compassed with great darkness," and speechless. He was afterwards restored at the intercession of the high-priest Onias, and bore witness to the king of the inviolable majesty of the Temple (2 Macc. iii.). The full details of the narrative are not supported by any other evidence. Josephus, who was unacquainted with 2 Macc., takes no notice of it; and the author of the so-called 4 Macc. attributes the attempt to plunder the Temple to Apollonius, and differs in his account of the miraculous interposition, though he distinctly recognises it (*de Macc.* 4, οὐρανόθεν ἔφιπποι προυφάνησαν ἄγγελοι . . . . καταπεσὼν δὲ ἡμιθανὴς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος . . . .). Heliodorus afterwards murdered Seleucus, and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Syrian crown B.C. 175 (App. *Syr.* 45). Cp. Wernsdorf, *De fide Libr. Macc.* § liv.; *Speaker's Comm.* in loco; Stanley's *Lectt. on the Jewish Church*, Lect. xlviii. Raffaelle's grand picture of "Heliodorus" will be known to many by copies and engravings, if not by the original. [B. F. W.]

HEL'KAI (חִלְקִיָּה, ? = חִלְקִיָּהוּ = *the Lord's portion*; BA. omit; *Helci*), a priest of the family of Meraioth (or Meremoth, see *v.* 3), who was living in the days of Joiakim the high-priest, *i.e.* in the generation following the return from Babylon under Jeshua and Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 15; cp. *vv.* 10, 12).

HEL'KATH (חֶלְקָת): in Josh. xix., B. Ἐλεκέθ, A. Χελκάθ; in Josh. xxi., B. Χελκάτ, A. Θελκάθ: *Alcath* and *Elcath*), the town named as the starting-point for the boundary of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 25), and allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (xxi. 31). The enumeration of the boundary seems to proceed from south to north; but nothing absolutely certain can be said thereon, nor has any traveller recovered the site of Helkath. Eusebius and Jerome report the name much corrupted (*s. v.* Ἐθαή, *OS.*[2] p. 261, 81; *Elcath*, p. 153, 30), but evidently knew nothing of the place. Schwarz (p. 191) suggests the village *Yerka*, which lies about 8¼ miles east of *'Akka* (see *PEF. Map of Western Palestine*, Sheet III.); but this is uncertain.

In the list of Levitical cities in 1 Ch. vi. HUKOK is substituted for Helkath. [G.] [W.]

HEL'KATH HAZ'ZURIM (חֶלְקַת הַצֻּרִים); μερὶς τῶν ἐπιβούλων—perhaps reading חַצְּדִים; Aquila, Κλῆρος τῶν στερεῶν; *Ager robustorum*), a smooth piece of ground, apparently close to the pool of Gibeon, where the combat took place between the two parties of Joab's men and Abner's men, which ended in the death of the whole of the combatants, and brought on a general battle (2 Sam. ii. 16). [GIBEON; JOAB:] Various interpretations are given of the name (see Driver in loco). In addition to those given above, Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 485 *a*) renders it "the field of swords." The margin of the A. V. has *the field of strong men*, agreeing with Aquila and the Vulgate. The margin of R. V. has *the field of the sharp knives*. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 147), "das Feld der Tückischen." [G.] [W.]

HELKI'AS (B. Χελκείας, B[b]A. Χελχίας; Vulg. omits). A fourth variation of the name of Hilkiah the high-priest, 1 Esd. i. 8. [HILKIAH.]

HELL. This is the word generally and unfortunately used by the translators of 1611 to render the Hebrew *She'ōl* (שְׁאוֹל), or שְׁאֹל; Ἅιδης, and once θάνατος, 2 Sam. xxii. 6; *Inferi* or *Inferna*, or sometimes *Mors*). We say unfortunately, because—although, as St. Augustine truly asserts, *Sheol*, with its equivalents *Inferi* and *Hades*, are never used in an absolutely *good* sense (*De Gen. ad Lit.* xii. 33), yet—the English word Hell is mixed up with numberless associations entirely foreign to the minds of the ancient Hebrews. It would perhaps have been better to retain the Hebrew word *Sheol*, or else render it always by "the grave" or "the pit" (see the practice adopted in the R. V., *Preface*). Ewald accepts Luther's word *Hölle*; even *Unterwelt*, which is suggested by De Wette, involves conceptions too *human* for the purpose.

Passing over the derivations suggested by older writers, it is now generally agreed that the word comes from the root שׁאל, "to make hollow" (cp. Germ. *Hölle*, "hell," with *Höhle*, "a hollow"), and therefore means the vast hollow subterranean resting-place which is the common receptacle of the dead (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1348; Böttcher, *de Inferis*, c. iv. p. 137 sq.; Ewald, *ad Ps.* p. 42). It is deep (Job xi. 8) and dark (Job xi. 21, 22), in the centre of the earth (Num. xvi. 30; Deut. xxxii. 22), having within it depths on depths (Prov. ix. 18), and fastened with gates (Is. xxxviii. 10) and bars (Job xvii. 16). Some have fancied (as Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 203, Eng. ed.) that the Jews, like the Greeks, believed in infernal rivers: thus Clemens Alex. defines Gehenna as "a river of fire" (*Fragm.* 38), and expressly compares it to the fiery rivers of Tartarus (*Strom.* v. 14, 92); and Tertullian says that it was supposed to resemble Pyriphlegethon (*Apolog.* cap. xlvii.). The notion, however, is not found in Scripture, for Ps. xviii. 4 ("torrents of wickedness") is a mere metaphor. In this cavernous realm are the souls of dead men, the Rephaim and ill-spirits (Ps. lxxxvi. 13, lxxxix. 48; Prov. xxiii. 14; Ezek. xxxi. 17, xxxii. 21). It is all-devouring (Prov. i. 12, xxx. 16), insatiable (Is. v. 14), and remorseless (Cant. viii. 6). The shadows, not of men only, but even of trees and kingdoms, are placed in Sheol (Is. xiv. 9–20; Ezek. xxxi. 14–18, xxxii. *passim*).

It is clear that in many passages of the O. T. *Sheol* can only mean "the grave," and it is so rendered in the A. V. (see, for example, Gen. xxxvii. 35, xlii. 38; 1 Sam. ii. 6; Job xiv. 13). In

other passages, however, it seems to involve a notion of punishment, and is therefore rendered in the A. V. by the word "Hell." But in many cases this translation misleads the reader. It is obvious, for instance, that Job xi. 8, Ps. cxxxix. 8, and Amos ix. 2 (where "hell" is used as the antithesis of "heaven"), merely illustrate the Jewish notions of the locality of Sheol in the bowels of the earth. Even Ps. ix. 17, Prov. xv. 24, v. 5, ix. 18, seem to refer rather to the danger of terrible and precipitate death than to a place of infernal anguish. An attentive examination of all the passages in which the word occurs will show that the Hebrew notions respecting *Sheol* were of a vague description. The rewards and punishments of the Mosaic Law were temporal, and it was only gradually and slowly that God revealed to His chosen people a knowledge of future rewards and punishments. Generally speaking, the Hebrews regarded the grave as the final end of all sentient and intelligent existence, "the land where *all things are forgotten*" (Ps. vi. 5; Ps. lxxxviii. 10–22; Is. xxxviii. 9–20; Eccles. ix. 10; Ecclus. xvii. 27, 28). Even the righteous Hezekiah trembled lest, "when his eyes closed upon the cherubim and the mercy-seat," he should no longer "see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living."

In the N. T. the word Hades (like Sheol) sometimes means merely "the grave" (Rev. xx. 13; Acts ii. 31; 1 Cor. xv. 55), or in general "the unseen world." It is in this sense that the creeds say of our Lord *κατῆλθεν ἐν ᾅδῃ* or *εἰς ᾅδου, descendit ad inferos*, or *inferna*, meaning "the state of the dead in general, without any restriction of happiness or misery" (Beveridge *on Art.* iii.), a doctrine certainly, though only virtually, expressed in Scripture (Ephes. iv. 9; Acts ii. 25–31). Similarly Josephus uses *Hades* as the name of the place whence the soul of Samuel was evoked (*Ant.* vi. 14, § 2). Elsewhere in the N. T. Hades is used of a place of retribution (Luke xvi. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 4; Matt. xi. 23, &c.). Consequently it has been the prevalent, almost the universal, notion that Hades is an *intermediate state* between death and resurrection, divided into two parts, one the abode of the blessed and the other of the lost. This was the belief of the Jews after the Exile, who gave to the places the names of Paradise and Gehenna (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, § 3; cp. Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* s. vv.), of the Fathers generally (Tert. *de Animâ*, c. lv.; Jerome *in Eccl.* iii.; Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* § 105, &c.; see Pearson *on Creed*, Art. v.), and of many moderns (Trench *on the Parables*, p. 467; Alford on Luke xvi. 23). In holding this view, main reliance is placed on the parable of Dives and Lazarus; but it is impossible to ground the proof of an important theological doctrine on a passage which confessedly abounds in Jewish metaphors. "Theologia parabolica non est demonstrativa" is a rule too valuable to be forgotten; and if we are to turn rhetoric into logic, and build a dogma on every metaphor, our belief will be of a vague and contradictory character. "Abraham's bosom," says Archbishop Trench, "is not heaven, though it will issue in heaven, so neither is Hades hell though to issue in it, when death and Hades shall be cast into the lake of fire which is the proper hell. It is the place of painful restraint (*φυλακή*, 1 Pet. iii. 19; *ἄβυσσος*, Luke viii. 31), where the souls of the wicked are reserved to the judgment of the great day." But respecting the condition of the dead whether before or after the resurrection we know very little indeed; nor shall we know anything certain until the awful curtains of mortality are drawn aside. Dogmatism on this topic appears to be peculiarly misplaced. [See PARADISE.]

The word most frequently used in the N. T. for the place of future punishment is *Gehenna* (*γέεννα*), or *Gehenna of fire* (*ἡ γ. τοῦ πυρός*), and this word we must notice only so far as our purpose requires; for further information see GEHENNA and HINNOM. The valley of Hinnom, for which Gehenna is the Greek representative, once pleasant with the waters of Siloa ("irrigua et nemorosa, plenaque deliciis," Hieron. *ad Jer.* vii. 19, 31; Matt. v. 22), and which afterwards regained its old appearance ("*hodieque* hortorum praebens delicias," *id.*), was with its horrible associations of Moloch-worship (Jer. vii. 31, xix. 2–6; 2 K. xxiii. 10) so abhorrent to Jewish feeling that they adopted the word as a symbol of disgust and torment. The feeling was kept up by the pollution which the valley underwent at the hands of Josiah, after which it was made the common sink of all the filth and corruption in the city, ghastly fires being kept burning (acc. to R. Kimchi) to preserve it from absolute putrefaction (see authorities quoted in Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* s. v. *Hinnom*, &c.). The fire and the worm were fit emblems of anguish, and as such had seized hold of the Jewish imagination (Is. lxvi. 24; Judith xvi. 17; Ecclus. vii. 17); hence the application of the word *Gehenna* and its accessories in Matt. v. 22, 29, 30; Luke xii. 5.

A part of the valley of Hinnom was named Tophet (2 K. xxiii. 10; for its history and derivation see TOPHET), a word used for what is defiled and abominable (Jer. vii. 31, 32; xix. 6–13). It was applied by the Rabbis to a place of future torment (Targ. on Is. xxx. 33; Talm. *Erubin*, f. 19, 1; Böttcher, pp. 80, 85), but does not occur in the N. T. In the vivid picture of Isaiah (xxx. 33), which is full of fine irony against the enemy, the name is applied to purposes of threatening (with a probable allusion to the recent acts of Hezekiah; see Rosenmüller ad loc.). Besides the authorities quoted, see Bochart (*Phaleg*, p. 528), Ewald (*Proph.* ii. 55), Selden (*de Dis Syris*, p. 172 sq.), Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, i. 499), &c. The subject of the punishment of the wicked and of Hell as a place of torment belongs to a Theological rather than to a Biblical Dictionary. [F. W. F.]

HELLENIST (Ἑλληνιστής; *Graecus*; cp. Ἑλληνισμός, 2 Macc. iv. 13). In one of the earliest notices of the first Christian Church at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 1), two distinct parties are recognised among its members, "Hebrews" and "Hellenists" (Grecians), who appear to stand towards one another in some degree in a relation of jealous rivalry. So again when St. Paul first visited Jerusalem after his conversion, he "spake and disputed with the Hellenists" (Acts ix. 29), as if expecting to find more sympathy among them than with the rulers of the Jews. The term Hellenist occurs once again in the N. T. according to the common text (retained by Westcott and Hort), in the account of the

foundation of the Church at Antioch (Acts xi. 20), but there the context, as well as the form of the sentence, seems to require the other reading "Greeks" (Ἕλληνες; Gebhardt), which is supported by great external evidence, as the true antithesis to "Jews" (Ἰουδαίοις, not Ἑβραίοις, *v.* 19; see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco).

The name, according to its derivation, whether the original verb (Ἑλληνίζω) be taken, according to the common analogy of similar *forms* (μηδίζω, ἀττικίζω, φιλιππίζω), in the general sense of adopting the spirit and character of Greeks, or, in the more limited sense of using the Greek language (Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3, § 25), marks a class distinguished by peculiar habits, and not by descent. Thus the Hellenists as a body included not only the proselytes of Greek (or foreign) parentage (*οἱ σεβόμενοι* Ἕλληνες, Acts xvii. 4; *οἱ σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι*, Acts xiii. 43; *οἱ σεβόμενοι*, Acts xvii. 17), but also those Jews who, by settling in foreign countries, had adopted the prevalent form of the current Greek civilisation, and with it the use of the common Greek dialect, to the exclusion of the Aramaic, which was the national representative of the ancient Hebrew. Hellenism was thus a type of life, and not an indication of origin. Hellenists might be Greeks, but when the latter term is used (Ἕλληνες, John xii. 20), the point of race and not of creed is that which is foremost in the mind of the writer.

The general influence of the Greek conquests in the East, the rise and spread of the Jewish *Dispersion*, and the essential antagonism of Jew and Greek, have been noticed in other articles [ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ALEXANDRIA; DISPERSION; ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES], and it remains only to characterise briefly the elements which the Hellenists contributed to the language of the N. T., and the immediate effects which they produced upon the Apostolic teaching:—

1. The flexibility of the Greek language gained for it in ancient times a general currency similar to that which French enjoys in modern Europe; but with this important difference, that Greek was not only the language of educated men, but also the language of the masses in the great centres of commerce. The colonies of Alexander and his successors originally established what has been called the Macedonian dialect throughout the East; but even in this the prevailing power of Attic literature made itself distinctly felt. Peculiar words and forms adopted at Alexandria were undoubtedly of Macedonian origin, but the later Attic may be justly regarded as the real basis of Oriental Greek. This first type was, however, soon modified, at least in common use, by contact with other languages. The vocabulary was enriched by the addition of foreign words, and the syntax was modified by new constructions. In this way a variety of local dialects must have arisen, the specific characters of which were determined in the first instance by the conditions under which they were formed, and which afterwards passed away with the circumstances which had produced them. But one of these dialects has been preserved after the ruin of the people among whom it arose, by being consecrated to the noblest service which language has yet fulfilled. In other cases the dialects perished together with the communities who used them in the common intercourse of life, but in that of the Jews the Alexandrine Version of the O. T., acting in this respect like the great vernacular Versions of England and Germany, gave a definiteness and fixity to the popular language which could not have been gained without the existence of some recognised standard. The style of the LXX. itself is, indeed, different in different parts, but the same general character runs through the whole, and the variations which it presents are not greater than those which exist in the different Books of the N. T.

The functions which this Jewish-Greek had to discharge were of the widest application, and the language itself combined the most opposite features. It was essentially a fusion of Eastern and Western thought. For disregarding peculiarities of inflexion and novel words, the characteristic of the Hellenistic dialect is the combination of a Hebrew *spirit* with a Greek body, of a Hebrew *form* with Greek words. The conception belongs to one race, and the expression to another. Nor is it too much to say that this combination was one of the most important preparations for the reception of Christianity, and one of the most important aids for the adequate expression of its teaching. On the one hand, by the spread of the Hellenistic Greek, the deep, theocratic aspect of the world and life which distinguishes Jewish thought was placed before men at large; and on the other, the subtle truths which philosophy had gained from the analysis of mind and action, and enshrined in words, were transferred to the service of Revelation. In the fulness of time, when the great message came, a language was prepared to convey it; and thus the very dialect of the N. T. forms a great lesson in the true philosophy of history, and becomes in itself a monument of the providential government of mankind.

This view of the Hellenistic dialect will at once remove one of the commonest misconceptions relating to it. For it will follow that its deviations from the ordinary laws of classic Greek are themselves bound by some common law, and that irregularities of construction and altered usages of words are to be traced to their first source, and interpreted strictly according to the original conception out of which they sprang. A popular, and even a corrupt, dialect is not less precise—or, in other words, is not less human—than a polished one, though its interpretation may often be more difficult from the want of materials for analysis. But in the case of the N. T., the Books themselves furnish an ample store for the critic, and the Septuagint, when compared with the Hebrew text, provides him with the history of the language which he has to study.

2. The adoption of a strange language was essentially characteristic of the true nature of Hellenism. The purely outward elements of the national life were laid aside with a facility of which history offers few examples, while the inner character of the people remained unchanged. In every respect the thought, so to speak, was clothed in a new dress. Hellenism was, as it were, a fresh incorporation of Judaism according to altered laws of life and worship.

But as the Hebrew spirit made itself distinctly visible in the new dialect, so it remained undestroyed by the new conditions which regulated its action. While the Hellenistic Jews followed their natural instinct for trade, which was originally curbed by the Mosaic Law, and gained a deeper insight into foreign character, and with this a truer sympathy, or at least a wider tolerance towards foreign opinions, they found means at the same time to extend the knowledge of the principles of their divine faith, and to gain respect and attention even from those who did not openly embrace their religion. Hellenism accomplished for the outer world what the Return [CYRUS] accomplished for the Palestinian Jews: it was the necessary step between a religion of form and a religion of spirit: it witnessed against Judaism as final and universal, and it witnessed for it as the foundation of a spiritual religion which should be bound by no local restrictions. Under the influence of this wider instruction a Greek body grew up around the Synagogue, not admitted into the Jewish Church, and yet holding a recognised position with regard to it, which was able to apprehend the Apostolic teaching, and ready to receive it. The Hellenists themselves were at once missionaries to the heathen, and prophets to their own countrymen. Their lives were an abiding protest against polytheism and pantheism, and they retained with unshaken zeal the sum of their ancient creed, when the preacher had popularly occupied the place of the priest, and a service of prayer and praise and exhortation had succeeded in daily life to the elaborate ritual of the Temple. Yet this new development of Judaism was obtained without the sacrifice of national ties. The connexion of the Hellenists with the Temple was not broken, except in the case of some of the Egyptian Jews. [THE DISPERSION.] Unity coexisted with dispersion; and the organisation of a Catholic Church was foreshadowed, not only in the widening breadth of doctrine, but even externally in the scattered communities which looked to Jerusalem as their common centre.

In another aspect Hellenism served as the preparation for a Catholic creed. As it furnished the language of Christianity, it supplied also that literary instinct which counteracted the traditional reserve of the Palestinian Jews. The writings of the N. T., and all the writings of the Apostolic age, with the exception of the original Gospel of St. Matthew, were, as far as we know, Greek; and Greek seems to have remained the sole vehicle of Christian literature, and the principal medium of Christian worship, till the Church of North Africa rose into importance in the time of Tertullian. The Canon of the Christian Scriptures, the early Creeds, and the Liturgies are the memorials of this Hellenistic predominance in the Church, and the types of its working; and if in later times the Greek spirit descended to the investigation of painful subtleties, it may be questioned whether the fulness of Christian truth could have been developed without the power of Greek thought tempered by Hebrew discipline.

The general relations of Hellenism to Judaism are well treated in the histories of Ewald and Jost (cp. also Riehm, *HWB.*; Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n.; Farrar, *St. Paul*, ch. vii.; Schürer, *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter d. Jesus Christi*, Index, *s.n.* Hellenismus; but the Hellenistic language has still, critically speaking, to be explored. Winer's *Treatise on the Grammar of N. T. Greek*, ed. Moulton, has done great service in establishing the idea of law in N. T. language, which was obliterated by earlier interpreters, but even Winer does not investigate the origin of the peculiarities of the Hellenistic dialect. Hatch's *Essays on Biblical Greek* are a great step towards this investigation, and much help may be gathered from materials scattered through the works of Field, Lagarde, Cornill, Hollenberg, Vollers, Wellhausen, Kamphausen, &c. The idioms of the N. T. cannot be discussed apart from those of the LXX. (cp. Grinfield, *N. T. Graec., ed. Hellenistica*, and *Scholia Hellenistica in N. T.*); and no explanation can be considered perfect which does not take into account the origin of the corresponding Hebrew idioms. For this work the materials are gradually accumulating. A good text of the LXX. is within reach of all (cp. Swete's edition), the photographing of the great MSS. B. A. ℵ. Q. having at last rendered exact knowledge of forms possible. Bruder's Concordance leaves nothing to be desired for the vocabulary of the N. T., and the Oxford edition of Trommius' Concordance to the LXX. is proving itself both admirable in method and trustworthy for critical purposes.

[B. F. W.] · [F.]

HELMET. [ARMS, p. 241.]

HE'LON (חֵלֹן = *strong*; Χαιλών; *Helon*), father of Eliab, who was the chief man of the tribe of Zebulun, when the census was taken in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 9; ii. 7; vii. 24, 29; x. 16).

HEM OF GARMENT (צִיצִת; κράσπεδον; *fimbria*). The importance which the later Jews, especially the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 5), attached to the hem or fringe of their garments, was founded upon the regulation in Num. xv. 38, 39, which attached a symbolical meaning to it. We must not, however, conclude that the fringe owes its origin to that passage. It was in the first instance the ordinary mode of finishing the robe, the ends of the threads composing the woof being left in order to prevent the cloth from unravelling, just as in the Egyptian *calasiris* (Her. ii. 81; Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 91, 322 [1878]), and in the Assyrian robes as represented in the bas-reliefs of Nineveh: the blue riband being added to strengthen the border. The Hebrew word *sîsîth* is expressive of this *fretted edge:* the Greek κράσπεδα (the etymology of which is uncertain) applies to the *edge* of a river or mountain (Xen. *Hist. Gr.* iii. 2, § 16; iv. 6, § 8), and is explained by Hesychius as τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ ἱματίου κεκλωσμένα ῥάμματα καὶ τὸ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ. The *bêged* or outer robe was a simple quadrangular piece of cloth, and generally so worn that two of the corners hung down in front: these corners were ornamented with a "riband of blue," the riband itself being, as we may conclude from the word used, פְּתִיל (R. V. "cord"), as narrow as a thread or piece of string. The Jews attached great sanctity to this fringe (Matt. ix. 20, xiv. 36; Luke viii. 44), and the Pharisees made it more prominent than it

was originally designed to be, enlarging both the fringe and the riband to an undue width (Matt. xxiii, 5). Directions were given as to the number of threads of which it ought to be composed, and other particulars, to each of which a symbolical meaning was attached (Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 128). It was appended in later times to the *tālīth* more especially, as being the robe usually worn at devotions: whence the proverbial saying quoted by Lightfoot (*Exercit.* on Matt. v. 40), "He that takes care of his fringes deserves a good coat." [W. L. B.]

HE'MAM (הֵימָם = *extermination*; Αἰμάν; *Heman*). Hori (*i.e.* Horite) and Hemam were sons (A. V. "children," but the word is *Benē*) of Lotan, the eldest son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 22). In the list in 1 Ch. i. 39 the name appears as HOMAM, which is probably the correct form.

HE'MAN (הֵימָן = מְהֵימָן = *true, reliable*). **1.** Son of Zerah, 1 Ch. ii. 6 (B. Αἰμουάν, A. Ἀμάν); 1 K. iv. 31 (LXX. iv. 27, B. Αἰνάν, A. Ἡμάν). See following article.

2. Son of Joel, and grandson of Samuel the prophet, a Kohathite. He is called "the singer" (הַמְשֹׁרֵר), rather the *musician* (1 Ch. vi. 33, Heb. *v.* 18), and was the first of the three chief Levites to whom was committed the vocal and instrumental music of the Temple-service in the reign of David, as we read 1 Ch. xv. 16–22; Asaph and Ethan, or rather, according to xxv. 1, 3, Jeduthun,[a] being his colleagues. [JEDUTHUN.] The genealogy of Heman is given in 1 Ch. vi. 33–38 (A. V.), but the generations between Assir the son of Korah and Samuel are somewhat confused, owing to two collateral lines having got mixed. A rectification of this genealogy will be found at p. 214 of *The Genealogies of our Lord*, where it is shown that Heman is fourteenth in descent from Levi. A further account of Heman is given in 1 Ch. xxv., where he is called (*v.* 5) "the king's seer in the matters of God," the word חֹזֵה, "seer," which in 2 Ch. xxxv. 15 is applied to Jeduthun, and in xxix. 30 to Asaph, being probably used in the same sense as is נָבִיא, "prophesied," of Asaph and Jeduthun in xxv. 1–3. We there learn that Heman had fourteen sons and three daughters [HANANIAH, 1]. The sons all assisted in the music under their father, and each of them was head of one of the twenty-four wards of Levites, who "were instructed in the songs of the Lord," or rather in sacred music. Whether or no this Heman is the person to whom the 88th Psalm is ascribed is still a disputed question (see Delitzsch[b] in loco and Schultz in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kyf. Komm. z. A. T.*, 'Einl. z. Pss.' p. 12). The chief reason for supposing him to be the same is, that as other Psalms are ascribed to Asaph and Jeduthun, so it is likely that this one should be to Heman the singer. But on the other hand he is there called "the Ezrahite;" and the 89th Psalm is ascribed to "Ethan the Ezrahite."[b] But since Heman and Ethan are described in 1 Ch. ii. 6 as "sons of Zerah," it is in the highest degree probable that Ezrahite means "of the family of Zerah," and consequently that Heman of the 88th Psalm is different from Heman the singer, the Kohathite. In 1 K. iv. 31 again (Heb. v. 11), we have mention, as of the wisest of mankind, of Ethan the Ezrahite, Heman, Chalcol and Darda, the sons of Mahol, a list corresponding with the names of the sons of Zerah in 1 Ch. ii. 6. The inference from which is that there was a Heman, different from Heman the singer, of the family of Zerah the son of Judah, and that he is distinguished from Heman the singer, the Levite, by being called the Ezrahite. As regards the age when Heman the Ezrahite lived, the only thing that can be asserted is that he lived before Solomon, who was said to be "wiser than Heman," and after Zerah the son of Judah. His being called "son of Zerah" in 1 Ch. ii. 6, indicates nothing as to the precise age when he and his brother lived. They are probably mentioned in this abridged genealogy, only as having been illustrious persons of their family. Nor is anything known of Mahol their father. It is of course uncertain whether the tradition which ascribed the 88th Psalm to Heman's authorship is trustworthy. Nor is there anything in the Psalm itself which clearly marks the time of its composition.

If Heman the Kohathite, or his father, had married an heiress of the house of Zerah, as the sons of Hakkoz did of the house of Barzillai, and was so reckoned in the genealogy of Zerah, then all the notices of Heman might point to the same person, and the musical skill of David's chief musician, and the wisdom of David's seer, and the genius of the author of the 88th Psalm, concurring in the same individual, would make him fit to be joined with those other worthies whose wisdom was only exceeded by that of Solomon. But it is impossible to assert that this was the case.

Rosenm. *Proleg. in Psalm.* p. xvii.; J. Olshausen, *on Psalms; Einleit.* p. 22; *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.* [A. C. H.]

HEMA'TH, R. V. HAMATH (חֲמַת; Αἰμάθ, BA. Ἐμάθ; *Emath*). Another form—not warranted by the Hebrew—of the well-known name HAMATH (Amos vi. 14).

HEMATH (חֲמַת, *i.e.* as in R. V. Hammath; A. Αἰμάθ, B. Μεσημά; Vulg. translates *de calore*), a person, or a place, named in the genealogical lists of Judah, as the origin of the Kenites, and the "father" of the house of RECHAB (1 Ch. ii. 55).

HE'MDAN (חֶמְדָּן = *pleasant*; Ἀμαδά; *Amdam*, or *Hamdam*, some copies *Hamdan*), the eldest son of Dishon, son of Anah the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 26). In the parallel list of 1 Ch. (i. 41) the name is changed to *Hamran* (חַמְרָן), which in the A. V. is given as AMRAM, probably following the Vulgate *Hamram*, in the earliest MSS. *Amaran;* but correctly in R. V.

The name Hemdan is by Knobel (*Genesis*, p. 256) compared with those of *Humeidy* and *Hamady*, two of the five families of the tribe of *Omran* or *Amran*, who are located to the E. and S.E. of 'Akabah: also with the *Bene-*

[a] אֵיתָן and יְדוּתוּן are but two names of the same person. See also 2 Ch. xxix. 13, 14.

[b] St. Augustine's copy read, with the LXX. (ed. Swete), *Israelite*, for *Ezrahite*, in the titles to the 88th and 89th Psalms. His explanation of the title of Ps. lxxxviii. is a curious specimen of spiritualizing interpretation.

Hamydo, who are found a short distance S. of Kerak (S.E. corner of the Dead Sea); and from thence to *el-Busaireh*, probably the ancient BOZRAH, on the road to Petra (see Burckhardt, *Syria*, &c., pp. 695, 407).

HEMLOCK. [GALL.]

HEN (חֵן; *Hem*). According to the rendering of the passage (Zech. vi. 14) adopted in the A. V. and R. V. (text), Hen (or accurately Chen) is the name of a son of Zephaniah. But by the LXX. (χάρις), Ewald (*Gunst*), and many interpreters (see MV.[11]; Orelli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm. z. A. T.*, in loco), the words are taken to mean "for the favour of (R. V. marg. *for the kindness of*) the son of Zephaniah." [F.]

HEN. The hen is nowhere noticed in the O. T. (see Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. 'Hühner'), and in the N. T. only in the passages (Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34) where our Saviour touchingly compares His anxiety to save Jerusalem to the tender care of a hen "gathering her chickens under her wings." The word employed is ὄρνις, which is used in the same specific sense in classical Greek (Aristoph. *Av.* 102; *Vesp.* 811). That a bird, so intimately connected with the household, and so common in Palestine, as we know from Rabbinical sources, should receive such slight notice, is certainly singular; it is almost equally singular that it is nowhere represented in the paintings of ancient Egypt (Wilkinson, i. 234 [1878]). On Babylonian cylinders and seals the cock would seem to symbolise some deity. [W. L. B.] [F.]

HE'NA (הֵנַע; Ἀνά; *Ana*) seems to have been one of the cities of a monarchical state which the Assyrian kings had conquered some time before the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 13; Is. xxxvii. 13). Its being mentioned immediately after Sepharvaim without the intervention of the words "and the king of," would lead one to suppose that it lay in the same province. As, however, Halévy has shown (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii., p. 401) that the site of Sepharvaim is uncertain, the position of Hena must likewise be regarded as doubtful. Fried. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 279) points out that Hena cannot, for etymological reasons, be identified with عانة (*'Ânah* or *'Ânat*) on the Euphrates, and suggests that it may be the city mentioned by the Assyrian king Aššur-naṣir-apli under the name of An-at (Great Standard Inscription, col. iii. ll. 15, 16). This city, which was situated on an island in the Euphrates, has been already identified with 'Ânah or 'Anat (Fox Talbot's *Assyrian Texts*, p. 21; Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 355). Further uncertainty is introduced by the fact that the modern *Anat* is on the right bank of the stream, and that the name is also attached to some ruins a little lower down on the left bank, but between them is "a string of islands" (Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 53), on one of which the ancient city may have been situated. It appears as Anatho (Ἀνάθω) in Isidore of Charax (*Mans. Parth.* p. 4). [G. R.] [T. G. P.]

HEN-A'DAD (חֲנַדָּד = *favour of Hadad*; B. Ἡνάδ, A. Ἡναδάδ; *Henadad, Enadad*), the head of a family of Levites who took a prominent part in the rebuilding of the Temple under Jeshua (Ezra iii. 9). Bavai and Binnui (Neh. iii. 18, 24), who assisted in the repair of the wall of the city, probably belonged to the same family. The latter also represented his family at the signing of the covenant (Neh. x. 9).

HE'NOCH (חֲנוֹךְ; Ἐνώχ; *Henoch*). **1.** The form in which the well-known name ENOCH is given in the A. V. of 1 Ch. i. 3. The Hebrew word is the same both here and in Genesis, viz. *Chanoc*. Perhaps in the present case our translators followed the Vulgate. **2.** So they appear also to have done in 1 Ch. i. 33 with a name which in Gen. xxv. 4 is more accurately given as HANOCH.

HE'PHER (חֵפֶר = *a well*; BAF. Ὄφερ; *Hepher*). **1.** A descendant of Manasseh. The youngest of the sons of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 32; LXX. *v.* 36), and head of the family of the HEPHERITES. Hepher was father of ZELOPHEHAD (xxvi. 33; xxvii. 1; Josh. xvii. 2, 3), whose daughters first raised the question of the right of a woman, having no brother, to hold the property of her father.

2. (Ἡφάλ; *Hepher*.) The second son of Naarah, one of the two wives of Ashur, the "father of Tekoa" (1 Ch. iv. 6), in the genealogy of Judah.

3. (Β. Ὄφαρ.) The Mecherathite, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the list of 1 Ch. xi. 36. In the catalogue of 2 Samuel this name does not exist (see xxiii. 34).

HE'PHER (חֵפֶר; Ὄφερ; *Opher*), a place in ancient Canaan, which, though not mentioned in the history of the conquest, occurs in the list of conquered kings (Josh. xii. 17). It was on the west of Jordan (cp. *v.* 7). So was also the "land of Hepher" (אֶרֶץ חֵ, *terra Epher*), which is named with Socoh as one of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 10). To judge from this catalogue it lay towards the south of Central Palestine, at any rate below Dor: so that there cannot be any connexion between it and GATH-HEPHER, which was in Zebulun near Sepphoris. [G.] [W.]

HE'PHERITES, THE (הַחֵפְרִי, *i.e.* "the Hepherite;" AF. *δ* Ὀφερί, B. *δ* Ὀφερεί; *familia Hepheritarum*), the family of Hepher the son of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 32; LXX. *v.* 36).

HEPH'ZI-BAH (חֶפְצִי־בָהּ; θέλημα ἐμόν; *voluntas mea in ea*). **1.** A name signifying "My delight in her," and actually the name of a queen (see No. 2), which is to be borne by the restored Jerusalem (*Is.* lxii. 4. Cp. Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[5] in loco). The succeeding sentence contains a play on the word—"for Jehovah delighteth (חָפֵץ, *châphêṣ*) in thee."

2. (Β. Ὀψειβά, B[ab]. Ἀ—, A. Ὀφσιβά; Joseph. Ἀχιβά; *Haphsiba*.) The name of the queen of king Hezekiah, and the mother of Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 1). In the parallel account (2 Ch. xxxiii. 1) her name is omitted. No clue is given as to the character of this queen. But if she

was an adherent of Jehovah—and this the wife of Hezekiah could not fail to be—it is not impossible that the words of Is. lxii. 4 may contain a complimentary allusion to her.

HERALD (כָּרוֹזָא). The only notice of this officer in the O. T. occurs in Dan. iii. 4; the term there used being connected etymologically with the Greek κηρύσσω (on the Greek words in Daniel, see s. n., p. 710) and with our "cry." There is an evident allusion to the office of the herald in the expressions κηρύσσω, κήρυξ, and κήρυγμα, which are frequent in the N. T., and which are but inadequately rendered by "preach," &c. The term "herald" might be substituted in 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11; 2 Pet. ii. 5. [W. L. B.]

HER'CULES (Ἡρακλῆς), the name commonly applied by the Western nations to the tutelary deity of Tyre, whose national title was *Melkart* (מלקרת, *i.e.* מלך קרת, *the king of the city* = πολιοῦχος, Μελίκαρος,' Phil. Bybl. *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* i. 10). The identification was based upon a similarity of the legends and attributes referred to the two deities, but Herodotus (ii. 44) recognised their distinctness, and dwells on the extreme antiquity of the Tyrian rite (Herod. *l. c.*: cp. Strabo, xvi. 757; Arr. *Alex.* ii. 16; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 5, § 3; *c. Apion.* i. 18). The worship of Melkart was spread throughout the Tyrian colonies, and was especially established at Carthage (cp. *Hamilcar*), where it was celebrated with human sacrifices (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 4 [5]; cp. Jer. xix. 5). Mention is made of public embassies sent from the colonies to the mother state to honour the national god (Arr. *Alex.* ii. 24; Q. Curt. iv. 2; Polyb. xxxi. 20), and this fact places in a clearer light the offence of Jason in sending envoys (*θεωρούς*) to his festival (2 Macc. iv. 19 sq.).

There can be little doubt but that Melkart is the proper name of the Baal—the Lord (הַבַּעַל)—whose worship was introduced from Tyre by Jezebel, Ahab's queen (1 K. xvi. 31; cp. 2 K. xii. 18), after the earlier Canaanitish idolatry had been put down (1 Sam. vii. 4; cp. 1 K. xi. 5–8). Melkart (Hercules) and Astarte appear in the same close relation (Joseph. *Ant.* l. c.) as Baal and Astarte. See Baudissin in Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n. Baal; Bäthgen, *Beitr. z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 20 sq., 234. [B. F. W.] [F.]

HERD, HERDSMAN. The herd was greatly regarded both in the patriarchal and Mosaic periods. Its multiplying was considered as a blessing, and its decrease as a curse (Gen. xiii. 2; Deut. vii. 14, xxviii. 4; Ps. cvii. 38, cxliv. 14; Jer. li. 23). The ox was the most precious stock next to horse and mule, and (since those were rare) the thing of greatest value which was commonly possessed (1 K. xviii. 5). Hence we see the force of Saul's threat (1 Sam. xi. 7). The herd yielded the most esteemed sacrifice (Num. vii. 3; Ps. lxix. 31; Is. lxvi. 3); also flesh-meat and milk, chiefly converted, probably, into butter and cheese (Deut. xxxii. 14; 2 Sam. xvii. 29), which such milk yields more copiously than that of small cattle[a] (Arist. *Hist. Anim.* iii. 20). The full-grown ox is hardly ever slaughtered in Syria; but, both for sacrificial and convivial purposes, the young animal was preferred (Ex. xxix. 1)—perhaps three years might be the age up to which it was so regarded (Gen. xv. 9)—and is spoken of as a special dainty (Gen. xviii. 8; Amos vi. 4; Luke xv. 23). The case of Gideon's sacrifice was one of exigency (Judg. vi. 25) and exceptional; and that of the people (1 Sam. xiv. 32) was an act of wanton excess. The agricultural and general usefulness of the ox, in ploughing, threshing [AGRICULTURE], and as a beast of burden (1 Ch. xii. 40; Is. xlvi. 1), made such a slaughtering seem wasteful; nor, owing to difficulties of grazing, fattening, &c., is beef the product of an Eastern climate. The animal was broken to service probably in his third year (Is. xv. 5[b]; Jer. xlviii. 34; cp. Plin. *N. H.* viii. 70, ed. Par.). In the moist season, when grass abounded in the waste lands, especially in the "south" region, herds grazed there; *e.g.* in Carmel on the W. side of the Dead Sea (1 Sam. xxv. 2; 2 Ch. xxvi. 10). Dothan also, Mishor, and Sharon (Gen. xxxvii. 17: cp. Robinson, iii. 122; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 247, 260, 484–5; 1 Ch. xxvii. 29; Is. lxv. 10) were favourite pastures. For such purposes Uzziah built towers in the wilderness (2 Ch. xxvi. 10). Not only grass,[c] but foliage, is acceptable to the ox, and the hills and woods of Bashan and Gilead afforded both abundantly; on such upland (Ps. l. 10, lxv. 12) pastures cattle might graze, as also, of course, by river-sides, when driven by the heat from the regions of the "wilderness." Especially was the Eastern table-land (Ezek. xxxix. 18; Num. xxxii. 4) "a place for cattle," and the pastoral tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, who settled there, retained something of the nomadic character and handed down some image of the patriarchal life (Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 324–5). Herdsmen, &c., in Egypt were a low, perhaps the lowest, caste; hence as Joseph's kindred, through his position, were brought into contact with the highest castes, they are described as "an abomination;" but of the abundance of cattle in Egypt, and of the care there bestowed on them, there is no doubt (Gen. xlvii. 6, 17; Ex. ix. 4, 20). Brands were used to distinguish the owner's herds (Wilkinson, i. 217, 218 [1878]). So the plague of hail was sent to smite especially the cattle (Ps. lxxviii. 48), which also suffered severely in the murrain and shared the boil, and the firstborn of which also were smitten

[a] These were common, and are frequently alluded to. The expression שִׁפּוֹת־בָּקָר, 2 Sam. xvii. 29, means cheese of cows' milk; חֶמְאָה, Arab. حبنا, Gen. xviii. 8, Is. vii. 15, 2 Sam. xvii. 29, Job xx. 17, Judg. v. 25, Prov. xxx. 33, is properly rendered "butter" (which Gesenius, *s. v.*, is mistaken in declaring to be "hardly known to the Orientals, except as a medicine"); and in Prov. *l. c.* the process itself is referred to. The word גְּבִנָּה, Job x. 10, is the same as the Arab. جبن, applied by the Bedouins to their goats' milk cheese.

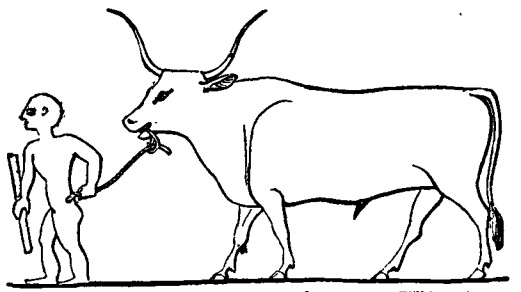
[b] In R. V. here and at Jer. *l. c.* note that this expression="a heifer of three years" is made a proper name—needlessly; but, if so taken, the name has none the less its meaning, and that meaning supports the above view.

[c] In Num. xxii. 4, the word יֶרֶק, in A. V. "grass," really "verdure," includes all vegetation: cp. Ex. x. 15; Is. xxvii. 10; Cato, *de R. R.* c. 30; Varro, *de R. R.* i. 15 and ii. 5. חָצִיר, Job viii. 12, xl. 15, seems used in a signification equally wide.

(Ex. xii. 29; Ps. cxxxv. 8, cxix. 3–9). The Israelites departing stipulated for (Ex. x. 26) and took "much cattle" with them (xii. 38; Num. xi. 22). [WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.] Cattle formed thus one of the traditions of the Israelitish nation in its greatest period, and became almost a part of that greatness. They are the subject of providential care and legislative

Egyptian farm-yard. (Wilkinson.)

ordinance (Ex. xx. 10, 17, xxi. 28 sq.,[d] xxxiv. 19; Lev. xix. 19, xxv. 7; Deut. xi. 15, xxii. 1, 4, 10, xxv. 4; Ps. civ. 14; Is. xxx. 23, 24; Jon. iv. 11), and even the Levites, though not holding land, were allowed cattle (Num. xxxv. 2, 3). When pasture failed, a mixture of various grains (called, Job vi. 5, בָּלִיל, rendered "fodder" in the A. V. and R. V., and, Is. xxx. 24, "provender;"[e] cp. the Roman *farrago* and *ocymum*, Plin. xviii. 10 and 42) was used, as also תֶּבֶן,[f] "chopped straw" (Gen. xxiv. 25; Is. xi. 7, lxv.



A deformed oxherd, so represented to mark contempt. (Wilkinson.)

25), which was torn in pieces by the threshing-machine and used probably for feeding in stalls. These last formed an important adjunct to cattle-keeping, being indispensable for shelter at certain seasons (Exod. ix. 19–21). The herd, after its harvest-duty was done, which probably caused it to be in high condition, was specially worth caring for; at the same time most open pastures would have failed because of the heat. It was then probably stalled, and would continue so until vegetation returned. Hence the failure of "the herd" from "the stalls" is mentioned as a feature of scarcity (Hab. iii. 17). "Calves of the stall" (Mal. iv. 2; Prov. xv. 17) are the objects of watchful care. The Reubenites, &c., bestowed their cattle "in cities" when they passed the Jordan to share the toils of conquest (Deut. iii. 19), *i.e.* probably in some pastures closely adjoining, like the "suburbs" appointed for the cattle of the Levites (Num. xxxv. 2, 3; Josh. xxi. 2). Cattle were ordinarily allowed as a prey in war to the captor (Deut. xx. 14; Josh. viii. 2), and the case of Amalek is exceptional, probably to mark the extreme curse to which that people was devoted (Ex. xvii. 14; 1 Sam. xv. 3). The occupation of herdsman was honourable in early times. Saul himself resumed it in the interval of his cares as king; also Doeg was certainly high in his confidence. Pharaoh made some of Joseph's brethren "rulers over his cattle." David's herd-masters were among his chief officers of state (Gen. xlvii. 6; 1 Sam. xi. 5, xxi. 7; 1 Ch. xxvii. 29, xxviii. 1). Cattle-keeping must have greatly suffered from the inroads of the enemies to which the country under the later kings of Judah and Israel was exposed. Uzziah, however (2 Ch. xxvi. 10), and Hezekiah (xxxii. 28, 29), resuming command of the open country, revived it. Josiah also seems to have been rich in herds (xxxv. 7–9). The prophet Amos at first followed this occupation (Amos i. 1, vii. 14). A goad was used (Judg. iii. 31; 1 Sam. xiii. 21, מַלְמָד, דָּרְבָּן), being, as mostly, a staff armed with a spike. For the word Herd as applied to camels, asses, and swine, see CAMEL, ASS, SWINE (these, however, were all "unclean" by law, whereas the ox, &c. were not so); and on the general subject, Ugolini, xxix., *de R. R. vett. Hebr.* c. ii., which will be found nearly exhaustive of it. [H. H.]

HE'RES, MOUNT. One of the places in the territory of Dan, which, like Aijalon and Shaalbim, was occupied by the Amorites, and tributary to Ephraim (Judg. i. 34, 35). It was probably in the district *Beni Hârith*, N.E. of *Yalo*, Aijalon, which appears to retain a trace of the name. Seven miles E. of *Jimzu*, Gimzo, there is a village called *Khurbetha ibn Hârith*, which may be connected with it. Riehm (*s. v.*) suggests that instead of "in Mount Heres" we should read "in Har Heres," and that this town may perhaps be Ir-Shemesh or Beth-shemesh. [W.]

HE'RES (Is. xix. 18). [IR-HA-HERES.]

[d] Rabbis differ on the question whether the owner of the animal was under this enactment liable or not liable. See *de R. R. Veterum Hebraeorum*, c. ii.; Ugolini, xxix.

[e] The word seems to be derived from בָּלַל, to mix; used Judg. xix. 21 for "to give fodder" to an animal. The passage in Isaiah probably means that in the abundant yield of the crops the cattle should eat of the best, such as was usually consumed by man.

[f] With this is often found, as if a complementary or inclusive term, מִסְפּוֹא, A. V. and R. V. "provender," which also occurs alone, Gen. xlii. 27, xliii. 24.

HE'RESH (חֶרֶשׁ = *artificer*; B. Ῥαμαήλ, A. Ἀρές; *carpentarius*), a Levite; one of the staff attached to the Tabernacle (1 Ch. ix. 15).

HER'MAS (Ἑρμᾶς, from Ἑρμῆς, the "Greek god of gain," or Mercury), the name of a person to whom St. Paul sends greeting in his Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 14), and consequently then resident in Rome, and a Christian: and yet the origin of the name, like that of the other four mentioned in the same verse, is Greek. However, in those days, even a Jew, like St. Paul himself, might acquire Roman citizenship. Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen agree in attributing to him the work called the *Shepherd:* which, from the name of Clement occurring in it, is supposed to have been written in the pontificate of Clement I., or quite early in the second century; while others affirm it to have been the work of a namesake in the following age, and brother to Pius I. (or about the middle of the second century); others, again, have argued against its genuineness (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* s. v.; Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nic.* i. 2, 3–6; Dindorf, *Praef. ad Hermae Past.* See *Dict. of Christ. Biography*, s. n.; Salmon, *Introd. to the N. T.*[4] p. 579 sq.; Zahn, *Der Hist. d. Hermas* [1868]; and for text, &c., Gebhardt and Harnack's *Patres Apostolici* [1877]. Consult also C. Taylor, *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels* [1892]). From internal evidence, its author, whoever he was, appears to have been a married man and father of a family: a deep mystic, but without ecclesiastical rank. Further, the work in question is supposed to have been originally written in Greek—in which language it is frequently cited by the Greek Fathers—though it now only exists entire in a Latin Version. It was never received into the Canon; but yet was generally cited with respect, only second to that which was paid to the authoritative Books of the N. T., and was held to be in some sense inspired (Caillau's *Patres*, tom. i. p. 17). It may be styled the *Pilgrim's Progress* of ante-Nicene times; and is divided into three parts: the first containing four visions, the second twelve moral and spiritual precepts, and the third ten similitudes, each intended to shadow forth some verity (Caillau, *ibid.*). Every man, according to this writer, is attended by a good and bad angel, who are continually endeavouring to affect his course through life; a doctrine which forcibly recalls the fable of Prodicus respecting the choice of Hercules (Xenoph. *Mem.* ii. 1).

The Hermas of the Epistle to the Romans is celebrated as a saint in the Roman calendar on May 9 (Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, May 9).

[E. S. Ff.] [F.]

HER'MES (Ἑρμῆς), the name of a man mentioned in the same Epistle with the preceding (Rom. xvi. 14). "According to the Greeks," says Calmet (*Dict.* s. v.), "he was one of the Seventy disciples, and afterwards Bishop of Dalmatia." His festival occurs in their calendar upon April 8 (Neale, *Eastern Church*, ii. 774). [E. S. Ff.]

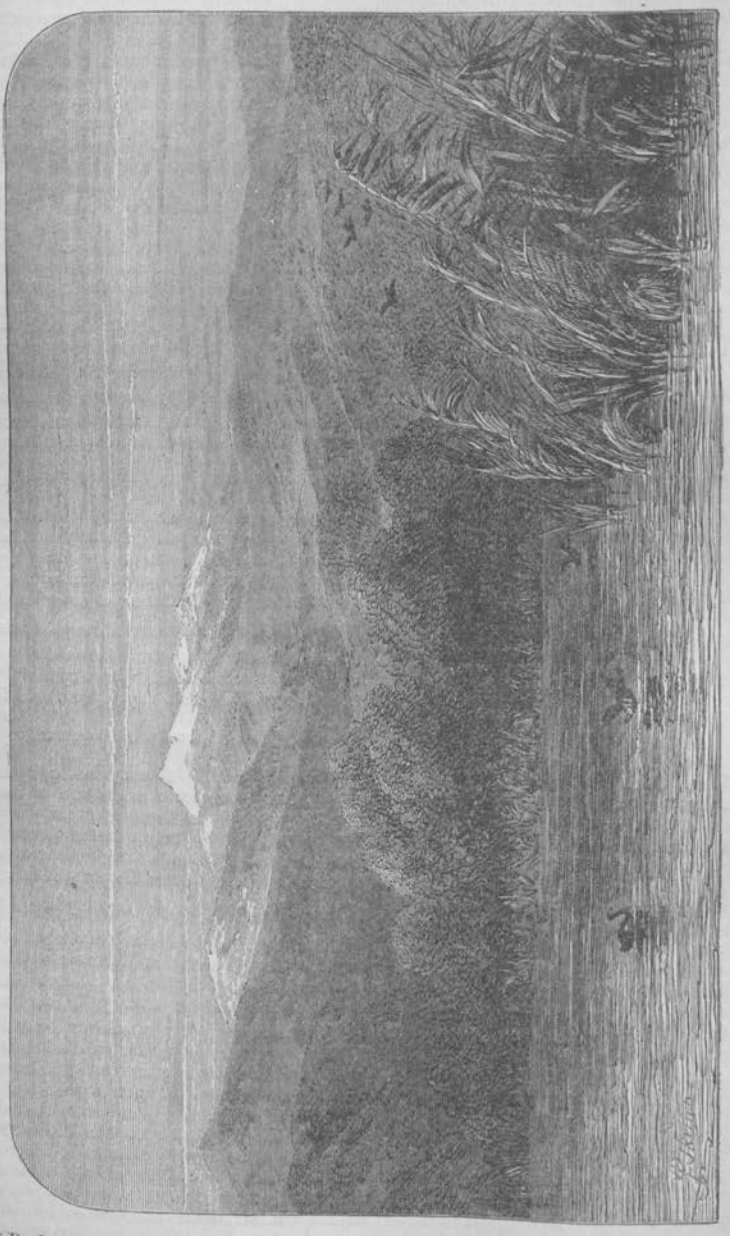
HERMES, Acts xiv. 12, R. V. *marg.* [MERCURY.]

HERMOG'ENES (Ἑρμογένης), a person mentioned by St. Paul in 2 Tim. i. 15 (see Alford's *Proleg.* c. vii. § 35), when "all in Asia" (*i.e.* those whom he had left there) "had turned away from him," and among their number "Phygellus and Hermogenes." It does not appear whether they had merely forsaken his cause, now that he was in bonds, through fear, like those of whom St. Cyprian treats in his celebrated work *De Lapsis;* or whether, like Hymenaeus and Philetus (2 Tim. ii. 18), they had embraced false doctrine. It is just possible that there may be a contrast intended between these two sets of deserters. According to the legendary history, bearing the name of Abdias (Fabricii *Cod. Apocryph. N. T.* p. 517), Hermogenes had been a magician, and was, with Philetus, converted by St. James the Great, who destroyed the charm of his spells. Neither the Hermogenes who suffered in the reign of Domitian (Hoffman, *Lex. Univ.* s. v.; Alford *on* 2 *Tim.* i. 15), nor the Hermogenes against whom Tertullian wrote—still less the martyrs of the Greek calendar (Neale, *Eastern Church*, ii. p. 770, Jan. 24, and p. 781, Sept. 1)—are to be confounded with the person now under notice, of whom nothing more is known. [E. S. Ff.]

HE'RMON (חֶרְמוֹן; Ἀερμών), a remarkable mountain, forming the north boundary of the land of Israel. Gesenius compares the word with the Arabic حرم, which means a "prominent peak of a mountain." In the first passage in which the mountain is mentioned, a geographical note in Deuteronomy (iii. 9), we are informed that the Sidonians called it Sirion (שִׂרְיוֹן) and that the Amorites called it Shenir (שְׂנִיר), both of which names have been rendered "breastplate." The first Gesenius compares with the name θώραξ, "breastplate," for a mountain in Magnesia (cp. 1 Sam. xvii. 5, 38); the second he compares with the Arabic سنور, "a coat of mail." It may be legitimate to doubt if the Canaanite names are of necessity Semitic words. In Mongol speech *Sir* means "snow," and Sirion might mean "snowy," the modern name of Hermon being "the snowy top." It appears that the name Shenir still survived as *Sinîr* (سنير) in the 14th century A.D.; for according to Abu-el-feda it then applied to a mountain ridge north of Damascus (p. 164, ed. Köhler, as quoted by Gesenius, *Lex.*). Another name of Hermon was Sion (שִׂיאֹן), as noted in Deuteronomy (iv. 48), meaning "elevated,"—a word having no connexion with Zion, though seeming in the English form to be the same. It would appear that Hermon is included in the land of Israel in the Book of Joshua, for the limit is placed (xi. 17, xii. 1, xiii. 5) at "Baal-gad, in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon:" this definition of the situation of Baal-gad does not agree with the position of that town at Baniâs, as proposed by Robinson, since the latter is not in the valley of Lebanon, but in the valley of Jordan. Baal-gad is evidently to be sought on the north slopes of Hermon, and the name probably survives at the spring and plain called *Jedeideh* (جديدة),

on the road from Damascus to Beirut, and at the foot of the northern spurs of Hermon, at the south end of the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.

From this point northwards the country belonged to the Phoenician Giblites and to the Hivites. In later passages Hermon is called Baal-hermon (Judg. iii. 3; cp. 1 Ch. v. 23), and in the second of these notices a distinction is apparently made between Baal-hermon, Shenir, and Hermon. As, however, the Hebrew particle often means "even" instead of "and," we may perhaps



Mount Hermon and Desert of Decapolis.

read "Baal-hermon, even Shenir, even Hermon." The term Baal is sometimes applied to mountains, as in the case of Baal-hazor, a very prominent summit, and in these cases perhaps means "the top" or "chief," unless indeed it refer to the sacred character of the mountains. From two passages in the Psalms (xlii. 6, lxxxix. 12) we may suppose that Hermon was a place of worship of Jehovah, like Carmel, Gerizim, and other high places. The Psalmist speaks of "remember-

ing" Jehovah on the mountains of "the Hermonites" or "Hermons" (חֶרְמוֹנִים); and the Hebrew verb "to remember" means radically to "make a memorial" or "monument." In the second passage we read that "Tabor and Hermon" are to rejoice in the name of Jehovah, which may also signify that they were considered sacred places. There is at least no doubt that, in Jeroboam's time, one of the two chief sanctuaries of Israel was at Dan at the foot of Hermon, and that the mountain was a sacred place in later Roman times, and is still to some extent considered sacred by the Druzes.

Another curious passage in the Psalms (cxxxiii. 3) speaks of the "dew of Hermon" as falling on the hill of Zion (צִיּוֹן), and it is apparent that Jerusalem is here intended from the termination of the verse. There was a Zion (*Sahyûn*) in the Lebanon, but neither this nor the Zion at Jerusalem has any connexion with the name Sion, which applied to Hermon itself. Hermon is remarkable for the mists which cover its summit, and the passage may simply mean that the clouds came from Hermon to Jerusalem; but the distance between the two sites has given rise to curious speculations among Rabbinical writers. In the Song of Solomon (iv. 8) Shenir and Hermon are again distinguished, unless we read "Shenir, even Hermon." In Ezekiel Senir is noted for its fir-trees (xxvii. 5), and in Ecclesiasticus (xxiv. 13) for its cypresses. If we follow the description of Abu-el-feda, which makes Senir to have been a ridge north of Damascus, this must be distinguished from Hermon, which is an outlier of the Anti-Lebanon, and Shenir would be the name of the Anti-Lebanon ridge; but the pine grows on Hermon itself, whereas the main ridge of the north is very barren, and the geological formation renders it probable that it never had many trees upon it. The name of Shenir had perhaps a wider application than that of Hermon, but, as above stated, Shenir was the Hivite name of Hermon, according to the Book of Deuteronomy.

In the Talmudic writings (see Neubauer, *Geog. Tal.*, pp. 10, 39) Hermon is called "the Snowy Mountain" (טור תלגא); and this is one of its modern names, جبل الثلج, *Jebel eth Thelj*, "Mountain of Snow;" but the old name is still known to some of the natives of the Lebanon. It is also called *Jebel esh Sheikh*, جبل الشيخ, which means "Mountain of the Chief," this name being of Druze origin, and arising from the fact that it has always been the centre of the Druze religion from the 10th century A.D., and the place where their *Sheikh* or "Chief" had his abode. The common explanation, "chief of mountains" or "chief mountain," is grammatically incorrect.

The exact position and height of Mount Hermon were determined both trigonometrically and astronomically, and by observations of the mercurial barometer, by Sergt. Black, R.E., in 1873, by true bearing from Carmel, and by the triangulation of the *PEF. Survey*. The height is 9,200 feet above the Mediterranean, and the mountain thus rises more than 5,000 feet above the highest tops of Upper Galilee. It is consequently a very conspicuous object in all views in the north of Palestine. It is seen in the Jordan valley from near Jericho, and is also visible from Tell Asûr in the confines of Benjamin. It is not necessary therefore that Hebrew writers, who introduce Hermon into their pictures of scenery, should have written in the north of the country, though it is clear that the Song of Songs refers to Hermon, with Lebanon and Amanus, as a summer resort.

The lower part of the mountain consists of Nubian sandstone, which appears also in the Lebanon. This is found high up on the western pass which leads by Rashaiya to Damascus. The upper part is a very rugged and barren dome of hard grey fossiliferous dolomitic limestone, such as underlies the chalk in Palestine. The action of snow and frost has formed a sort of shingle, which covers the higher slopes between the rocks and pinnacles of the mountain side. The snow covers the whole of the summit in winter, and feeds the Jordan and the Abana in spring; but in autumn it sometimes quite disappears, and in 1873 the whole mountain was free from any snow. The Syrian bears, who live on the summit and descend to eat grapes in the vineyards on the slopes, have been seen by some travellers rolling in the snow in the early summer. The panther is also mentioned in Canticles as dwelling in caves on Hermon. The vineyards on the north and west slopes still produce wine which is considered excellent, and the wine of Helbon (*Helbûn*, north of Damascus) is noticed by Ezekiel (xxvii. 18). Hermon is daily covered with clouds in summer, and the mists are excellent for vine culture. In this connexion it is interesting to notice that the "high mountain" was apparently, according to the First Gospel, somewhere near Caesarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 18), and that the Transfiguration would thus seem to be localised on some part of Hermon. The very sudden formation of cloud on the mountain (and on the Lebanon also) thus perhaps illustrates the words "a cloud overshadowed them." The Gospel of the Hebrews, indeed, identified Tabor as the mountain in question, and this tradition has been followed ever since by Oriental Christians; but it is hardly reconcilable with the notice of Caesarea Philippi (*Baniâs*) as above mentioned, which lies at the foot of Hermon. The mountain is still a place of retreat for the Druze recluses, who inhabit a cave-dwelling on the upper part of the slope towards the west.

The view from the summit is very remarkable, extending over the gardens of Damascus to the deserts near the Euphrates on the east, and on the north-west across the Lebanon to the sea. On the south, Palestine as far as Mount Tabor is spread out like a map; the lakes of Merom and Galilee, the ridges of Upper Galilee, and the coasts near Tyre, Accho, and the Carmel bay, being well seen. At sunrise the shadow of the great dome is projected far west to the Mediterranean, and at sunset (which occurs long after the whole of Palestine is in dusky shadow) it stretches over the eastern desert, and stands up against the haze. The appearance of the Jaulân craters, as seen from this point some 7,000 feet above them, is very remarkable, and the plains of Bashan are visible throughout, with the northern part of Gilead. For a detailed description of this very magnificent view see,

Tent Work in Palestine (chap. viii.). On the slopes of the mountain, in 1873, wild rose, hawthorn, oak, and honeysuckle were observed, and the fauna and flora alike present a very remarkable contrast to those of the semi-tropical Jordan valley, close at the foot of the mountain. On the south, at about 1,000 feet above the sea, the main stream of the Jordan bursts suddenly from its cavern, and pours the snow waters from the mountain in foaming cascades past the walls of Caesarea Philippi. The oak and poplar are here the main features of tree scenery, while higher up is found the Aleppo pine, where the picturesque glens of the sandstone formation are strewn in places with basaltic boulders.

The mountain was covered in the 2nd century A.D. with small Roman temples, facing the rising sun. The more important of these have been carefully planned by Sir C. Warren. At Rukhleh on the north a church was built, in a later century, out of the fragments of one of these temples, and a large medallion represents the face of the sun-god; but this is not older than Roman times, and the Roman eagle formed part of the adornment of this shrine, which, as we learn from a Greek text on the spot, found in 1873, had doors plated with silver.

The top of the mountain consists of a small plateau with three limestone crags. The highest, to the east, was surrounded in Roman times with a circular wall of wrought stones, and it would seem as if an altar had been placed on the crag; while close by on the plateau is a curious underground chamber, hewn in rock, perhaps at one time a Mithraeum, for the sun-god Mithra, whom the Romans worshipped as well as the Persians, was adored by mysteries in such vaults. The whole system of worship in the Hermon temples seems to have been connected with the remarkable views of the rising sun obtained from the summit. The shrine was still venerated in the 4th century of our era; for Jerome, though he had apparently never ascended Hermon, says, "diciturque esse in vertice ejus insigne templum, quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur, e regione Paneadis et Libani" (*s. v.* Aermon, *OS.*[2] p. 126, 19). The same is also stated by Hilarius (on Psalm cxxxiii., as quoted by Reland, *Pal.* i. 323), the mountain itself being sacred according to his view. An early tradition made it the place where the sons of God came down to visit the daughters of men. That the region was sacred much earlier is evident from the history of Jeroboam, as already noticed; and the curious dolmen tables found in 1882, at Baniâs, may perhaps indicate a prehistoric sanctuary at the foot of the mountain.

On the death of Hakem, the Druze chiefs sought refuge in the Hermon valleys, and the mountain is still hallowed by the memory of the teachings here first proclaimed to them. They have numerous *Khalwehs* or chapels on its slopes, outside the thriving mountain villages, of which the largest and most important is Rashaiya on the north-west, about 4,000 feet above the sea—the seat of government of the district. It was on Hermon in 1860 that the French discovered the Sacred Books of the Druzes, which contain a complete account of the Moslem heresies which form their religion, the highest initiation in which is a complete scepticism.

Mediæval travellers as a rule when describing Hermon do not allude to the real mountain, but to the conical hill of *Neby Duhy*, just south of Tabor, which, for some unknown reason, was pointed out to pilgrims as the true Hermon—a view quite irreconcilable with the O.T. accounts of its position. Good descriptions of Hermon will be found in Robinson's *Later Biblical Researches*, and in the *PEF. Mem.* (volume of Special Papers and Jerusalem volume, Appendix, with Sir C. Warren's plans of the Temples). The present writer visited all the principal points of interest in 1873 and 1882. [C. R. C.]

HERMONITES, THE (חֶרְמוֹנִים; ΑΒΝΑΤ. Ἑρμωνιείμ [xli. 7]; *Hermoniim*), Ps. xlii. 6, changed by R. V. into "the Hermons," the allusion being to the summits of Mount Hermon. [F.]

HEROD (Ἡρῴδης, *i.e.* Herodes). THE HERODIAN FAMILY. The history of the Herodian family presents one side of the last development of the Jewish nation. The evils which had existed in the hierarchy which grew up after the Return, found an unexpected embodiment in the tyranny of a foreign usurper. Religion was adopted as a policy; and the hellenizing designs of Antiochus Epiphanes were carried out, at least in their spirit, by men who professed to observe the Law. Side by side with the spiritual "kingdom of God," proclaimed by John the Baptist, and founded by the Lord, a kingdom of the world was established, which in its external splendour recalled the traditional magnificence of Solomon. The simultaneous realization of the two principles, national and spiritual, which had long variously influenced the Jews, in the establishment of a dynasty and a church, is a fact pregnant with instruction. In the fulness of time a descendant of Esau established a false counterpart of the promised glories of Messiah.

Various accounts are given of the ancestry of the Herods; but neglecting the exaggerated statements of friends and enemies,[a] it seems certain that they were of Idumaean descent (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 1, § 3), a fact which is indicated by the forms of some of the names which were retained in the family (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 477, note). But though aliens by race, the Herods were Jews in faith. The Idumaeans had been conquered and brought over to Judaism by John Hyrcanus (B.C. 130, Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1); and from the time of their conversion they remained constant to their new religion, looking upon Jerusalem as their mother city

[a] The Jewish partisans of Herod (Nicolas Damascenus, *ap.* Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 1, § 3) sought to raise him to the dignity of a descent from one of the noble families which returned from Babylon; and, on the other hand, early Christian writers represented his origin as utterly mean and servile. Africanus has preserved a tradition (Routh, *Reli. Sacr.* ii. 235), on the authority of "the natural kinsmen of the Saviour," which makes Antipater, the father of Herod, the son of one Herod, a slave attached to the service of a temple of Apollo at Ascalon, who was taken prisoner by Idumaean robbers, and kept by them as his father could not pay his ransom. The locality (cp. Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, § 30) no less than the office was calculated to fix a heavy reproach upon the name (cp. Routh, ad loc.). This story is repeated with great inaccuracy by Epiphanius (*Haer.* xx.).

and claiming for themselves the name of Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 7, § 7; *B. J.* i. 10, § 4, iv. 4, § 4).

The general policy of the whole Herodian family, though modified by the personal characteristics of the successive rulers, was the same. It centred in the endeavour to found a great and independent kingdom, in which the power of Judaism should subserve the consolidation of a state. The protection of Rome was in the first instance a necessity, but the designs of Herod I. and Agrippa I. point to an independent Eastern empire as their end, and not to a mere subject monarchy. Such a consummation of the Jewish hopes seems to have found some measure of acceptance at first [HERODIANS]; and by a natural reaction the temporal dominion of the Herods opened the way to the destruction of the Jewish nationality. The religion which was degraded into the instrument of unscrupulous ambition lost its power to quicken a united people. The high-priests were appointed and deposed by Herod I. and his successors with such a reckless disregard for the character of their office (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenthums*, pp. 322, 325, 421), that the office itself was deprived of its sacred dignity (cp. Acts xxiii. 2 sq.; Jost, p. 430, &c.). The nation was divided, and amidst the conflict of sects a universal faith arose, which more than fulfilled the nobler hopes that found no satisfaction in the treacherous grandeur of a court.

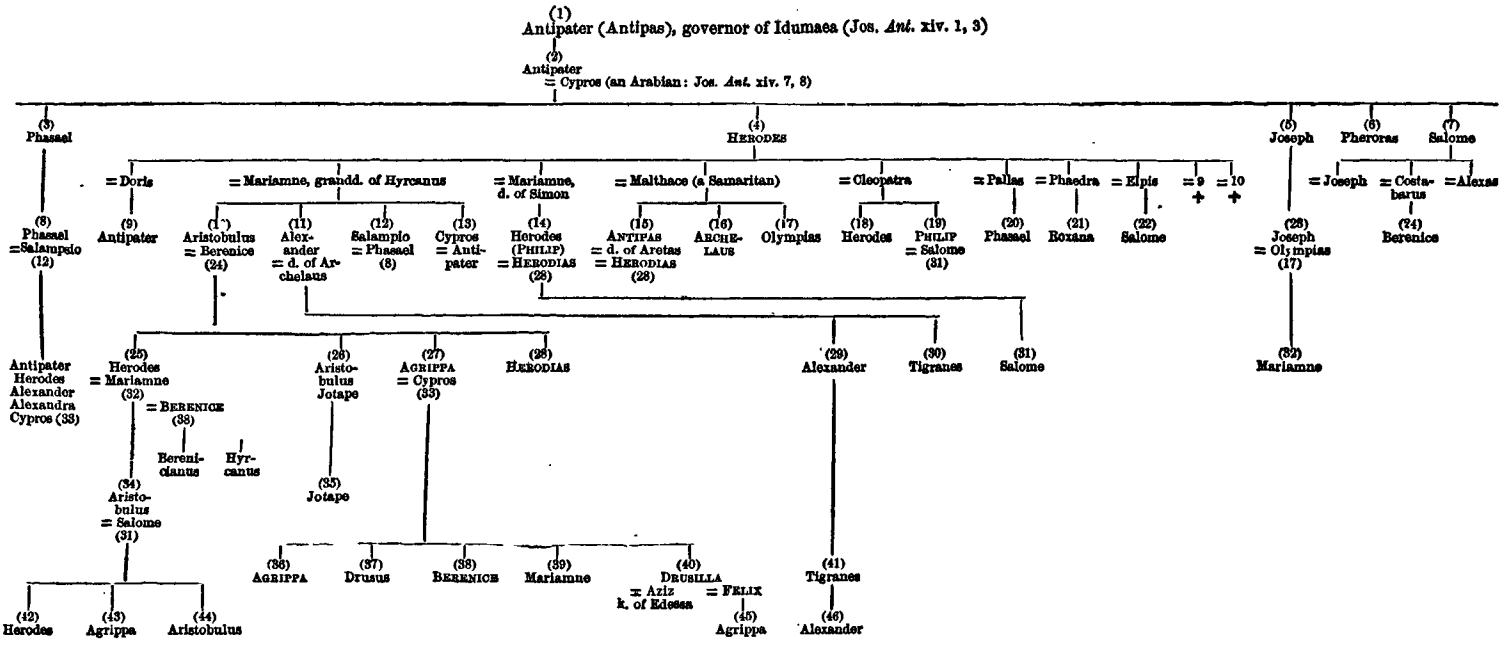
The family relations of the Herods are singularly complicated from the frequent recurrence of the same names, and the several accounts of Josephus are not consistent in every detail. The following table, however, seems to offer a satisfactory summary of his statements. The members of the Herodian family who are mentioned in the N. T. are distinguished by capitals (see p. 1342).

Josephus is the one great authority for the history of the Herodian family. The scanty notices which occur in Hebrew and classic writers throw very little additional light upon the events which he narrates. Ewald has treated the whole subject with the widest and clearest view. Jost in his several works has added to the records of Josephus gleanings from later Jewish writers. Where the original sources are so accessible, monographs are of little use. [Some are quoted by Winer in his *RWB.*, and a complete list of authorities and histories dealing with the period is given by Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Index s. nn. Consult also Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.; Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n.; Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*,[4] ii. 52 sq.; Stanley, *Lectures on the Jewish Church* [1883], Lecture l.; Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Index s. n.—F.]

I. HEROD THE GREAT (Ἡρώδης) was the second son of Antipater, who was appointed procurator of Judaea by Julius Caesar, B.C. 47, and Cypros, an Arabian of noble descent (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 3). At the time of his father's elevation, though only fifteen years old, he received the government of Galilee (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 2), and shortly afterwards that of Coele-Syria. When Antony came to Syria, B.C. 41, he appointed Herod and his elder brother Phasael tetrarchs of Judaea (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13, § 1). Herod was forced to abandon Judaea next year by an invasion of the Parthians, who supported the claims of Antigonus, the representative of the Hasmonaean dynasty, and fled to Rome (B.C. 40). At Rome he was well received by Antony and Octavian, and was appointed by the senate king of Judaea to the exclusion of the Hasmonaean line (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 14, § 4; App. *Bell. C.* 39). In the course of a few years, by the help of the Romans, he took Jerusalem (B.C. 37), and completely established his authority throughout his dominions. An expedition which he was forced to make against Arabia saved him from taking an active part in the civil war, though he was devoted to the cause of Antony. After the battle of Actium he visited Octavian at Rhodes, and his noble bearing won for him the favour of the conqueror, who confirmed him in the possession of the kingdom, B.C. 31, and in the next year increased it by the addition of several important cities (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 1 sq.), and afterwards gave him the province of Trachonitis and the district of Paneas (Joseph. *Ant.* l. c.). The remainder of the reign of Herod was undisturbed by external troubles, but his domestic life was embittered by an almost uninterrupted series of injuries and cruel acts of vengeance. Hyrcanus, the grandfather of his wife Mariamne, was put to death shortly before his visit to Augustus. Mariamne herself, to whom he was passionately devoted, was next sacrificed to his jealousy. One execution followed another, till at last in B.C. 6 he was persuaded to put to death the two sons of Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, in whom the chief hope of the people lay. Two years afterwards he condemned to death Antipater, his eldest son, who had been their most active accuser, and the order for his execution was among the last acts of Herod's life, for he himself died five days after the death of his son, B.C. 4, in the same year which marks the true date of the Nativity. [JESUS CHRIST.]

These terrible acts of bloodshed which Herod perpetrated in his own family were accompanied by others among his subjects equally terrible, from the numbers who fell victims to them. The infirmities of his later years exasperated him to yet greater cruelty; and, according to the well-known story, he ordered the nobles whom he had called to him in his last moments to be executed immediately after his decease, that so at least his death might be attended by universal mourning (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 7, § 5). It was at the time of this fatal illness that he must have caused the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem (Matt. ii. 16–18); and from the comparative insignificance of the murder of a few young children in an unimportant village when contrasted with the deeds which he carried out or designed, it is not surprising that Josephus has passed it over in silence. The number of children in Bethlehem and "all the borders thereof" (ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὁρίοις) may be estimated at about ten or twelve;[b] and the

[b] The language of St. Matthew offers an instructive contrast to that of Justin M. (*Dial.* c. *Tryph.* 78): ὁ Ἡρώδης . . . πάντας ἁπλῶς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι. Cp. Orig. c. *Cels.* i. p. 47, ed. Spenc.: ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἀνεῖλε πάντα τὰ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς παιδία . . .



Cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, 4.
Ant. xvii. 1, 3.
B. J. i. 28, 4.

(4) *Herod the King*, Matt. ii. 1 sq.; Luke i. 5.
(15) *Herod the Tetrarch*, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 1, 19, ix. 7. *King Herod*, Mark vi. 14.
(27) *Herod the King*, Acts xii. 1.
(36) *King Agrippa*, Acts xxv. 13.

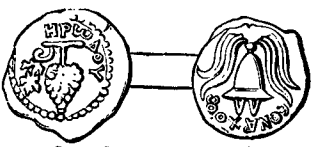
language of the Evangelist leaves in complete uncertainty the method in which the deed was effected (*ἀποστείλας ἀνεῖλεν*). The scene of open and undisguised violence which has been consecrated by Christian art is wholly at variance with what may be supposed to have been the historic reality. At a later time the murder of the children seems to have been connected with the death of Antipater. Thus, according to the anecdote preserved by Macrobius (*c.* A.D. 410), "*Augustus, cum audisset inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes, Rex Judaeorum,* intra bimatum (Matt. ii. 16; ib. Vulg. a bimatu et infra) *jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium*" (Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 4). But Josephus has preserved two very remarkable references to a massacre which Herod caused to be made shortly before his death, which may throw an additional light upon the history. In this it is said that Herod did not spare "those who seemed most dear to him" (*Ant.* xvi. 11, § 7), but "slew all those of his own family who sided with the Pharisees" (*ὁ Φαρισαίος*) in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor, while they looked forward to *a change in the royal line* (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 2, § 6; cp. Lardner, *Credibility*, &c., i. pp. 278 sq., 332 sq., 349 sq.). How far this event may have been directly connected with the murder at Bethlehem it is impossible to say, from the obscurity of the details, but its occasion and character throw a great light upon St. Matthew's narrative.

In dealing with the religious feelings or prejudices of the Jews, Herod showed as great contempt for public opinion as in the execution of his personal vengeance. He signalised his elevation to the throne by offerings to the Capitoline Jupiter (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenthums*, p. 318), and surrounded his person by foreign mercenaries, some of whom had been formerly in the service of Cleopatra (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 7, § 3; xvii. 1, § 1; 8, § 3). His coins and those of his successors bore only Greek legends; and he introduced heathen games within the walls of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 8, § 1). He displayed ostentatiously his favour towards foreigners (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, § 3), and oppressed the old Jewish aristocracy (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 1, § 1). The later Jewish traditions describe him as successively the servant of the Hasmonaeans and the Romans, and relate that one Rabbi only survived the persecution which he directed against them, purchasing his life by the loss of sight (Jost, p. 319, &c.).

While Herod alienated in this manner the affections of the Jews by his cruelty and disregard for the Law, he adorned Jerusalem with many splendid monuments of his taste and magnificence. The Temple, which he rebuilt with scrupulous care, so that it might seem to be a restoration of the old building rather than a new one (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. § 11), was the greatest of these works. The restoration was begun B.C. 20, and the Temple itself was completed in a year and a half (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 6). The surrounding buildings occupied eight years more (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5). But fresh additions were constantly made in succeeding years, so that at the time of the Lord's visit to Jerusalem at the beginning of His ministry, it was said that the Temple was "built (*ᾠκοδομήθη*) in forty and six years" (John ii. 20), a phrase which expresses the whole period from the commencement of Herod's work to the completion of the latest addition then made, for the final completion of the whole building is placed by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 7, *ἤδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο*) in the time of Herod Agrippa II. (c. A.D. 50).

Yet even this splendid work was not likely to mislead the Jews as to the real spirit of the king. While he rebuilt the Temple at Jerusalem, he rebuilt also the temple at Samaria (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 8, § 5), and made provision in his new city Caesarea for the celebration of heathen worship (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, § 5); and it has been supposed (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* p. 323) that the rebuilding of the Temple furnished him with the opportunity of destroying the authentic collection of genealogies which was of the highest importance to the priestly families. Herod, as appears from his public designs, affected the dignity of a second Solomon, but he joined the licence of that monarch to his magnificence; and it was said that the monument which he raised over the royal tombs was due to the fear which seized him after a sacrilegious attempt to rob them of secret treasures (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 7, § 1).

It is, perhaps, difficult to see in the character of Herod any of the true elements of greatness. Some have even supposed that the title—the *great*—is a mistranslation for the *elder* (הזקן, Jost, p. 319, note; *ὁ μέγας*, Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 473, &c.); and yet on the other hand he seems to have possessed the good qualities of our own Henry VIII. with his vices. He maintained peace at home during a long reign by the vigour and timely generosity of his administration. Abroad he conciliated the goodwill of the Romans under circumstances of unusual difficulty. His ostentatious display and even his arbitrary tyranny were calculated to inspire Orientals with awe. Bold and yet prudent, oppressive and yet profuse, he had many of the characteristics which make a popular hero; and the title which may have been first given in admiration of successful depotism now serves to bring out in clearer contrast the terrible price at which the success was purchased.



Copper Coin of Herod the Great.

Obv. HPΩΔOY. Bunch of grapes. Rev. ƐƆNAPXO. Macedonian helmet: in the field, caduceus.

II. HEROD ANTIPAS (Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀντίπας) was the son of Herod the Great by Malthace, a Samaritan (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, § 3). His father had originally destined him as his successor in the kingdom (cp. Matt. ii. 22; ARCHELAUS), but by the last change of his will appointed him "tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea" (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1, Ἡρ. *ὁ τετράρχης*, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 19, ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1. Cp. Luke iii. 1, *τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας* Ἡρ.), which brought him a yearly revenue of two hundred talents (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 4; cp. Luke viii. 3, Χουζᾶ

ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρ.). He first married a daughter of Aretas, "king of Arabia Petraea," but after some time (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, § 1) he made overtures of marriage to Herodias, the wife of his half-brother Herod-Philip, which she received favourably. Aretas, indignant at the insult offered to his daughter, found a pretext for invading the territory of Herod, and defeated him with great loss (Joseph. *l. c.*). This defeat, according to the famous passage in Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 2), was attributed by many to the murder of John the Baptist, which had been committed by Antipas shortly before, under the influence of Herodias (Matt. xiv. 4 sq.; Mark vi. 17 sq.; Luke iii. 19). At a later time the ambition of Herodias proved the cause of her husband's ruin. She urged him to go to Rome to gain the title of king (cp. Mark vi. 14, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρ. by courtesy), which had been granted to his nephew Agrippa; but he was opposed at the court of Caligula by the emissaries of Agrippa [HEROD AGRIPPA], and condemned to perpetual banishment at Lugdunum, A.D. 39 (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7, § 2), whence he appears to have retired afterwards to Spain (*B. J.* ii. 9, § 6; but see note on p. 1347). Herodias voluntarily shared his punishment, and he died in exile. [HERODIAS.]

Pilate took occasion from our Lord's residence in Galilee to send Him for examination (Luke xxiii. 6 sq.) to Herod Antipas, who came up to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover (cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, § 3), and thus heal the feud which had existed between the tetrarch and himself (Luke xxiii. 12; cp. Luke xiii. 1, περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὧν τὸ αἷμα Πίλατος ἔμιξεν μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν). The share which Antipas thus took in the Passion is specially noticed in the Acts (iv. 27) in connexion with Ps. ii. 1, 2. His character, as it appears in the Gospels, answers to the general tenor of his life. He was unscrupulous (Luke iii. 19, περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν), tyrannical (Luke xiii. 31), and weak (Matt. xiv. 9). Yet his cruelty was marked by cunning (Luke xiii. 32, τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ), and followed by remorse (Mark vi. 14). In contrast with Pilate he presents the type of an Eastern despot, capricious, sensual, and superstitious. This last element of superstition is both natural and clearly marked. For a time "he heard John gladly" (Mark vi. 20), and was anxious to see Jesus (Luke ix. 9, xxiii. 8), in the expectation, as it is said, of witnessing some miracle wrought by Him (Luke xiii. 31, xxiii. 8).

The city of TIBERIAS, which Antipas founded and named in honour of the emperor, was the most conspicuous monument of his long reign; but, like the rest of the Herodian family, he showed his passion for building cities in several places, restoring Sepphoris, near Tabor, which had been destroyed in the wars after the death of Herod the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 12, § 9; xviii. 2, § 1), and Betharamphtha (Beth-haram) in Peraea, which he named Julias, "from the wife of the emperor" (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2, § 1; Hieron. Euseb. *Chron.* A.D. 29, *Livias*).

III. ARCHELAUS (Ἀρχέλαος) was, like Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great and Malthace. He was brought up with his brother at Rome (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, § 3), and in consequence of the accusations of his eldest brother Antipater, the son of Doris, he was excluded by his father's will from any share in his dominions. Afterwards, however, by a second change, the "kingdom" was left to him, which had been designed for his brother Antipas (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1), and it was this unexpected arrangement which led to the retreat of Joseph to Galilee (Matt. ii. 22). Archelaus did not enter on his power without strong opposition and bloodshed (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 9); but Augustus confirmed the will of Herod in its essential provisions, and gave Archelaus the government of "Idumaea, Judaea, and Samaria, with the cities of Caesarea, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem" (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 5), which produced a revenue of 400 (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, § 3) or 600 talents (*Ant.* xvii. 13, § 5). For the time he received the title of Ethnarch, with the promise of that of king, if he proved worthy of it (Joseph. *l. c.*). His conduct justified the fears which his character inspired. After violating the Mosaic Law by the marriage with Glaphyra, his brother's widow (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 1), he roused his subjects by his tyranny and cruelty to appeal to Rome for redress. Augustus at once summoned him to his presence, and after his cause was heard he was banished to Vienne in Gaul (A.D. 7), where probably he died (Joseph. *l. c.*; cp. Strab. xvi. p. 765; Dio Cass. lv. 27); though in the time of Jerome his tomb was shown near Bethlehem (*OS.*[2] p. 135, 12).

IV. HEROD PHILIP I. (Φίλιππος, Mark vi. 17) was the son of Herod the Great and Mariamne the daughter of a high-priest Simon (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, § 4), and must be carefully distinguished from the tetrarch Philip. [HEROD PHILIP II.] He married Herodias, the sister of Agrippa I., by whom he had a daughter Salome. Herodias, however, left him, and made an infamous marriage with his half-brother Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19). He is called only Herod by Josephus, but the repetition of the name Philip is fully justified by the frequent recurrence of names in the Herodian family (*e.g.* Antipater). The two Philips were confounded by Jerome (*ad Matt.* l. c.); and the confusion was the more easy, because the son of Mariamne was excluded from all share in his father's possessions (τῆς διαθήκης ἐξήλειψεν) in consequence of his mother's treachery (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 30, § 7), and lived afterwards in a private station.

V. HEROD PHILIP II. (Φίλιππος) was the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra (Ἱεροσολυμῖτις). Like his half-brothers[a] Antipas and Archelaus, he was brought up at home (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, § 3), and on the death of his father advocated the claims of Archelaus before Augustus (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, § 1). He received as his own government "Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis (Gaulonitis), and some parts about Jamnia" (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, § 3), with the title of tetrarch (Luke iii. 1, Φιλίππου . . . . τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας). His rule was distinguished by justice and moderation (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 2, § 4), and he appears to have devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office without sharing in the intrigues which disgraced his family (Joseph.

[a] Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1. Josephus calls Philip Ἀρχελάου ἀδελφὸς γνήσιος; but elsewhere he states their distinct descent.

Ant. xviii. 5, § 6). He built a new city on the site of Paneas, near the sources of the Jordan, which he called Caesarea (Καισαρεία ἡ Φιλίππου, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27), and raised Bethsaida (in Lower Gaulonitis) to the rank of a city under the title of Julias (Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9, § 1; xviii. 2, § 1), and died there A.D. 34 (xviii. 5, § 6). He married Salome, the daughter of Philip (I.) and Herodias (*Ant.* xviii. 6, § 4), but as he left no children at his death his dominions were added to the Roman province of Syria (xviii. 5, § 6).

VI. HEROD AGRIPPA I. (Ἡρώδης, Acts; Ἀγρίππας, Joseph.) was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great. He was brought up at Rome with Claudius and Drusus, and after a life of various vicissitudes (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7) was thrown into prison by Tiberius for an unguarded speech, where he remained till the accession of Caius (Caligula) A.D. 37. The new emperor gave him the governments formerly held by the tetrarchs Philip and Lysanias, and bestowed on him the ensigns of royalty and other marks of favour (Acts xii. 1, Ἡρ. ὁ βασιλεύς). The jealousy of Herod Antipas and his wife Herodias was excited by these distinctions, and they sailed to Rome in the hope of supplanting Agrippa in the Emperor's favour. Agrippa was aware of their design, and anticipated it by a counter-charge against Antipas of treasonous correspondence with the Parthians. Antipas failed to answer the accusation, and was banished to Gaul (A.D. 39), and his dominions were added to those already held by Agrippa (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7, § 2). Afterwards Agrippa rendered important services to Claudius (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 11, §§ 2, 3), and received from him in return (A.D. 41) the government of Judaea and Samaria; so that his entire dominions equalled in extent the kingdom of Herod the Great. Unlike his predecessors, Agrippa was a strict observer of the Law (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 7, § 3), and he sought with success the favour of the Jews.[d] It is probable that it was with this view[e] he put to death James the son of Zebedee, and further imprisoned Peter (Acts xii. 1 sq.). But his sudden death, which followed immediately afterwards, interrupted his ambitious projects.

In the fourth year of his reign over the whole of Judaea (A.D. 44), Agrippa attended some games at Caesarea, held in honour of the Emperor. When he appeared in the theatre (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8, § 2, δευτέρᾳ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ; Acts xii. 21, τακτῇ ἡμέρᾳ) in "a robe of silver stuff" (ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, Joseph.; ἐσθῆτα βασιλικήν, Acts xii. 21), which shone in the morning light, his flatterers saluted him as a god; and suddenly he was seized with terrible pains, and being carried from the theatre to the palace died after five days' agony (ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8; γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν, Acts xii. 23; cp. 2 Macc. ix. 5-9).

By a singular but now explained confusion Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 10; cp. n. 7 in loco, edd. Wace and Schaff) reads for the owl, which, according to Josephus, appeared to Herod as a messenger of evil (ἄγγελος κακῶν), "the Angel" of the Acts, who was the unseen minister of the Divine Will (Acts xii. 23, ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος Κυρίου; cp. 2 K. xix. 35, LXX.).

Various conjectures have been made as to the occasion of the festival at which the event took place. Josephus (*l. c.*) says that it was "in behalf of the Emperor's safety," and it has been supposed that it might have been in connexion with his return from Britain; but this is at least very uncertain (cp. Wieseler, *Chron. d. Apost. Zeit.* p. 131 sq.). Josephus mentions also the concourse "of the chief men throughout the province" who were present on the occasion; and though he does not notice the embassy of the Tyrians and Agrippa's speech, yet his narrative is perfectly consistent with both facts.

VII. HEROD AGRIPPA II. (Ἀγρίππας, N. T.; Joseph.) was the son of Herod Agrippa I. and Cypros, a grand-niece of Herod the Great. At the time of the death of his father in A.D. 44 he was at Rome, and his youth (he was 17 years old) prevented Claudius from carrying out his first intention of appointing him his father's successor (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9, §§ 1, 2). Not long afterwards, however, the Emperor gave him (*c.* A.D. 50) the kingdom of Chalcis, which had belonged to his uncle (who died A.D. 48; Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 4, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 12, § 1); and then transferred him (A.D. 52) to the tetrarchies formerly held by Philip and Lysanias (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 12, § 8), with the title of king (Acts xxv. 13, Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεύς, xxvi. 2, 7, &c.).

Nero afterwards increased the dominions of Agrippa by the addition of several cities (*Ant.* xx. 6, § 4); and he displayed the lavish magnificence which marked his family by costly buildings at Jerusalem and Berytus, in both cases doing violence to the feelings of the Jews (*Ant.* xx. 7, § 11; 8, § 4). The relation in which he stood to his sister Berenice (Acts xxv. 13) was the cause of grave suspicion (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, § 3), which was noticed by Juvenal (*Sat.* vi. 155 sq.). In the last Roman war Agrippa took part with the Romans, and after the fall of Jerusalem retired with Berenice to Rome, where he died in the third year of Trajan (A.D. 100), being the last prince of the house of Herod (Phot. *Cod.* 33).

Copper Coin of Herod Agrippa II. with Titus.

Obv. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡCЄΒΑ. Head laureate to the right. Rev. ЄΤΟ ΚS ΒΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ (year 26). Victory advancing to the right: in the field, a star.

The appearance of St. Paul before Agrippa (A.D. 60) offers several characteristic traits.

[d] Jost (*Gesch. d. Judenthums*, p. 420) quotes a legend that Agrippa burst into tears on reading in a public service Deut. xvii. 15; whereupon the people cried out, "Be not distressed, Agrippa, thou art our brother;" in virtue, that is, of his half-descent from the Hasmonaeans.

[e] Jost (p. 421, &c.), who objects that these acts are inconsistent with the known humanity of Agrippa, entirely neglects the reason suggested by St. Luke (Acts xii. 3).

Agrippa seems to have been intimate with Festus (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 7, § 11); and it was natural that the Roman governor should avail himself of his judgment on a question of what seemed to be Jewish law (Acts xxv. 18 sq., 26; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 8, § 7). The "pomp" (πολλὴ φαντασία) with which the king came into the audience chamber (Acts xxv. 23) was accordant with his general bearing; and the cold irony with which he met the impassioned words of the Apostle (Acts xxvi. 27, 28) suits the temper of one who was contented to take part in the destruction of his nation. [B. F. W.]

VIII. BERENICE. [BERENICE.]

IX. DRUSILLA. [DRUSILLA.]

HERO'DIANS (Ἡρωδιανοί). In the account which is given by St. Matthew (xxii. 15 sq.) and St. Mark (xii. 13 sq.) of the last efforts made by different sections of the Jews to obtain from our Lord Himself the materials for His accusation, a party under the name of *Herodians* is represented as acting in concert with the Pharisees[a] (Matt. xxii. 16; Mark xii. 13). St. Mark mentions the combination of the two parties for a similar object at an earlier period (Mark iii. 6); and, in another place (viii. 15; cp. Luke xii. 1), he preserves a saying of our Lord, in which "the leaven of Herod" is placed in close connexion with "the leaven of the Pharisees." In the Gospel of St. Luke, on the other hand, the Herodians are not brought forward at all by name.

These very scanty notices of the Evangelists as to the position of the Herodians are not compensated by other testimonies; yet it is not difficult to fix their characteristics by a reference to the condition of Jewish feeling in the Apostolic age. There were probably many who saw in the power of the Herodian family the pledge of the preservation of their national existence in the face of Roman ambition. In proportion as they regarded the independent nationality of the Jewish people as the first condition of the fulfilment of its future destiny, they would be willing to acquiesce in the dominion of men who were themselves of foreign descent [HEROD], and not rigid in the observance of the Mosaic ritual. Two distinct classes might thus unite in supporting what was a domestic tyranny as contrasted with absolute dependence on Rome: those who saw in the Herods a protection against direct heathen rule, which was the one object of their fear (cp. *Juchas*, f. 19, *ap.* Lightfoot, *Harm. Ev.* p. 470, ed. Leusd.: "Herodes etiam senem Hillel magno in honore habuit; namque hi homines regem illum esse non aegre ferebant"), and those who were inclined to look with satisfaction upon such a compromise between the ancient faith and heathen civilisation, as Herod the Great and his successors had endeavoured to realise, as the true and highest consummation of Jewish hopes.[b] On the one side the Herodians —partisans of Herod in the widest sense of the term—were thus brought into union with the Pharisees; on the other, with the Sadducees. Yet there is no reason to suppose that they endeavoured to form any very systematic harmony of the conflicting doctrines of the two sects, but rather the conflicting doctrines themselves were thrown into the background by what appeared to be a paramount political necessity. Such coalitions have been frequent in every age; and the rarity of the allusions to the Herodians, as a marked body, seems to show that this, like similar coalitions, had no enduring influence as the foundation of party. The feelings which led to the coalition remained, but they were incapable of animating the common action of a united body for any length of time. [B. F. W.]

HERO'DIAS (Ἡρωδίας, a female patronymic from Ἡρώδης; on patronymics and gentilic names in *ias*, see Matthiae, *Gk. Gr.* §§ 101, 103), the name of a woman of notoriety in the N. T., daughter of Aristobulus, one of the sons of Mariamne and Herod the Great, and consequently sister of Agrippa I.

She first married Herod, surnamed Philip, another of the sons of Mariamne and the first Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, § 4; cp. *B. J.* i. 29, § 4), and therefore her full uncle; then she eloped from him, during his lifetime (*Ant.* ibid.), to marry Herod Antipas, her step-uncle, who had been long married to, and was still living with, the daughter of Aeneas or Aretas—his assumed name—king of Arabia (*ib.* xvii. 9, § 4). Thus she left her husband, who was still alive, to connect herself with a man whose wife was still alive. Her paramour was indeed less of a blood relation than her original husband; but being likewise the half-brother of that husband, he was already connected with her by affinity—so close that there was only one case contemplated in the Law of Moses where it could be set aside; namely, when the married brother had died childless (Lev. xviii. 16 and xx. 21. See for the exception Deut. xxv. 5 sq.). Now Herodias had already had one child—Salome

[a] Origen (*Comm. in Matt.* tom. xvii. § 26) regards this combination of the Herodians and Pharisees as a combination of antagonistic parties, the one favourable to the Roman government (εἰκὸς γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῷ λαῷ τότε οἱ μὲν διδάσκοντες τελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καίσαρι ἐκαλοῦντο Ἡρωδιανοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ θελόντων τοῦτο γίνεσθαι . . .), and the other opposed to it; but this view, which is only conjectural (εἰκός), does not offer a complete solution of the various relations of the Herodians to the other parties of the times. Jerome, following Origen, limits the meaning of the term yet more: "*Cum Herodianis, id est, militibus Herodis, seu quos illudentes Pharisaei, quia Romanis tributa solvebant, Herodianos vocabant et non divino cultui deditos*" (Hieron. *Comm. in Matt.* xxii. 15).

[b] In this way the Herodians were said to regard Herod (Antipas) as "the Messiah": Ἡρωδιανοὶ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Ἡρώδην Χριστὸν εἶναι λέγοντες ὡς ἱστορεῖται (Vict. Ant. *ap.* Cram. *Cat. in Marc.* p. 400). Philastrius (*Haer.* xxviii.) applies the same belief to Herod Agrippa; Epiphanius (*Haer.* xix.) to Herod the Great. Jerome in one place (*ad Matt.* xxii. 15) calls the idea "a ridiculous notion of some Latin writers, which rests on no authority (*quod nusquam legimus*);" and again (*Dial. c. Lucifer.* xxiii.) mentions it in a general summary of heretical notions without hesitation. The belief was, in fact, one of general sentiment, and not of distinct and pronounced confession.

Others prefer to see in the Herodians "a semi-Roman and semi-Nationalist party;" differing, that is, from the extreme section of the Pharisees who hated Herod, on the one hand, and from the Nationalists pure, on the other (cp. Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 384; cp. i. 237–240).—[F.]

—by Philip (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 4), and, as he was still alive, might have had more. Well, therefore, may she be charged by Josephus with the intention of confounding her country's institutions (*ib.* xviii. 5, § 4); and well may St. John the Baptist have remonstrated against the enormity of such a connexion with the tetrarch, whose conscience would certainly seem to have been a less hardened one (Matt. xiv. 9 says he "was sorry;" Mark vi. 20 that he "feared" St. John, and "heard him gladly").

The consequences both of the crime, and of the reproof which it incurred, are well known. Aretas made war upon Herod for the injury done to his daughter, and routed him with the loss of his whole army (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 1). The head of St. John the Baptist was granted to the request of Herodias (Matt. xiv. 8–11; Mark vi. 24–28). According to Josephus, the execution took place in a fortress called Machaerus, on the frontier between the dominions of Aretas and Herod; according to Pliny (v. 15), looking down upon the Dead Sea from the south (cp. Robinson, *i.* 570, note). And it was to the iniquity of this act, rather than to the immorality of that illicit connexion, that, the historian says, some of the Jews attributed the defeat of Herod. In the closing scene of her career, indeed, Herodias exhibited considerable magnanimity: as she preferred going with Antipas to Lugdunum,[a] and there sharing his exile and reverses, till death ended them, to the remaining with her brother Agrippa I., and partaking of his elevation (*Ant.* xviii. 7, § 2).

There are few episodes in the whole range of the N. T. more suggestive to the commentator than this one scene in the life of Herodias.

1. It exhibits one of the most remarkable of the undesigned coincidences between the N. T. and Josephus; that there are some discrepancies in the two accounts, only enhances their value. More than this, it has led the historian into a brief digression upon the life, death, and character of the Baptist, which speaks volumes in favour of the genuineness of that still more celebrated passage, in which he speaks of "Jesus," that "wise man, if man He may be called" (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 3; cp. xx. 9, § 1, unhesitatingly quoted as genuine by Euseb. *H. E.* i. 11).

2. It has been warmly debated whether it was the adultery, or the incestuous connexion, that drew down the reproof of the Baptist. It has been already shown that, either way, the offence merited condemnation upon more grounds than one.

3. The birthday feast is another undesigned coincidence between Scripture and profane history. The Jews abhorred keeping birthdays as a pagan custom (Bland *on Matt.* xiv. 6). On the other hand, it was usual with the Egyptians (Gen. xl. 20; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 7), with the Persians (Herod. i. 133), with the Greeks—even in the case of the dead, whence the Christian custom of keeping anniversaries of the martyrs (Bähr *ad* Herod. iv. 26)—and with the Romans (Pers. *Sat.* ii. 1–3). Now the Herods may be said to have gone beyond Rome in the observance of all that was Roman. Herod the Great kept the day of his accession; Antipas—as we read here—and Agrippa I., as Josephus tells us (*Ant.* xix. 7, § 1), their birthdays, with such magnificence, that the "birthdays of Herod" (Herodis dies) had passed into a proverb when Persius wrote (*Sat.* v. 180).

4. And yet dancing, on these festive occasions, was common to both Jew and Gentile; and was practised in the same way—youths and virgins, singly, or separated into two bands, but never intermingled, danced to do honour to their deity, their hero, or to the day of their solemnity. Miriam (Ex. xv. 20), the daughter of Jephthah (Judg. xi. 34), and David (2 Sam. vi. 14) are familiar instances in Holy Writ: the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace, to quote no more, points to the same custom amongst Greeks and Romans. It is plainly owing to the elevation of woman in the social scale, that dancing in pairs (still unknown to the East) has come into fashion.

5. The rash oath of Herod, like that of Jephthah in the O. T., has afforded ample discussion to casuists. It is now ruled that all such oaths, where there is no reservation, expressed or implied, in favour of the laws of God or man, are illicit and without force. Solomon had long since decided thus (1 K. ii. 20–24; see Sanderson, *De Juram. Oblig. Praelect.* iii. 16). [E. S. Ff.]

HERO'DION (Ἡρωδίων; *Herodion*), a relative of St. Paul (*τὸν συγγενῆ μου*; *cognatus*), to whom he sends his salutation amongst the Christians of the Roman Church (Rom. xvi. 11). Nothing appears to be certainly known of him. By Hippolytus, however, he is said to have been Bishop of Tarsus; and by Pseudodorothe of Patra (Winer, *s. n.*). [G.]

HERON. The rendering in A. V. and R. V. (but R. V. margin, "ibis") of אֲנָפָה, *'anāphāh*; χαραδριός; *charadrius*, in Lev. xi. 19, Deut. xiv. 18, where alone it occurs. It would appear to have been well known, and also to include various species, from the addition of the words "after her kind." The translators of the LXX. do not seem to have recognised the bird intended as the heron, or they would have used its familiar name, ἐρῳδιός; but they at least took it to be an inhabitant of the marshes, for χαραδριὸς is applicable to all birds frequenting swampy ground (ἐν χαράδραις), though modern naturalists apply it to the plover tribe only. From a fancied derivation of the Greek ἀνοπαία, a species of eagle (ὄρνις δ' ὃς ἀνοπαῖα διέπτατο, *Od.* i. 320), from אֲנָפָה, Bochart and others have supposed that some species of bird of prey was intended. The guesses of the Talmudists are equally vague. Gesenius, deriving the name from אָנַף, suggests some irascible bird, and other commentators would make it the goose or the parrot; both impossible, as neither of these classes are found in those countries. Probably the local or archaic name was unknown to the dwellers in the city of Alexandria, though they

[a] This town is probably Lugdunum Convenarum, a town of Gaul, situated on the right bank of the Garonne, at the foot of the Pyrenees, now *St. Bertrand de Comminges* (Murray, *Handb. of France*, s. n.); Eusebius, *H. E.* i. 11, says *Vienne*, confounding Antipas with Archelaus (see Euseb. *l. c.*, edd. Wace and Schaff). Burton on Matt. xiv. 3, Alford, and moderns in general, prefer *Lyons*. In Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 9, § 6), Antipas is said to have died in Spain—apparently, from the context, the land of his exile. A town on the frontiers, therefore, like the above, would satisfy both passages.

had a general idea that a marsh bird was intended. Weighing all that has been written on the subject, the rendering of our Versions seems to have more to recommend it than any other (see Knobel-Dillmann on Lev. *l. c.* MV.[11] compares Assyr. *anpatu*, which Friedr. Delitzsch translates "the bird of light"). The heron tribe is very abundant in Egypt and Palestine, there are many different species, and they all affect marshy situations. They are so numerous and conspicuous that it is unlikely they should not be mentioned in the list; while the plover tribe there are neither numerous, varied, nor conspicuous. There are no less than seven species of heron all common in Egypt, and the same are also found throughout Palestine in suitable localities. They are the Common Heron (*Ardea cinerea*, L.), the Purple Heron (*Ardea purpurea*, L.), the Great White Heron (*Ardea alba*, L.), found about the Lake of Gennesareth; the little Egret (*Ardea garzetta*, L.), the Buff-backed Heron (*Ardea bubulcus*, Aud.), very common in pastures with cattle; the Squacco (*Ardea ralloides*, Scop.), and the Night Heron (*Nycticorax griseus*, L.). Vast flocks of the buff-backed and squacco herons live and breed in the swamps of Huleh, the ancient Merom. The marginal rendering of R. V., *ibis*, is fully justified, as the Purple Ibis always consorts with the last-named species, but in small numbers, reminding one of the black members of a flock of sheep in England. The food of all these birds is the same, principally fish, frogs, and reptiles. The smaller species also devour caterpillars and beetles. [H. B. T.]

HE'SED (חֶסֶד = *grace*; B. Ἐσώθ, A. Ἔσδ; *Benesed*). The son of Hesed, or Ben-Chesed, was commissary for Solomon in the district of "the Arubboth, Socoh, and all the land of Hepher" (1 K. iv. 10).

HESH'BON (חֶשְׁבּוֹן, ? = *prudence*, al., *reckoning*: B. Ἐσεβών, A. Ἐσεβών, Josh. xxi. 39; Joseph. Ἐσσεβών: *Hesebon*), the capital of the independent kingdom which Sihon, king of the Amorites, established north of the Arnon after he had driven out the Moabites (Num. xxi. 25–34; Deut. iv. 46; Josh. xii. 2, 5, xiii. 27). The town passed into the hands of the Israelites after the battle of Jahaz (Deut. ii. 32), in which Sihon, who was the first to resist the invaders, was defeated and killed (Num. xxi. 25; Deut. i. 4, ii. 24, 30, iii. 2, 6, xxix. 7; Josh. ix. 10; Judg. xi. 19, 26; Neh. ix. 22; Judith v. 15). It was situated, with its dependent cities, on the level downs, *mîshôr*, east of the Dead Sea (Josh. xiii. 17),—the "place for cattle" which the pastoral tribes, Reuben and Gad, asked Moses to give them for a possession (Num. xxxii. 3). It was given to Reuben (Josh. xiii. 10, 17, 21), and rebuilt by the tribe (Num. xxxii. 37); but was so near the boundary between Reuben and Gad (Josh. xiii. 26) that, in the list of towns assigned to the Merarite Levites, it is said to have belonged to the latter tribe (Josh. xxi. 39; 1 Ch. vi. 81). In the time of Isaiah it was apparently in the hands of the Moabites, to whom it originally belonged (Num. xxi. 26); and hence it is mentioned in the prophetic denunciations against Moab (Is. xv. 4, xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 2, 34, 45, xlix. 3). It is usually taken to be the same place as the Casphor (Χασφὼρ) or Casphon (Χασφὼν) of 1 Macc. v. 26, 36, and the Chasphoma (Χάσφωμα) of Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, § 3), which was captured by Judas Maccabaeus (Reland, *Pal.* p. 719; Riehm, *HWB.* s. v.); but the operations of Judas, east of Jordan, were apparently confined to the northern districts, and did not extend southwards as far as Heshbon. During the reign of Alexander Jannaeus it was in the possession of the Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15, § 4); and under Herod it was restored, and garrisoned by cavalry (*Ant.* xv. 8, § 5). At the commencement of the Jewish War it was laid waste by the Jews (*B. J.* ii. 18, § 1), but soon recovered. Ptolemy (v. 17) mentions it under the name Esbuta (Ἐσβούτα), and the "Arabes Esbonitae" of Pliny (v. 12) must be referred to this place. Eusebius says (*OS.*[2] p. 259, 24) that it was in his day called Esbus (Ἐσβοῦς), and was a famous city of Arabia, situated in the mountains opposite Jericho, and 20 M.P. from the Jordan. It is mentioned in the list of the Eparchies of Arabia under the name Ἔσβους (Reland, *Pal.* p. 217), and in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon as Πόλις Ἐσβούντων. According to Abu-l Fedâ, it was in the 14th century a small town and the capital of the *Belkâ* province (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 456). There are coins of Nero and Caracalla; those of the latter emperor have a temple of Astarte, or a "Deus Lunus" with a Phrygian cap, and the epigraph ECBOY.

The ruins of Heshbon (see Tristram, *Land of Israel*,[2] p. 544), now called *Hesbân*, lie on a plateau quite bare of trees, about 16 miles E. of the Pilgrims' Bathing Place in the Jordan. The nearest water is *'Ain Hesbân*, in a valley to the W., whence an ancient road winds up to the plateau. The remains are those of an important town, but none of them, excepting the caves, cisterns, and rock cuttings, appear to be more ancient than the 2nd century A.D. Heaps of fallen masonry cover the sides of a high *Tell*, on the top of which there was a large building; and on the ground to the S.W. of this are numerous remains of houses, some of which appear to have had considerable architectural pretensions. There are many caves and rock-hewn cisterns, and, on the S. side of the *Tell*, a large ancient reservoir, which calls to mind the passage in Cant. vii. 4, "Thine eyes are like the fishpools (R. V. pools) of Heshbon by the gate of Bath-rabbim." See Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syr.* p. 365; Irby and Mangles, p. 472; *PEF. Mem. E. Pal.* i. 104 sq.; Riehm, *HWB.* s. v. [BATH-RABBIM.] [W.]

HESH'MON (חֶשְׁמוֹן = *thriving, fruitfulness*; both MSS. of LXX. omit; *Hassemon*), a place named, with others, as lying between Moladah and Beersheba (Josh. xv. 27), and therefore in the extreme south of Judah. Nothing further is known of it; but may it not be another form of the name AZMON, given in Num. xxxiv. 4 as one of the landmarks of the southern boundary of Judah? [G.] [W.]

HES'RON. [HEZRON.]

HESRONITES. [HEZRONITES.]

HETH (חֵת, *i.e.* Cheth, *terror, giant;* Χέτ; *Heth*), the forefather of the nation of THE HITTITES. In the genealogical tables of Gen. x. and 1 Ch. i., Heth is stated to be a son of Canaan, younger than Zidon the firstborn, but preceding the Jebusite, the Amorite, and the other Canaanite families. Heth and Zidon alone are named as persons; all the rest figure as tribes (Gen. x. 15; 1 Ch. i. 13; LXX. τὸν Χεττᾶιον; and so Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6, § 2: Vulg. *Hethaeum*).

The Hittites were therefore a Hamite race, neither of the "country" nor of the "kindred" of Abraham and Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 3, 4; xxviii. 1, 2). In the earliest historical mention of the nation—the beautiful narrative of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah—they are styled, not Hittites, but Benê-Cheth (A. V. "sons, and children of Heth," Gen. xxiii. 3, 5, 7, 10, 16, 18, 20; xxv. 10; xlix. 32). Once we hear of "daughters of Heth" (xxvii. 46), the "daughters of the land;" at that early period still called, after their less immediate progenitor, "daughters of Canaan" (xxviii. 1, 8, compared with xxvii. 46 and xxvi. 34, 35). [G.] [W.]

HETH'LON (דֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלֹן, "the way of Hethlon"; LXX. translates the name; *Hethalon*), the name of a place on the northern border of the "promised land." It is mentioned only twice in Scripture (Ezek. xlvii. 15, xlviii. 1). In all probability the "way of Hethlon" is the pass at the northern end of Lebanon, from the sea-coast of the Mediterranean to the great plain of Hamath, and is thus identical with "the entrance of Hamath" in Num. xxxiv. 8, &c. See Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 356. [J. L. P.] [W.]

HE'ZEKI (חִזְקִי, *i.e.* Hizki, a short form of Hizkiah, = Hezekiah, *strength of Jah;* B. Ἀζακεί, A. -κι; *Hezeci*), a man in the genealogies of Benjamin, one of the Bene-Elpaal, a descendant of Shaaraim (1 Ch. viii. 17).

HEZEKI'AH (חִזְקִיָּה, generally חִזְקִיָּהוּ, *Hizkiyahu*, and also with initial י, יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ; LXX. and Joseph. Ἐζεκίας; *Ezechias; = strength of Jah*, cp. Germ. *Gotthard*, Gesen.). **1.** Twelfth king of Judah, son of the apostate Ahaz and Abi (or Abijah), ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five, B.C. 726. Since, however, Ahaz died at the age of thirty-six, some prefer to make Hezekiah only twenty years old at his accession (reading כ for כה), as otherwise he must have been born when Ahaz was a boy of eleven years old. This indeed is not impossible (Hieron. *Ep. ad Vitalem.* 132, quoted by Bochart, *Geogr. Sacr.* p. 920: see Keil on 2 K. xviii. 1; Knobel, *Jes.* p. 22, &c.); but, if any change be desirable, it is better to suppose that *Ahaz* was twenty-five and not twenty years old at his accession (LXX., Syr., Arab., 2 Ch. xxviii. 1), reading כה for כ in 2 K. xvi. 2. That some change must be made is obvious, since 2 K. xviii. 10, 13 and 2 Ch. xxviii. 1 are not reconcilable (as they stand) either with each other or with Assyrian chronology. Ussher's chronology gives B.C. 726 as the date of Hezekiah's accession. Wellhausen and Kamphausen fix that date at B.C. 715. Duncker, who is followed by many English authorities, selects the date B.C. 728. From the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions we arrive at the dates of three events in this period:—(1.) Dethronement of Pekah by Tiglath-pileser, and accession of Hoshea and of Ahaz in Judah B.C. 734. (2.) Fall of Samaria, B.C. 722. (3.) Campaign against Hezekiah, B.C. 701. If these dates be adopted, Ahaz succeeded at the age of twenty-five, and Hezekiah perhaps at fifteen. (On these difficult questions, see W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 416–419; Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie d. Hebr. Könige;* Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, E. T. iii. 16–18; Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions* [E. T.], and the inscriptions quoted and translated in *Records of the Past* [Bagsters].)

Hezekiah was one of the three most perfect kings of Judah (2 K. xviii. 5; Ecclus. xlix. 4). His first act was to purge, and repair, and re-open with splendid sacrifices and perfect ceremonial, the Temple which had been despoiled and neglected during the careless and idolatrous reign of his father. This consecration was accompanied by a revival of the theocratic spirit, so strict as not even to spare "the high places," which, although tolerated by many well-intentioned kings, had naturally been profaned by the worship of images and Asherahs (2 K. xviii. 4). On the extreme importance and probable consequences of this measure, see HIGH PLACES. A still more decisive act was the destruction of a brazen serpent, said to have been the one used by Moses in the miraculous healing of the Israelites (Num. xxi. 9), which had been removed to Jerusalem, and had become, "down to those days," an object of adoration, partly in consequence of its venerable character as a relic, and partly perhaps from some dim tendencies to the ophiolatry common in ancient times (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 622). To break up a figure so curious and so highly honoured showed a strong mind, as well as a clear-sighted zeal, and Hezekiah briefly justified his procedure by calling the image נְחֹשְׁתָּן, "a brazen thing," possibly with a contemptuous play on the word נָחָשׁ, "a serpent." How necessary this was in such times may be inferred from the fact that "the brazen serpent" is, or was, still reverenced in the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan (Prideaux, *Connexion*, i. 19, Oxf. ed.).[a] Hezekiah abandoned altogether the weak and faithless policy of his father Ahaz, and reverted to the ideas of his great-grandfather, Uzziah. He strengthened the city, and enabled it to stand a siege by improving the water-supply (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 30); and of these patriotic labours we have, probably, a most interesting confirmation in the engineer's inscription, discovered in 1880, on the wall of the rocky tunnel between the spring of Gihon and the Pool of Siloam. The early part of his reign was very prosperous. He encouraged agriculture, the storage of produce, and proper care for flocks and herds, so that he amassed treasures which almost recall the days of Solomon (2 Ch. xxxii. 27–30); and men saw in his wealth and success a Divine reward for his pious deeds (*id.* 32). His success was the more remarkable

[a] "Un serpent de bronze qui selon une croyance populaire serait celui que leva Moïse, et qui *doit siffler à la fin du monde.*" (*Itin. de l'Italie*, p. 117.)

because at his accession Judah had only been evacuated six years by the forces of Rezin and Pekah, and he found "an empty treasury (2 K. xvi. 8), a ruined peasantry, an unprotected frontier, and a shattered army" (Driver's *Isaiah*, p. 48). When the kingdom of Israel had fallen (B.C. 722), Hezekiah extended his pious endeavours to Ephraim and Manasseh, and by inviting the scattered inhabitants to a peculiar Passover kindled *their* indignation also against the idolatrous practices which still continued among them. This Passover was, from the necessities of the case, celebrated at an unusual, though not illegal (Num. ix. 10, 11) time; and by an excess of Levitical zeal, it was continued for the unprecedented period of fourteen days. For these latter facts the Chronicler (2 Ch. xxix., xxx., xxxi.) is our sole authority, and he characteristically narrates them at great length. It would appear at first sight that this Passover was celebrated immediately after the purification of the Temple (see Prideaux, *l. c.*), but careful consideration makes it almost certain that it could not have taken place before the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, when the fall of Samaria had stricken remorseful terror into the heart of Isrnel (2 Ch. xxxi. 1; xxx. 6, 9, and Keil on 2 K. xviii. 3). The Reformation wrought by Hezekiah was less thorough and effectual than that in the days of Josiah, but it pointed in the right direction, and paved the way for later efforts. From Is. xxx. 22, xxxi. 7 (which belong to B.C. 702), some have inferred that this re-establishment of the pure worship of Jehovah was not fully carried out till later in his reign, when he had triumphed over Assyria.

By a rare and happy providence the most pious of kings was confirmed in his faithfulness, and seconded in his endeavours, by the powerful assistance of the noblest and most eloquent of prophets. The influence of Isaiah was, however, not gained without a struggle with the "scornful" remnant of the former royal counsellors (Is. xxviii. 14), who in all probability recommended to the king such alliances and compromises as would be in unison rather with the dictates of political expediency, than with that sole unhesitating trust in the arm of Jehovah which the Prophets inculcated. The leading man of this cabinet was Shebna, who, from the omission of his father's name and the expression in Is. xxii. 16 (see Blunt, *Undes. Coincidences*), was probably a foreigner, perhaps a Syrian (Hitzig). At the instance of Isaiah, he seems to have been subsequently degraded from the high post of prefect of the palace (which office was given to Eliakim, Is. xxii. 21), to the inferior, though still honourable, station of state-secretary (סֹפֵר, 2 K. xviii. 18); the further punishment of exile with which Isaiah had threatened him (xxii. 18) being possibly forgiven on his amendment, of which we have some traces in Is. xxxvii. 2 sq. (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 617).

At the head of a repentant and united people, Hezekiah ventured to assume the aggressive against the Philistines, and in a series of victories not only won back the cities which his father had lost (2 Ch. xxviii. 18), but even dispossessed them of their own cities except Gaza (2 K. xviii. 8) and Gath (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 13, § 3). This was his only military enterprise. It was perhaps to the purposes of this war that he applied the money which would otherwise have been used to pay the tribute exacted by Shalmaneser, according to the agreement of Ahaz with his predecessor, Tiglath-pileser. When, after the capture of Samaria, the king of Assyria applied for this impost, Hezekiah refused it, and in open rebellion omitted to send even the usual presents (2 K. xviii. 7), a line of conduct to which he was doubtless encouraged by the splendid exhortations of his prophetic guide.

We must here pause for a moment to say a word about Assyria and her kings. According to Mr. G. Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, the dates of the formidable conquerors of this epoch were as follows:—

	B.C.
Tiglath-pileser II. . . .	745–727
Shalmaneser IV. . . .	727–722
Sargon	722–705
Sennacherib	705–681

To the first of these four monarchs belongs the cruel policy of deportation of conquered peoples and the use of subordinate generals (Tartans). He took Arpad, received tribute from Menahem, and was bribed by Ahaz to attack Rezin and Pekah. He put Pekah to death, elevated Hoshea, deported many Israelites, took Damascus, and reduced Merodach-baladan to submission. When Hoshea revolted against his successor, Shalmaneser IV., that king began the siege of Samaria, which was completed in 722 by Sargon, who had perhaps been a rebel general. Sargon was murdered by an unknown assassin in 705. In one inscription he calls himself "a subjector of the land of Judah," but this can only be an idle boast (Schrader, p. 188). Sennacherib, whom Nahum calls "the breaker in pieces" (Nah. ii. 1), was the first of the Sargonidae, and reigned for twenty-five years.

When Hezekiah refused tribute to Shalmaneser, instant war was averted by the heroic and long-continued resistance of the Tyrians under their king Elulaeus (*Joseph. Ant.* ix. 14), against a siege, which was abandoned only in the fifth year (Grote, *Greece*, iii. 359; 4th ed.), when it was found to be impracticable. This must have been a critical and intensely anxious period for Jerusalem, and Hezekiah used every available means to strengthen his position and render his capital impregnable (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 3–5, 30; Is. xxii. 8–11, xxxiii. 18; and to these events Ewald also refers Ps. xlviii. 13). But while all Judaea trembled with anticipation of Assyrian invasion, and while Shebna and others were relying "in the shadow of Egypt," Isaiah's brave heart did not fail, and he even denounced the wrath of God against the proud and sinful merchant-city (Is. xxiii.), which now seemed to be the main bulwark of Judaea against immediate attack.

It was probably during the siege of Samaria that Shalmaneser died, and was succeeded by Sargon, who, jealous of Egyptian influence in Judaea, sent an army under a Tartan or general (Is. xx. 1), which penetrated Egypt (Nah. iii. 8–10) and destroyed No-Amon; although it is clear from Hezekiah's rebellion (2 K. xviii. 7) that it can have produced but little permanent impression. Sargon's capture of Hamath, and the defeat of Egypt at Raphia (B.C. 720), were practically forgotten in the course of six or seven years during which he was engaged in other

directions. Sargon, in the tenth year of his reign (which is the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah), made an expedition to Palestine; but his annals make no mention of any conquests from Hezekiah on this occasion, and he seems to have occupied himself in the siege of Ashdod (Is. xx. 1) and in the inspection of mines (Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* ix.). This must therefore be the expedition alluded to in 2 K. xviii. 13, Is. xxxvi. 1;' an expedition which is merely alluded to, as it led to no result. But if the Scripture narrative is to be reconciled with the records of Assyrian history, it seems necessary to make a transposition in the text of Isaiah (and therefore of the Book of Kings). That some such expedient must be resorted to, if the Assyrian history is trustworthy, is maintained by Dr. Hincks in a paper *On the rectification of Chronology, which the newly-discovered Apis-steles render necessary*. "The text," he says, "as it originally stood, was probably to this effect: 2 K. xviii. 13, 'Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah *the king of Assyria came up*' [alluding to the attack mentioned in Sargon's *Annals*]; then followed xx. 1–19, 'In those days was king Hezekiah sick unto death,' &c. After which came, 'And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them,' &c., xviii. 13–xix. 37" (Dr. Hincks, in *Journ. of Sacr. Lit.*, Oct. 1858). Perhaps some later transcriber, unaware of the earlier and unimportant invasion, confused the allusion to Sargon in 2 K. xviii. 13 with the detailed story of Sennacherib's attack (2 K. xviii. 14—xix. 37); and, considering that the account of Hezekiah's illness broke the continuity of the narrative, removed it to the end.

According to this scheme, Hezekiah's dangerous illness (2 K. xx.; Is. xxxviii.; 2 Ch. xxxii. 24) nearly synchronised with Sargon's futile invasion, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, eleven years before *Sennacherib's* invasion. That it must have *preceded* the attack of Sennacherib is nearly obvious from the promise in 2 K. xx. 6, as well as from modern discoveries (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* i. 145); and such is the view adopted by the Rabbis (*Seder Olam*, cap. cxiii.), Ussher, and by most commentators, except Vitringa and Gesenius (Keil, *ad loc.*; Prideaux, i. 22). There seems to be no ground whatever for the vague conjecture so confidently advanced (Winer, s. v. *Hiskias;* Jahn, *Hebr. Commun.* § xli.) that the king's illness was the same plague which had destroyed the Assyrian army. The word שְׁחִין is not elsewhere applied to the plague, but to carbuncles and inflammatory ulcers (Ex. ix. 9; Job ii. 1, &c.). Hezekiah, whose kingdom was in a dangerous crisis, who had at that time no heir (for Manasseh was not born till long afterwards, 2 K. xxi. 1), and who regarded death as the end of existence (Is. xxxviii.), "turned his face to the wall and wept sore" at the threatened approach of dissolution. God had compassion on his anguish, and heard his prayer. Isaiah had hardly left the palace when he was ordered to promise the king immediate recovery, and a fresh lease of life, ratifying the promise by a sign, and curing the boil by a plaster of figs, which were often used medicinally in similar cases (Gesen. *Thes.* i. 311; Celsius, *Hierobot.* ii. 377; Bartholinus, *De Morbis Biblicis*, x. 47). What was the exact nature of the disease we cannot say; according to Meade, it was fever terminating in abscess. For some account of the retrogression of the shadow on the sundial of Ahaz, see DIAL. On this remarkable passage we must be content to refer the reader to Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 351 sq.; Winer, s. vv. *Hiskias* and *Uhren;* Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 332 sq.; the elaborate notes of Keil on 2 K. xx.; Rosenmüller and Gesenius on Is. xxxviii., and especially Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 638.

Various ambassadors came with letters and gifts to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery (2 Ch. xxxii. 23), and among them (perhaps about B.C. 713) an embassy from Merodach-baladan (or Berodach, 2 K. xx. 12; ὁ Βάλαδας, Joseph. *l. c.*), the viceroy of Babylon, the Mardokempados of Ptolemy's canon. The ostensible object of this mission was to compliment Hezekiah on his convalescence (2 K. xx. 12; Is. xxxix. 1), and "to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land" (2 Ch. xxxii. 31), a rumour of which could not fail to interest a people devoted to astrology. But its real purpose was to discover how far an alliance between the two powers was possible or desirable, for Mardokempados, no less than Hezekiah, was in apprehension of the Assyrians. In fact Sargon expelled this bold patriot from the throne of Babylon (*Records of the Past*, vii. 41, 46), although after the assassination of Sargon he seems to have returned and re-established himself for six months, at the end of which he was murdered by Belibos (Dr. Hincks, *l. c.*; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* ch. viii.; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* i. 141). Community of interest made Hezekiah receive the overtures of Babylon with unconcealed gratification; and, perhaps, to enhance the opinion of his own importance as an ally, he displayed to the messengers the princely treasures which he and his predecessors had accumulated. The mention of such rich stores is an additional argument for supposing these events to have happened before Sennacherib's invasion (see 2 K. xviii. 14–16), although they are related after them in the Scripture historians. If ostentation were his motive, it received a terrible rebuke, for he was informed by Isaiah that from the then tottering and subordinate province of Babylon, and not from the mighty Assyria, would come the ruin and captivity of Judah (Is. xxxix. 5). This prophecy and the one of Micah (Mic. iv. 10) are the earliest definition of the locality of that hostile power, where the clouds of exile so long threatened (Lev. xxvi. 33; Deut. iv. 27, xxx. 3) were beginning to gather. It is an impressive and fearful circumstance that the moment of exultation was chosen as the opportunity for warning, and that the prophecies of the Assyrian deliverance are set side by side with those of the Babylonish Captivity (Davison *On Prophecy*, p. 256). The weak friend was to accomplish that which was impossible to the powerful foe. But, although pride was the sin thus vehemently checked by the Prophet, Isaiah was certainly not blind to the *political* motives (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 2, § 2) which made Hezekiah so complaisant to the Babylonian ambassadors. Into those motives he had inquired in vain, for the king met *that* portion of his question ("What said these men?") by emphatic silence. Hezekiah's meek answer to the stern denunciation of future woe has been most

unjustly censured as "a false resignation which combines selfishness with silliness" (Newman, *Hebr. Mon.* p. 274). On the contrary it merely implies a conviction that God's decree could not be otherwise than just and right, and a natural thankfulness for even a temporary suspension of its inevitable fulfilment.

Sargon was succeeded (B.C. 705) by his son Sennacherib, whose two invasions occupy the greater part of the Scripture records concerning the reign of Hezekiah. The first of these took place in the third year of Sennacherib (B.C. 702), and occupies only four verses (2 K. xviii. 13–16), though the route of the advancing Assyrians may be traced in Is. x. 5, xi. The rumour of the invasion redoubled Hezekiah's exertions, and he prepared for a siege by providing offensive and defensive armour, stopping up the wells, and (perhaps at this time) diverting the watercourses, conducting the water of Gihon into the city by a subterranean canal (Ecclus. xlviii. 17. For a similar precaution taken by the Mohammedans, see Will. Tyr. viii. 7, Keil). But the main hope of the political faction was the alliance with Egypt, and they seem to have sought it by presents and private entreaties (Is. xxx. 6), especially with a view to obtaining chariots and cavalry (Is. xxxi. 1–3), which was the weakest arm of the Jewish service, as we see from the derision which it excited (2 K. xviii. 23). Such overtures kindled Isaiah's indignation, and Shebna may have lost his high office by recommending them. The Prophet clearly saw that Egypt was too weak and faithless to be serviceable, and the applications to Pharaoh (who is compared by Rabshakeh to one of the weak reeds of his own river) implied a want of trust in the help of God. He says with bitter scorn:

> "Egypt helpeth in vain, and to no purpose:
> Therefore have I called her *Rahab that sitteth still.*"
> (Is. xxx. 7, R. V.)

But Isaiah did *not* disapprove of the spontaneously proffered assistance of the tall and warlike Ethiopians (Is. xviii. 2, 7, acc. to Ewald's transl.); because he may have regarded it as a providential aid.

The account given of this first invasion in the *Annals of Sennacherib* is that he attacked Hezekiah because the Ekronites had sent their king Padiya (or "Haddiya" acc. to Sir H. Rawlinson) as a prisoner to Jerusalem (cp. 2 K. xviii. 8); that he took forty-six cities ("all the fenced cities" in 2 K. xviii. 13 is apparently a general expression, cp. xix. 8) and 200,000 prisoners; that he besieged Jerusalem with mounds (cp. 2 K. xix. 32); and although Hezekiah promised to pay 800 talents of silver (of which perhaps 300 only were ever paid) and 30 of gold (2 K. xviii. 14; Is. xxxvi. 1; but see Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 145), yet not content with this he mulcted him of a part of his dominions, and gave them to the kings of Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 475 sq.). So important was this expedition that Demetrius, the Jewish historian, even attributes to Sennacherib the Great Captivity (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 146, ed. Sylb.). In the inscription on Bellino's Cylinder in the British Museum and in the Bull-inscription of Kouyunjik, Sennacherib boasts that he first attacked and reduced the cities of Phoenicia, and those in the Shephelah; that he reduced Ekron, which had sent to Hezekiah its king Padi, who remained loyal to Assyria; that he hewed and trampled down forty-six of Hezekiah's cities, took a vast amount of spoil, deported 200,150 of his people, and shut him up in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage;" and finally, on his submission, carried off to Nineveh his daughters, his harem, and his eunuchs. In almost every particular this account agrees with the notice in Scripture, and we may see a reason for so great a sacrifice on the part of Hezekiah in the glimpse which Isaiah gives us of his capital city driven by desperation into licentious and impious mirth (xxii. 12–14). This campaign must at least have had the one good result of proving the worthlessness of the Egyptian alliance; for at a place called Altagû (? the Eltekon of Josh. xv. 59) Sennacherib (B.C. 701) inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the combined forces of Egypt and Ethiopia, which had come to the assistance of Ekron. But Isaiah regarded the purchased treaty as a cowardly defection, and the sight of his fellow-citizens gazing peacefully from the house-tops on the bright array of the car-borne and quivered Assyrians, filled him with indignation and despair (Is. xxii. 1–7, if the latest explanations of this chapter be correct).

Hezekiah's bribe (or fine) brought a temporary release, for the Assyrians marched into Egypt, where, if Herodotus (ii. 141) and Josephus (*Ant.* x. 1–3) are to be trusted, they advanced without resistance to Pelusium, owing to the hatred of the warrior-caste against Sethos the king-priest of Pthah, who had, in his priestly predilections, interfered with their prerogatives. In spite of this advantage, Sennacherib was forced to raise the siege of Pelusium, by the advance of Tirhakah or Tarakes, the ally of Sethos and Hezekiah, who afterwards united the crowns of Egypt and Ethiopia. This famous Ethiopian hero, who had extended his conquests to the Pillars of Hercules (Strab. xv. 472), was indeed a formidable antagonist. His deeds are recorded in a temple at Medinet Haboo, but the jealousy of the Memphites (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 141 [1st ed.]) concealed his assistance, and attributed the deliverance of Sethos to the miraculous interposition of an army of mice (Herod. ii. 141). This story may have had its source, however, not in jealousy, but in the use of a mouse as the emblem of destruction (Horapoll. *Hierogl.* i. 50; Rawlinson, *Herod.* ad loc.), and of some sort of disease or plague (? 1 Sam. vi. 18; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 185). The legend doubtless gained ground from the extraordinary circumstances which afterwards ruined the army of Sennacherib. We say *afterwards*, because, however much the details of the two occurrences may have been confused, we cannot agree with the majority of writers (Prideaux, Bochart, Michaelis, Jahn, Keil, Newman, &c.) in identifying the flight of Sennacherib from Pelusium with the event described in 2 K. xix. We prefer to follow Josephus in making them allude to distinct events.

Returning from his futile expedition (ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε, Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1, § 4) Sennacherib "dealt treacherously" with Hezekiah (Is. xxxiii. 1) by attacking the stronghold of Lachish. The siege of Lachish (*Um-Lakis*) and its submission are represented on the famous

bas-relief in the British Museum (Schrader, p. 287; Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 620; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 148–152). This was the commencement of that *second* invasion, respecting which we have such full details in 2 K. xviii. 17 sq.; 2 Ch. xxxii. 9 sq.; Is. xxxvi. That there *were* two invasions (contrary to the opinion of Layard, Bosanquet, Vance Smith, &c.) is clearly proved by the details of the first given in the Assyrian annals (see Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. p. 477; Schrader, pp. 208, 301; *Records of the Past*, i. 35, vii. 59). Although the Annals of Sennacherib, on the great cylinder in the British Museum, reach to the end of his *eighth* year, and this second invasion belongs to his fifth year (B.C. 698, the twenty-eighth year of Hezekiah), yet no allusion to it has been found. So shameful a disaster as that in which it ended was naturally concealed by national vanity. From Lachish he had sent against Jerusalem an army under his general (Tartan), his chamberlain (Rab-Saris), and his cup-bearer the orator Rabshakeh, with a blasphemous and insulting summons to surrender, deriding Hezekiah's hopes of Egyptian succour, and apparently endeavouring to inspire the people with distrust of his religious innovations (2 K. xviii. 22, 25, 30). The reiteration and peculiarity of the latter argument, together with the Rabshakeh's fluent mastery of Hebrew (which he used to tempt the people from their allegiance by a glowing promise, *vv.* 31, 32), give countenance to the supposition that he was an apostate Jew. Hezekiah's ministers were thrown into anguish and dismay; but the undaunted Isaiah hurled back threatening for threatening with unrivalled eloquence and force. He even prophesied that the fires of Tophet were already burning in expectancy of the Assyrian corpses which were destined to feed their flame. Meanwhile Sennacherib, having taken Lachish (*Um-Lakis*), was besieging Libnah (*Tell es-Safiah*, 12 miles nearer Jerusalem), when, alarmed by a "rumour" of Tirhakah's advance in person (to avenge the defeat at Altaqû?), he was forced to relinquish once more his immediate designs, and content himself with a defiant letter to Hezekiah. Whether on the occasion he encountered and defeated the Ethiopians (as Prideaux precariously infers, from Is. xx.: *Connex.* i. p. 26), or not, we cannot tell. The next event of the campaign, about which we are informed, is that the Jewish king with simple piety prayed to God with Sennacherib's letter outspread before him (cp. 1 Macc. iii. 48), and received a prophecy of immediate deliverance. Accordingly "that night the Angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men." "The Biblical and Assyrian accounts of Sennacherib's campaign," says Prof. Driver, "while in substantial agreement, are both imperfect, and may be combined in different ways. The essential difference between them is that while one narrates the *entire* campaign [viz. (1) the subjection of the Phoenician cities; (2) the successes against Ekron and the Egyptian forces; (3) the hostilities against Judah], the other deals only with the stage affecting Judah, and dwells principally upon two episodes (2 K. xviii. 17—xix. 7; xix. 8–36), belonging in fact to a *fifth* and subsequent stage upon which the Assyrian account is silent" (*Isaiah*, p. 82).

There is no doubt that some secondary cause was employed in the accomplishment of this event. We are certainly "not to suppose," as Dr. Johnson observed, "that the Angel went about with a sword in his hand stabbing them one by one, but that some powerful natural agent was employed." The Babylonish Talmud and some of the Targums attribute it to storms of lightning (Vitringa, Vogel, &c.); Prideaux, Heine (*de causâ Strag. Assyr.*), and Faber to the simoom; R. Jose, Ussher, Preiss (*de causâ clad. Assyr.*), &c., to a nocturnal attack by Tirhakah; Paulus to a poisoning of the waters; and finally Josephus, followed by an immense majority of ancient and modern commentators, including even Keil, to the pestilence (cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16). This would be a cause not only adequate (Justin, xix. 11; Diodor. xix. p. 434: see the other instances quoted by Rosenmüller, Winer, Keil, Jahn, &c.), but most probable in itself from the crowded and terrified state of the camp. There is therefore no necessity to adopt the ingenious conjectures by which Döderlein, Koppe, and Wessler endeavour to get rid of the large number 185,000.

After this reverse Sennacherib fled precipitately to Nineveh, where he revenged himself on as many Jews as were in his power (Tob. i. 18), and after twenty years (not fifty-five days, as Tobit says, i. 21) was murdered by two of his sons as he went to pray before his idol Dagon (Tob.) or Nisroch (Assarac?) his god (B.C. 681). He certainly lived till B.C. 680, for his 22nd year is mentioned on a clay tablet (Rawlinson, *l.c.*); he must therefore have survived Hezekiah by some seventeen years. It is possible that several of the Psalms (*e.g.* xlvi.–xlviii., lxxvi.) allude to his discomfiture.

Hezekiah only lived to enjoy for about one year more his well-earned peace and glory. He slept with his fathers after a reign of twenty-nine years, in the 56th year of his age (B.C. 697), and was buried with great honour and universal mourning "in the chiefest of the sepulchres (or "the road leading up to the sepulchres," ἐν ἀναβάσει τάφων, LXX., because, as Thenius conjectures, the actual sepulchres were full) of the sons of David" (2 Ch. xxxii. 33). He had found time for many works of peace in the noble and almost blameless course of his troubled life, and to his pious labours we are indebted for at least one portion of the present canon (Prov. xxv. 1; Ecclus. xlviii. 17 *sq.*). He can have no finer panegyric than the words of the son of Sirach, "Even the kings of Judah failed, for they forsook the law of the Most High; *all except David, and Ezekias, and Josias failed.*" In addition to his many merits, as a king faithful to the covenant of Jehovah, and as one who followed in the main the guidance of the great Prophet Isaiah, Hezekiah did much for his kingdom in every way. He was a poet, and one famous song is preserved in Isaiah (xxxviii. 9–20), and by his employment of scribes to copy fragments of early literature he helped to preserve the precious wisdom of earlier days.

Besides the many authors and commentators who have written on this period of Jewish history (on which much light has been thrown by Sir H. Layard, Sir G. Wilkinson, Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, Prof. Sayce, Schrader, and other scholars who have studied the Nineveh

remains), see for continuous lives of Hezekiah, Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 13—ix. 2), Prideaux (*Connexion*, &c. i. 16–30), Jahn (*Hebr. Com.* § xli.), Winer (s. v. *Hiskias*), Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 614–644, 2nd ed.), and Stanley (*History of the Jewish Church*, Lecture xxxviii.).

2. Son of Neariah, one of the descendants of the royal family of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 23).

3. The same name, though rendered in the A. V. HIZKIAH, is found in Zeph. i. 1.

4. ATER-OF-HEZ. [ATER.] [F. W. F.]

HEZ-ION (חֶזְיוֹן = *sight*; B. Ἀζεί, A. and Luc. Ἀζαήλ; *Hezion*), a king of Aram (Syria), father of Tabrimon, and grandfather of Benhadad I. He and his father are mentioned only in 1 K. xv. 18, and their names are omitted by Josephus. In the absence of all information, the natural suggestion is that he is identical with REZON, the contemporary of Solomon, in 1 K. xi. 23; the two names being not dissimilar in Hebrew, and still more so in other Versions (cp. Arab. and Peshitto on the latter passage); and indeed this conclusion has been adopted by some translators and commentators (Junius, Köhler, Dathe, Ewald, Klostermann, &c.). Against it are: (*a.*) That the number of generations of the Syrian kings would then be one less than those of the contemporary kings of Judah. But then the reign of Abijam was only three years, and in fact Jeroboam outlived both Rehoboam and his son. (*b.*) The statement of Nicolaus of Damascus (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 5, § 2), that from the time of David for ten generations the kings of Syria were one dynasty, each king taking the name of Hadad, "as did the Ptolemies in Egypt." But this would exclude, not only Hezion and Tabrimon, but Rezon, unless we may interpret the last sentence to mean that the official title of Hadad was held in addition to the ordinary name of the king. [REZON; TABRIMON.] [G.] [W.]

HE'ZIR (חֶזִיר = *swine*; A. Ιεζείρ, B. Ἀφεσή; *Hezir*). **1.** A priest in the time of David, leader of the 17th monthly course in the service (1 Ch. xxiv. 15).

2. (Ἡζείρ; *Hazir.*) One of the heads of the people (laymen) who sealed the solemn covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 20).

HEZ'RAI (חֶצְרַי, *i.e.* according to the *Keri* of the Masorets, but the original reading of the text, *Ketib*, has חצרו = Hezro; BA. Ἀσαραί; *Esrai*), a native of Carmel, perhaps of the southern one, and in that case possibly once a slave or adherent of Nabal; one of the thirty heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 35). In the parallel list the name appears as

HEZ'RO (חֶצְרוֹ; B. Ἡσερέ, א. Ἡσεραί, A. Ἀσαραί; *Asro*), in 1 Ch. xi. 37. Kennicott however (*Dissertation*, pp. 207–8) decides, on the almost unanimous authority of the ancient Versions, that Hezrai is the original form of the name.

HEZ'RON (חֶצְרוֹן; B. Ἀσρών, in Num. A. Ἀσρώμ; *Hesron*). **1.** A son of Reuben (Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14), who founded the family of the Hezronites (Num. xxvi. 6).

2. A son of Pharez, and one of the direct ancestors of David (Gen. xlvi. 12, Ἀσρών; Ruth iv. 18, B. Ἐφών, A. -μ, and so in Matt. i. 18. In 1 Ch. ii. 9, 18, 21, 25, B. Ἐσερών, A. Ἐσρώμ; ii. 5, iv. 1, B. Ἀρσών: Vulg. *Hesron*, in Ruth *Esron*). [T. E. B.] [W.]

HEZ'RON (חֶצְרוֹן = *enclosed*; B. Ἀσωρών, A. Ἐσρώμ; *Chetzron*), a place on the south border of Judah between Kadesh-barnea and Addar (Josh. xv. 3). In Num. xxxiv. 4, the name is given as Hazar-addar. Riehm suggests (*s. v.*) that Hazar, or Hezron, and Addar were so near each other that they could be called one place, Hazar-addar. In the list of towns in the Negeb (Josh. xv. 25), A. V. has "Kerioth, and Hezron, which is Hazor;" but the Hebrew text, which is followed by R. V., has only one name, Kerioth-Hezron: whether this be the same place as the Hezron of *v.* 3, is uncertain. Conder has suggested (*Hbk.* p. 257), as a possible identification, *Jebel Hadhirâ*, near *'Abdeh*, Eboda, at the southern extremity of the northern and highest terrace of the Negeb, which he would make the southern limit of Judah. But this is too far, quite 50 miles, from Mount Hor; and it seems more probable that the Promised Land extended to the edge of the mountain plateau of *Jebel Magrâh*, which rises abruptly from the desert of *et-Tîh*, and forms a natural boundary southward (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, map). In this direction, then, a search should be made for Hezron. Riehm (*s. v.*) identifies Kerioth-Hezron with *Kh. el-Kureitein*, N. of *Tell 'Arâd*, but the boundary of Judah must have been a long way to the south of this place. [W.]

HEZRONITES, THE (הַחֶצְרֹנִי; ὁ Ἀσρωνεί; *Hesronitae*). A branch of the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxvi. 21). The ed. of 1611 spelt Hesronites.

HID'DAI (הִדַּי; A. Ἀθθαί, B. omits; *Heddai*), one of the thirty-seven heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 30), described as "of the torrents of Gaash." In the parallel list of 1 Ch. (xi. 32) the name is given as HURAI. Kennicott (*Dissert.* p. 194) decides in favour of "Hurai" on grounds for which the reader must be referred to his work.

HID'DEKEL (חִדֶּקֶל; Τίγρις, Τίγρις-Ἐδδεκέλ; *Tygris, Tigris*), one of the rivers of Eden, the river which "goeth eastward to Assyria" (Gen. ii. 14), and which Daniel calls "the great river" (Dan. x. 4), is rightly identified by the LXX. with the Tigris. As the Akkadian and Assyro-Babylonian forms are *Idigna* and *Idiklat* or *Diklat* respectively, it is difficult to account for the initial ח, except by supposing that these two forms are weakened from *Hidigna* and *Hidiklat*. The form *Diglath* (the first syllable having disappeared) occurs in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, in Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* i. 1), in the Armenian Eusebius (*Chron. Can. Pars*, i. c. 2), in Zonaras (*Ann.* i. 2), and in the Armenian Version of the Scriptures. It is hardened to *Diglit* (Diglito) in Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 27). The form now used by the inhabitants of Mesopotamia is *Dijlah*.

Strabo (xi. 14, § 8), Pliny (*loc. cit.*), and other writers tell us that the river received its designation from its rapidity, the word Tigris

(*Tigra*) meaning, in the Medo-Persic language, "an arrow." As far as the reference to its rapidity goes, this is not improbably correct, one of the ideographs for the stream being (*id*) *ḥalḥala*, "the swiftly-running stream." There is hardly any doubt that the first component part of the name *Idigna* or *Idiklat* is the Akkadian word for "river" (*ḥidi*, *ḥid*, or *id*, also abbreviated to *i*). On one of the tablets there is a reference to the properties and names of the various rivers, that referring to the Tigris being, "Let him explain the Tigris as the bringer of fertility" (*babilat nuḥši*). Another Semitic name of the river, when expressed by the ideograph *id Ḥalḥala*, was *Ammu*. The star of the river Tigris or Hiddekel was identified with Anunitu^{m}, the goddess of one of the Sipparas (Sipar or Sippara of Anunitu). For its course see under TIGRIS. [G. R.] [T. G. P.]

HI'EL (חִיאֵל, perhaps for יְחִיאֵל = *God lives*, [Ges.], or for אחיאל = *brother of God* [cp. Bäthgen, *Beitr. z. Sem. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 156]; B. Ἀχιήλ, A. -ι-; *Hiel*), a native of Bethel, who rebuilt Jericho in the reign of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 34); and in whom was fulfilled the curse pronounced by Joshua (Josh. vi. 26). Strabo speaks of this cursing of a destroyed city as an ancient custom, and instances the curses imprecated by Agamemnon and Croesus (Grot. *Annot. ad Josh.* vi. 26); Masius compares the cursing of Carthage by the Romans (Pol. *Syn.*). To rebuild was an impiety (cp. Dillmann^{2} in *loco*). The term Bethelite (בֵּית הָאֵלִי) is here rendered *house* or *place of cursing* (Ar., Syr., and Chald. Verss.), בֵּית הָאֵלָה (Jon.); but there seems no reason for questioning the accuracy of the LXX. *ὁ Βαιθηλείτης*, which is approved by most commentators and sanctioned by Gesen. (*Lex.* s. v.). The rebuilding of Jericho was perhaps an intrusion upon the kingdom of Jehoshaphat, but more emphatically a mark of the irreligiousness of the time (*Speaker's Comm.* on 1 K. *l. c.*). [T. E. B.] [F.]

HIERAPOLIS (Ἱεράπολις = *sacred city*). This place is mentioned only once in Scripture, and that incidentally, viz. in Col. iv. 13, where its church is associated with those of COLOSSAE and LAODICEA. Such association is just what we should expect; for the three towns were all in the valley of the Lycus, and within a few miles of one another. It is probable that Hierapolis was one of the "inlustres Asiae urbes" (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) which, with Laodicea, were simultaneously desolated by an earthquake about the time when Christianity was established in this district. There is little doubt that the Church of Hierapolis was founded at the same time as that of Colossae, and that its characteristics in the Apostolic period were the same. Ramsay identifies Sibila as the native name of Hierapolis (*Histor. Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 450). Its modern name is *Pambûk-Kalesi*. The most remarkable feature of the neighbourhood consists of the hot calcareous springs, which have deposited the vast and singular incrustations noticed by travellers. See, for instance, Chandler, *Trav. in Asia Minor* (1817), i. 264–272; Hamilton, *Res. in A. M.* (1842), i. 507–522; Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, i. 204 sq. The situation of Hierapolis is extremely beautiful; and its ruins are considerable, the theatre and gymnasium being the most conspicuous. [J. S. H.] [W.]

HIER'E-EL (Ἱερεήλ; *Jeelech*), 1 Esd. ix. 21. [JEHIEL.]

HIER'EMOTH (Ἱερεμώθ; *Erimoth*). **1.** 1 Esd. ix. 27. [JEREMOTH.] **2.** (*Jerimoth.*) 1 Esd. ix. 30. [RAMOTH.]

HIERIE'LUS (A. Ἱεζριῆλος, *i.e.* Iezrielos; B. Ἱεζόρικλος: *Jezrelus*), 1 Esd. ix. 27. This answers to JEHIEL in the list of Ezra x.; but whence the A. V. obtained the form of the name does not appear

HIER'MAS (A. Ἱερμάς, B. Ἱερμά; *Remias*), 1 Esd. ix. 26. [RAMIAH.]

HIERON'YMUS (Ἱερώνυμος; *Hieronymus*), a Syrian general in the time of Antiochus V. Eupator (2 Macc. xii. 2). The name was made distinguished among the Asiatic Greeks by Hieronymus of Cardia, the historian of Alexander's successors. [B. F. W.]

HIERUSALEM, an early form (1611) for Jerusalem.

HIGGAION, or, more accurately, *Higgāyōn*, occurs in the Hebrew text of the Psalms twice (ix. 17; xcii. 4). It, and the words akin to it, have various significations, all of which however can be reduced to the common root *Hāgōh* (הָגָה),—to think, to think aloud, to speculate, to speculate philosophically, to separate, to pronounce, to play fantasias. Most of these significations are to be met with in the Bible itself; others are found either in the canonical or non-canonical Mishnah (*Mathnīthā Bāraitā*), and others again in the writers of the Middle Ages.

The word Higgayon is also found in composition, *i.e.* with the word Shīr (שִׁיר) preceding it. In that case, by combination and assimilation, it stands as *Shiggāyōn* (שִׁגָּיוֹן),[a] Ps. vii., in the superscription), and signifies a song expressing deep thought, *i.e.* a philosophico-religious argument embodied in a Psalm. Inasmuch, however, as one or more of the various singing or music bands, which consisted of thousands of persons [HARP], excelled in one kind of song and music more than in another, that band or those bands which executed best the *Shīrē Higgāyōn*, was or were called, by further contraction,

[a] That *Shiggayon* is a compound of *Shir* and *Higgayon* is too patent, one would have thought, to be questioned, as the verse itself shows (שִׁגָּיוֹן . . שִׁיר). Yet it has been actually questioned, chiefly on account of three elisions that would necessarily have taken place. But of these three elisions, the י and the ה being well known to be the weakest letters in the alphabet, only one—that of the ר—presents a difficulty. But this even can only be a momentary one. See שִׁלְמָה, which stands for אשר למה דרמשק, which, of course, stands for דרמשק.

Shigyōnōth (שִׁגְיוֹנוֹת).[b] It is to the director of that band or those bands (Habakkuk himself) that Habakkuk's sublime prayer was given, to be recited to the accompaniment of the prophet's own instrument *Negīnōth* (נְגִינוֹת), as is shown by the phrase *'Al Shigyōnōth* (עַל שִׁגְיוֹנוֹת) at the beginning, and *Lamenaṣṣēach Binegīnōthāi* (לַמְנַצֵּחַ בִּנְגִינוֹתָי) at the end.

Explanations differing from this are to be

Hierapolis.

found in the Targumist and in Rashi, both of whom, however much they may differ in the application of the word, render *Shigyōnōth* by "sins" or "errors." Ibn Ezra, of course, takes *Shigyōnōth* to be the commencement of a poem, the tune of which in ancient times was well known. Qimchi says that this prayer was composed in the style of one of the old hymns of the Psalter, and that *Shigyōnōth* resembled *Shiggāyōn*

[b] *Shiggāyōn* and *Shigyōnōth* are placed in close connexion by David Qimchi (on Hab. iii. 1).

(see above). Others say that *Shigyōnōth* was a musical instrument. All these explanations, however, must be rejected on grounds sufficiently explained in AIJELETH SHAHAR, ALAMOTH, AL-TASCHITH, and GITTITH. [S. M. S.-S.]

HIGH PLACES (בָּמוֹת; in the historical books, τὰ ὑψηλά, τὰ ὕψη; in the Prophets, βωμοί; in the Pentateuch, στῆλαι, Lev. xxvi. 30, &c.; and once εἴδωλα, Ezek. xvi. 16; *Excelsa, fana*). Other Hebrew words occasionally thus rendered are מְרוֹם (Prov. viii. 2); צָרִיחַ (1 Sam. xiii. 6); רָמָה (Ezek. xvi. 24), and שְׁפִי (Num. xxiii. 3); but these words are never used in the technical sense of *Bāmōth*. From the earliest times it was the custom among all nations to erect altars and places of worship on lofty and conspicuous spots. We find that the Trojans sacrificed to Zeus on Mount Ida (*Il.* x. 171), and we are repeatedly told that such was the custom of the Persians, Greeks, Germans, &c., because they fancied that the hill-tops were nearer heaven, and therefore the most favourable places for prayer and incense (Herod. i. 131; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7; *Mem.* iii. 8, § 10; Strab. xv. 732; Luc. *de Sacrif.* i. 4; Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 159; Andrian, *Der Höhencultus asiat. u. europ. Völke*, 1891). To this general custom we find constant allusion in the Bible (Is. lxv. 7; Jer. iii. 6; Ezek. vi. 13, xviii. 6; Hos. iv. 13), and it is especially attributed to the Moabites (Is. xv. 2, xvi. 12; Jer. xlviii. 35). Even Abraham built an altar to the Lord on a mountain near Bethel (xii. 7, 8; cp. xxii. 2–4, xxxi. 54), which shows that the practice was then as innocent as it was natural; and although it afterwards became mingled with idolatrous observances (Num. xxiii. 3), it was in itself far less likely to be abused than the consecration of groves (Hos. iv. 13). The external religion of the Patriarchs was in some outward observances different from that subsequently established by the Mosaic Law, and therefore they should not be condemned for actions which afterwards became sinful only because they were forbidden (Heidegger, *Hist. Patr.* II. iii. § 53).

It is, however, quite obvious that if every grove and eminence had been suffered to become a place for legitimate worship, especially in a country where they had already been defiled with the sins of polytheism, the utmost danger would have resulted to the pure worship of the one true God (Hävernick, *Einl.* i. 592). It would infallibly have led to the adoption of nature-goddesses, and "gods of the hills" (1 K. xx. 23). It was therefore implicitly forbidden by the Law of Moses (Deut. xii. 11–14), which also gave the strictest injunction to destroy these monuments of Canaanitish idolatry (Lev. xxvi. 30; Num. xxxiii. 52; Deut. xxxiii. 29; ubi LXX. τραχήλων), without stating any general reason for this command, beyond the fact that they *had* been connected with such associations. It seems, however, to be assumed that every Israelite would perfectly understand why groves and high places were prohibited, and therefore they are only condemned by virtue of the injunction to use but *one* altar for the purposes of sacrifice (Lev. xvii. 3, 4; Deut. xii. *passim*, xvi. 21; John iv. 20).

The command was a *prospective* one, and was not to come into force until such time as the tribes were settled in the Promised Land, and "had rest from all their enemies round about." Thus we find that both Gideon and Manoah built altars on high places by Divine command (Judg. vi. 25, 26; xiii. 16–23), and it is quite clear from the tone of the Book of Judges that the law on the subject was either totally forgotten or practically obsolete. Nor could the unsettled state of the country have been pleaded as an excuse, since it seems to have been most fully understood, even during the life of Joshua, that burnt-offerings could be legally offered *on one* altar only (Josh. xxii. 29). It is more surprising to find this Law absolutely ignored at a much later period, when there was no intelligible reason for its violation—as by Samuel at Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 10) and at Bethlehem (xvi. 5); by Saul at Gilgal (xiii. 9) and at Ajalon (? xiv. 35); by David (1 Ch. xxi. 26); by Elijah on Mount Carmel (1 K. xviii. 30); and by other prophets (1 Sam. x. 5). To suppose that in *all* these cases the rule was superseded by a Divine intimation appears to us an unwarrantable expedient, the more so as the actors in the transactions do not appear to be aware of anything extraordinary in their conduct. The Rabbis have invented elaborate methods to account for the anomaly: thus they say that high places were allowed until the building of the Tabernacle; that they were then illegal until the arrival at Gilgal, and then during the period while the Tabernacle was at Shiloh; that they were once more permitted whilst it was at Nob and Gideon (cp. 2 Ch. i. 3), until the building of the Temple at Jerusalem rendered them finally unlawful (R. Sol. Jarchi, Abarbanel, &c., quoted in Carpzov. *App. Crit.* p. 333 sq.; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* i. 8 sq.). Others content themselves with saying that until Solomon's time all Palestine was considered holy ground, or that there existed a recognised exemption in favour of high places for private and spontaneous, though not for the stated and public, sacrifices.

Such explanations are sufficiently unsatisfactory; but it is at any rate certain that, whether from the obvious temptations to the disobedience, or from the example of other nations, or from ignorance of any definite law against it, the worship in high places was organised and all but universal throughout Judea, not only during (1 K. iii. 2–4), but even after the time of Solomon. The convenience of them was obvious, because, as local centres of religious worship, they obviated the unpleasant and dangerous necessity of visiting Jerusalem for the celebration of the yearly Feasts (2 K. xxiii. 9). The tendency was engrained in the national mind; and although it was severely reprehended by the later historians, we have no proof that it was known to be sinful during the earlier periods of the monarchy, except of course where it was directly connected with idolatrous abominations (1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13). In fact the high places seem to have supplied the need of synagogues (Ps. lxxiv. 8), and to have obviated the extreme self-denial involved in having but one legalised locality for the highest forms of worship. Thus we find that Rehoboam established a definite worship at the high places, with its own peculiar and separated priesthood (2 Ch. xi. 15; 2 K. xxiii. 9), the members of which were still considered to be priests of

Jehovah (although in 2 K. xxiii. 5 they are called by the opprobrious term כְּמָרִים). It was therefore no wonder that Jeroboam found it so easy to seduce the people into his symbolic worship at the high places of Dan and Bethel, at each of which he built a chapel for his golden calves. Such chapels were of course frequently added to the mere altars on the hills, as appears from the expressions in 1 K. xi. 7, 2 K. xvii. 9, &c. Indeed the word בָּמוֹת became so common that it was used for any idolatrous shrine even in *a valley* (Jer. vii. 31), or in the streets of cities (2 K. xvii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 31). These chapels were probably not structures of stone, but mere tabernacles hung with coloured tapestry (Ezek. xvi. 16; ἐμβόλισμα, Aqu., Theod.; Jer. ad loc.; εἴδωλον ῥαπτόν, LXX.), like the σκηνὴ ἱερὰ of the Carthaginians (Diod. Sic. xx. 65; Gesen. *Thes.* i. 188), and like those mentioned in 2 K. xxiii. 7, Amos v. 26 (cp. Piepenbring, 'Hist. d. lieux d. culte en Israël' in *Revue de l'hist. d. Religions*, 1891, pp. 1–60, 133–186).

Many of the pious kings of Judah were either too weak or too ill-informed to repress the worship of Jehovah at these local sanctuaries, while they of course endeavoured to prevent it from being contaminated with polytheism. It is therefore appended as a matter of blame or a (perhaps venial) drawback to the character of some of the most pious princes, that they tolerated this disobedience to the provision of Deuteronomy and Leviticus. On the other hand it is mentioned as an aggravation of the sinfulness of other kings that they built or raised high places (2 Ch. xxi. 11; xxviii. 25), which are generally said to have been dedicated to idolatrous purposes. It is almost inconceivable that so direct a violation of the theocratic principle as the permitted existence of idol-worship at high places should have been tolerated by kings of even ordinary piety, much less by the highest sacerdotal authorities (2 K. xii. 3). When therefore we find the recurring phrase, "only the high places were not taken away; as yet the people did sacrifice and burn incense on the high places" (2 K. xiv. 4, xv. 5, 35; 2 Ch. xv. 17, &c.), we are forced to limit it (as above) to places dedicated to Jehovah only. The subject, however, is made more difficult by a double discrepancy, for the assertion that Asa "took away the high places" (2 Ch. xiv. 3) is opposed to what is stated in the First Book of Kings (xv. 14), and a similar discrepancy is found in the case of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 6; xx. 33). Moreover in both instances the chronicler is apparently at issue with *himself* (xiv. 3; xv. 17; xvii. 6; xx. 33). It is incredible that this should have been the result of carelessness or oversight, and we must therefore suppose, either that the earlier notices expressed the will and endeavour of these monarchs to remove the high places, and that the later ones recorded their failure in the attempt (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 468; Keil, *Apolog. Versuch.* p. 290; Winer, s. vv. *Assa, Josaphat*); or that the statements refer respectively to Bamoth, dedicated to Jehovah and to idols (Michaelis, Schulz, Bertheau on 2 Ch. xvii. 6, &c.). "Those devoted to false gods were removed, those misdevoted to the true God were suffered to remain. The kings opposed impiety, but winked at error" (Bishop Hall).

At last Hezekiah set himself in good earnest to the suppression of this prevalent corruption (2 K. xviii. 4, 22), both in Judah and Israël (2 Ch. xxxi. 1), although so rapid was the growth of the evil, that even his sweeping reformation required to be finally consummated by Josiah (2 K. xxiii.), and that too in Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood (2 Ch. xxxiv. 3). The measure must have caused a very violent shock to the religious prejudices of a large number of people, and we have a curious and almost unnoticed trace of this resentment in the fact that the Rabshakeh sent by Sennacherib appeals to the discontented faction, and represents Hezekiah as a dangerous innovator who had provoked God's anger by his arbitrary impiety (2 K. xviii. 22; 2 Ch. xxxii. 12). After the time of Josiah we find no further mention of these Jehovistic high places. [F. W. F.]

HIGH-PRIEST, THE. The rendering in A. V. and R. V. of the title הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל, "The great priest," in Lev. xxi. 10, Num. xxxv. 25, 28, Josh. xx. 6; the only places in the Hexateuch where the Hebrew phrase is found. It occurs also in 2 K. xii. 10, xxii. 4, 8, xxiii. 4; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 9; Neh. iii. 1, 20, xiii. 28; Hag. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 2, 4; Zech. iii. 1, 8, vi. 11, and on Maccabean coins: but is not found in Judges and Samuel, nor in the great pre-exilic Prophets. The LXX. renders it ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας. A synonymous expression is כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ, 2 K. xxv. 18; 2 Ch. xix. 11, xxiv. 11, xxvi. 20; Jer. lii. 24: or הַכֹּהֵן רֹאשׁ, 1 Ch. xxvii. 5, or הַכֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ, 2 Ch. xxxi. 10, Ezra vii. 5, "The head priest," A. V. "The chief priest." But usually both in the Priestly Legislation and elsewhere the principal or representative priest is simply הַכֹּהֵן, "the priest," rendered ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς only in Lev. iv. 3, LXX., though this Greek term is frequent in Apocr. and N. T. (In the last period ex-high-priests, and even members of high-priestly families, are often so designated.) Vulg. *Sacerdos magnus*, or *primus pontifex, princeps sacerdotum.*

In treating of the office of high-priest among the Israelites, it will be convenient to consider it—I. Legally. II. Theologically. III. Historically.

I. The *legal* view of the high-priest's office comprises all that the Levitical Code ordains respecting it. The first distinct separation of Aaron to the office of the priesthood is described in Ex. xxviii. A partial anticipation of this call occurs at the gathering of the manna (ch. xvi. 33), when Moses bids Aaron take a pot of manna, and lay it up before the Lord, and Aaron lays it up "before the Testimony," *i.e.* the Ark (the construction of which, however, is not prescribed till ch. xxv.). The taking up of Nadab and Abihu with their father Aaron to the Mount, where they beheld the glory of the God of Israel, may also have been intended as a preparatory intimation of Aaron's hereditary priesthood (see also xxvii. 21). But it is not till the completion of the directions for making the Tabernacle and its furniture that the distinct order is given to Moses, "Take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto Me in the priest's office,

even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons" (Ex. xxviii. 1). And after the order for the priestly garments to be made "for Aaron and his sons," it is added, "and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute; and thou shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons," and "I will sanctify both Aaron and his sons to minister to Me in the priest's office" (xxix. 9, 44).

Aaron and his successors are distinguished from the other priests in the following respects:

(1.) Aaron alone is anointed. "He poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him to sanctify him" (Lev. viii. 12): whence one of the distinctive epithets of the high-priest is הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ, "the anointed priest" (only in Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16; vi. 22 [Heb. 15]: cp. Num. xxxv. 25).[a] So also in Ex. xxix. 29, 30, it is ordered that the one of the sons of Aaron who succeeds him in the priest's office shall wear the holy garments that were Aaron's for seven days, to be *anointed* therein, and to be installed in them. Hence Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 6; *Dem. Evang.* viii.) understands by the "anointing" (χρῖσμα) of Dan. ix. 26, LXX., that of the Jewish high-priests: "It means nothing else than the succession of high-priests, whom the Scripture commonly calls χριστούς, anointed;" and so too Tertullian and Theodoret (Rosenm. *ad l. c.*). The anointing of the sons of Aaron, *i.e.* the common priests, seems to have been confined to sprinkling their garments with the anointing oil (Ex. xxix. 21, xxviii. 41, &c.), though according to Kalisch on Ex. xxix. 8, and Lightfoot, following the Rabbinical interpretation, the difference consists in the abundant pouring of oil (יְצַק) on the head of the high-priest, from whence it was drawn with the finger into two streams, in the shape of a Greek X, while the priests were merely marked with the finger dipped in oil on the forehead (מָשַׁח). But this is probably a late invention of the Rabbins. The anointing of the high-priest is alluded to in Ps. cxxxiii. 2: "It is like the precious ointment [oil; Ex. xxix. 7] upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, that went down to the skirts of his garments." The composition of this anointing oil, consisting of myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, cassia and oil olive, is prescribed Ex. xxx. 22–25; and its use for any other purpose but that of anointing the priests, the Tabernacle and the vessels, is strictly prohibited (*v.* 33) on pain of being "cut off from one's fellow-tribesmen." The manufacture of it was entrusted to certain priests, called "apothecaries" (Neh. iii. 8). But this oil is said to have been wanting under the Second Temple (Prideaux, i. 151; Selden, cap. ix.).

(2.) The high-priest has a peculiar dress, which, as we have seen, passes to his successor at his death. This dress consisted of eight parts, as the Rabbins constantly note: the *breastplate*, the *ephod* with its "curious girdle," the *robe* of the ephod, the *mitre*, the *broidered coat* or diaper tunic, and the *girdle*, the materials being gold, blue, red, crimson, and fine (white) linen (Ex. xxviii. 4). To the above are added, *v.* 42, the *breeches* or *drawers* (Lev. xvi. 4) of linen; and to make up the number eight, some reckon the high-priest's mitre, or the plate (צִיץ) separately from the bonnet; while others reckon the curious girdle of the ephod separately from the ephod.[b]

Of these eight articles of attire, four—viz., the coat or tunic, the girdle, the breeches, and the bonnet or turban, מִגְבָּעָה, instead of the mitre, מִצְנֶפֶת[c]—belonged also to the common priests.

It is well known how, in the Assyrian sculptures, the king is in like manner distinguished by the shape of his head-dress; and how in Persia none but the king wore the cidaris or erect tiara.[d] On some Babylonian seals also the priest wears a high conical hat or mitre, surmounting a sort of turban. Taking the articles of the high-priest's dress in the order in which they are enumerated above, we have (*a*) the breastplate, or, as it is further named, *vv.* 15, 29, 30, the breastplate of judgment, or rather decision, חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט, τὸ λόγιον (or λογεῖον) τῶν κρίσεων (or τῆς κρίσεως), "the Oracle of Decision," in the LXX., and only in *v.* 4, τὸ περιστήθιον. It was, like the inner curtains of the Tabernacle, the vail, and the ephod, of "cunning work," מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב (strictly, "a work of a weaver in colours"); "opus plumarium," and "arte plumaria," Vulg. [See EMBROIDERER.] The breastplate was originally 2 spans long and 1 span broad, but when doubled it was square, the shape in which it was worn. It was fastened at the top by rings and chains of wreathen gold to the two onyx stones on the shoulders, and beneath with two other rings and a lace of blue to two corresponding rings in the ephod, to keep it fixed in its place, above the curious girdle. But the most remarkable and most important part of this breastplate were the 12 precious stones, set in 4 rows, 3 in a row, thus corresponding to the 12 tribes, and divided in the same manner as their camps were; each stone perhaps having the name of one of the children of Israel engraved upon it. Whether the order followed the ages of the sons of Israel, or, as seems most probable, the order of the encampment, may be doubted; but unless any appropriate distinct symbolism of the different tribes be found in the names of the precious stones, the question can scarcely be decided. According to Josephus, it was these stones which constituted the Urim and Thummim; but Josephus merely guesses, probably from the literal meaning of the term Urim, the nature of things which had ceased to exist centuries before his time. His opinion, improved upon by the Rabbins, as to the manner in which the stones gave out the oracular answer, by preternatural illumination, is, besides, intrinsically destitute of probability. That the Urim and Thummim were

[a] Lev. iv. may be of more recent origin than Ex. xxix. See Driver, *LOT.*, p. 40.

[b] In Lev. viii. 7–12 there is a complete account of the putting on of these garments by Aaron, and the whole ceremony of his consecration and that of his sons. It there appears distinctly that, besides the girdle common to all the priests, the high-priest also wore the curious girdle of the ephod.

[c] Josephus, however, whom Bähr follows, calls the bonnets of the priests by the name of מִצְנֶפֶת. See below.

[d] Bähr compares also the apices of the flamen Dialis.

material objects is evident from the fact that they were put into the Breastplate of Decision (Ex. xxviii. 30; Lev. viii. 8). The Heb. names אוּרִים וְתֻמִּים, "Light and Conclusion" (=Decision),* rather describe their use or purpose than their precise nature. It is, however, clear from the context of various passages in the Historical Books that the Urim and Thummim were means of divining the Will of Jahvah, and probably a species of sacred lot. The passage which seems decisive is 1 Sam. xiv. 41, 42. The former verse in the Heb. text is evidently mutilated, but in the LXX. (and Vulgate) runs as follows: "O Lord, the God of Israel, wherefore hast Thou not answered Thy servant this day? If the iniquity be in me, or in Jonathan my son, give Urim; and if it be in Thy people Israel, give Thummim." After this prayer Saul bids the priest (cp. *v.* 36) cast the sacred lots between him and his son. Other passages which should be compared with this are 1 Sam. ii. 18, 28; xiv. 3, 18 [LXX.]; xxi. 9; xxii. 18; xxiii. 6, 9; xxx. 7; 2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Ch. xv. 27; Deut. xxxiii. 8 (see Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.*, i. 96–100).†

Apart from its ornamental purpose (Ex. xxviii. 2, "for glory and for beauty"; cp. Ecclus. xlv. 7 sq., l.), the chief use of the breastplate seems to have been to serve as a receptacle for the Urim and Thummim. Its Heb. name חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט, according to the opinion of Gesenius, who connects חשן with حسن II. ornavit, covers both uses. The passage Ex. xxviii. 30 b, which belongs to the Priestly Legislation, may be paraphrased: "And Aaron shall bear the oracle (strictly *means of decision*) of the benê Israel upon his heart before Jahvah continually."

(*b.*) The Ephod (אֵפוֹד). This consisted of two parts, of which one covered the back, and the other the front, *i.e.* the breast and upper part of the body. These were clasped together on the shoulder with two large onyx stones, each having engraved on it six of the names of the tribes of Israel. It was further united by a "curious girdle" (R. V. "cunningly woven band") of blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined old linen round the waist. Upon it was placed the breastplate of judgment, which in fact was a part of the ephod, and included in the term in such passages as 1 Sam. ii. 28, xiv. 3, xxiii. 9, and was fastened to it just above the "curious girdle" of the ephod. Linen ephods were also worn by other priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18), by Samuel, who was a temple servant (1 Sam. ii. 18), and by David when bringing up the Ark (2 Sam. vi. 14). The expression for wearing an ephod is "*girded* with a linen ephod." The ephod was also frequently used in the local and family worship of the Israelites. See Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 5, xviii. 17–20; Hos. iii. 4. [EPHOD; GIRDLE.] (The inference which many have drawn from these passages, that ephod also denoted *a plated image*, is neither necessary nor probable. Cp. Kuenen, *RI.* i. 99, 100.)

(*c.*) The Robe of the ephod (מְעִיל). This was of inferior material to the ephod itself, being all of blue (*v.* 31), which implied its being only of "woven work" (מַעֲשֵׂה אֹרֵג, xxxix. 22). It was worn immediately under the ephod, and was longer than it, though not so long as the "broidered coat," or rather chequered tunic (כְּתֹנֶת תַּשְׁבֵּץ), according to some statements (Bähr, Winer, Kalisch, &c.). The Greek rendering, however, of מְעִיל, ποδήρης, and Josephus's description of it (*B. J.* v. 5, § 7), seem to outweigh the reasons given by Bähr for thinking the robe only came down to the knees, and to make it improbable that the tunic should have been seen below the robe. It seems likely therefore that the sleeves of the tunic, of white diaper linen, were the only parts of it which were visible, in the case of the high-priest, when he wore the blue robe over it. For the blue robe had no sleeves, but only slits in the sides for the arms to come through. It had a hole for the head to pass through, with a border round it of woven work, to prevent its being rent. The skirt of this robe had a remarkable trimming of pomegranates in blue, red, and crimson, with a bell of gold between each pomegranate alternately. The bells were to give a sound when the high-priest went in and came out of the Holy Place. Josephus in the *Antiquities* gives no explanation of the use of the bells, but merely speaks of the studied beauty of their appearance. In his *Jewish War*, however, he tells us that the bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. For Philo's very curious observations, see Lightfoot's Works, ix. p. 25.

Neither does the son of Sirach very distinctly explain it (Ecclus. xlv. 9), who in his description of the high-priest's attire seems chiefly impressed with its beauty and magnificence, and says of this trimming, "He compassed him with pomegranates and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, *for a memorial* (or reminder) *to the children of his people.*" It is his gloss upon Ex. xxviii. 35. Perhaps he means to intimate that the use of the bells was to give notice to the people outside, when the high-priest went in and came out of the sanctuary, as Whiston, Vatablus, and many others have supposed. But it would be quite consistent with the other strong anthropomorphisms of the Pentateuch to suppose that the object was to give due warning to the Divine Occupant of the inner shrine.

(*d.*) The fourth article peculiar to the high-priest is the mitre or upper turban, with its gold plate, engraved with HOLINESS TO THE LORD, fastened to it by a ribbon of blue. Jose-

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* The root תמם denotes *finishing* and *ending;* so that תֻּמִּים, as the name of a sacred oracle, is practically equivalent to מִשְׁפָּט, Judgment or Decision. The LXX. rendering, δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια, is somewhat paraphrastic.

† Kuenen argues, mainly from 1 Sam. ii. 28, Deut. xxxiii. 8, that in the earlier period the consultation of Jahvah by Ephod and Urim and Thummim belonged to the priests in general; giving oracles being the priest's proper task, as his name כֹּהֵן (= كاهن *kâhin*, "soothsayer") implied. On the question of the form of the Urim and Thummim, he refers to Keil, *HBA.*, i. 169, and Knobel, *Exodus und Levit.* p. 288. It is a probable inference from Hos. iii. 4, Judg. xvii. 5 (cp. xviii. 5), that they were little images like the Teraphim.

phus applies the term מִצְנֶפֶת (μασναεμφθής) to the turbans of the common priests as well, but says that in addition to this, and sewn on to the top of it, the high-priest had another turban of blue; that besides this he had outside the turban a triple crown of gold, consisting, that is, of three rims one above the other, and terminating at top in a kind of conical calyx, like the inverted calyx of the herb hyoscyamus. Josephus doubtless gives a true account of the high-priest's turban as worn in his day. It may be fairly conjectured that the crown was appended when the Hasmoneans united the temporal monarchy with the priesthood, and that this was continued, though in a modified shape,[s] after the sovereignty was taken from them. Josephus also describes the πέταλον, the lamina or gold plate, which he says covered the forehead of the high-priest. In *Ant.* viii. 3, § 8, he says that the identical gold plate made in the days of Moses existed in his time; and Whiston adds in a note that it was still preserved in the time of Origen, and that the inscription on it was engraved in "Samaritan" characters (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 6). But this would be far indeed from proving that the plate was as old as "the days of Moses." It may have been a relic of the Maccabean revival. R. Eliezer, who flourished in Hadrian's reign, saw it at Rome. It was doubtless placed, with other spoils of the Temple, in the temple of Peace, which was burnt down in the reign of Commodus. These spoils, however, are expressly mentioned as part of Alaric's plunder when he took Rome. They were carried by Genseric into Africa, and brought by Belisarius to Byzantium, where they adorned his triumph. On the warning of a Jew the emperor ordered them back to Jerusalem, but what became of them is not known (Reland, *de Spoliis Templi*).

(*e.*) The broidered coat (R. V. "coat of chequer work"), כְּתֹנֶת תַּשְׁבֵּץ, was a tunic or long shirt of linen with a tesselated or diaper pattern, like the setting of a stone. The girdle, אַבְנֵט, also of linen, was wound round the body several times from the breast downwards, and the ends hung down to the ankles. The linen (or cotton?) breeches or drawers, מִכְנְסֵי־בָד (= מִכְנְסֵי פִשְׁתִּים, Ezek. xliv. 18), covered the loins and thighs; and the bonnet or מִגְבָּעָה was a turban of linen, partially covering the head, but not in the form of a cone like that of the high-priest when the mitre was added to it. These four last were common to all priests. Josephus speaks of the robes (ἐνδύματα) of the chief priests, and the tunics and girdles of the priests, as forming part of the spoil of the Temple (*B. J.* vi. 8, § 3). According to the Priestly Code, Aaron, and at his death Eleazar (Num. xx. 22–29 P.), and their successors in the high-priesthood, were solemnly inaugurated into their office by being clad in these eight articles of dress on seven successive days. From the time of the Second Temple, when the sacred oil (said to have been hid by Josiah, and lost) was wanting, this putting on of the garments was deemed the official investiture of the office. Hence the robes, which had always been kept in one of the chambers of the Temple, and were by Hyrcanus deposited in the Baris, which he built on purpose, were kept by Herod in the same tower, which he called Antonia, so that they might be at his absolute disposal. The Romans did the same till the government of Vitellius in the reign of Tiberius, when the custody of the robes was restored to the Jews (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 4; xviii. 4, § 3).

(3.) Aaron has peculiar functions assigned to him in the Priestly Legislation. To him alone it appertains, and he alone is permitted, to enter the Holy of Holies, which he does once a year, on the great Day of Atonement, when he sprinkles the blood of the sin-offering on the mercy-seat, and burns incense within the vail (Lev. xvi.). He is said by the Talmudists, with whom agree Lightfoot, Selden, Grotius, Winer, Bähr, and many others, not to have worn his full pontifical robes on this occasion, but to have been clad entirely in white linen (Lev. xvi. 4, 32). It is singular, however, that on the other hand Josephus says that the great fast day was the chief, if not the only day in the year, when the high-priest wore all his robes (*B. J.* v. 5, § 7); and in spite of the alleged impropriety of his wearing his splendid apparel on a day of humiliation, it seems far more probable that on the one occasion when he performed functions peculiar to the high-priest, he should have worn his full dress. Josephus too could not have been mistaken as to the fact, which he repeats (*cont. Ap.* lib. ii. § 8), where he says the high-priests alone might enter into the Holy of Holies, "propriâ stolâ circumamicti." For although Selden,[h] who strenuously supports the Rabbinical statement that the high-priest wore only the four linen garments when he entered the Holy of Holies, endeavours to make Josephus say the same thing, it is impossible to twist his words into this meaning. It is true, on the other hand, that Lev. xvi. distinctly prescribes that Aaron should wear the four priestly garments of linen when he entered into the Holy of Holies, and put them off immediately he came out, and leave them in the Temple; no one being present in the Temple while Aaron made the atonement (*v.* 17). Either therefore in the time of Josephus this law was not kept in practice, or else we must reconcile the manifest contradiction by supposing that in consequence of the great jealousy with which the high-priest's robes were kept by the civil power at this time, the custom had arisen for him to wear them, not even always on the three great Festivals (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3), but only on the great day of expiation. Clad in this gorgeous attire, he would enter the Temple in presence of all the people; and after having performed in secret, as the Law required, the rites of expiation in the linen dress, he would resume his pontifical robes and so appear again in public. Thus his wearing the robes would easily come to be identified chiefly with the Day of Atonement; and this is perhaps the most prob-

[s] Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 10) says that Pompey would not allow Hyrcanus to wear the diadem, when he restored him to the high-priesthood.

[h] Selden himself remarks (cap. vii. *in fin.*) that Josephus and others always describe the pontifical robes by the name of τῆς στολῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς.

able explanation.[1] In other respects the high-priest performed the functions of a priest on new moons and sabbaths and annual festivals (Jos. *B. J.* v. 5, § 7), and on such solemn occasions as the dedication of the Temple under Zerubbabel. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.] He was legally bound to officiate only on the Day of Atonement; though later usage required him also to offer the daily sacrifice throughout the previous week (*Joma*, i. 2). Otherwise he was free to sacrifice or not as he pleased (*ibid.*; *Tamid*, vii. 3). See Schürer, II. i. p. 255.

(4.) The high-priest has a peculiar place in the law of the manslayer, and his taking sanctuary in the cities of refuge. The manslayer might not leave the city of refuge during the lifetime of the existing high-priest who was anointed with the holy oil (Num. xxxv. 25, 28; Josh. xx. 6). It was also forbidden to the high-priest to follow a funeral, or rend his clothes for the dead, according to the precedent in Lev. x. 6.

The other respects in which the high-priest exercised superior functions to the other priests arose rather from his position and opportunities, than from the legally defined duties of his office, and they consequently varied with the personal character and abilities of the high-priest. Such were reforms in religion, restorations of the Temple and its service (which, however, really depended on the royal will during the period of the monarchy), the preservation of the Temple from intrusion or profanation, taking the lead in ecclesiastical or civil affairs, judging the people, presiding in the Sanhedrin (which, however, he is said by Lightfoot rarely to have done), and other similar transactions, in which we find the high-priest sometimes prominent, sometimes not even mentioned (see the historical part of this article). Even that portion of power which most naturally and usually fell to his share, the rule of the Temple, and the government of the priests and Levites who ministered there, did not invariably fall to the share of the high-priest. For the title "Ruler of the House of God," נְגִיד בֵּית־הָאֱלֹהִים which usually denotes the high-priest, is sometimes given to those who were not high-priests, as *e.g.* to Pashur the son of Immer in Jer. xx. 1 (cp. 1 Ch. xii. 27). The Rabbins speak very frequently of one second in dignity to the high-priest, whom they call the Sagan or Segen (a term of Babylonian origin), and who often acted in the high-priest's room.[k] He is identified (see Buxtorf, *s. v.*) with "the second priest" (2 K. xxiii. 4, xxv. 18). They say that Moses was Sagan to Aaron; a summary mode of getting rid of the difficulties inherent in the traditional view of their official relations. Thus too it is explained of Annas and Caiaphas (Luke iii. 2), that Annas was Sagan. Ananias is also thought by some to have been Sagan, acting for the high-priest (Acts xxiii. 2). In like manner they say (unhistorically) that Zadok and Abiathar were high-priest and Sagan in the time of David. The Sagan is also very frequently called *Memunneh*, or Prefect of the Temple; and upon him chiefly lay the care and charge of the Temple services (Lightfoot, *passim*). If the high-priest was incapacitated from officiating by any accidental uncleanness, the Sagan took his place. Thus, *e.g.*, the Jerusalem Talmud tells a story of Simon son of Kamith, that "on the eve of the day of expiation [Atonement], he went out to speak with the king, and some spittle fell upon his garments and defiled him: therefore Judah his brother went in on the day of expiation, and served in his stead; and so their mother Kamith saw two of her sons high-priests in one day. She had seven sons, and they all served in the high-priesthood" (Lightfoot, ix. 35). It does not appear by whose authority the high-priests were appointed to their office before there were kings of Israel [see under III. *infra*]. It was invariably done by the civil power in later times; the principal priest of the Temple of Jerusalem being, in fact, the servant of the sovereign, whose palace adjoined the sanctuary, and who appointed and deposed him at pleasure (cp. 1 Sam. ii. 35, "mine Anointed" = the king; 1 K. ii. 27; Ezek. xliii. 8). The installation and anointing of the high-priest or clothing him with the eight garments, which was the formal investiture, is naturally enough ascribed by Maimonides to the Sanhedrin at all times (Lightfoot, ix. 22).

It should be added, that the usual age for entering upon the functions of the priesthood, according to 2 Ch. xxxi. 17, is considered to have been twenty years, though a priest or high-priest was not actually incapacitated if he had attained to puberty, as appears by the example of Aristobulus, who was high-priest at seventeen. Onias, the son of Simon the Just, could not be high-priest, because he was but a child at his father's death. Again, according to Lev. xxi. 18–20, no one that had a blemish could officiate at the altar. The twelve blemishes there enumerated are expanded by the Talmud into one hundred and forty-two. Josephus relates how Antigonus mutilated Hyrcanus's ears, to incapacitate him for being restored to the high-priesthood. Illegitimate birth was also a bar to the high-priesthood, and the subtlety of Jewish distinctions extended this illegitimacy to being born of a mother who had been taken captive by heathen conquerors (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. § 7). Thus Eleazar said to John Hyrcanus (though, Josephus says, falsely) that if he was a just man, he ought to resign the pontificate, because his mother had been a captive, and he was therefore incapacitated. Lev. xxi. 13, 14 was taken as the ground of this and similar disqualifications. For a full account of this branch of the subject, the reader is referred to Selden's learned treatises *De Successionibus*, &c., and *De*

[1] "Only at that part of the service on the great Day of Atonement at which he entered the Holy of Holies, he wore a simple white dress, which however was made of the most expensive Pelusian and Indian linen (or cotton?)." Schürer (II. i. p. 256, Eng. Tr.), who refers to Mishna, *Joma*, iii. 4, 6; vii. 1, 3, 4.

[k] There is a controversy as to whether the deputy high-priest was the same as the Sagan. Lightfoot thinks not. So also Schürer, who points out that the term, which in the O. T. occurs only in the plural, is mostly rendered στρατηγοί by the LXX., and identifies the Sagan with the στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, or "Captain of the Temple," Acts iv. 1; v. 24, 26 (see Schürer, II. i. 257 sq.). The word appears to be identical with the Assyrio-Babylonian *šaknu*, *šakan*, "one appointed," "officer," "deputy," or the like. See Is. xli. 25, and Schrader, *KAT.*[2] ad loc.

Success. in Pontif. Ebraeor.; and to Prideaux, ii. 306. It was the universal opinion of the Jews that the deposition of a high-priest, which became so common, was unlawful. Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 3) says that Antiochus Epiphanes was the first who did so, when he deposed Jesus or Jason; Aristobulus, who deposed his brother Hyrcanus, the second; and Herod, who took away the high-priesthood from Ananelus to give it to Aristobulus, the third. See the story of Jonathan son of Ananus in *Ant.* xix. 6, § 4.

II. Theologically. The theological view of the high-priesthood does not fall within the scope of this Dictionary. It may, however, be stated that such a view would embrace the consideration of the office, dress, functions, and ministrations of the high-priest, considered as typical of the priesthood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and as setting forth under shadows the truths which are openly taught under the Gospel. This has been done to a great extent in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and is occasionally done in other parts of Scripture, as, *e.g.*, Rev. i. 13, where the ποδήρης, and the girdle about the paps, are distinctly the robe, and the curious girdle of the ephod, characteristic of the high-priest. It would also embrace all the moral and spiritual teaching supposed to be intended by such symbols. Philo (*de vitâ Mosis*), Origen (*Homil. in Levit.*), Eusebius (*Demonst. Evang.* lib. iii.); Epiphanius (*cont. Melchized.* iv. &c.), Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* i., *Eliae Cretens.*, and *Comment.* p. 195), Augustine (*Quaest. in Exod.*) may be cited among many others of the ancients who have more or less thus treated the subject. Of moderns, Bähr (*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*), Fairbairn (*Typology of Script.*), Kalisch (*Comment. on Exod.*) have entered fully into this subject, both from the Jewish and Christian point of view.

III. To pass to the historical view of the subject. The history of the high-priests embraces a period of about fourteen centuries, and a succession of about eighty high-priests, beginning with Aaron and ending with Phannias, according to the traditional view, which rests ultimately upon the statements of the Priestly Code. "The number of all the high-priests," says Josephus, "from Aaron . . . until Phanas . . . was eighty-three" (*Ant.* xx. 10, where he gives a comprehensive account of them). They naturally arrange themselves into three groups —(*a.*) those before David; (*b.*) those from David to the Captivity; (*c.*) those from the return from the Babylonish Captivity till the cessation of the office at the destruction of Jerusalem. The former two have come down to us in the canonical Books of Scripture, and so have a few of the earliest and the latest names of the third group; but for by far the larger portion of the latter group we have only the authority of Josephus, the Talmud, and some other profane writers.

(*a.*) The high-priests of the first group (or those who are commonly regarded as such) are —1. Aaron; 2. Eleazar; 3. Phinehas; 4. Eli; 5. Ahitub (1 Ch. ix. 11; Neh. xi. 11; 1 Sam. xiv. 3); 6. Ahiah; 7. Ahimelech (on the assumption that he was not identical with Ahiah or rather Ahijah, which Ewald regards as certain; cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, xxi. 1, xxii. 9. See Ewald, *HI.* ii. 415, n. 3). Phinehas the son of Eli, and father of Ahitub, died before his father, and so was not high-priest. Of the above the first three succeeded in regular order; Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's eldest sons, having died in the wilderness (Lev. x.). But Eli, the fourth, was of the line of Ithamar according to Josephus (*Ant.* v. 11, § 5; cp. 1 Ch. xxiv. 2, 3). What was the exact interval between the death of Phinehas and the accession of Eli, what led to the transference of the chief priesthood from the line of Eleazar to that of Ithamar, and whether any, or which, of the descendants of Eleazar between Phinehas and Zadok (seven in number, according to 1 Ch. vi. 4–8, viz. Abishua, Bukki, Uzzi, Zerahiah, Meraioth, Amariah, Ahitub) were high-priests, we have no means of determining from Scripture. In Judg. xx. 28, we see Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, priest at Beth-el (cp. *v.* 26); and 1 Sam. i. 3, 9, finds Eli high-priest at Shiloh, with two grown-up sons priests under him. The only clue is to be found in the genealogies, by which it appears that Phinehas was sixth in succession from Levi, while Eli, supposing him to be the same generation as Samuel's grandfather, would be tenth. If however Phinehas lived, as is possible, to a great old age, and Eli, as his age admits, be placed about half a generation backwarder, a very small interval will remain. Josephus asserts (*Ant.* viii. 1, § 3) that the father of Bukki—whom he calls Joseph, and (*Ant.* v. 11, § 5) Abiezer, instead of Abishua—was the last high-priest of Phinehas's line, before Zadok. This is perhaps a true tradition, though Josephus, with characteristic levity,[1] does not adhere to it in the above passage of his 5th book, where he makes Bukki and Uzzi to have been both high-priests, and Eli to have succeeded Uzzi; or in bk. xx. 10, where he reckons the high-priests before Zadok and Solomon to have been thirteen (a reckoning which includes apparently all Eleazar's descendants down to Ahitub), and adds Eli and his son Phinehas, and Abiathar, whom he calls Eli's grandson. If Abishua died, leaving a son or grandson under age, Eli, as head of the line of Ithamar, might have become high-priest as a matter of course, or he might have been appointed by the elders.[m] His having judged Israel forty years (1 Sam. iv. 18) marks him as a man of ability. If Ahiah and Ahimelech are not variations of the name of the same person, they must have been brothers, since both were sons of Ahitub. The high-priests then before

[1] It is impossible to reconcile Josephus either with himself or with the Chronicler. In *Ant.* viii. 1, § 3, he states that Bukki "son of Abishua the high-priest," Joatham son of Bukki, Meraioth son of Joatham, "Arophaeus" son of Meraioth, and Ahitub, lived in a private station, while the house of Ithamar held the high-priesthood. Ewald remarks, "Thus carelessly did Josephus quote his authorities" (*HI.* ii. 409, n. 2).

[m] No instance of such a mode of appointment can be cited from the Historical Books. But the grand difficulty is that while on the one hand no trace is to be found of the priesthood of Abishua, Bukki, &c., nor even of their existence, in the Books of Judges and Samuel, on the other hand the immediate predecessors of Eli, and Eli himself and his successors in the priesthood, are omitted from the Chronicler's apparently complete list of hereditary high-priests from Aaron to the Exile (1 Ch. vi. 3–15).

David's reign may be set down as *eight* (but *vid. supr.*) in number, of whom *seven* are inferred from Scripture to have been high-priests, and *one* is said to have been such by Josephus alone. The bearing of this on the chronology of the times from the Exodus to David, tallying as it does with the number of the ancestors of David, is too important to be passed over in silence. It must also be noted that the Tabernacle, during the high-priesthood of Aaron's successors of this first group, was pitched at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim; a fact which marks the strong influence which the temporal power already had in ecclesiastical affairs, since Ephraim was Joshua's tribe, as Judah was David's (Josh. xxiv. 30, 33; Judg. xx. 27, 28, xxi. 21; 1 Sam. i. 3, 9, 24, iv. 3, 4, xiv. 3, &c.; Ps. lxxviii. 60). This strong influence and interference of the secular power is manifest throughout the subsequent history. This first period was also marked by the calamity which befell the high-priests as the guardians of the Ark, in its capture by the Philistines. This probably suspended all inquiries by Urim and Thummim, which were made before the Ark (1 Ch. xiii. 3: cp. Judg. xx. 27, 1 Sam. vii. 2, xiv. 18),[n] and must have greatly diminished the influence of the high-priests, on whom the largest share of the humiliation which was popularly seen in the name Ichabod[o] would naturally fall. The rise of Samuel as a prophet at this very time, and his paramount influence and importance in the State, to the entire eclipsing of Ahiah the priest, coincides remarkably with the absence of the Ark and the means of inquiring by Urim and Thummim.

(*b.*) Passing to the second group, we begin with the unexplained circumstance of there being two priests in the reign of David, apparently of nearly equal authority, viz. Zadok and Abiathar (1 Ch. xv. 11; 2 Sam. viii. 17). Indeed it is only from the deposition of Abiathar, and the placing of Zadok in his room, by Solomon (1 K. ii. 35), that we are able to infer that Abiathar was the high-priest, and Zadok the second. Zadok was son of Ahitub,[p] of the line of Eleazar (1 Ch. vi. 8), and the first mention of him is in 1 Ch. xii. 28 as "a young man, mighty in valour," who joined David in Hebron after Saul's death, with twenty-two captains of his father's house. It is therefore not unlikely that after the death of Ahimelech and the secession of Abiathar to David, Saul may have made Zadok priest, so far as it was possible for him to do it in the absence of the Ark and the high-priest's robes, and that David may have avoided the difficulty of deciding between the claims of his faithful friend Abiathar and his new and important ally Zadok (who perhaps was the means of attaching to David's cause the 4,600 Levites and the 3,700 priests who are said to have come under Jehoiada their captain, *vv.* 26, 27),[q] by appointing them to a joint priesthood: the first place, with the ephod, and Urim and Thummim, remaining with Abiathar, who was in actual possession of them. Certain it is that from this time Zadok and Abiathar are constantly named together, and singularly Zadok always first, both in the Book of Samuel and that of Kings. We can, however, trace very clearly up to a certain point the division of the priestly offices and dignities between them, coinciding as it did with the divided state of the Levitical worship in David's time. For we learn from 1 Ch. xvi. 1–7, 37 compared with *vv.* 39, 40, and yet more distinctly from 2 Ch. i. 3, 4, 5, that the Tabernacle and the Brazen Altar made by Moses and Bezaleel in the wilderness were at this time at Gibeon, while the Ark was at Jerusalem, in the separate tent made for it by David. [GIBEON, p. 1181.] Now Zadok the priest and his brethren the priests were left "before the Tabernacle . . . at Gibeon; to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord . . . morning and evening, and to do according to all that is written in the law of the Lord" (1 Ch. xvi. 39, 40). It is therefore obvious to conclude that Abiathar had special charge of the Ark and the services connected with it, which agrees exactly with the possession of the ephod[r] by Abiathar, and his previous position with David before he became king of Israel, as well as with what we are told in 1 Ch. xxvii. 34, that Jehoiada and Abiathar were the king's counsellors next to Ahithophel. Residence at Jerusalem with the Ark, and the privilege of inquiring of the Lord before the Ark, both well suit his office of counsellor. Abiathar, however, forfeited his place by taking part with Adonijah against Solomon, and Zadok was made high-priest in his room. The pontificate was thus again consolidated, and transferred permanently from the line of Ithamar to that of Eleazar. This is the only instance recorded of the deposition of a high-priest (which became common in later times, especially under Herod and the Romans) during this second period. It was the fulfilment of the prophetic denunciations of the sin of Eli's sons (1 Sam. ii., iii.).

The first considerable difficulty that meets us in the historical survey of the high-priests of the second group is to ascertain who was high-priest at the dedication of Solomon's Temple. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8, § 6) asserts that Zadok was, and the *Seder Olam* makes him the high-priest in the reign of Solomon. But first it is very improbable that Zadok, who must

[n] But the *true* reading of 1 Sam. xiv. 18 is preserved by the Sept.: "And Saul said unto Ahijah, Bring hither the ephod; for he (Ahijah) wore the ephod at that time before the benē Israel." It does not appear that the Ark was necessary to the consultation of Jahvah by Urim and Thummim (1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9; xxx. 7, 8; xiv. 36–42. *Vid. supr.*). See Driver's *Samuel* ad loc.

[o] Ichabod is a name formed like Ithamar, and probably means "man *of* glory" (Heb. *ish kābōd*). See Ewald, *Lehrb.* § 273.

[p] But Ahitub appears in 1 Sam. xiv. 3, xxii. 9, 20, as father of Ahijah-Ahimelech and grandfather of Abiathar, Zadok's rival, of the house of Eli and line of Ithamar.

[q] The numbers are very surprising, in view of the comparative paucity of priests in the preceding history (Judges, Samuel). See Wellhausen, *HI.* p. 174. The Chronicler and his principal source in all good faith antedate many things, owing to the very natural desire of finding an indefeasible sanction for present institutions in the venerable past.

[r] But "Zadok and his brethren" at Gibeon must, as priests, have worn the ephod (1 Sam. ii. 28, xxii. 18). See Kuenen, *RI.* i. 97.

have been very old at Solomon's accession (being David's contemporary), should have lived to the eleventh year of his reign; and next, 1 K. iv. 2 distinctly asserts that Azariah the son of Zadok was priest under Solomon, and 1 Ch. vi. 10 tells us of Azariah,[s] "he it is that executed the priest's office in the Temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem," obviously meaning at its first completion. We can hardly therefore be wrong in saying that Azariah the son (so 1 Ch. vi. 9; but brother, according to 2 Sam. xviii. 19, 1 K. iv. 2) of Ahimaaz was the first high-priest of Solomon's Temple. The non-mention of him in the account of the dedication of the Temple, even where one would most have expected it (as 1 K. viii. 3, 6, 10, 11, 14, 55, 62; 2 Ch. v. 7, 11, &c.), and the prominence given to Solomon—the civil power—are certainly remarkable. Cp. also 2 Ch. viii. 14, 15. The probable inference is that Azariah had no great personal qualities or energy.[t] In constructing the list of the succession of priests of this group, our method must be to compare the genealogical list in 1 Ch. vi. 8–15 (A. V.) with the notices of high-priests in the sacred history, and with the list given by Josephus, who, it must be remembered, had access to the lists preserved in the archives at Jerusalem: testing the whole by the application of the ordinary rules of genealogical succession. Now as regards the genealogy, it is seen at once that there is something defective; for whereas from David to Jeconiah there are twenty kings, from Zadok to Jehozadak there are but thirteen priests. Moreover the passage in question was perhaps not intended for a list of the actual high-priests, but to give the pedigree of Jehozadak. Then again, while the pedigree in its first six generations from Zadok, inclusive, exactly suits the history—for it makes Amariah the sixth priest, while the history (2 Ch. xix. 11) tells us he lived in Jehoshaphat's reign, who was the sixth king from David, inclusive; and while the same pedigree in its last five generations also suits the history—inasmuch as it places Hilkiah the son of Shallum fourth from the end, and the history tells us he lived in the reign of Josiah, the fourth king from the end—yet is there a great gap in the middle. For between Amariah, the high-priest in Jehoshaphat's reign, and Shallum the father of Hilkiah, the high-priest in Josiah's reign—an interval of over two centuries—there are but two names, Ahitub and Zadok, and these liable to the utmost suspicion from their reproducing the same sequence which occurs in the earlier part of the same genealogy—Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok. Besides which they are not mentioned by Josephus. This part therefore of the pedigree is useless for our purpose. But the narrative of Kings and Chronicles supplies us with four or five names for this interval, viz. Jehoiada in the reigns of Athaliah and Joash, and probably still earlier; Zechariah his son; Azariah in the reign of Uzziah; Urijah in the reign of Ahaz; and Azariah in the reign of Hezekiah. If, however, in the genealogy of 1 Ch. vi. 13, 14, Azariah and Hilkiah have been accidentally transposed, as is not unlikely, then the Azariah who was high-priest in Hezekiah's reign (2 Ch. xxxi. 10) may possibly be that Azariah. Putting the additional historical names at four, and deducting the two suspicious names from the genealogy, we have fifteen high-priests indicated in Scripture as contemporary with the twenty kings, with room, however, for one or two more in the history.[u] Turning to Josephus, we find his list of seventeen high-priests (whom he reckons as eighteen [*Ant.* xx. 10], as do also the Rabbins) in places exceedingly corrupt; a corruption sometimes caused by the end of one name sticking on to the beginning of the following (as in Axioramus), sometimes apparently by substituting the name of the contemporary king or prophet for that of the high-priest, as Joel and Jotham. Perhaps, however, Sudeas, who corresponds to Zedekiah in the reign of Amaziah in the *Seder Olam Zutta*, pp. 137, 139 (ed. G. Genebrardus, Basileae, 1580), and Odeas, who corresponds to Hoshaiah in the reign of Manasseh, according to the same Jewish chronicle, may really represent high-priests whose names have not been preserved in Scripture. This would bring up the number to seventeen; or, if we retained Azariah as the father of Seraiah (1 Ch. vi. 13, 14), to eighteen, which would agree so far with the twenty kings.

Reviewing the high-priests of this second group, the following are some of the most remarkable incidents related of their times:—(1) The transfer of the seat of worship from Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim to Jerusalem in the tribe of Judah, effected by David, and consolidated by the building of the magnificent Temple of Solomon. (2) The organization of the Temple-service under the high-priests, and the division of the priests and Levites into courses, who resided at the Temple during their term of service—all which necessarily put great power into the hands of an able high-priest.[x] (3) The revolt of the ten tribes from the dynasty of David and from the worship at Jerusalem, and the setting up of a schismatical priesthood at Dan and Beersheba (1 K. xii. 31; 2 Ch. xiii. 9, &c.). (4) The overthrow of the usurpation of Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, by Jehoiada the high-priest, whose near relationship to king Joash, added to his zeal against the idolatries of the house of Ahab, stimulated him to head the revolution with the royal guards, according to 2 K. xi., or with the force of priests and Levites at his command, according to 2 Ch. xxii. (see Wellhausen, *HI.* pp. 196 sqq.). (5) The boldness and success with which according to the Chronicler—Kings is silent upon the matter—the high-priest Azariah withstood the encroachments of the king Uzziah upon the office and functions of

[s] The notice in 1 Ch. vi. 10 seems to belong to Azariah ben Zadok, and not to the son of Johanan.

[t] Yet this defect of character would hardly account for the omission of his name on such an occasion, especially as "the priests" are repeatedly mentioned (1 K. viii. 3, 6, 10).

[u] It must, however, be borne in mind that Amariah and Azariah find no place in the Book of Kings, and in this respect are quite on a par with the two names rejected above, Ahitub II. and Zadok II.

[x] The sole ancient authority for these arrangements is the Book of Chronicles, which appears to transfer some of the institutions of the second Temple to the period of David and Solomon.

the priesthood. (6) The repair of the Temple by Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash, the restoration of the Temple-services by Azariah in the reign of Hezekiah, and the discovery of the Book of the Law, and the religious reformation by Hilkiah in the reign of Josiah. [DEUTERONOMY.] (7) In all these great religious movements, however, excepting the one headed by Jehoiada, it is remarkable how the civil power took the lead. It was David who arranged all the Temple-service, Solomon who directed the building and dedication of the Temple, the high-priest being not so much as named; Jehoshaphat who sent the priests about to teach the people, and assigned to the high-priest Amariah his share in the work; Hezekiah who headed the reformation, and urged on Azariah and the priests and Levites; Josiah who encouraged the priests in the service of the house of the Lord. On the other hand, we read of no opposition to the idolatries of Manasseh by the high-priest; and we know how shamefully subservient Urijah the high-priest was to king Ahaz, actually building an altar according to the pattern of one at Damascus, to displace the Brazen Altar, and joining the king in his profane worship before it (2 K. xvi. 10–16).* The preponderance of the civil over the ecclesiastical power, as an historical fact, in the kingdom of Judah, seems to be proved from these circumstances.

The priests of this series ended with Seraiah, who was taken prisoner by Nebuzar-adan, and slain at Riblah by Nebuchadnezzar, together with Zephaniah the second priest or Sagan, after the burning of the Temple and the plunder of all the sacred vessels (2 K. xxv. 18). His son Jehozadak or Josedech was at the same time carried away captive (1 Ch. vi. 15).

The time occupied by these (say) eighteen high-priests who ministered at Jerusalem, was about 454 years, which gives an average of something more than twenty-five years to each high-priest. It is remarkable that not a single instance is recorded after the time of David of recourse to the Urim and Thummim as a means of inquiring of the Lord. The ministry of the prophets seems to have superseded that of the high-priests (see *e.g.* 2 Ch. xv., xviii., xx. 14, 15; 2 K. xix. 1, 2, xxii. 12–14; Jer. xxi. 1, 2). Some think that Urim and Thummim ceased with the theocracy; others with the division of Israel into two kingdoms. Nehemiah seems to have expected the restoration of it (Neh. vii. 65), and so perhaps did Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. iv. 46; cp. xiv. 41); while Josephus affirms that it had been exercised for the last time two hundred years before he wrote, viz. by John Hyrcanus (Whiston, note on *Ant.* iii. 8, and Prid. *Conn.* i. 150, 151). It seems therefore scarcely true to reckon Urim and Thummim as [illegible] of the marks of God's Presence with Solo[illegible]'s Temple, which was wanting to the second [illegible]le (Prid. i. 138, 144 sq.). This early [illegible]on of answers by Urim and Thummim, [illegible]the high-priest's office and the wearing [illegible]eastplate continued in force during so [illegible]turies, seems to confirm the notion [illegible] answers were not the fundamental, [illegible]he accessory uses of the breastplate of [illegible] (But *vid. supr.* I. (2).)

[illegible] interval of about fifty-two years elapsed between the high-priests of the second and third group, during which there was neither Temple, nor Altar, nor Ark, nor priest. Jehozadak, or Josedech, as it is written in the A. V. of Haggai (i. 1, 14, &c.; Sept. and Vulg., Josedec; Heb. and R. V. Jehozadak), who should have succeeded Seraiah, lived and died a captive at Babylon. The pontifical office revived in his son Jeshua, of whom such frequent mention is made in Ezra and Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, 1 Esd. and Ecclus.; and he therefore stands at the head of this third and last series, honourably distinguished for his zealous co-operation with Zerubbabel in rebuilding the Temple, and founding the new religious community. His successors, as far as the O. T. guides us, were Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, Jonathan (so Herzfeld and others), and Jaddua (see Neh. xii. 10, 11, 22, 23). Of these we find Eliashib hindering rather than seconding the zeal of the devout Tirshatha Nehemiah for the observance of God's law in Israel (Neh. xiii. 4, 7); and Johanan, Josephus tells us, murdered his own brother Jesus or Jeshua in the Temple, which led to its further profanation by Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes Mnemon's army (*Ant.* xi. 7). Jaddua was high-priest in the time of Alexander the Great. Concerning him Josephus relates the story that he went out to meet Alexander at Sapha (probably the ancient Mizpeh) at the head of a procession of priests; and that when Alexander saw the multitude clothed in white, and the priests in their linen garments, and the high-priest in blue and gold, with the mitre on his head, and the gold plate, on which was the Name of God, he stepped forward alone and adored the Name, and hastened to embrace the high-priest (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 5). Josephus adds among other things that the king entered Jerusalem with the high-priest, and went up to the Temple to worship and offer sacrifice; that he was shown the "prophecies of Daniel" [see DANIEL] concerning himself, and at the high-priest's intercession granted the Jews liberty to live according to their own laws, and freedom from tribute on the Sabbatical years. The story, however, is undoubtedly apocryphal in its details, though the main fact may be historical (see Schürer, I. i. p. 187, n. 1). It was the brother of this Jaddua, Manasseh, who, according to the same authority, was at the request of Sanballat made the first high-priest of the Samaritan temple by Alexander the Great.

Jaddua was succeeded by Onias I., his son, and he again by Simon the Just, the last of "the Men of the Great Synagogue," to whom the Jews ascribe the completion of the Canon of the O. T. (Prideaux, *Conn.* i. 545). Of him Jesus, the son of Sirach, speaks in terms of glowing eulogy in Ecclus. l., and ascribes to him the repair and fortification of the Temple, with other works. (Others, *e.g.* Schürer, suppose that the reference is to Simon II.) The passage (*vv.* 1–21) contains a vivid account of the ministrations of the high-priest, in all the pomp and splendour of his office, as exhibited in the period of the writer. Upon Simon's death, his son Onias being under age, Eleazar, Simon's brother, succeeded him. The high-priesthood of Eleazar is memorable as being that under which the

LXX. Version of the Scriptures was made at Alexandria for Ptolemy Philadelphus, according to the account of Josephus taken from Aristeas (*Ant.* xii. 2), whose letter, however, is a forgery [SEPTUAGINT].[7] The translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, valuable as it was with reference to the wider interests of religion, and marked as was the Providence which gave it to the world during this period as a preparation for the approaching Advent of Christ, yet viewed in its relation to Judaism and the high-priesthood, was a sign, and perhaps a helping cause, of their decay. It marked a growing tendency to Hellenize, utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the Mosaic economy. Accordingly, in the high-priesthood of Eleazar's rival nephews, Jesus and Onias, we find their very names changed into the Greek ones of Jason and Menelaus; and with the introduction of this new feature of rival high-priests we find one of them, Menelaus, strengthening himself and seeking support from the Syro-Grecian kings against the orthodox party, by offering to forsake the national laws and customs, and to adopt those of the Greeks. The building of a gymnasium at Jerusalem for the use of these apostate Jews, and their endeavour to conceal their circumcision when stripped for the games (1 Macc. i. 14, 15; 2 Macc. iv. 12–15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1), show the length to which this spirit was carried. The acceptance of the spurious priesthood of the temple of Onion from Ptolemy Philometor by Onias (the son of Onias the high-priest), who would have been the legitimate high-priest on the death of Menelaus, his uncle, is another striking indication of the same degeneracy. By this flight of Onias into Egypt the succession of high-priests in the family of Jehozadak ceased; for although the Syro-Grecian kings had introduced much uncertainty into the succession, by deposing at their will obnoxious persons, and appointing whom they pleased, yet the dignity had never gone out of the one family. Alcimus, whose Hebrew name was, according to Ruffinus (*ap.* Selden), Joachim, *i.e.* Joakim or Jehoiakim, of which Eliakim (=Alkimus) is a natural variant (cp. Judith iv. 6, Joakim, Greek = Eliakim, Syriac and Vulg.), and who was made high-priest by Antiochus Eupator on Menelaus being put to death by him, was the first who was of a different family; one, says Josephus, that "was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of this (Jehozadak's) family."

What, however, for a time saved the Jewish institutions, infused a new life and consistency into the priesthood and the national religion, and enabled them to fulfil their destined course till the Advent of Christ, was the cruel and impolitic persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. This thoroughly aroused the piety and national spirit of the Jews, and drew together in defence of their Temple and country all who feared God and were attached to their national institutions. The result was that after the high-priesthood had been brought to the lowest degradation by the apostasy and crimes of the last Onias or Menelaus, and after a vacancy of seven years had followed the brief pontificate of Alcimus, his no less infamous successor, a new and glorious succession of high-priests arose in the Hasmonean family, who united the dignity of civil rulers, and for a time of independent sovereigns, to that of the high-priesthood. Josephus, who is followed by Lightfoot, Selden, and others, calls Judas Maccabaeus "high-priest of the nation of Judah" (*Ant.* xii. 10, § 6); but, according to the far better authority of 1 Macc. x. 20, it was not till after the death of Judas Maccabaeus that Alcimus himself died, and that Alexander, king of Syria, made Jonathan, the brother of Judas, high-priest. Josephus himself, too, speaks of Jonathan as "the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high-priest" (*Vita*, § 1). It is possible, however, that Judas may have been elected by the people to the office of high-priest, though never confirmed in it by the Syrian kings. The Hasmonean family were priests of the course of Joiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses (1 Ch. xxiv. 7), whose return from Captivity is recorded 1 Ch. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10. They were probably of the house of Eleazar, though this cannot be affirmed with certainty; and Josephus tells us that he himself was related to them, one of his ancestors having married a daughter of Jonathan, the first high-priest of the house. This Hasmonean dynasty lasted from B.C. 153, till the family was damaged by intestine divisions, and then destroyed by Herod the Great. Aristobulus, the last high-priest of his line, brother of Mariamne, was murdered by order of Herod, his brother-in-law, B.C. 35. The independence of Judaea, under the priest-kings of this race, had lasted till Pompey took Jerusalem, and sent king Aristobulus II. (who had also taken the high-priesthood from his brother Hyrcanus) a prisoner to Rome. Pompey restored Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood, but forbade him to wear the diadem. Everything Jewish was now, however, hastening to decay. Herod made men of low birth high-priests, deposed them at his will, and named others in their room. In this he was followed by Archelaus, and by the Romans when they took the government of Judaea into their own hands; so that there were no fewer than twenty-eight high-priests from the reign of Herod to the destruction of the Temple by Titus, a period of 107 years.[8] The N. T. introduces us to some of these later and oft-changing high-priests, viz. Annas and Caiaphas—the former, high-priest at the commencement of St. John Baptist's ministry, with Caiaphas as second priest; and the latter high-priest himself at our Lord's crucifixion—and Ananias, thought to be the same as Ananus, who was murdered by the Zealots just before the siege of Jerusalem, before whom St. Paul was tried, as we read Acts xxiii., and of whom he said, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." Theophilus, the son of Ananus, was the high-priest from whom Saul received letters to the synagogue at Damascus (Acts ix. 1, 14, Kuinoel).

[7] Even the *Seder Olam Zutta* ascribes to "Ptolemy" no more than the Greek version of the Five Books of the Law.

[8] Josephus tells us of one Ananus and his five sons who all filled the office of high-priest in turn. One of these, Ananus the younger, was deposed by king Agrippa for the part he took in causing "James the brother of Jesus who was called Christ" to be stoned (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 1).

Both he and Ananias seem certainly to have presided in the Sanhedrin, and that officially, nor is Lightfoot's explanation (viii. 450 and 484) of the mention of the high-priest, though Gamaliel and his son Simeon were respectively presidents of the Sanhedrin, at all probable or satisfactory (see Acts v. 17, &c.). The last high-priest was appointed by lot by the Zealots from the course of priests called by Josephus Eniachim (probably a corrupt reading for Eliachim = El-jakim = Jakim, 1 Ch. xxiv. 12). He is thus described by the Jewish historian: "His name was Phannias: he was the son of Samuel of the village of Aphtha, a man not only not of the number of the chief priests, but who, such a mere rustic was he, scarcely knew what the high-priesthood meant. Yet did they drag him reluctant from the country, and, setting him forth in a borrowed character as on the stage, they put the sacred vestments on him, and instructed him how to act on the occasion. This shocking impiety, which to them was a subject of merriment and sport, drew tears from the other priests, who beheld from a distance their Law turned into ridicule, and groaned over the subversion of the sacred honours" (*B. J.* iv. 3, § 8). Thus ignominiously ended the series of high-priests which had stretched in a scarcely broken line, through nearly fourteen, or, according to the common chronology, sixteen centuries. The Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, which the Jewish high-priests had seen in turn overshadowing the world, had each, except the last, one by one withered away and died; and now the last successor of Aaron was stripped of his sacerdotal robes, and the Temple which he served laid level with the ground to rise no more. But this did not happen till the true High-priest and King of Israel, the Minister of the Sanctuary and of the true Tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man, had offered His one sacrifice, once for all, and had taken His place at the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, to continue a Priest for ever, in the Sanctuary which shall never be taken down.

The subjoined table shows the succession of high-priests, as far as it can be ascertained, and of the contemporary civil rulers.

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
Moses	Aaron.
Joshua	Eleazar.
Othniel	Phinehas.
Abishua	Abishua.
Eli	Eli.
Samuel	Abitub.
Saul	Ahijah.
David	Zadok and Abiathar.
Solomon	Azariah. [Zadok.][a]
[Rehoboam	Ahimaaz.]
Abijah	Johanan. [Azariah.]
Asa	Azariah.
Jehoshaphat	Amariah. [Ahaz.]
Jehoram	Jehoiada. [Jehoiarib.]
Ahaziah	,, [Jehoshaphat.]
Jehoash	,, and Zechariah. [Jehoiada, Pedaiah.]
Amaziah	? [Zedekiah.]
Uzziah	Azariah. [Joel.]
Jotham	? [Jotham.]
Ahaz	Urijah.
Hezekiah	Azariah. [Neriah.]
Manasseh	Shallum. [Hoshaiah.]
Amon	,, [Shallum.]
Josiah	Hilkiah. [Hilkiah.]
Jehoiakim	Azariah? [Azariah.]
Zedekiah	Seraiah.
Evil-Merodach	Jehozadak.
Zerubbabel (Cyrus and Darius)	Jeshua.
Mordecai? (Xerxes)	Joiakim.
Ezra and Nehemiah (Artaxerxes)	Eliashib.
Darius Nothus	Joiada.
Artaxerxes Mnemon	Johanan.
Alexander the Great	Jaddua.
Onias I. (Ptolemy Soter, Antigonus)	Onias I.
Ptolemy Soter	Simon I., the Just.
Ptolemy Philadelphus	Eleazar.
,, ,,	Manasseh.
Ptolemy Energetes	Onias II.
Ptolemy Philopator	Simon II.
Seleucus IV. and Antiochus Epiphanes	Onias III.
Antiochus Epiphanes	(Joshua, or) Jason.
,, ,,	Onias III., or Menelaus.
Demetrius	Jacimus, or Alcimus.
Alexander Balas	Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabaeus (Hasmonean).
Simon (Hasmonean)	Simon (Hasmonean).
John Hyrcanus (Hasm.)	John Hyrcanus (Do.).
King Aristobulus (Hasm.)	Aristobulus (Do.).
King Alexander Jannaeus (Hasmonean)	Alexander Jannaeus (Do.).
Queen Alexandra (Hasm.)	Hyrcanus II. (Do.).
King Aristobulus II. (Hasmonean)	Aristobulus II. (Do.).
Pompey the Great and Hyrcanus, or rather, towards the end of his pontificate, Antipater	Hyrcanus II. (Do.).
Pacorus the Parthian	Antigonus (Do.).
Herod, k. of Judaea	Ananelus, or Hananeel.
,, ,,	Aristobulus (last of Hasmoneans) murdered by Herod.
,, ,,	Ananelus restored.
Herod the Great	Jesus, son of Phabes (*i.e.* Pi-abi).[b]
,, ,,	Simon, son of Boethus, father-in-law to Herod.
,, ,,	Matthias, son of Theophilus.
,, ,,	Joseph, son of Ellem or Illem.
,, ,,	Joazar, son of Boethus.
Archelaus, k. of Judaea	Eleazar, son of Boethus.
,, ,,	Jesus, son of Sie or Seë.
,, ,,	Joazar (second time).
Cyrenius, governor of Syria, second time	Ananus, or Annas, son of Seth (= Seë?).
Valerius Gratus, procurator of Judaea	Ishmael, son of Phabi or Pi-abi.

[a] The names added in square brackets are from the *Seder Olam Zutta*, according to which Abiathar only was high-priest under David, and Zadok under Solomon. The names of Ahaz (= Jehoahaz), Pedaiah, Neriah, &c. seem worthy of notice as an evidence of a distinct tradition. That "Jotham" should be high-priest under Jotham, is hardly more remarkable than that "Azariah" should be high-priest under 'Azariah-Uzziah (2 Ch. xxvi. 17).

[b] This name Pi-abi (פִּיאבִי or פִּיאבִי, Φιαβί, *Ant.* xx. 8, § 8) is interesting as a form parallel to Phinehas (פִּינְחָס, Pi-nehas), also a priestly name.

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
Valerius Gratus, procurator of Judaea . . .	Eleazar, son of Ananus or Annas.
,, ,, .	Simon, son of Kamithus (*i.e.* Qamhîth).
,, ,, .	Joseph, called Caiaphas (ha-Qayyâph).
Vitellius, governor of Syria	Jonathan, son of Ananus.
,, .	Theophilus, brother of Jonathan.
Herod Agrippa I. . .	Simon Cantheras, son of Boëthus.
,, ,, . . .	Matthias, brother of Jonathan, son of Ananus.
,, ,, . . .	Elioneus, son of Cantheras.
Herod, king of Chalcis .	Joseph, son of Camei or Kemedes (=Kamithus).
,, ,, .	Ananias, son of Nedebaeus.
Herod Agrippa II. .	Ishmael, son of Phabi or Pi-abi.
,, ,, .	Joseph, called Kabi, son of "Simon the high-priest" (*i.e.* Cantheras?).
,, ,, .	Ananus, son of Ananus or Ananias.
,, ,, .	Jesus, son of Damnaeus (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9, § 4).
,, ,, .	Jesus, son of Gamaliel.
,, ,, .	Matthias, son of Theophilus.
Appointed by the people .	Phannias or Phineesos (*i.e.* Phinehas), son of Samuel.

The latter part of the above list is taken partly from Lightfoot, vol. ix. ch. iv.; also in part from Josephus directly, and in part from Whiston's note on *Ant.* xv. 8, § 5. See also the histories of Ewald, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Grätz, and especially Schürer. [A. C. H.] [C. J. B.]

HI'LEN (חִילֶן; B. Σελνά, A. Νηλεών; *Helon*), the name of a city of Judah allotted with its "suburbs" to the priests (1 Ch. vi. 58); and which in the corresponding lists of Joshua is called HOLON. [G.] [W.]

HILKI'AH (חִלְקִיָּהוּ and חִלְקִיָּה = *the Lord is my portion*; B. Χελκείας, A. -κίας; *Helcias*). **1.** HILKIAHU, father of Eliakim (2 K. xviii. 37; Is. xxii. 20, xxxvi. 22). [ELIAKIM.]

2. High-priest in the reign of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 4 sq.; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 9 sq.; 1 Esd. i. 8). According to the genealogy in 1 Ch. vi. 13 (A. V.), he was son of Shallum, and, from Ezra vii. 1, apparently the ancestor of Ezra the scribe. His high-priesthood was rendered particularly illustrious by the great reformation effected under it by king Josiah, by the solemn Passover kept at Jerusalem in the 18th year of that king's reign, and above all by the discovery which he made of the Book of the Law of Moses in the Temple, probably deposited by the side of the Ark of the covenant within the vail (Deut. xxxi. 9, 26).

A difficult and interesting question arises, What was the book found by Hilkiah? Various answers have been given, but modern criticism is mostly in favour of the Book of Deuteronomy, and probably other portions of the Law (Edersheim, *Bible History*, iv. 182 sq.), or—more briefly—Deut. xii.–xxvi. alone (Wellhausen, *Die Composition . . . d. Histor. BB. d. A. Ts.*, p. 189; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* p. 61). All the actions of Josiah which followed the reading of the book found—the destruction of all idolatrous symbols, the putting away of wizards and workers with familiar spirits, and the keeping of the Passover—were such as would follow from hearing chapters xvi., xviii., and others of Deuteronomy, while there is not one that points to any precept contained in the other Books and not in Deuteronomy. Further, it is well known how full the writings of Jeremiah are of direct references and of points of resemblance to the Book of Deuteronomy. Now this is at once accounted for on the supposition of the Law thus found by Hilkiah being that Book, which would thus naturally be an object of special curiosity and study to the Prophet, and as naturally influence his own writings (cp. Jer. xi. 3–5 with Deut. xxvii. 26).

Surprise has been sometimes expressed at the previous non-acquaintance with this book on the part of Hilkiah, Josiah, and the people generally, which their manner of receiving it plainly evidences; and some have argued from hence that "the law of Moses" is not of older date than the reign of Josiah:* in fact that some unknown person invented it, and Hilkiah pretended to have found a copy in the Temple in order to give sanction to the reformation which they had in hand. If the charge of fraud or forgery may be at once dismissed, is the "needful illusion" stipulated by some critics in explanation of what took place, much better? The following remarks will point out the true inferences to be drawn from the narrative of this remarkable discovery in the Books of Kings and Chronicles. The direction in Deut. xxxi. 10–13 for the public reading of the Law at the Feast of Tabernacles on each seventh year, or year of release, to the whole congregation, as the means of perpetuating the knowledge of the Law, sufficiently shows that at that time a multiplication of copies and a multitude of readers were not contemplated. The same thing seems to be implied also in the direction given in Deut. xvii. 18, 19, concerning the copy of the Law to be made, for the special use of the king, distinct from that in the keeping of the priests and Levites. And this paucity of copies and of readers is just what one would have expected in an age when the art of reading and writing was confined to the professional scribes, and to the very few others who, like Moses, had learnt the art in Egypt (Acts vii. 22). The troublous times of the Judges were obviously more likely to obliterate than to promote the study of letters. And whatever occasional revival of sacred learning may have taken place under such kings as David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, Jotham, and Hezekiah, yet on the other hand such reigns as that of Athaliah, the last years of Joash, that of Ahaz, and above all the long reign of Manasseh, with their idolatries and national calamities, must have been most unfavourable to the study of "the sacred letters." On the whole, in the days of Josiah irreligion and ignorance had overflowed all the dykes erected to stay their progress. In spite of such occasional acts as the public reading of

* The date preferred by Reuss, Kuenen, Dillmann (?) and Cheyne (*Expositor*, p. 95, Feb. 1892). Ewald, Robertson Smith, Kittel, Driver (see *LOT.* p. 82, n. 2), assign it to the reign of Manasseh; Delitzsch and Riehm (*Einl.* i. 246 sq.) to the reign of Hezekiah.—[F.]

the Law to the people, enjoined by Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 9), and such isolated evidences of the king's reading the Law, as commanded by Moses, as the action recorded of Amaziah affords (2 K. xiv. 6), and the yet more marked acquaintance with the Law attributed to Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 5, 6) [GENEALOGY], everything in Josiah's reign indicates a very low state of knowledge. How then can we wonder that under such circumstances the knowledge of the Law had fallen into desuetude? or fail to see in the incident of the startling discovery of the copy of it by Hilkiah one of those many instances of simple truthfulness which impress on the Scripture narrative such an unmistakable stamp of authenticity, when it is read in the same guileless spirit in which it is written? In fact, the ignorance of the Law of Moses which this history reveals is in most striking harmony with the prevalent idolatry disclosed by the previous history of Judaea, especially since its connexion with the house of Ahab, as well as with the low state of education which is apparent from so many incidental notices.

The story of Hilkiah's discovery throws no light whatever upon the mode in which other portions of the Scriptures were preserved, and therefore this is not the place to consider it. But Thenius truly observes that the expression in 2 K. xxii. 8 clearly implies that the existence of the Law of Moses was a thing well known to the Jews. It is interesting to notice the concurrence of the king with the high-priest in the restoration of the Temple, as well as the analogy of the circumstances with what took place in the reign of Joash, when Jehoiada was high-priest, as related in 2 Ch. xxiv. [CHELCIAS.] [A. C. H.]

3. HILKIAH (B. om.; *Helcias*), a Merarite Levite, son of Amzi, one of the ancestors of ETHAN (1 Ch. vi. 45; Heb. *v.* 30).

4. HILKIAHU; another Merarite Levite, second son of Hosah; among the doorkeepers of the Tabernacle in the time of king David (1 Ch. xxvi. 11; B. om.).

5. HILKIAH; one of those who stood on the right hand of Ezra when he read the Law to the people. Doubtless a Levite, and probably a priest (Neh. viii. 4; B. Ἑλκειά, ℵ. Χελκιά, A. *-εια*). He may be identical with the Hilkiah who came up in the expedition with Jeshua and Zerubbabel (xii. 7; om. Bℵ*A.), and whose descendant Hashabiah is commemorated as living in the days of Joiakim (xii. 21; om. Bℵ*A.).

6. HILKIAHU; a priest, of Anathoth, father of the prophet JEREMIAH (Jer. i. 1).

7. HILKIAH, father of Gemariah, who was one of Zedekiah's envoys to Babylon (Jer. xxix. 3). [W. A. W.]

HIL'LEL (חִלֵּל = *he hath celebrated;* B. Ἑλλήλ, A. Σελλήμ, Joseph. Ἕλληλος; *Illel*), a native of Pirathon in Mount Ephraim, father of ABDON, one of the judges of Israel (Judg. xii. 13, 15).

HILLS. The structure and characteristics of the hills of Palestine will be most conveniently noticed in the general description of the features of the country. [PALESTINE.] But it may not be unprofitable to call attention here to the various Hebrew terms for which the word "hill" has been employed in the A. V.

1. *Gibeah,* גִּבְעָה, from a root akin to גָּבַב, which seems to have the force of curvature or humpishness. A word involving this idea is peculiarly applicable to the rounded hills of Palestine, and from it are derived, as has been pointed out under GIBEAH, the names of several places situated on hills. Our translators (A. V.) have been consistent in rendering *gibeah* by "hill;" in four passages only qualifying it as "little hill," doubtless for the more complete antithesis to "mountain" (Pss. lxv. 12, lxxii. 3, cxiv. 4, 6, where R. V. has "little hills" in cxiv. 4, 6 only).

2. But they have also employed the same English word for the very different term *har,* הַר, which has a much more extended sense than *gibeah,* meaning a whole district rather than an individual eminence, and to which our word "mountain" answers with tolerable accuracy. This exchange is always undesirable, but it sometimes occurs so as to confuse the meaning of a passage where it is desirable that the topography should be unmistakable. For instance, in Ex. xxiv. 4 the "hill" (R. V. "mount") is the same which is elsewhere in the same chapter (*vv.* 12, 13, 18, &c.) and Book, consistently and accurately rendered "mount" and "mountain." In Num. xiv. 44, 45, the "hill" is the "mountain" of *v.* 40, as also in Deut. i. 41, 43, compared with *vv.* 24, 44; and in Josh. xv. 9, compared with the preceding verse. The country of the "hills" (R. V. "hill country") in Deut. i. 7, Josh. ix. 1, x. 40, xi. 16, is the elevated district of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, which is correctly called "the mountain" in the earliest descriptions of Palestine (Num. xiii. 29), and in many subsequent passages. The "holy hill" (Ps. iii. 4), the "hill of Jehovah" (xxiv. 3), the "hill of God" (lxviii. 15), are nothing else than "Mount Sion." In 2 K. i. 9 and iv. 27, the use of the word "hill" (retained in R. V.) obscures the allusion to Carmel, which in other passages of the life of the prophet (*e.g.* 1 K. xviii. 19; 2 K. iv. 25) has the term "mount" correctly attached to it. Other places in the historical Books in which the same substitution weakens the force of the narrative, are as follows:—Gen. vii. 19; Deut. viii. 7; Josh. xiii. 6, xviii. 13, 14; Judg. xvi. 3; 1 Sam. xxiii. 14, xxv. 20, xxvi. 13; 2 Sam. xiii. 34; 1 K. xx. 23, 28, xxii. 17, &c.

3. On one occasion the word *Ma'aleh,* מַעֲלֵה, is rendered "hill," viz. 1 Sam. ix. 11, where it would be better to employ "ascent" (as in R. V.) or some similar term.

4. In the N. T. the word "hill" is employed to render the Greek word *βουνός*; but on one occasion it is used for *ὄρος*, elsewhere "mountain," so as to obscure the connexion between the two parts of the same narrrative. The "hill" (R. V. "mountain") from which Jesus was coming down in Luke ix. 37, is the same as "the mountain" into which He had gone for His transfiguration the day before (cp. *v.* 28). In Matt. v. 14, and Luke iv. 29, *ὄρος* is also rendered "hill," but without inconvenience. In Luke i. 39, the "hill country" (ἡ ὀρεινή) is the same "mountain of Judah" to which reference is frequent in the O. T. [G.] [W.]

HIN. [MEASURE.]

HIND. [HART.]

HINGE. 1. צִיר, *στρόφιγξ, cardo*, with the notion of turning (Ges. p. 1165). 2. פֹּת, *θύρωμα, cardo*, with the notion of insertion (Ges. p. 1096). Both ancient Egyptian and modern Oriental doors were and are hung by means of pivots turning in sockets both on the upper and lower sides. In Syria, and especially the Haurân, there are many ancient doors consisting of stone slabs with pivots carved out of the same piece, inserted in sockets above and below, and fixed during the building of the house. The allusion in Prov. xxvi. 14 is thus clearly explained. The hinges mentioned in 1 K. vii. 50 were probably of the Egyptian kind, attached to the upper and lower sides of the door (Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 177; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 22, 192; Maundrell, *Early Travels*, pp. 447, 448, Bohn; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 210; Lord Lindsay, *Letters*, p. 292; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 15 [1878]). [H. W. P.]

HINNOM, VALLEY OF, otherwise called "the valley of the son" or "children of Hinnom" (גֵּי בֶן־הִנֹּם, or גֵּי בְנֵי־הִנֹּם once), variously rendered by LXX. φάραγξ Ἐννόμ, B. Ὀνὸμ in Josh. xv. 8, or υἱοῦ Ἐννόμ [2 K. xxiii. 10; Jer. vii. 29, 30, xxxii. 35], or B. Γαιέννα, A. Γαὶ Ὀννόμ [Josh. xviii. 16]; also B. ἐν Γαιβεννόμ, A. ἐν Γηβεεννόμ [2 Ch. xxviii. 3]; B. ἐν γὲ βανὲ Ἐννόμ, A. ἐν γῇ Βεενόμ; τὸ πολυάνδριον υἱῶν τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν [Jer. xix. 2], π. υἱοῦ Ἐννόμ [v. 6]), a ravine, *gai*, taking its name, according to Dean Stanley, from "some ancient hero, the son of Hinnom," having encamped in it (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 172). It was on the south side of Jerusalem, and formed the boundary between Judah and Benjamin; and to the west of it there was a mountain which marked the northern extremity of the vale, *ʿēmeq*, of Rephaim (Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16). It is also mentioned as the northern limit of the district occupied by the "children of Judah" after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 30), and as being near the gate Harsith (R. V. marg. *of potsherds*; A. V. "east gate," marg. *sun gate*) of Jerusalem (Jer. xix. 2). Ahaz and Manasseh burnt incense and made their children "pass through the fire" in the valley of Hinnom (2 Ch. xxviii. 3, cp. 2 K. xvi. 3; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 6, cp. 2 K. xxi. 6); probably at the "high places of Tophet" or "of Baal," which were specially built in connexion with the fiendish custom of infant sacrifice to Molech, the fire-god[a] (Jer. vii. 31, xxxii. 35). [TOPHET.] To put an end to these abominations the place was polluted by Josiah, who rendered it ceremonially unclean by spreading over it human bones and other corruptions (2 K. xxiii. 10, 13, 14; 2 Ch. xxiv. 4, 5), from which time it appears to have become the common burial-place of the city, and to have received the name of the Valley of Slaughter (Jer. vii. 32, xix. 16). Most commentators follow Buxtorf, Lightfoot, and others, in asserting that perpetual fires were here kept up for the consumption of bodies of criminals, carcases of animals, and whatever else was combustible; but the Rabbinical authorities usually brought forward in support of this idea appear insufficient, and Robinson declares (i. 274) that "there is no evidence of any other fires than those of Molech having been kept up in this valley," referring to Rosenmüller, *Biblisch. Geogr.* II. i. 156, 164. For the more ordinary view, see Hengstenberg, *Christol.* ii. 454, iv. 41; Keil *on Kings* ii. 147, Clark's edit.; and cp. Is. xxx. 33, lxvi. 24.

From its ceremonial defilement, and from the detested and abominable fire of Molech, if not from the supposed ever-burning funeral piles, the later Jews applied the name of this valley *Ge Hinnom, Gehenna*, to denote the place of eternal torment, and some of the Rabbins here fixed the "door of hell;" a sense in which it is used by our Lord. [GEHENNA.] It gave its name to the "*Valley* gate" of Jerusalem[b] (2 Ch. xxvi. 9; Neh. ii. 13, 15, iii. 13); and it is perhaps "the *valley*" κατ' ἐξοχήν (Jer. ii. 23), the "*valley* of the shadow of death" (Ps. xxiii. 4), and the "valley of vision" (Is. xxii. 1, 5). In Jer. xxxi. 40, it is apparently referred to as the "valley, *ʿēmee*, of the dead bodies."

The Valley of Hinnom has been variously identified with—(1.) *Wâdy er-Rabâbeh*, which passes round the W. and S. sides of the spur on which Jerusalem is built. This valley commences in a broad shallow depression, or basin, to the N.W. of the city, to which the term *ʿēmeq*, used by Jeremiah (xxxi. 40) in his description of the boundary of the restored "holy" Jerusalem, might well be applied. The basin may possibly be the "valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale" (Gen. xiv. 17), the "king's dale" (2 Sam. xviii. 18) in which Absalom reared up a pillar that according to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 3) was only two stadia from Jerusalem; and, perhaps, the "valley of Jehoshaphat" (Joel iii. 2, 12), or "of decision" (v. 14). Almost in the centre of the depression is the *Birket Mamilla*, a large open reservoir, surrounded by Muhammadan tombs, which some authorities have erroneously identified as the "upper pool" of Gihon. [GIHON.] From this reservoir the valley runs E.S.E. to a point opposite the Jaffa Gate, and in a distance of 550 yards falls 79 feet. It then follows a southerly direction for 730 yards, and gradually contracts, until, at the *Birket es-Sultân*, which occupies its whole breadth, it begins to assume the character of a ravine. Above this reservoir, which is 141 feet below the *Birket Mamilla*, and was called in the Middle Ages *Germanus*, the aqueduct conveying water from "Solomon's Pools" to the Temple crosses the valley; and at its lower end is the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. About 130 yards below the *Birket es-Sultan* the valley sweeps round to the E., and descends rapidly, 320 feet in 1000 yards, to its junction with the Kedron. It is now a deep ravine between the steep slopes of the modern Zion and the broken cliffs, honeycombed with rock-hewn tombs, which, rising in a succession of terraces, form the northern slopes of the

[a] In the immediate vicinity, if not at the same spot, must have been the high place which Solomon built "for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon" (1 K. xi. 7).

[b] It may also have given its name to the gate Gennath (Ge-hennath) in the first wall (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2).

"Hill of Evil Counsel." Amidst these tombs is the traditional ACELDAMA; and on the height above tradition places the tree on which Judas hanged himself. Where the valley joins the Kedron there is an open plot of ground, occupied by gardens, that may well be "the pleasant and woody spot, full of delightful gardens watered from the fountain of Siloah," which Jerome identified with Tophet, and which is perhaps "the fields" of Jer. xxxi. 40. If, as seems probable, the Valley of Rephaim, which Josephus says (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 4) extended towards Bethlehem, is that now called *el-Bukei'a*, over which the road to Bethlehem runs, *W. er-Rabâbeh* must be the Valley of Hinnom. It answers exactly to the minute topographical description in Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16, and is one of the most important features in the district. This view has the support of Robinson (*Phys. Geog.* p. 90 sq.), Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 172), Barclay (*City of the Great King*, p. 90), Riehm (*HWB.* s. v.); Tobler (*Topog.* ii. 39 sq.), Baedeker-Socin (*Hbk.*), &c.

(2.) The narrow ravine, called by Josephus the Tyropoeon Valley, that divides the spur, on which Jerusalem stands, into two unequal halves, has been proposed by Professor Robertson Smith (*Encyc. Brit.* s. v. Jerusalem), Professor Sayce (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1883, p. 213), Rev. W. Birch (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1878, p. 179), and Schwarz (*Das H. L.* p. 190). It is argued in support of this view that pre-exilic Jerusalem was confined to the eastern hill; that the Tyropoeon is a veritable *gai*; and that a boundary following its course would give the western hill to Judah and the eastern to Benjamin, thus meeting the supposed difficulty in Josh. xv. 63, Judg. i. 3–8, 21, where Jerusalem is given to Judah. On the other hand, the Tyropoeon is a minor topographical feature compared with *W. er-Rabâbeh* and the Kedron, and so not likely to have been selected as the boundary between two tribes, or to have been alluded to in the terms of Neh. xi. 30. Dean Stanley has suggested (*S. & P.* p. 176) that the ancient city stood on neutral ground, and was excluded equally from the boundaries of each tribe. [But see JERUSALEM.] It has been suggested by Dr. Bonar (*Imp. Bib. Dict.* s. v. Jerusalem) that Josephus mistook *gebeninnom* for cheese-makers, and translated it τυρόποιος, the Hebrew words being so very similar, and by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*MS. note*) that γη-βενιννὼν in the primitive text of Josephus was taken by an ignorant reader for the transcription of *Gebinin* (cheeses), as if from *gebīnāh*, cheese, and translated in the margin by τυροποιῶν.

(3.) The Valley of the Kedron has been proposed by Sir C. Warren (*Recov. of Jer.* p. 307), who apparently bases his argument on the mistranslation "east gate" of A. V. in Jer. xix. 2 (see above); and on Arab tradition, which identifies the Kedron with *Wâdy Jahannum* (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 218 sq.). This was the view of Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 160, 9); and it appears to have been adopted by Dean Stanley (*Recov. of Jer.* xiv.). It is true that the lower part of the Kedron valley may well be called a ravine, *gai*; but the distinction between the valley (*nachal*) of the Kedron and the ravine (*gai*) of the children of Hinnom is apparently always maintained in the Bible; and the Kedron valley does not meet the requirements of Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16.

A possible explanation of the difficulty is that the true Valley of Hinnom, mentioned as a geographical feature in Joshua and Nehemiah, is the *W. er-Rabâbeh*; and that after the introduction of infant sacrifices the name was loosely applied to those portions of the three valleys nearest to Tophet. [W.]

HIPPOPOTAMUS. The marg. reading of R. V. for בְּהֵמוֹת. [BEHEMOTH.]

HI'RAH (חִירָה, ? = *noble*; Εἰράς; *Hiram*), an Adullamite, the friend (רֵעַ) of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12; and see *v.* 20). For "friend" the LXX. and Vulg. have "shepherd," probably reading רֹעֵהוּ.

HI'RAM, or HU'RAM (חִירָם, or חוּרָם [see HURAM], probably for אֲחִירָם or אֲחוּרָם, a Phoenician title = *brother of the exalted one*; cp. Bäthgen, *Beitr. z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 156; Χειράμ; *Hiram*). **1.** The king of Tyre who sent workmen and materials to Jerusalem, first (2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Ch. xiv. 1) to build a palace for David, whom he ever loved (1 K. v. 1), and again (1 K. v. 10, vii. 13; 2 Ch. ii. 14, 16) to build the Temple for Solomon, with whom he had a treaty of peace and commerce (1 K. v. 11, 12). The contempt with which he received Solomon's present of Cabul (1 K. ix. 12) does not appear to have caused any breach between the two kings. He admitted Solomon's ships, issuing from Joppa, to a share in the profitable trade of the Mediterranean (1 K. x. 22); and Jewish sailors, under the guidance of Tyrians, were taught to bring the gold of India (1 K. ix. 26) to Solomon's two harbours on the Red Sea (see Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 345–347).

Eupolemon (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 30) states that David, after a war with Hiram, reduced him to the condition of a tributary prince. Dius the Phoenician historian, and Menander of Ephesus (*ap.* Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 17, 18), assign to Hiram a prosperous reign of 34 years, and relate that his father was Abibal, his son and successor Baleazar; that he rebuilt various idol-temples, and dedicated some splendid offerings; that he was successful in war; that he enlarged and fortified his city; that he and Solomon had a contest with riddles or dark sayings (cp. Samson and his friends, Judg. xiv. 12), in which Solomon, after winning a large sum of money from the king of Tyre, was eventually outwitted by Abdemon, one of his subjects. The intercourse of these great and kindred-minded kings was much celebrated by local historians. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 8) states that the correspondence between them with respect to the building of the Temple was preserved among the Tyrian archives in his days. With the letters in 1 K. v. and 2 Ch. ii. may be compared not only his copies of the letters, but also the still less authentic letters between Solomon and Hiram, and between Solomon and Vaphres (Apries?), which are preserved by Eupolemon (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 30), and mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor (*ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 332). Some Phoenician historians (*ap.* Tatian, *cont.*

Graec. § 37) relate that Hiram, besides supplying timber for the Temple, gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon (so Hamburger, *RE.* s. n., referring to 1 K. xxxiii. 11, but Riehm, *HWB.* s. n., rejects this as very improbable). Jewish writers in less ancient times cannot overlook Hiram's uncircumcision notwithstanding his services towards the building of the Temple. Their legends relate (*ap.* Eisenm. *Ent. Jud.* i. 868) that because he was a God-fearing man and built the Temple he was received alive into Paradise; but that, after he had been there a thousand years, he sinned by pride, and was thrust down into hell.

The so-called Tomb of Hiram stands on the hillside east of Tyre. The sarcophagus of limestone rests on a massive pedestal, the whole perfect if weather-beaten, "a solitary, venerable relic of remote antiquity" (Porter, *Hdbk.* ii. 395). Hiram's name is also connected with a fountain near Tyre, over which a massive stone structure has been raised.

2. Hiram was the name of a man of mixed race (1 K. vii. 13, 40), the principal architect and engineer sent by king Hiram to Solomon; also called Huram in the Chronicles. On the title of אָב = "master," or "father," given to him in 2 Ch. ii. 13, iv. 16, see HURAM, No. 3.

[W. T. B.] [F.]

HIRCA'NUS (Ὑρκανός; *Hircanus*), "a son of Tobias," who had a large treasure placed for security in the treasury of the Temple at the time of the visit of Heliodorus (*c.* 187 B.C.; 2 Macc. iii. 11). Josephus also mentions "children of Tobias" (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 1, παῖδες Τωβίου), who, however, belonged to the faction of Menelaus, and notices especially a son of one of them (Joseph) who was named Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 2 sq.). But there is no sufficient reason for identifying (as Riehm prefers, *HWB.* s. n.) the Hyrcanus of 2 Macc. with this *grandson* of Tobias, either by supposing that the ellipse (τοῦ Τωβίου) is to be so filled up (Grotius, Calmet), or that the sons of Joseph were popularly named after their grandfather (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 309), which could scarcely have been the case in consequence of the great eminence of their father.

The name appears to be simply a local appellative, and became illustrious afterwards in the Maccabean dynasty, though the circumstances which led to its adoption are unknown (yet cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 4). [MACCABEES.]

[B. F. W.]

HITTITES (חִתִּי, pl. חִתִּים; fem. חִתִּית, pl. חִתִּיּוֹת; Χετταῖοι), an important Canaanite tribe. Gesenius compares the name with חָת, "fear," but the word is probably not of Semitic origin. In Genesis (x. 15) Heth (חֵת) is mentioned as a son of Canaan, son of Ham; and the original inhabitants of Sidon, Arka, Simyra, Hamath, and other cities of Phoenicia, are attributed to the same family, with Canaanite tribes of the south, including Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, and Hivites. The passage is of great ethnical importance. The sons of Ham included Cush (in Mesopotamia), Mizraim (in Egypt), Phut, and Canaan. This population is carefully distinguished from the Semitic race (Shem) and from the white race (probably Aryan) of Asia Minor and Armenia. It thus appears that the Hittites, named as the first of Canaanite tribes, were of the same stock as the conquering Cushites of Chaldea, who advanced into Assyria, and among whom Nimrod is mentioned as a celebrated hero. To the same stock also certain tribes of Mizraim (Egypt) are said to have belonged (*v.* 13), including the Philistines. In later times, we read (*v.* 18), "the families of the Canaanites spread abroad" (or "swelled") from Sidon to Gaza, and as far east as the Jordan valley. The account terminates (*v.* 20) with the words, "These are the sons of Ham according to their families (or "extensions"), and according to their languages, in their countries, and in their nations (or "multitudes")." It appears natural to suppose that, as they themselves were of a distinct stock, so also the "languages" here specified may have differed from those of the sons of Shem. It would also seem to be indicated that the original home of the Canaanite (or "lowlander") was in Northern Syria and Phoenicia, where Sidon was the "first-born of Canaan," and that the extension of the race was southwards towards Gaza.

Abram is said (Gen. xv. 18), on entering the Land of Promise, to have found Hittites, with other tribes, including Amorites, Rephaim, Canaanites, Girgashites and Jebusites, and also with the Kenites, Kadmonites and Kenizzites, who dwelt south of Hebron, already possessing the country; and at Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 3, 7, 8: cp. xxv. 10) the "sons of Heth" (בְּנֵי חֵת) were established as owners of a city with fields; they buried in tombs (*v.* 6) and possessed a silver currency (*v.* 16); and merchants were known to them—a civilised condition which monumental evidence also shows to have existed at this early period. This early extension of the Hittites to the extreme south agrees with the statement of Ezekiel (xvi. 3), which makes the original Jebusite population in Jerusalem to have been of mixed Amorite and Hittite origin —"thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite." The Hittites did not confine themselves to marriages within the limits of their own tribe. Esau married two Hittite wives (Gen. xxvi. 34), and a similar alliance was feared in Jacob's case (Gen. xxvii. 46). About the time of the Exodus the Hittites (Num. xiii. 29) are said to have inhabited the mountains, with Jebusites and Amorites, north of the Amalekites. In Deuteronomy (vii. 1) they are mentioned as one of the seven nations of Palestine, and stand first as though the most important of all (cp. Ex. xxxiii. 2). In the Book of Joshua they are, however, mentioned only in the north of Syria (Josh. i. 4; cp. Judg. i. 26): in "Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites." In David's time Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam. xii.) was resident in Jerusalem, married to Bathsheba, whose name is Semitic, and who may perhaps have been a Hebrew woman. The census of David's dominions was carried on the north as far as TAHTIM-HODSHI (2 Sam. xxiv. 6; cp. Driver in loco), which should be read "(the land of) the Hittites towards Kadesh," substituting קֹדֶשׁ הַחִתִּים; cp. Lucian's recension, εἰς γῆν Χεττιείμ Καδής). In Solomon's time the "kings of the Hittites" are mentioned, with the

kings of Syria, as receiving, through the medium of merchants, from Egypt, chariots at a price of about £100, and horses valued at £25 each. Solomon married Hittite wives (1 Kings xi. 1) as well as women of Semitic race from Moab, Edom, and Ammon. About 800 B.C. the "kings of the Hittites" were also feared by the Syrians (2 K. vii. 6), who supposed an alliance with Israel: "the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians." They disappear after this date from Hebrew history, and the explanation is found in the monumental records of the destruction of their power by Sargon in 717 B.C. There probably remained, however, much Hittite blood in the veins of the population, for the Hebrews early intermarried with the Canaanite tribes (Judg. iii. 5).

The names of the Hittites mentioned in the Bible are worthy of careful consideration, since we have seen that the race was of a distinct stock, not descendants of Shem. The names of Ephron and Beeri (Gen. xxiii. 3; xxvi. 34) have no proper meaning as Semitic words, nor has that of Toi or Tou, king of Hamath in David's time (2 Sam. viii. 9, 10); while Zohar, Elon, Judith, and Bashemath have been rendered as Hebrew names (Gen. xxvi. 34). In David's time, Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxvi. 6) and Uriah (2 Sam.) have names of which a Semitic rendering is possible. Mixture of race is probably indicated by such names, and the simplest explanation of the difficulty in finding an appropriate derivation in some cases appears to be that the words, like many others in the Bible, are not of Hebrew origin. Other references to the Hittites as a Canaanite tribe are found in the Pentateuch (Exod. iii. 8, 17; xiii. 5; xxiii. 28: cp. Josh. ix. 1), and the last passage again connects them with Northern Syria. The result of the Biblical notices is, therefore, that the Hittites were a people akin to the Cushites of Babylonia, spreading in early times over Northern Syria, and southwards to the Hebron mountains, where they were settled and civilised; that they were still ruled by kings in the Lebanon region in Solomon's time, when they traded with Egypt by aid of Hebrew and Phoenician merchants; that they intermarried with the Hebrews, but remained independent in David's time, and finally that they disappear from history after the reign of Ahab.

The monumental notices of the Hittites are numerous and important, derived from both Egyptian and Assyrian sources, and agreeing in a remarkable manner with the Biblical account, which they supplement with something approaching to a continuous history. Of the various Canaanite tribes, as the exception of the Amorites, the Hittites are the only nation of which the name is monumentally preserved. Both from the Bible and from the monuments we gather that the Hittites were more powerful and important than other Canaanite peoples, and that they maintained their independence in the north, while the rest were subdued by the Hebrews in the south, allying themselves to David as neighbours, and by marriage to Solomon, who, if his mother Bathsheba (the wife of Uriah) was of the same race as her first husband, was himself half a Hittite by birth.

The earliest historic notice of the region of the Northern Lebanon, which was ruled by the Hittites, is found in the recently translated inscriptions of Tell Loh (on the Lower Tigris; cp. *Records of the Past*, N. S., ii. 75 sq.), in which the Akkadian king Gudea, about 2500 B.C., states that he ruled from the lower to the upper sea, and cut cedars in Amanus (Northern Lebanon), and brought diorite from *Makan*, which scholars agree — on account of other notices of the region—in identifying with the Sinaitic peninsula (see T. G. Pinches, *Proceedings of the Victoria Institute*, Jan. 1891). This text makes it clear that the Akkadians, or non-Semitic aborigines of Chaldea, who had attained to an advanced civilisation, were extending their conquests even earlier than the time usually assigned to Abraham's migration, at least as far as the north-east shores of the Mediterranean, and were in communication with the Sinaitic miners. The Akkadians are usually regarded as representing the Cushite population of Chaldea, already noticed, who were of the same original stock as the Hittites, according to the Book of Genesis; and their language, as identified by Sir H. Rawlinson, and by the numerous authorities who have accepted his views, was an agglutinative Mongolic dialect, represented in our own times by the archaic Mongol and Turkic languages of Central Asia.

Another early race, thought to have been of the same stock, had advanced from Commagene, or the region east of the Euphrates near the Taurus, and had settled in Lower Egypt as early as 2000 B.C. They are called the *Men* or *Menti*, apparently the later *Minni* or Minyans, a well-known tribe of Asia Minor, and described as living east of Ruten or Syria, and in the land of Assyria. They were finally driven out by the Theban kings, and are connected with the Hyksos, whose portraits are now held by many scholars to give strong evidence of Mongolic derivation. According to Mariette and other scholars, one of these Hyksos dynasties is to be regarded as of Hittite origin. It is perhaps to this element in the mixed population of Egypt, which also included Semitic and African stocks, that the Book of Genesis refers, in speaking of Egyptian tribes akin to the other sons of Ham in Chaldea and in Canaan.

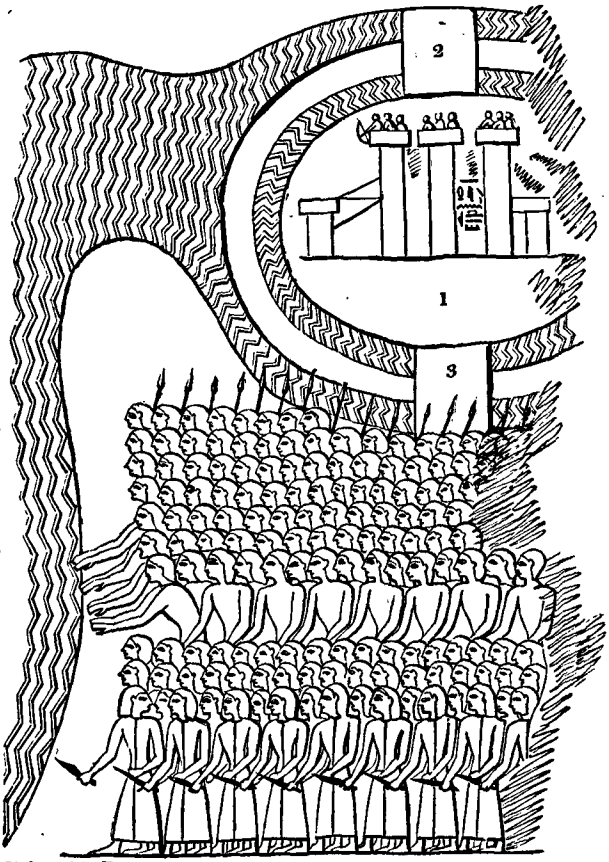
With the rise of the great 18th Egyptian dynasty the Asiatics were driven back to their own countries, and Thothmes I. in the 17th century B.C. (about 1666 B.C. according to Brugsch) extended his conquests far north into Ruten or Syria, and even into Naharaim ("the two rivers") or the region beyond the Euphrates. Horses and chariots were among the spoils which he took from the Syrians in this campaign. In 1600 B.C., however, a formidable league of Syrians encountered Thothmes III., and attempted to throw off the Egyptian yoke. A great battle was fought near Megiddo in Central Palestine, and among the opponents was the king of Kadesh, who, as will appear immediately, may probably have been a Hittite. The very remarkable list of spoils taken after the Egyptian victory attests the wealth and civilisation of Syria at this early period (see *Records of the Past*, O. S., ii. 37). The whole of Palestine, except the hills of Jerusalem and Hebron, then

held by the Amorites, fell into the power of Thothmes III. in consequence of this decisive engagement, and his victories were pushed northwards to Tunep (*Tennib*) and Kadesh on the Orontes—the Hittite capital, where trees were cut down and the harvest carried off. The Egyptian rule was re-established as far as Naharaim, and even the king of Assyria became tributary. Among the tributary princes the chief of the Hittites is mentioned, from whom was exacted tribute of gold, silver, negro slaves, and boat-loads of ivory.

The country of the Hittites, with the regions further south, remained subject to Egypt for a century and a half after this conquest until the time of Amenophis IV.

The very remarkable tablets found in 1887 in Upper Egypt, at Tell Amarna, written in the cuneiform character, and in the majority of cases in a Semitic language, contain several notices of the Hittites (*Thontafelfund von el Amarna*, ed. H. Winckler, 1889–90). There are about 300 of these letters: some from princes of Assyria, Babylon, and Syria; some from governors appointed by the Pharaohs in Palestine and Syria, and all addressed to Amenophis III. and his son Amenophis IV. In one of these the king of Alosha (a Syrian region) begs the king of Egypt not to make any treaty with the kings of the Hittites or of Shinar. In another letter the king of the Hittites is said to have been taken captive in the land of Mitani, which was close to Northern Syria, east of the Euphrates. In other letters the Egyptian governors or allies say that the king of the Hittites has seized the town of Tunep (*Tennib*), and has rebelled, devastating the country, and that it is feared he will overrun Phoenicia. There are other notices of the "land of the Hittites" (*Khati*); and in the later reign, when the Egyptian power was decadent, there are notices of rebellion and of an attack on the Egyptian governors by the Northern Hittites. The most interesting letter in the collection, for our present purpose, is, however, one from Tarkondara, king of Rezeph, not far from Palmyra, who calls himself king of the Hittites, and who sends presents to Amenophis III., including tin, precious stones, and choice woods. The language of this letter, which includes 38 lines of writing, has been recognised by Dr. Winckler and other scholars to be probably that of the Hittites. It is not Semitic, and several scholars have pointed out that the forms of the verbs, the pronouns, and other words, serve to show that the language of this letter is connected with the Akkadian dialect of Lower Chaldea.

After the fall of the 18th dynasty and the loss of Syria, a reconquest was effected by Seti I. after his defeat of the Amorites near Hebron. He states in one of his inscriptions (see Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 327) that he carried off "chiefs of the Rutennu (or Syrians) from the land of the Kheta" or Hittites; but these victories were transient, and it was not until the accession of Rameses II. (about 1360 B.C.) that a permanent reconquest was effected. This great monarch, after taking



Phalanx of the Hittites or Kheta, with the fortified town of Kadesh on the Orontes, surrounded by double ditches, over which are bridges (figs. 2 and 3). (Thebes.)

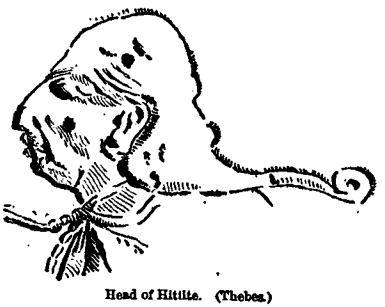
Ascalon and the towns of Upper Galilee, advanced by the sea-coast to the Dog River near Beirût, and crossed the Lebanon near Afka, descending to the valley of the Orontes near the Lake of Amuli (the present Lake of *Yammûneh*). Here he took prisoners, who falsely represented that the Hittites of Kadesh on the Orontes (*Kades*) had fled to Aleppo; and pushing in front of his army along the west bank of the Orontes, he fell into an ambush, and nearly lost his life. The Hittites were however driven back on the arrival of Egyptian troops, and fled to Kadesh, which, on the sculptures representing this event

(at Thebes), is pictured as a walled town with towers, surrounded by the river. The position fully accords with that of the present site of a ruined town on the Orontes south of Emesa, discovered in 1881 to still retain the name Kades. This city, which appears to be the Kadytis (ii. 159, iii. 5) in Syria of Herodotus, was the southern capital of the Hittites; but the troops of other Hittite princes, including the ruler of Aleppo, were allied with the Prince of Kadesh, and took part in the battle (see *Records of the Past*, O. S., ii. 67). On the sculptures the Hittites are represented armed with shields and spears, each warrior driven in a two-horsed chariot, having a charioteer beside him. Corps of infantry, standing in regular columns, are also shown near the city. After Kadesh had been reduced, Rameses pushed his way northwards, taking vengeance on the Hittite allies, among whom the natives of Aradus, Carchemish, Aleppo, and Naharaim are enumerated, with the Mysians, Dardanians, and other unknown tribes. The discovery of the cartouche of Rameses II. on the rock basrelief of Mount Sipylus, near Smyrna, shows that the Egyptian advance was pushed westwards to the shores of the Aegean. Another text of the same reign (perhaps later) refers to a dispute between the Hittites and the Egyptians, concerning two statues of the Pharaoh which had been set up in a Hittite city. Tunep was conquered in the expedition which ensued, and the Egyptians again reached Naharaim or Mesopotamia (Brugsch, *Hist. Egypt.* ii. 63). The result of these victories was an alliance, cemented by marriage, between Rameses II. and Kheta Sar, the king of the Hittites. His eldest daughter so married to the Pharaoh received the Egyptian name Ur-maa-noferu-ra. The inscription states that "she herself knew not the impression which her beauty made on the heart" of her royal husband (Brugsch, *Hist. Egypt.* ii. 75, 86). Another very important document of this reign is an Egyptian copy of a treaty between Kheta Sar, king of the Hittites, and Rameses II. (*Records of the Past*, O. S., iv. 25; Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 333): the original—which Chabas supposes to have been in the Hittite language—is stated to have been written on a silver plate, and on the opposite side was a figure of Set, the Hittite god, embracing the Hittite king, with an inscription commencing, "O image of Set, king of heaven and earth, grant that the compact made by Kheta Sar, prince of the Kheta . . ." The Egyptian copy is unfortunately here mutilated. The provisions of the treaty are very important, and the document contains also historical information and valuable religious indications. It was sent by an envoy named Tartesebu from Kheta Sar, son of Maurasar and grandson of Saplili, Hittite kings. His elder brother Mautur is said to have fought Seti I. (breaking the earlier treaty) and to have been killed, but it was now desired to restore the condition of peace and alliance existing in the time of Saplili and of Mautur himself. Some of the clauses regulate the extradition of criminals and fugitives, and it is stipulated that such refugees are to be restored by either party, and are not to be punished by loss of eyes, feet or tongue, nor are their wives, children, or mothers to be punished, or any accusation brought against them. "Skilled workmen" from Syria or from Egypt, sent to the other country for special work, are not to be retained. The alliance in time of war is to be offensive as well as defensive. The gods are called to witness the treaty, including Ammon, Phra, Set, and Istar (or Antarata), with a thousand gods and a thousand goddesses on either side: and in addition the mountains, rivers, sea, wind, and clouds are invoked. This interesting document betokens a settled condition of civilisation, and an animistic creed.

The previous conflict with the Kheta was lightly regarded after peace was made, so that a court scribe writes, "History had nothing to report of the Kheta people, but that they had one heart and one soul with Egypt" (Brugsch, *Hist. Egypt.* ii. 86). In the reign of Meneptah (1300 B.C.) a great inroad of tribes from the north occurred, but the Hittites appear to have remained friendly to Egypt, and mention is made of wheat taken in ships from Egypt to preserve the lives of the Kheta people—probably in a time of famine. A century later however another invasion, in which the Danau (or Greeks) took part, was repulsed by Rameses III. (1200 B.C.): the Hittites are said to have been unable to withstand these northern hordes, who encamped in the land of the Amorites. They were however punished equally with others in the return expedition, when the Egyptians conquered Cyprus, and took Carchemish, Aleppo, Tarsus, and other places in the north. The king of the Hittites was taken alive and made a prisoner, with the Amorite chief and with others.

About 1120–1100 B.C., when the power of Egypt had decayed, Tiglath-pileser I. began to push westwards from Assyria, and attacked the Hittite tribes, among whom the Kaskaya and Hurunaya are specified as "warriors of the Khati" (*Records of the Past*, v. 6). A hundred and twenty chariots were taken, and the Assyrians, crossing the Euphrates on skin rafts, reached "Carchemish, belonging to the country of the Khati," and advanced to the Mediterranean or "upper sea of the setting sun." Iniel was king of Hamath at this time (cp. *Records of the Past*, iii. 52), and Mitani or Commagene, which was overrun, appears to have been held by a race of the same stock with the Hittites, judging from the language of the long letter of Dusratta, king of Mitani, to Amenophis III., which contains 500 lines of cuneiform writing. Further troubles awaited the Hittites in the reign of Assur-nasir-pal (883–858 B.C.), when their princes were carried into captivity, and spoil taken by the Assyrians, including silver, gold, tin, copper, oxen, sheep, and horses: Carchemish was put to tribute, and gold and linen vestments were taken thence. From the Hittite chief Lubarna were taken 20 talents of silver, 1 talent of gold, 100 talents of tin, 1000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, with the precious vessels of the palace, chariots, and engines of war. The Assyrians again reached the Mediterranean, and took Gebal, Arvad, Tyre and Sidon. Shalmaneser II. (860–825 B.C.) also attacked these regions ("Black Obelisk," *Records of the Past*, v. 30), and took Pethor, a "Hittite city" west of the

Euphrates (cp. Num. xxii. 5): the "kings of the Hittites" gave tribute, after Amanus (the Northern Lebanon) and Aleppo had been taken. The Hittite princes, with Irkhulena, king of Hamath, had leagued themselves with Benhadad of Syria to withstand this advance, but in the great battle in the plains of Northern Syria had been defeated, and the allies are said to have lost 20,500 men, slain with arrows. Carchemish was taken in 855 B.C., and six years later we again read of eighty-nine cities conquered, belonging to the "Hittites of the land of Hamath." Twelve Hittite kings are enumerated as contemporary rulers at this time. The final overthrow of their independence was effected by Sargon (*Records of the Past*, vii. 31), who found Pisiris, king of Carchemish, to have made an alliance with Mita the Moschian. The city was not only taken by the Assyrians in 717 B.C., but its inhabitants were carried off (like the Israelites) as captives to Assyria, and the town was repeopled with Assyrian colonists; gold and silver, treasures of the palace, 50 chariots, and 200 riders with 3000 foot-soldiers were captured. The Hittite name thus disappears from monumental history within a century of the latest notice of their kings in the Old Testament. It is curious, however, that Sargon speaks of Ashdod, in Philistia, as a Hittite city, as though some remnant of the southern tribe still survived. At the present day the name of the Hittites seems to linger at the villages of *Hatta* (حتا) and *Kefr Hatta* in Philistia, as well as at the ruin of *Tell Hatta*, not far from Kadesh on the Orontes. It is also noticeable that the Jews of Persia in later times believed that remnants of the Canaanite population survived in Central Asia, and that Ptolemy (vi. 15, 16) speaks of the Khatae as a people near Cashgar. He evidently refers to the important Mongol people called the Khitai (*Royal Asiatic Society Journal*, xiii. ii.), who played a great part in the early history of Turkestan, and who conquered Western China about 900 A.D. They were conquered by Genghiz Khan; and if the Hittites were a Mongolic race, it is not impossible that some connexion exists between the Khitai and the old Kheta or Khati of the monuments.



Head of Hittite. (Thebes.)

As regards the nationality of the Hittites, the late Dr. Birch of the British Museum suggested that the Kheta were Mongols. He was followed by Rev. H. G. Tomkins (*Times of Abraham*, 1878) and by the present writer in 1883. Dr. Sayce has recently (*The Hittites*, 1888) adopted the same view, and has well described (p. 15) the appearance of the Kheta, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments. "The Hittites," he says, "were a people with yellow skins, and 'Mongoloid' features, whose receding foreheads, oblique eyes, and protruding upper jaws are as faithfully represented on their own monuments as they are on those of Egypt." The type may be seen in our own times among the Tartars of Turkestan, and even among the Turkish peasants of the Taurus, close to the Hittite country. The sculptures also represent them as wearing pigtails—a Tartar custom imposed on the Chinese at the time of the Tartar conquest. They wear boots similar to those of the modern Turks and Arabs, and in some cases a short jerkin, with a tall conical cap, such as Herodotus ascribes to the Sacae (vii. 64), and which was common among the Tartars of the Middle Ages, and worn also by the Etruscans in Italy (the *tutulus* of classic writers): the chiefs are represented however in long robes, and Kheta Sar is shown wearing a lofty tiara.

As regards the language of the Hittites, many theories have been advanced: it has been compared with Egyptian and Hebrew, though neither of these views is now supported by any scholar of eminence, Brugsch and Chabas having pronounced it non-Semitic—a view in which Dr. Sayce concurs. It has also been compared with Armenian, Georgian, Basque, and Chinese; but these languages are far too modern, and too much decayed from their earlier forms, to be considered legitimate subjects for comparative study. The question at present depends on the study of names of persons and places in the Hittite country, which appear to be neither Semitic nor Aryan, but are comparable with ancient Turanian words; and on the understanding of the letter of Tarkondara the Hittite prince, already mentioned as written in the Hittite language, and in the well-known cuneiform script.

The remains of an ancient native civilisation, in the region which the Hittites ruled for so many centuries, have very naturally been supposed to show the workmanship of the Hittites and of their allies of the same race; and this is confirmed by the physiognomy of the people represented, who are usually beardless, with Mongol features, and in some cases wearing pigtails. This theory of the origin of the Syrian bas-reliefs and inscriptions was first put forward by Dr. W. Wright in 1874, and soon after found an advocate in Dr. Sayce. There is indeed no known race to whom the carving of these monuments can be attributed with greater probability than it may be to the Hittite population. But the more distant examples, in Asia Minor and Armenia, which appear to be later in some cases than those of Carchemish and Hamath, may have been executed by tribes of the same stock, who cannot strictly be called Hittites. History tells us nothing of any "Hittite empire," for in the time of Rameses II. and in the time of Sargon alike we find numerous chiefs of the Hittites, ruling at different cities, and allied to each other, under some daring or powerful leader, against their foreign foes.

The monuments so grouped represent a civilisation distinct from that of either Chaldea or Egypt, but which has been thought to supply

the early prototypes for Greek and Phoenician art. The earliest discovery of Hittite inscriptions was made by Burckhardt in 1812 at Hamath. Since then many travellers have added to what is now a constantly increasing store of sculptures, inscriptions, seals, and gems, marked by the hieroglyphic symbols, and the peculiar features of a native art, which had its home in Northern Syria and on the southern slopes of the Taurus. Among such travellers were Major Fischer, George Smith, Perrot, Tyrwhitt Drake, Sir C. W. Wilson, and quite recently HH. Humann and Puchstein; while new and valuable finds have been made in 1890 by Prof. Ramsay and Mr. Hogarth. The regions in which further finds may be expected have not, however, yet been exhausted. The Hittite monuments in Syria occur at Hamath, Aleppo, and Carchemish, with one doubtful example at Damascus. Further north they occur frequently near Merash, and also at Samosata on the Euphrates north of Edessa. On the west other examples are known at Tyana, and near it at Ibreez, also yet further west near Ephesus (on the Weeping Niobe of Mount Sipylus) and in the pass of Karabel, where the figures now found are mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 106). Seals with Hittite characters have been brought from Lydia, and east of the Halys are the important ruins of Pteria and Eyuk, where the same art and the same system of hieroglyphic writing are found. Similar seals have also been found in Nineveh, and an inscribed bowl in Babylon, but these may be spoils taken from another region by Assyrians and later Babylonians.

As regards the age of these monuments, the most important clue is that discovered by Dr. Gollob in 1882. He found that the cartouche of Rameses II. is incised on the ancient carving called the "Weeping Niobe"—a bas-relief having a few clearly Hittite symbols in relief on the field. It is clear therefore that this monument existed already in 1360 B.C., and it is not improbable that the monuments of Hamath and Carchemish may be referred to a more remote date, contemporary with the earliest Akkadian and Egyptian sculptures.

The subject of many of these bas-reliefs is religious. Winged figures are represented, and fabulous monsters, deities standing on various animals—such as the lion, the hare, and the two-headed eagle (which became a device in later times among the Seljuks and Mongols). The sphinx and the winged horse, the gryphon, &c., are also found associated with Hittite symbols, and demons are represented much as among the Akkadians and Assyrians: the winged sun, common also to Egyptians and Babylonians, is a Hittite emblem. The figures as a rule are clumsy, and recall the early art of Babylonia, Greece, and Phoenicia, but they are perhaps more archaic than any of these latter. The Turkish boot, the conical cap, the pigtail, the bow and spear and shield, and a very heavy sword, are represented; while the females wear a cylindrical hat and a robe in many pleats. Some of the garments of kings and deities are adorned with patterns said still to be in use in Asia Minor. Most of the males are beardless, but a few cases occur in which a long beard is represented, with a shaven upper lip, as among the Phoenicians and Cypriote Greeks. The best executed reliefs yet found are from Carchemish. The hieroglyphic characters accompanying these sculptures represent the heads of animals (such as the bull, stag, sheep, ram, ass, dog, lion, camel, and hare), with a full figure of an eagle, and human heads, legs, arms, feet and hands, together with other less distinct emblems.

Monument from Jerabis.

The system included over a hundred signs, which recur on all the texts. Some bear close resemblance in form, and probably in meaning, to the emblems of Egypt and of the Akkadians, but those which appear to denote grammatical terminations are distinct from the signs of other systems. The following particulars may be stated as generally agreed upon by all scholars who have given serious attention to the matter. (1) The Hittite system is distinct and native. (2) It must be studied on the same principles which led to the recovery of the cuneiform and Egyptian, being mainly syllabic as shown by the number of signs in use. (3) It was probably the origin of the syllabary used in Cyprus, and from this syllabary the sounds proper to the older emblems may in a few cases be recovered. [But see Peiser, *Die Hetitischen Inschriften*, p. xv.] (4) The lines read alternately from right to left and left to right, as in early Greek. (5) The syllables are arranged vertically in the line, as in the early Akkadian inscriptions.

The questions which remain in dispute refer to the proper sound and meaning of the emblems, and to the language which should be used for comparison. The view taken by Dr. Sayce (*The Hittites*, p. 134) is that the language spoken by the tribes round Lake Van in the 9th century,

B.C. "may belong to the same family of speech." The objection taken to this view is that, in the opinion of Dr. Mordtmann and of other scholars, this Vannic language is an Aryan dialect, akin to ancient Persian or to Armenian. If the Hittites were, as Dr. Sayce has said, a "Mongoloid" people, it seems improbable that their language should have been Aryan, especially at so early an historic period. Dr. Sayce, however, does not admit the Vannic to be an Aryan language. [C. R. C.]

[The truth is that our knowledge of the language represented by the rock-inscriptions of Van is only less limited and precarious than our knowledge of the language (or languages) represented by the supposed Hittite inscriptions. At present, whatever our more or less probable conjectures, we do not certainly know the sound of a single "Hittite" symbol. Hardly any two investigators are agreed upon the reading of the bilingual "Boss of Tarkondemos," of which only a questionable cast is known to exist (cp. Rylands' remarks on the authenticity of this relic, *PSBA.* Nov. 1880). The latest handling of the "boss," that of Dr. F. E. Peiser of Breslau, a well-known Assyrian scholar, differs from all preceding attempts at decipherment in the values assigned to several of the six "Hittite" characters. The same may be said of the new "bilingual" seal, found in Cilicia, and now in the Ashmolean Museum (*Academy*, Jan. 9, 1892; *Nachtrag zur* Peiser, *Die Hetitischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1892). The cuneiform letter of Tarḫun-daraus, king of *Arzapi(u)*, discovered at Tell al-Amarna, may or may not be the letter of a "Hittite" prince (Winckler doubtfully transcribes Tar-ḫu-un-da-ra-*du*: see *Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna*, i. No. 10; *Academy*, No. 916, p. 343 sq.). It is uncertain whether *Arzapi* was the Biblical Rezeph, which the Assyrians called *Rasappa*. Halévy places it in Asia Minor (*Journal Asiatique*, 1890, i. p. 292), and Dr. Lehmann compares an apparently gentilic Lycian name אַרְזְפִי (Šamaššumukîn, *Nachträge*, p. 113, Leipz. 1892). One thing is clear to every transcriber: if the letter of the king of Arzapi is "Hittite," the much longer letter of Dušratta of Mitâni (p. 1376, col. 2) is not Hittite (Winckler, *ibid.*, No. 27). Moreover, the languages of these two ancient letters are confessedly as remote from the Semitic tongues as from each other. But all the Hittite proper names recorded in the Old Testament are of a decidedly Semitic complexion, and some of them, like Beeri and Uriah, are transparent Hebrew. As Prof. Robertson Smith has observed, with perfect justice, "Though the so-called Hittite monuments, which have given rise to so much speculation, may afford evidence that a non-Semitic people from Asia Minor at one time pushed its way into Northern Syria, it is pretty clear that the Hittites of the Bible, *i.e.* the non-Aramaic communities of Coele-Syria, were a branch of the Canaanite stock, and that the utmost concession that can be made to modern theories on this subject is that they may for a time have been dominated by a non-Semitic aristocracy" (*Rel. of Semites*, 1st ser. pp. 11, 12). But if there is no consensus of qualified opinion as to the language of the inscriptions, neither is there yet any general agreement as to their probable date. So far from referring the stones from Hamath and Jerâbîs to an earlier period than that of Ramses II. (p. 1378, col. 1), Puchstein, who holds that they are of Commagenian not Hittite origin, assigns all the so-called Hittite sculptures to the period between the 7th and 10th centuries B.C. Peiser repeats these dates; but, with present information, it is futile to attempt precision.

See Lenormant, *Origines de l'histoire;* Thomas Tyler, *The Inscription of Tarkutimme, and the Monuments from Jerablus*, *PSBA.* Nov. 1880 (see also *Nature*, March, April, 1888); A. H. Sayce, *The Monuments of the Hittites*, *TSBA.*, July 1881; *The Hittites, the Story of a forgotten Empire*, 1888;—W. H. Rylands, *Inscribed Stones from Jerabis*, *TSBA.* vii. 1882; *The Aleppo Inscription*, *PSBA.* June 1883; *An Inscribed Bowl*, *ibid.*, May 1885;—Perrot, *Revue Archéologique*, December 1882 (on M. Schlumberger's terra-cotta seals, with supposed Hittite inscriptions: cp. Rylands in *PSBA.* Feb. 1884, *TSBA.* viii. 422 sqq., where these objects are figured from the originals); Gollob, *Wiener Studien*, 1882 (on the inscriptions of the so-called Niobe at Mount Sipylos: cp. Krall, *ibid.*, who calls attention to the fact that the cartouche of Ramses II. is incorrect in several important respects); Hommel, *Die Kultur der Hethiter (Semiten)*, Leipzig, 1883; also *ZK.* i. 330 sqq., 1884; C. J. Ball, *The New Hieroglyphs of Western Asia*, *CQR.*, July 1885 (cp. *PSBA.* June 1888); W. Wright, *Empire of the Hittites*, 1884; Hirschfeld, *Die Felsenreliefs in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1887; Halévy in the *Revue des études juives*, Oct., Dec. 1887; C. R. Conder, *Altaic Hieroglyphs and Hittite Inscriptions*, 1887; Ménant, *Comptes Rendus*, &c., 1890, and in Maspéro's *Recueil*, vol. xiii.; *Les Hittites*, Paris, 1891; Puchstein, *Pseudo-Hethitische Kunst*, Berlin, 1890; *Degli Hittim o Hethei et delle loro Migrazioni* (reprints from the *Civiltà Cattolica*), 1890–92, by C. de' Cara; Léon de Lantsheere, *De la race et de la langue des Hittites*, Bruxelles, 1892; F. E. Peiser, *Die Hetitischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1892. Specially on the Bilingual of Tarkondemos, Sayce, *TSBA.*, July 1888; Pinches, *PSBA.* March 1885; Amiaud, *ZA.* i. 1886; Goleniscbeff, *PSBA.*, May 1888.] [C. J. B.]

HI'VITES, THE (הַחִוִּי, *i.e.* the Chivvite: ὁ Εὐαῖος; in Josh. ix. 7 (LXX. *v.* 13), ὁ Χορραῖος, and so A. in Gen. xxxiv. 2: *Hevaeus*). The name is, in the original, uniformly found in the sing. number, and is so given in R. V. It never has, like that of the Hittites, a plural, nor does it appear in any other form. Perhaps we may assume from this that it originated in some peculiarity of locality or circumstance, as in the case of the Amorites—"mountaineers:" and not in a progenitor, as did that of the Ammonites, who are also styled Benē-Ammon—children of Ammon; or the Hittites, Benē-Cheth—children of Heth. The name is explained by Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 318) as *Binnenländer*, that is, "Midlanders;" by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 451) as *pagani*, "villagers." In the following passages the name is given in the A. V. in the singular—THE HIVITE:—Gen. x. 17; Ex. xxiii 28, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Josh. ix. 1, xi. 3; 1 Ch. i. 15; also Gen. xxxiv. 2, xxxvi. 2. In all the rest it is plural.

1. In the genealogical tables of Genesis, "the Hivite" is named as one of the descendants—the sixth in order—of Canaan, the son of Ham (Gen. x. 17; 1 Ch. i. 15). In the first enumeration of the nations who, at the time of the call of Abraham, occupied the Promised Land (Gen. xv. 19–21), the Hivites are omitted from the Hebrew text (though in the Samaritan and LXX. their name is inserted). This has led to the conjecture, amongst others, that they are identical with the KADMONITES, whose name is found there and there only (Reland, *Pal.* p. 140; Bochart, *Phal.* iv. 36, *Can.* i. 19). But are not the Kadmonites rather, as their name implies, the representatives of the Benē-Kèdem, or "children of the East"? The name constantly occurs in the formula by which the country is designated in the earlier Books (Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, 28, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, ix. 1, xii. 8, xxiv. 11), and also in the later ones (1 K. ix. 20; 2 Ch. viii. 7; but cp. Ezra ix. 1 and Neh. ix. 8). It is, however, absent in the report of the spies (Num. xiii. 29), a document which fixes the localities occupied by the Canaanite nations at that time. Perhaps this is owing to the then insignificance of the Hivites, or perhaps to the fact that they were indifferent to the special locality of their settlements.

2. We first encounter the actual people of the Hivites at the time of Jacob's return to Canaan. Shechem was then (according to the current Hebrew text) in their possession, Hamor the Hivite being the "prince (נָשִׂיא) of the land" (Gen. xxxiv. 2). They were at this time, to judge of them by their rulers, a warm and impetuous people, credulous, and easily deceived by the crafty and cruel sons of Jacob. The narrative further exhibits them as peaceful and commercial, given to "trade" (*vv.* 10, 21), and to the acquiring of "possessions" of cattle and other "wealth" (*vv.* 10, 23, 28, 29). Like the Hittites, they held their assemblies or conferences in the gate of their city (*v.* 20). We may also see a testimony to their peaceful habits in the absence of any attempt at revenge on Jacob for the massacre of the Shechemites. Perhaps a similar indication is furnished by the name of the god of the Shechemites some generations after this—Baal-berith—Baal of the league, or the alliance (Judg. viii. 33, ix. 4, 46); by the way in which the Shechemites were beaten by Abimelech (*v.* 40); and by the unmilitary character, both of the weapon which caused Abimelech's death and of the person who discharged it (ix. 53).

The A. MS., and several other MSS. of the LXX., in the above narrative (Gen. xxxiv. 2) substitute "Horite" for "Hivite." The change is remarkable from the usually close adherence of the A. Codex to the Hebrew text, but it is not corroborated by any other of the ancient Versions, nor is it recommended by other considerations. No instances occur of Horites in this part of Palestine, while we know, from a later narrative, that there was an important colony of Hivites on the highland of Benjamin at Gibeon, &c., no very great distance from Shechem. On the other hand, in Gen. xxxvi. 2, where Aholibama, one of Esau's wives, is said to have been the daughter of the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite, all considerations are in favour of reading "Horite" for "Hivite." In this case we fortunately possess a detailed genealogy of the family, by comparison of which little doubt is left of the propriety of the change (cp. *vv.* 20, 24, 25, 30, with *v.* 2), although no ancient Version has suggested it here.

3. We next meet with the Hivites during the conquest of Canaan (Josh. ix. 7, xi. 19). Their character is now in some respects materially altered. They are still evidently averse to fighting, but they have acquired—possibly by long experience in traffic—an amount of craft which they did not before possess, and which enables them to turn the tables on the Israelites in a highly successful manner (Josh. ix. 3–27). The colony of Hivites,[a] who made Joshua and the heads of the tribes their dupes on this occasion, had four cities—Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim—situated, if our present knowledge is accurate, at considerable distances asunder. It is not certain whether the last three were destroyed by Joshua or not (xi. 19); Gibeon certainly was spared. In *v.* 11 the Gibeonites speak of the "elders" of their city, a word which does not necessarily point to any special form of government, as is assumed by Winer (*Heviter*), who uses the ambiguous expression that they "lived under a republican constitution" (*in republicanischer Verfassung*)! See also Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 318–9).

4. The main body of the Hivites, however, were at this time living on the northern confines of Western Palestine—"under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh" (Josh. xi. 3)—"in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-hermon to the entering in of Hamath" (Judg. iii. 3). Somewhere in this neighbourhood they were settled when Joab and the captains of the host, in their tour of numbering, came to "all the cities of the Hivites" near Tyre (2 Sam. xxiv. 7). In the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. x. 17, they are called Tripolitans (טַרְיפּוֹלָאֵי), a name which points to the same general northern locality.

5. In speaking of the AVIM, or Avvites, a suggestion has been made by the writer that they may have been identical with the Hivites. This is apparently corroborated by the fact that, according to the notice in Deut. ii., the name of the Avites vanished before the Hivites appear on the scene of the sacred history. It is perhaps some corroboration of this that the LXX. (both MSS.) unmistakably translate Avim by Εὐαῖοι, Hivites. [G.] [W.]

HIZKI'AH, R. V. HEZEKIAH (חִזְקִיָּה = *strength of Jah*; Ἐζεκίας; *Ezechia*), an ancestor of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. i. 1).

HIZKI'JAH, R. V. HEZEKI'AH (חִזְקִיָּהוּ; Ἐζεκία; *Ezechia*), according to the punctuation of the A. V. and R. V., a man who sealed the covenant of reformation with Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. x. 17). But some think that the name should be taken with that preceding it, as "Ater-Hizkijah," a name given in the lists of those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. Further, the two names following these in x. 17,

[a] Here again the LXX. (both MSS.) have Horites for Hivites; but we cannot accept the change without further consideration.

18 (Azzur, Hodijah) are by some considered only corrupt repetitions of them.

This and the preceding name are identical with, and are the same as those given in A. V. as, HEZEKIAH.

HO'BAB (חֹבָב, ? = *beloved*; B. 'Οβάβ, A. 'Ωβάβ, in Judg. BA. 'Ιωβάβ; *Hobab*). This name is found in two places only (Num. x. 29; Judg. iv. 11), and it seems doubtful whether it denotes the father-in-law of Moses, or his son. (1.) In favour of the latter are (*a*) the express statement that Hobab was "the son of Raguel" (Num. x. 29); Raguel or Reuel—the Hebrew word in both cases is the same—being identified with Jethro, not only in Ex. ii. 18 (see Knobel-Dillmann in loco; cp. iii. 1, &c.), but also by Josephus, who constantly gives him that name. (*b*) The fact that Jethro had some time previously left the Israelite camp to return to his own country (Ex. xviii. 27). The words "the father-in-law of Moses" in Num. x. 29, though in most of the ancient Versions connected with Hobab, will in the original read either way, so that no argument can be founded on them. (2.) In favour of Hobab's identity with Jethro are (*a*) the words of Judg. iv. 11; but it should be remembered that this is (ostensibly) of later date than the other, and altogether a more casual statement. (*b*) Josephus in speaking of Raguel remarks once (*Ant.* ii. 12, § 1) that he "had Iothor (*i.e.* Jethro) for a surname" (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίκλημα τῷ Ῥαγουήλ). From the absence of the article here, it is inferred by Whiston and others that Josephus intends that he had more than one surname, but this seems hardly safe.

The Muhammadan traditions are certainly in favour of the identity of Hobab with Jethro. He is known in the Koran and elsewhere, and in the East at the present day, by the name of *Shu'aib* (شعيب), doubtless a corruption of Hobab (Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 59, note). According to those traditions, he was the prophet of God to the idolaters of *Madyān* (Midian), who not believing his message were destroyed (Lane's *Koran*, pp. 179–181); he was blind (ib. p. 180, n.); the rod of Moses was his gift,—it had once been the rod of Adam, and was of the myrtle of Paradise, &c. (ib. p. 190; Weil's *Bibl. Legends*, pp. 107–109). The name of *Shu'aib* still remains attached to one of the Wâdys on the east side of the Jordan, opposite Jericho, through which, according to the tradition of the locality (Seetzen, *Reisen*, 1854, ii. 319, 376), the children of Israel descended to the Jordan. [BETH-NIMRAH.] According to this tradition, therefore, he accompanied the people as far as the Promised Land, though whatever weight that may possess is, when the statement of Ex. xviii. 27 is taken into account, against his identity with Jethro. Other places bearing his name and those of his two daughters are shown at Sinai and on the Gulf of 'Akabah (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 33; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 75). His tomb was shown at Tiberias (Ibn Batuta, ii.).

But whether Hobab was the father-in-law of Moses or not, the notice of him in Num. x. 29–32, though brief, is full of point and interest. While Jethro is preserved to us as the wise and practised administrator, Hobab appears as the experienced Bedawi sheikh, to whom Moses looked for the material safety of his cumbrous caravan in the new and difficult ground before them. The tracks and passes of that "waste howling wilderness" were all familiar to him, and his practised sight would be to them "instead of eyes" in discerning the distant clumps of verdure which betokened the wells or springs for the daily encampment, and in giving timely warning of the approach of Amalekites or other spoilers of the desert. [JETHRO.] [G.] [W.]

HO'BAH (חוֹבָה = *concealed*, Ges.; Χωβάλ; *Hoba*), the place to which Abraham pursued the kings who had pillaged Sodom (Gen. xiv. 15). It was situated "*to the north of Damascus*" (מִשְּׂמֹאל לְדַמָּשֶׂק). Josephus mentions a tradition concerning Abraham which he takes from Nicolaus of Damascus: "Abraham reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner . . . and his name is still famous in the country; and there is shown a village called from him *The Habitation of Abraham*" (*Ant.* i. 7, § 2). It is remarkable that in the village of *Burzah*, 3 miles north of Damascus, there is a *walī* held in high veneration by the Muhammadans, and called after the name of the patriarch, *Masjid Ibrāhīm*, "the prayer-place of Abraham." The tradition attached to it is that here Abraham offered thanks to God after the total discomfiture of the eastern kings. Behind the *walī* is a cleft in the rock, in which another tradition represents the patriarch as *taking refuge* on one occasion from the giant Nimrod. It is remarkable that the word *Hobah* signifies "a hiding-place."

The Jews of Damascus affirm that the village of *G'ôbar*, not far from Burzah, is the Hobah of Scripture. They have a synagogue there dedicated to Elijah, to which they make frequent pilgrimages (see *Handb. for Syr. and Pal.*; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 414 *n.*). [J. L. P.] [W.]

HOD (הוֹד = *glory*; BA. Ὠδ; *Hod*), one of the sons of Zophah, among the descendants of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 37).

HODAI'AH (*Ketib*, הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, altered in the *Keri* to הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, *i.e.* HODAVYAHU = *praise ye Jah*, or *his praise is Jah*; B. 'Οδολία, A. 'Ωδουία; *Oduia*), son of Elioenai, one of the last members of the royal line of Judah; mentioned 1 Ch. iii. 24.

HODAVI'AH (הוֹדַוְיָה = הוֹדַוְיָהוּ; BA. 'Ωδουία; *Odoia*). **1.** A man of Manasseh, one of the heads of the half-tribe on the east of Jordan (1 Ch. v. 24).

2. (B. 'Οδυιά, A. 'Ωδουιά; *Oduia.*) A man of Benjamin, son of Has-senuah (1 Ch. ix. 7).

3. (B. Σοδουιά, A. Σωδουιά [the σ having been carried on from the previous word]; *Odavia.*) A Levite, who seems to have given his name to an important family in the tribe—the Bene-Hodaviah (Ezra ii. 40). In Nehemiah the name appears as HODEVAH. Lord A. Hervey has called attention to the fact that this name is closely connected with Judah (*Genealogies*, p. 119). This being the case, we probably find this Hodaviah mentioned again in iii. 9.

HO'DESH (חֹדֶשׁ = *new moon*; Ἀδά; *Hodes*), a woman named in the genealogies of Benjamin

(1 Ch. viii. 9) as the wife of a certain Shaharaim, and mother of seven children. Shaharaim had two wives besides Hodesh, or possibly Hodesh was a second name of one of those women (*v.* 8). The LXX. by rendering Baara B. 'Ιβααδά, A. Βααδά, and Hodesh 'Αδά, seem to wish to establish such a connexion.

HO'DEVAH (הוֹדַוְיָה, *Keri* הוֹדִיָה; אA. Ὀδδουία, B. Θουδουιά; *Oduia*), Bene-Hodevah, a Levite family, returned from captivity with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 43). In the parallel lists it is given as HODAVIAH (No. 3) and SUDIAS.

HODI'AH (הוֹדִיָה = *glory of Jah*; B. ἡ 'Ιδουία, A. ἡ 'Ιουδαία; *Odaia*), one of the two wives of Ezra, a man of Judah, and mother to the founders of Keilah and Eshtemoa (1 Ch. iv. 19). She is doubtless the same person as Jehudijah (in *v.* 18; that is, "the Jewess;" B. 'Αδειά, B. 'Ιδιά); in fact, except the article, which is disregarded in the A. V., the two names are identical [cp. HODAVIAH, No. 3]. Hodiah is exactly the same name as HODIJAH, under which form it is given more than once in the A. V.

HODI'JAH (הוֹדִיָה; BאA. 'Ωδουά; *Odia, Odaia*). This is in the original precisely the same name as the preceding, and is so given in R. V., though spelt differently in the A. V.

1. A Levite in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. viii. 7; and probably also ix. 5, x. 10). The name with others is omitted in the first two of these passages in the LXX.

2. (B. 'Ωδούμ, A. 'Ωδουά; *Odaia.*) Another Levite at the same time (Neh. x. 13).

3. (BA. 'Οδουιά; *Odaia.*) A layman; one of the "heads" of the people at the same time (Neh. x. 18).

HOG'LAH (חָגְלָה = *partridge*; B. 'Εγλά, AF. Αἰγλά, [in Josh.] Αἰγλάμ; *Hegla*), the third of the five daughters of Zelophehad, in whose favour the law of inheritance was altered so that a daughter could inherit her father's estate when he left no sons (Num. xxvi. 33 [LXX. *v.* 37], xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 11; Josh. xvii. 3).

The name also occurs in BETH-HOGLAH, which see.

HO'HAM (הוֹהָם, Ges.; Αἰλάμ; *Oham*), king of Hebron at the time of the conquest of Canaan (Josh. x. 3); one of the five kings who were pursued by Joshua down the pass of Bethhoron, and who were at last captured in the cave at Makkedah and there put to death. As king of Hebron he is frequently referred to in Josh. x., but his name occurs in the above passage only.

HOLM-TREE (πρῖνος; *ilex*) occurs only in the apocryphal story of Susanna (*v.* 58). The passage contains a characteristic play on the names of the two trees mentioned by the elders in their evidence. That on the mastich (σχῖνον... ἄγγελος σχίσει σε) is noticed under that head [MASTICH]. That on the holm-tree (πρῖνον) is "the Angel of God waiteth with the sword to cut thee in two" (πρίσαι σε). For the historical significance of these puns, see SUSANNA. The πρῖνος of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iii. 7, § 3, and 16, § 1, and elsewhere) and Dioscorides (i. 144) denotes, there can be no doubt, the *Quercus coccifera*, L., and the *Q. pseudococcifera*, Desf., which is perhaps not specifically distinct from the first-mentioned oak. The *ilex* of the Roman writers was applied both to the holm-oak (*Quercus ilex*, L.) and to the *Q. coccifera* or kermes oak. See Pliny, *N. H.* xvi. 6.

For the oaks of Palestine, see a paper by Dr. Hooker in the *Trans. of the Linn. Soc.* xxiii. pt. ii. pp. 381–387. [OAK.] [W. H.]

HOLOFER'NES, or, more correctly, OLOFERNES (Ὀλοφέρνης), was, according to the book of Judith, a general of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians (Judith ii. 4), who was slain by the Jewish heroine Judith during the siege of Bethulia. [JUDITH.] The name is a debased form of Orophernes, a standing title of the princes of Cappadocia. It occurs twice in Cappadocian history, as borne by the brother of Ariarathes I. (*c.* B.C. 350), and afterwards by a pretender to the Cappadocian throne, who was at first supported and afterwards imprisoned by Demetrius Soter (*c.* B.C. 158). The termination (cp. Tissa*phernes*, &c.) points to a Persian origin, but the meaning of the word is uncertain. Ball compares the names of two Median princes conquered by Esar-haddon, Sidir-parna and E-parna. This illustrates the Syriac rendering of Olophernes, ܐܠܝܦܪܢܐ, *Alipharnā*. See *Speaker's Comm.* on Judith *l. c.* [B. F. W.] [F.]

HO'LON (חֹלֹן: Χαλού, [in Josh. xv.] BA. Χιλουών; [in Josh. xxi.] B. ἡ Γελλά, A. 'Ωλών: *Olon, Holon*). **1.** A town in the mountains of Judah; one of the first group, of which Debir was apparently the most considerable. It is named between GOSHEN and GILOH (Josh. xv. 51), and was allotted with its "suburbs" to the priests (xxi. 15). In the list of priests' cities of 1 Ch. vi. the name appears as HILEN. In the *Onomasticon* ('Ωλώ, *OS.*[2] p. 291, 2; Ocho, *OS.*[2] p. 176, 29) it is mentioned, but not so as to imply its then existence. The site has not yet been recovered, but it may perhaps be *Bait Aûla*, on a spur N.W. of Hebron and S.W. of *Kh. Jala*, Giloh.

2. (חֹלוֹן; Χελών; *Helon.*) A city of Moab (Jer. xlviii. 21, only). It was one of the towns of the *Mishor*, the level downs (A. V. "plain country") east of Jordan, and is named with Jahazah, Dibon, and other known places; but no identification of it has yet taken place, nor does it appear in the parallel lists of Num. xxxii. and Josh. xiii. It is mentioned by Eusebius (Χελών ἡ καὶ 'Ελών, *OS.*[2] p. 290, 74) as a town of Moab, without any indication of position. [G.] [W.]

HO'MAM (הוֹמָם, (?) = *extermination*, Ges.; Αἰμάν; *Homan*), the form under which in 1 Ch. i. 39 an Edomite name appears, which in Gen. xxxvi. 22 is given HEMAM. Homam is assumed by Gesenius to be the original form (*Thes.* p. 385 *a*). By Knobel (cp. Dillmann[5] on Gen. *l. c.*), the name is compared with that of *Homaimah* (حميمة), a town now ruined, though once important, halfway between Petra and Ailath, on the ancient road at the back of the mountain. See Laborde, *Journey*, p. 207, *Ameimé*; also the Arabic authorities mentioned by Knobel. [G.] [W.]

HOMER. [MEASURES.]

HONEY. We have already noticed [FOOD] the extensive use of honey as an article of ordinary food among the Hebrews: we shall therefore in the present article restrict ourselves to a description of the different articles which passed under the Hebrew name of *d'bash* (דְּבַשׁ). (1.) In the first place it applies to the product of the bee, to which we exclusively apply the name of honey. All travellers agree in describing Palestine as a land "flowing with honey" (Ex. iii. 8), bees being abundant even in the remote parts of the wilderness, where they deposit their honey in the crevices of the rocks or in hollow trees. In some parts of Northern Arabia the hills are so well stocked with bees, that no sooner are hives placed than they are occupied (Wellsted's *Travels*, ii. 123). The Hebrews had special expressions to describe the exuding of the honey from the comb, such as *nōpheth* (נֹפֶת), "dropping" (Cant. iv. 11; Prov. v. 3, xxiv. 13); *ṣūph* (צוּף), "overflowing" (Ps. xix. 10; Prov. xvi. 24), and *ya'ar* (יַעַר = *flowing honey*) or *ya'ărāh* (יַעֲרָה); 1 Sam. xiv. 27; Cant. v. 1)—expressions which answer to the *mel acetum* of Pliny (xi. 15): the second of these terms approaches nearest to the sense of "honey*comb*," inasmuch as it is connected with *nōpheth* in Ps. xix. 10, "the droppings of the honeycomb" (R. V.). (2.) In the second place, the term *d'bash* applies to a decoction of the juice of the grape, which is still called *dibs*, and which forms an article of commerce in the East; it was this, and not ordinary bee-honey, which Jacob sent to Joseph (Gen. xliii. 11), and which the Tyrians purchased from Palestine (Ezek. xxvii. 17). The mode of preparing it is described by Pliny (xiv. 11): the must was either boiled down to a half (in which case it was called *defrutum*), or to a third (when it was called *siracum*, or *sapa*, the σίραιος οἶνος and ἕψημα of the Greeks): it was mixed either with wine or milk (Virg. *Georg.* i. 296; Ov. *Fast.* iv. 780): it is still a favourite article of nutriment among the Syrians, and has the appearance of coarse honey (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 82). (3.) A third kind has been described by some writers as "vegetable" honey, by which is meant the exudations of certain trees and shrubs, such as the *Tamarix mannifera*, found in the Peninsula of Sinai or the stunted oaks of Luristan and Mesopotamia. The honey which Jonathan ate in the wood (1 Sam. xiv. 25), and the "wild honey" which supported St. John the Baptist (Matt. iii. 4), have been referred to this species. We do not agree with this view: the honey in the wood was in such abundance that Jonathan took it up on the end of a stick; but the vegetable honey is found only in small globules, which must be carefully collected and strained before being used (Wellsted, ii. 50). The use of the term *ya'ar* in that passage is decisive against this kind of honey. The μέλι ἄγριον of Matthew need not mean anything else than the honey of the wild bees, which we have already stated to be common in Palestine, and which Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 3) specifies among the natural productions of the plain of Jericho: the expression is certainly applied by Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94) to honey exuded from trees; but it may also be applied like the Latin *mel silvestre* (Plin. xi. 16) to a particular kind of bee-honey. (4.) A fourth kind is described by Josephus (*l. c.*) as being manufactured from the juice of the date.

The prohibition against the use of honey in meat offerings (Lev. ii. 11) appears to have been grounded on the fermentation produced by it, honey soon turning sour, and even forming vinegar (Plin. xxi. 48). This fact is embodied in the Talmudical word *hidbīsh* = "to ferment," derived from *d'bash* (cp. Knobel-Dillmann in loco). Other explanations have been offered, as that bees were unclean (Philo, *De Sacrif.* vi. App. ii. 255), or that the honey was the artificial *dibs* (Bähr, *Symbol.* ii. 323). [W. L. B.] [F.]

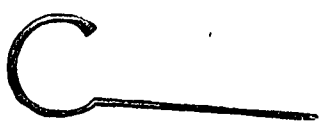
HOOD. Is. iii. 23 (R. V. "turban"). [HEADDRESS.]

HOOK, HOOKS. Various kinds of hooks are noticed in the Bible, of which the following are the most important:—

1. Fishing-hooks (צִנָּה, סִיר, Amos iv. 2; חַכָּה, Job xli. 2; Is. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15). The first two of these Hebrew terms mean primarily *thorns*, and secondarily *fishing-hooks*, from the similarity in shape, or perhaps from thorns having been originally used for the purpose; in both cases the LXX. and Vulg. are mistaken in their renderings, giving ὄπλοις and *contis* for the first, λέβητας and *ollis* for the second: the third term refers to the contraction of the mouth by the hook.

2. חוֹחַ (A. V. "thorn," R. V. "hook"), properly a *ring* (ψέλλιον, *circulus*) placed through the mouth of a large fish and attached by a cord (אַגְמֹן) to a stake for the purpose of keeping it alive in the water (Job xli. 2); the word (in *v.* 2a) meaning the *cord* is rendered "hook" in the A. V. (R. V. "rope") and = σχοῖνος.

3. חַח and חָחוֹ, generally rendered "hook" in the A. V. after the LXX. ἄγκιστρον, but properly a *ring* (*circulus*), such as in our country is placed through the nose of a bull, and similarly used in the East for leading about lions (Ezek. xix. 4, where the A. V. has "with chains," R. V. "with hooks"), camels and other animals. A similar method was adopted for leading prisoners, as in the case of Manasseh, who was led with rings (2 Ch. xxxiii. 11; A. V. "among the thorns," R. V. "in chains," marg. *with hooks*). An illustration of this practice is found in a bas-relief discovered at Khorsabad (Layard, ii. 376). The expression is used several times in this sense (2 K. xix. 28; Is. xxxvii. 29; Ezek. xxix. 4, xxxviii. 4). The term כּוֹקֵשׂ is used in a similar sense in Job xl. 24 (A. V., marg. *bore his nose with a gin*; R. V. text, "pierce through his nose with a snare").



Hook. (Layard's *Nineveh.*)

4. וָוִים, a term exclusively used in reference to the Tabernacle, rendered "hooks" in the A. V. and R. V. The LXX. varies in its render-

ing, sometimes giving κεφαλίς, *i.e.* the *capital* of the pillars, sometimes κρίκος and ἀγκύλη; the expenditure of gold, as given in Ex. xxxviii. 28, has led to this doubt; they were, however, most probably *hooks* (Ex. xxvi. 32, 37; xxvii. 10 sq.; xxxviii. 10 sq.): the word seems to have given name to the letter ו in the Hebrew alphabet, from a similarity of its form, both in the Hebrew square character and in Phoenician, to a hook (see MV.[11]).

5. מַזְמֵרָה, a vine-dresser's pruning-hook (Is. ii. 4, xviii. 5; Micah iv. 3; Joel iii. 10).

6. מִזְלָג and מִזְלֵג (κρεάγρα), a flesh-hook for getting up the joints of meat out of the boiling pot (Ex. xxvii. 3; 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14).

7. שְׁפָתַיִם (Ezek. xl. 43), a term of very doubtful meaning, probably meaning "hooks" (as in the text of A. V. and R. V.), used for the purpose of hanging up animals to flay them (*paxilli bifurci*, Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 1470): other meanings given are—ledges (R. V. marg.; *labia*, Vulg.); pens for keeping the animals previous to their being slaughtered; hearth-stones, as in A. V. marg.; and lastly, gutters to receive and carry off the blood from the slaughtered animals (see Cornill and Orelli [in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*] in loco). [W. L. B.] [F.]

HOPH'NI (חָפְנִי, ? = *my fist* [cp. the name of Sabaean kings חפנם; see MV.[11]]; Ὀφνί) and PHINEHAS, the two sons of Eli, who fulfilled their hereditary sacerdotal duties at Shiloh. Their brutal rapacity and lust, which seemed to acquire fresh violence with their father's increasing years (1 Sam. ii. 22, 12–17), filled the people with disgust and indignation, and provoked the curse which was denounced against their father's house first by an unknown prophet (*vv.* 27–36), and then by Samuel (1 Sam. iii. 11–14). They were both cut off in one day in the flower of their age, and the Ark which they had accompanied to battle against the Philistines was lost on the same occasion (1 Sam. iv. 10, 11). The predicted ruin and ejectment of Eli's house were fulfilled in the reign of Solomon. [ELI; ZADOK.] The unbridled licentiousness of these young priests gives us a terrible glimpse into the fallen condition of the chosen people (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 538–638; Stanley, *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, Lecture xvii.). The Scripture calls them "sons of Belial" (1 Sam. ii. 12); and to this our great poet alludes in the words—

> —— "to him no temple stood
> Or altar smoked; yet who more oft than he
> In temples and at altars, *when the priest*
> *Turns atheist*, as did Eli's sons, who filled
> With lust and violence the house of God?"
> *Par. Lost*, i. 492. [F. W. F.]

HOR, MOUNT (הֹר הָהָר, *i.e.* "Hor the mountain," remarkable as the only case in which the name comes first). **1.** (Ὄρ τὸ ὄρος; *Mons Hor*), the mountain on which Aaron died (Num. xx. 25, 27, xxxiii. 38; Deut. xxxii. 50). The word Hor is regarded by the lexicographers as an archaic form of *Har*, the usual Hebrew term for "mountain" (Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 391 *b*), so that the meaning of the name is simply "the mountain of mountains," as the LXX. have it in another case (see below, No. 2), τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὄρος; Vulg. *mons altissimus*; and Jerome (*Ep. ad Fabiolam*) *non in monte simpliciter sed in montis monte.*'

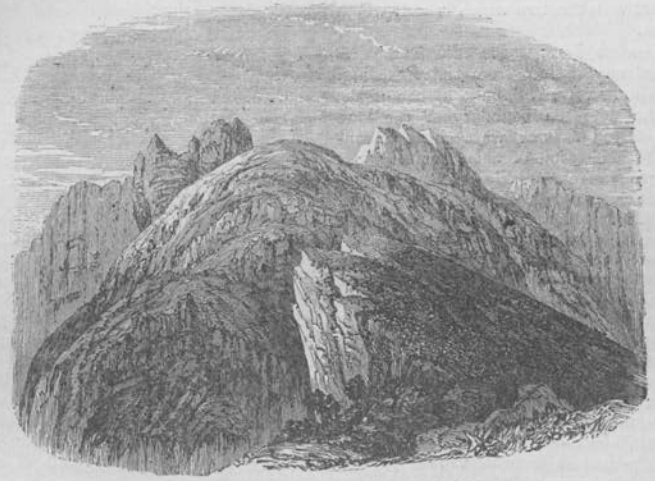
The few facts given us in the Bible regarding Mount Hor are soon told. It was "on the boundary line" (Num. xx. 23) or "at the edge" (xxxiii. 37) of the land of Edom. It was the next halting-place of the people after Kadesh (xx. 22; xxxiii. 37), and they quitted it for Zalmonah (xxxiii. 41) in the road to the Red Sea (xxi. 4). It was during the encampment at Mount Hor that Aaron was gathered to his fathers. At the command of Jehovah, he, his brother, and his son ascended the mountain, in the presence of the people, "in the eyes of all the congregation." The garments, and with the garments the office, of high-priest were taken from Aaron and put upon Eleazar, and Aaron died there in the top of the mountain. In the circumstances of the ascent of the height to die, and in the marked exclusion from the Promised Land, the end of the one brother resembled the end of the other; but in the presence of the two survivors, and of the gazing crowd below, there is a striking difference between this event and the solitary death of Moses.

Mount Hor "is one of the very few spots connected with the wanderings of the Israelites which admit of no reasonable doubt" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 86). It is almost unnecessary to state that it is situated on the eastern side of the great valley of the *'Arabah*, the highest and most conspicuous of the whole range of the sandstone mountains of Edom, having close beneath it on its eastern side—though, strange to say, the two are not visible to each other—the mysterious city of Petra. The tradition has existed from the earliest date. Josephus does not mention the name of Hor (*Ant.* iv. 4, § 7), but he describes the death of Aaron as taking place "on a very high mountain which surrounded the metropolis of the Arabs," which latter "was formerly called Arke, but now Petra." In the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 291, 88; p. 175, 14) it is *Or mons*—"a mountain in which Aaron died, close to the city of Petra." When it was visited by the Crusaders (see the quotations in Robinson, p. 521), the sanctuary was already on its top, and there is little doubt that it was then what it is now—the *G'abal Nabī Hārūn*, "the mountain of the Prophet Aaron."

Mount Hor is formed of beds of red sandstone and conglomerate which have a gentle "dip," or inclination eastwards, towards *Wādī Mūsā*, and rise in a precipitous wall of natural masonry, tier above tier, with their faces to the west. The base of the cliff of sandstone rests upon a solid mass of granite and porphyry traversed by dykes; and against the western face of this, beds of cretaceous limestone are thrown down by a large fault which runs north and south. The sandstone resting on the granite has the appearance of "a mountain on a mountain," and its summit, crowned by the little white mosque that covers the tomb of Aaron, is somewhat in the form of a rude pyramid. "The mount is flanked by two remarkable bastions of sandstone, standing erect on the granitic base, and somewhat in advance of the mural cliffs." The granite base on which the sandstone rests is the "plain of Aaron," beyond which Burckhardt was, after all his toils, prevented from ascending

(*Travels in Syria and the H. L.*, pp. 429, 430). From this place an ancient path, similar to that on *G'abal Mūsā*, with worn steps made out of boulders at difficult parts, leads up the mountain to another level space, or platform, from which the highest peak rises abruptly, and here sheep are sacrificed to "the Prophet Aaron." A flight of steps cut out of the rock leads hence up a steep precipice to the tomb itself, and about halfway up these steps is a large cistern or chamber covered in with arches, over which the staircase is built. The altitude of Mount Hor above the sea is about 4,580 ft., above Petra about 1,325 ft., and above the Dead Sea about 5,872 ft. (Hull, *PEF. Mem.* "Geology," p. 106, with geological section; Hull and Kitchener, *Mount Seir*, pp. 86, 95, 211; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 434, 435).

The mosque, an ordinary Muslim *walī*, is a small square building, measuring inside about 28 ft. by 33 (Wilson, *Lands*, p. 295), with its door in the S.W. angle. Over the door is an inscription, stating that the building was restored by ash-Shim'āni, the son of Muhammad Kalaôn, Sultan of Egypt by his father's orders, A.H. 739. The *walī* is built of rude stones, in part broken columns; all of sandstone, but fragments of granite and marble lie about. Steps lead to the flat roof of the *walī*, from which rises the usual white dome. The interior consists of two chambers, one below the other. The upper one has four large pillars and a stone chest, or tombstone, like one of the ordinary slabs in churchyards, but larger and higher, and rather bigger at the top than at the bottom. At its head is a high round stone, on which sacrifices are made, and which retained, when Stephens saw it, the marks of the smoke and blood of recent offerings. "On the slab are Arabic inscriptions, and it is covered with shawls, chiefly red. One of the pillars is hung with votive offerings of beads, &c., and two ostrich eggs are suspended over the chest. Steps in the N.W. angle lead down to the lower chamber, which is partly in the rock, but plastered. It is perfectly dark. At the end, apparently under



View of the summit of Mount Hor. (From Laborde.)

the stone chest above, is a recess guarded by a grating. Within this is a rude protuberance, whether of stone or plaster was not ascertainable, resting on wood, and covered by a ragged pall. This lower recess is no doubt the tomb, and possibly ancient. What is above is only the artificial monument and certainly modern."[a] In one of the walls of the upper chamber is a "round polished black stone," one of those mysterious stones of which the prototype is the Kaaba at Mecca, and which, like that, would appear to be the object of great devotion (Martineau, pp. 419–20).

The impression received on the spot is that Aaron's death took place in the small basin between the two peaks, and that the people were stationed either on the plain at the base of the peaks, or at that part of the *Wādī Kusaibah* from which the top is commanded. Josephus says that the ground was sloping downwards (κατάντες ἦν τὸ χωρίον; *Ant.* iv. 4, § 7). But this may be the mere general expression of a man who had never been on the spot. The greater part of the above information was kindly communicated to the writer by Dean Stanley.

The chief interest of Mount Hor will always consist in the prospect from its summit—the last view of Aaron—"that view which was to him what Pisgah was to his brother." It is described at length by Irby (p. 134), Wilson (i. 292–9), Martineau (p. 420), and is well summed up by Stanley in the following words:—"We saw all the main points on which his eye must have rested. He looked over the valley of the 'Arabah countersected by its hundred watercourses, and beyond, over the white mountains of the wilderness they had so long traversed; and at the northern edge of it there must have been visible the heights through which the Israelites

[a] According to Col. Kitchener, who visited Mount Hor in 1883, the building contains only "the usual carpet-covered cenotaph, with some ostrich eggs hanging over it—all in an uncared-for condition" (*Mount Seir*, p. 211).

had vainly attempted to force their way into the Promised Land. This was the western view. Close around him on the east were the rugged mountains of Edom, and far along the horizon the wide downs of Mount Seir, through which the passage had been denied by the wild tribes of Esau who hunted over their long slopes." On the north lay the mysterious Dead Sea gleaming from the depths of its profound basin (Stephens *Incidents*). "A dreary moment, and a dreary scene—such it must have seemed to the aged priest. . . . The peculiarity of the view is the combination of wide extension with the scarcity of marked features. Petra is shut out by intervening rocks. But the survey of the Desert on one side, and the mountains of Edom on the other, is complete; and of these last the great feature is the mass of red bald-headed sandstone rocks, intersected not by valleys but by deep seams" (*S. & P.* p. 87). Though Petra itself is entirely shut out, one outlying building—if it may be called a building—is visible, that which goes by the name of the *Dair*, or Convent. Dean Stanley has thrown out a suggestion on the connexion between the two which is well worth investigation.

2. (τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὄρος; *mons altissimus.*) A mountain, entirely distinct from the preceding, named, in Num. xxxiv. 7, 8, only, as one of the marks of the northern boundary of the land which the children of Israel were about to conquer. The identification of this mountain has always been one of the puzzles of Sacred Geography. The Mediterranean was the western boundary. The northern boundary started from the sea; the first point in it was Mount Hor, and the second the entrance of Hamath. Since Sidon was subsequently allotted to the most northern tribe—Asher, and was, so far as we know, the most northern town so allotted, it would seem probable that the northern boundary would commence at about that point; that is, opposite to where the great range of Lebanon breaks down to the sea. The next landmark, the entrance to Hamath, is the valley of the ELEUTHERUS, *Nahr al-Kabîr*, which rises not far from *Homs*, the ancient Hamath, and divides the Lebanon from the range to the north. Surely "Mount Hor" then can be nothing else than the great chain of Lebanon itself. Looking at the massive character and enormous height of the range, it is very difficult to suppose that any individual peak or mountain is intended and not the whole mass, which takes nearly a straight course between the two points just named, and includes below it the great plain of the *Buka'a* and the whole of Palestine properly so called.

The Targum Pseudojon. renders Mount Hor by *Umanos*, probably intending Amana. The latter is also the reading of the Talmud (*Gittin* 8, quoted by Fürst, *sub voce*), in which it is connected with the Amana named in Cant. iv. 8. But the situation of this Amana is nowhere indicated by them. It cannot have any connexion with the Amana or Abana river which flowed through Damascus, as that is quite away from the position required in the passage. By the Jewish geographer Parchi (Benj. of Tudela, 413, &c.), for various traditional and linguistic reasons, a mountain is fixed upon very far to the north; in fact, though they do not say so, very near the Mons Amanus of the classical geographers. But this is some 200 miles north of Sidon and 150 above Hamath, and is surely an unwarranted extension of the limits of the Holy Land. Schwarz (pp. 6, 32) with greater probability identifies it with the bold promontory, *Râs esh-Shuk'ah*, known to the Greeks as Theoprosopon, to the south of Tripolis (see other conjectures in Dillmann.[2] For the views of the Jewish commentators, see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 7 sq.). The great range of Lebanon is so clearly the natural northern boundary of the country, that there seems no reason to doubt that the whole range is intended by the term Hor. Robinson, however (*Phys. Geog.* p. 314), limits this Hor "to the northern end of Lebanon Proper, or a spur connected with it." [G.] [W.]

HO'RAM (הוֹרָם = *elevated, great;* BA. Αἰλάμ; *Horam*), king of GEZER at the time of the conquest of the south-western part of Palestine (Josh. x. 33). He came to the assistance of Lachish, but was slaughtered by Joshua with all his people.

HO'REB (חֹרֵב = *dry:* Χωρήβ; A. in Deut. i. 19, Σοχωθ: *Horeb*). Ex. iii. 1, xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6; Deut. i. 2, 6, 19, iv. 10, 15, v. 2, ix. 8, xviii. 16, xxix. 1; 1 K. viii. 9, xix. 8; 2 Ch. v. 10; Ps. cvi. 19; Mal. iv. 4; Ecclus. xlviii. 7. [SINAI.]

HORE'M (חֹרֶם = *dedicated;* B. Μεγαλααρείμ, A. Μαγδαλιηωράμ, both by inclusion of the preceding name; *Horem*), an unidentified fortified place in the territory of Naphtali; named with Iron, Migdal-el, and Beth-anath (Josh. xix. 38). Van de Velde (i. 178–9; *Memoir*, p. 322) suggests *Hurah* (in *PEF.* lists *Kh. el-Kûrah*) as the site of Horem. It is an ancient site in the centre of the country, half-way between the *Râs en-Nâkûrah* and the Lake Merom. It is also in favour of this identification that *Hurah* is near *Yarûn*, probably the representative of the ancient IRON, named with Horem. Conder (*Hbk.* p. 415) suggests *Kh. Hârah*, in the hills W. of *Meis.* [G.] [W.]

HOR HAGID'GAD, R. V. **HOR HAGGIDGAD** (חֹר הַגִּדְגָּד; τὸ ὄρος Γαδγάδ; *Mons Gadgad*—both reading חֹר for חֹר), the name of a desert station where the Israelites encamped (Num. xxxiii. 32, 33), probably the same as Gudgodah (Deut. x. 7). In both passages it stands in sequence with three others,—Moserah or Moseroth, Beeroth, Bene Jaakan, and Jotbath or Jotbathah; but the order is not strictly preserved [see WILDERNESS OF WANDERING]. It is observable that on the west side of the 'Arabah Robinson (vol. i., map) has a *Wâdy Ghŭdâghidh*, which may bear the same meaning; but as that meaning might be perhaps applied to a great number of localities, it would be dangerous to infer identity. The junction of this wady with the 'Arabah would not, however, be unsuitable for a station between Mount Hor, near which Moserah lay (cp. Num. xx. 28, Deut. x. 6), and Ezion-geber. Dillmann[2] (Num. *l. c.*) argues from the epithet Hor that it was in the land of the Horites near Aaron's burial-place. [H. H.] [W.]

HO'RI. 1. (חֹרִי, but in Ch. חוֹרִי = *inhabitant of caves*, Ges., Fürst; in Gen. A. Χορρεί, in Ch. A. Χορρί, B. Χορρεί; *Hori*), a Horite, as his name betokens; son of Lotan the son of Seir, and brother to Hemam and Homam (Gen. xxxvi. 22; 1 Ch. i. 39). No trace of the name appears to have been met with in modern times.

2. (A. Χορρεί; *Horraeorum.*) In Gen. xxxvi. 30, the name has in the original the definite article prefixed — הַחֹרִי = "the Horite;" and is in fact precisely the same word as that which in the preceding verse, and also in v. 21, is rendered in the A. V. "the Horites."

3. (חוֹרִי; A. Σουρί, B. Σουρεί, the σ being carried on from the previous word; *Huri.*) A man of Simeon, father of Shaphat, who represented that tribe among the spies sent up into Canaan by Moses (Num. xiii. 5).

HO'RITES and HO'RIMS (חֹרִי, Gen. xiv. 6, and חֹרִים, Deut. ii. 12; Χορραῖοι; *Chorraei, Horraei:* also HORITE in the sing., Gen. xxxvi. 20, Χορραῖος; *Horraeus*), the aboriginal inhabitants of Mount Seir (Gen. xiv. 6), and probably allied to the Emim and Rephaim. The name *Horite* (חֹרִי, "a troglodyte," from חוֹר, "a hole" or "cave") appears to have been derived from their habits as "cave-dwellers." Their excavated dwellings are still found in hundreds in the sandstone cliffs and mountains of Edom, and especially in Petra. [EDOM and EDOMITES.] It may, perhaps, be to the Horites that Job refers in xxx. 6, 7. They are only three times mentioned in Scripture: first, when they were smitten by the kings of the East (Gen. xiv. 6); then when their genealogy is given in Gen. xxxvi. 20–30 and 1 Ch. i. 38–42; and lastly when they were exterminated by the Edomites (Deut. ii. 12, 22). It is probable that they were not Canaanites, but an earlier race, who inhabited Mount Seir before the posterity of Canaan took possession of Palestine (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 304–5). [J. L. P.] [W.]

HOR'MAH (חָרְמָה: but in Num. xxi. 3, Judg. i. 17, Ἀνάθεμα, A. [in Judg.] ἐξολόθρευσις; Num. xiv. 45, B. Ἐρμάν, AF. -α; Josh. xii. 14, B. Ἐρμάθ, A. -α; xv. 30, B. Ἐρμά, A. Ἐρμάλ; 1 Sam. xxx. 30, B. Ἰερειμούθ, A. Ραμμά: *Horma, Herma, Harma, Arama:* its earlier name Zephath, צְפַת, is found in Judg. i. 17) was the chief town of a "king" of a Canaanitish tribe reduced by Joshua (Josh. xii. 14; cp. Judg. i. 17). It was situated in the Negeb, or extreme south of Palestine, and became a city of the territory of Judah (Josh. xv. 30), but apparently belonged to Simeon, whose territory is reckoned as part of the former (Josh. xix. 4; cp. 1 Ch. iv. 30). It was at or near the foot of the pass by which the Israelites attempted to enter Palestine, and where they were defeated (Num. xiv. 45; Deut. i. 44); and it was afterwards captured and destroyed by Judah and Simeon (Num. xxi. 3; Judg. 17). The seeming inconsistency between the two last passages may be relieved by supposing that the vow made at the former period was fulfilled at the latter, and the name (the root of which, חָרַם, constantly occurs in the sense of "to devote to destruction," or "utterly to destroy") given by anticipation. It is mentioned in the lists of towns (Josh. xv. 30, xix. 4) next to Ziklag; and it was one of the places friendly to David, to which a share of the spoil, taken from the marauding Amalekites, was sent (1 Sam. xxx. 30). Hormah would appear, from indications in the narrative, to have been not far from Kadesh (cp. Num. xiii. 26, and xiv. 40–45), and in the S.E. portion of the Negeb in the vicinity of Seir (Deut. i. 44; cp. i. 2). But the question of its site—of which, according to Dillmann[2] (on Num. xiv. 45), no trace has been found—forms part of a much larger one: viz., the route by which the Israelites approached the Holy Land [WILDERNESS OF WANDERING]. Robinson (ii. 181) identifies Zephath with the well-known pass *Es-Sūfáh*, الصفاة, by which travellers from Petra to Hebron ascend to the highest level of the Negeb. This view is challenged by Mr. Wilton (*The Negeb*, &c., pp. 199, 200) on account of the impracticability of the pass, for a host such as the Israelites were. Mr. Rowlands (Williams' *Holy City*, i. 464) identifies it with *Sebaita*, to the S. of *Khalasah;* and in this he is supported by Prof. Palmer, who gives an interesting description of the ruins (*Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 373–380). [W.]

Ruins of Hormah. (Palmer.)

HORN. I. LITERAL. (Josh. vi. 4, 5; cp. Ex. xix. 13; 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13; 1 K. i. 39; Job xlii. 14.)—Two purposes are mentioned in the Scriptures to which the horn seems to have been applied. Trumpets were probably at first merely horns perforated at the tip, such as are still used upon mountain-farms for calling home the labourers at meal-time. If the A. V. and R. V. (text) of Josh. vi. 4, 5 ("rams' horns," קַרְנֵי הַיּוֹבֵל) be correct, this would settle the question, some critics taking יוֹבֵל with the Targ. and Rabbis as equivalent to the Arabic يوبلا, ram (see Knobel-Dillmann on Ex. xix. 12), a signification which Fried. Delitzsch (*Proleg. eines neuen Heb.-Aram. Wörterb. z. A. T.* p. 124, n. 2) finds also in the Assyrian *ibilu* or *âbilu*, the ram as *leader* of (wild) sheep. Others, however, seem to think that יוֹבֵל has nothing to do with *ram* (cp. R. V. marg. of Josh. l. c., *jubile*), and that קֶרֶן, *horn*, serves to indicate an instrument which

originally was made of horn, though afterwards, no doubt, constructed of different materials (cp. Varr. *L. L.* v. 24, 33, "cornua quod ea quae nunc sunt ex aere tunc fiebant bubulo e cornu"). [CORNET.] The horns which were thus made into trumpets would probably be those of oxen rather than of rams, the latter scarcely producing a note sufficiently imposing to suggest its association with the fall of Jericho.

The word *horn* is also applied to a flask, or vessel made of horn, containing *oil* (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13; 1 K. i. 39), or used as a kind of toilet-bottle, filled with the preparation of antimony with which women tinged their eyelashes (Keren-happuch = *cosmetic-horn*, name of one of Job's daughters, Job xlii. 14). So in English drinking-horn (commonly called a *horn*). In the same way the Greek *κέρας* sometimes signifies bugle, trumpet (Xen. *Anab.* ii. 2, § 4), and sometimes drinking-horn (vii. 2, § 23). In like manner the Latin *cornu* means *trumpet*, also *oil-cruet* (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 61) and *funnel* (Virg. *Georg.* iii. 509).

II. METAPHORICAL. 1. *From similarity of form.*—To this use belongs the application of the word *horn* to a trumpet of metal, as already mentioned. Horns of ivory—that is, elephants' teeth—are mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. 15: either metaphorically from similarity of form; or, as seems more probable, from a vulgar error. The *horns of the altar* (Ex. xxvii. 2) are not supposed to have been made of horn, but to have been metallic projections from the four corners (*γωνίαι κερατοειδεῖς*, Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5, § 6). [ALTAR, p. 101.] The *peak* or *summit* of a hill was called a horn (Is. v. 1, where hill = horn in Heb. [see A.V. and R.V. marg.]; cp. *κέρας*, Xen. *Anab.* v. 6, § 7, and *cornu*, Stat. *Theb.* v. 532; Arab. Kurûn Hattîn, Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 370; Germ. *Schreckhorn, Wetterhorn, Aarhorn;* Celt. *cairn*). In Hab. iii. 4 ("he had horns coming out of his hand") the context implies *rays* (R. V. text) *of light.*

The denominative קָרַן = "to emit rays," is used of Moses' face (Ex. xxxiv. 29, 30, 35); so all the Versions except Aquila and the Vulgate, which have the translations *κερατώδης ἦν, cornuta erat* (cp. Knobel-Dillmann in loco). This curious idea has not only been perpetuated by paintings, coins, and statues (Zornius, *Biblioth. Antiq.* i. 121), but has at least passed muster with Grotius (*Annot.* ad loc.), who cites Aben-Ezra's identification of Moses with the horned Mnevis of Egypt, and suggests that the phenomenon was intended to remind the Israelites of the golden calf! Spencer (*Leg. Hebr.* iii., Diss. i. 4) tries a reconciliation of renderings upon the ground that *cornua = radii lucis;* but Spanheim (*Diss.* vii. 1), not content with stigmatizing the efforts of art in this direction as "praepostera industria," distinctly attributes to Jerome a belief in the veritable horns of Moses. Bishop Taylor, in all good faith, though of course rhetorically, compares the "sun's golden horns" to those of the Hebrew Lawgiver.

2. *From similarity of position and use.*—Two principal applications of this metaphor will be found—*strength* and *honour.* Of *strength* the horn of the unicorn [UNICORN] was the most frequent representative (Deut. xxxiii. 17, &c.), but not always: cp. 1 K. xxii. 11, where horns of iron, worn defiantly and symbolically on the head, are possibly intended. Expressive of the same idea, or perhaps merely a decoration, is the Oriental military ornament mentioned by Taylor (*Calmet's Frag.* cxiv.), and the conical cap observed by Dr. Livingstone among the

Hair of South Africans ornamented with buffalo-horns. (Livingstone, *Travels*, pp. 450, 451.)

natives of S. Africa, and not improbably suggested by the horn of the rhinoceros, so abundant in that country (see Livingstone's *Travels*, pp. 365, 450, 557; cp. Taylor, *l. c.*). Among the Druses upon Mount Lebanon, the married women wear silver horns on their heads. The spiral coils of gold wire projecting on either side from the female head-dress of some of the Dutch provinces are evidently an ornament borrowed from the same original idea.

Heads of modern Asiatics ornamented with horns.

In the sense of *honour*, the word *horn* stands for the *abstract* (*my* horn, Job xvi. 15; *all the horns of Israel*, Lam. ii. 3), and so for the supreme authority (cp. the story of Cippus, Ovid, *Met.* xv. 565; and the horn of the Indian Sachem mentioned in Clarkson's *Life of Penn*). It also stands for *concrete*, whence it comes to mean *king, kingdom* (Dan. viii. 2, &c.; Zech. i. 18; cp. Tarquin's dream in Accius, *ap.* Cic. *Div.* i. 22); hence on coins Alexander and the Seleucidae wear horns (see drawing on p. 86), and the former is called in Arabia two-horned (Kor. xviii. 85 sq.), not without reference to Dan. viii.

Out of either or both of these two last metaphors sprang the idea of representing gods with horns. Spanheim has discovered such figures on the Roman denarius, and on numerous Egyptian coins of the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines (*Diss.* v. p. 353). The Bacchus *Ταυροκέρως*, or *cornutus*, is mentioned by Euripides (*Bacch.* 100), and among other pagan absurdities Arnobius enumerates "Dii cornuti" (*c. Gent.* vi.). In like manner river-gods are represented with horns ("tauriformis Aufidus," Hor. *Od.* iv. 14, 25; *ταυρόμορφον δμμα Κηφι-*

σοῦ, Eur. *Ion*, 1261). For various opinions on the *ground-thought* of this metaphor, see *Notes and Queries*, i. 419, 456. Manx legends speak of a tarroo-ushtey, i.e. *water-bull* (see Cregeen's *Manx Dict.*). See Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 288; and, for an admirable compendium, with references, Zornius, *Bibliotheca Antiquaria*, ii. 106 sq. [T. E. B.]

HORNET (צִרְעָה, *ṣir'āh*; σφηκία; *crabro*; Arab. زنبور, *zanbûr*; *Vespa crabro*, L.). No question has arisen as to the correctness of the translation, although the word only occurs three times in the O. T. In each passage the *ṣir'āh* is spoken of as an instrument in God's hand for the punishment and expulsion of the Canaanites: "I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before thee" (Ex. xxiii. 28). "The Lord thy God will send the hornet among them" (Deut. vii. 20). "I sent the hornet before you, which drave them out from before you" (Josh. xxiv. 12). Much has been written on the question whether these passages are to be interpreted literally, and whether swarms of hornets did aid in compelling the flight of the Canaanites; or whether their attacks are spoken of metaphorically, as in the case of the expression, "The Amorites .... came out against you, and chased you as bees do." So in classical writers the *oestrus* or gadfly is metaphorically used to signify "terror" or "madness." The hornet, it is suggested, may simply mean the panic and alarm with which the approach of the hosts of Israel would inspire the Canaanite. It has also been observed that we have no recorded instance in Scripture history of the intervention of hornets. There does not, however, appear to be much force in this negative argument, for there are recorded instances in profane history of hornets having multiplied to such a degree as to become a pest to the inhabitants. Aelian gives an account (xi. 28) of the people of Megara having been on one occasion driven from their city by a plague of mice, and the inhabitants of Phaselis by swarms of wasps. Upon this Bochart suggests that the story may have arisen from a tradition handed down from their ancestors, as Phaselis was a Phoenician colony, and even as late as the time of Xerxes spoke the pure Phoenician language; and these ancestors may have been fugitive Canaanites. Antenor of Crete, as quoted by Aelian (xvii. 35), tells how the people of Rhaucus in that island were compelled to leave their home in consequence of the attacks of swarms of bees. Herodotus was told that in one part of the Danube the bees occupied the north bank in such numbers that it was impossible to penetrate further. It is known that the furious attacks of hornets, when their nest has been disturbed, will drive cattle and horses to madness, and have frequently caused the death of the animals. In Palestine the hornet is very abundant. That it was equally so in early times we may infer from the name Zoreah, *i.e.* "place of hornets" (Josh. xv. 23), as well as from the frequent mention of the insect in the Talmudical writers (see Lewysohn, *Zool.* § 405). There are immense numbers of species of hornet; which is really not a group distinguishable from the wasp, except for its size; and these species are distributed over the whole world excepting the Arctic regions. The different hornets are all included in the insect family *Diplopteryga*, and sub-family *Vespidae*. They vary much in the form and position of their nests and combs. Some construct very large nests underground, others in rocks; others suspend their combs, as does the English *Vespa crabro*, under slabs of stone or other secure shelter. But all place their combs horizontally with the mouths of the cells downwards. They are never perpendicular, like the combs of bees. I noticed four species of hornet very common in the Holy Land, but did not meet with the British *Vespa crabro*. All the species were larger than our own. Two of them make nests like our species, suspending them by a papier-maché pillar from a beam or stone or the roof of a cave; the horizontal combs being suspended in the centre, one beneath the other, by a strong papier-maché column. An umbrella-shaped shield of the same material shelters the whole string of combs. The two other species live in larger communities, and construct their paper nests underground, or in cavities of rocks with their combs also placed horizontally. These are sometimes two feet in diameter. Should a horse tread on a nest, it is necessary to fly with all speed, for the combined attack from such a swarm has been known to be fatal. [H. B. T.]

HORONA'IM (חֹרֹנַיִם = *two caverns*; in Is. T.' Αρωνιείμ, A. Αδωνιείμ; in Jer. [*v.* 5, BNA.] Ωρωναίμ, sometimes Ορωναίμ, &c.; *Oronaim*), a town of Moab named with Zoar and Luhith (*Is.* xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. [LXX. xxxi.] 3, 5, 34), but to the position of which no clue is afforded either by the notices of the Bible or by mention in other works. It seems to have been on an eminence, and approached (like Beth-horon) by a road which is styled the "way" (דֶּרֶךְ, Is. xv. 5), or the "descent" (מוֹרַד, Jer. xlviii. 5). From the occurrence of a similar expression in regard to LUHITH, we might imagine that these two places were sanctuaries, on the high places to which the Eastern worship of those days was so addicted. If we accept the name as Hebrew, we may believe the dual form of it to arise, either from the presence of two caverns in the neighbourhood, or from there having been two towns, possibly an upper and a lower, as in the case of the two Beth-horons, connected by the ascending road. It occurs on the Moabite Stone under the form חֹרֹנֵן (see MV.[11]) and as having been taken by king Mesha, either from the Edomites or the Israelites (see *Records of the Past*, N. S. ii. p. 203); and it is possibly the same place as the Ορῶναι of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 15, § 4; xiv. 1, § 4). Conder (*Heth & Moab*, p. 403) connects it with *Wâdy Ghûeir*, up which runs an ancient road.

From Horonaim possibly came Sanballat the Horonite. [G.] [W.]

HORO'NITE, THE (הַחֹרֹנִי; B. ὁ Αρωνεί; *Horonites*), the designation of Sanballat, who was one of the principal opponents of Nehemiah's works of restoration (Neh. ii. 10, 19 xiii. 28). It is derived by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 459) from Horonaim the Moabite town, but by Fürst (*Handwb.*) from Horon, *i.e.* Beth-horon. Which

of these is the more accurate is quite uncertain. The former certainly accords well with the Ammonite and Arabian who were Sanballat's comrades; the latter is perhaps more etymologically correct. [G.] [W.]

HORSE. The most striking feature in the Biblical notices of the horse is the exclusive application of it to warlike operations; in no instance is that useful animal employed for the purposes of ordinary locomotion or agriculture, if we except Is. xxviii. 28, where we learn that horses (A. V. "horsemen") were employed in threshing, not however in that case put in the gears, but simply driven about wildly over the strewn grain. This remark will be found to be borne out by the historical passages hereafter quoted; but it is equally striking in the poetical parts of Scripture. The animated description of the horse in Job xxxix. 19–25, applies solely to the war-horse; the "quivering mane" (A. V. "thunder") which "clothes his neck;" his lofty bounds "as a grasshopper;" his hoofs "digging in the valley" with excitement; his terrible snorting—are brought before us, and his ardour for the strife:

> He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage:
> Neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.
> He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha!
> And he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting (A. V.).

So again the bride advances with her charms to an immediate conquest, "as a company of horses (R. V. "a steed") in Pharaoh's chariots" (Song of Sol. i. 9); and when the Prophet Zechariah wishes to convey the idea of perfect peace, he represents the horse, no more mixing in the fray as before (ix. 10), but bearing on his bell (which was intended to strike terror into the foe) the peaceable inscription "Holiness unto the Lord" (xiv. 20). Lastly, the characteristic of the horse is not so much his speed or his utility, but his strength (Ps. xxxiii. 17, cxlvii. 10), as shown in the special application of the term *abbîr* (אַבִּיר), *i.e.* strong, as an equivalent for a horse (Jer. viii. 16; xlvii. 3; l. 11).

The terms under which the horse is described in the Hebrew language are usually *sûs* and *pārāsh* (סוּס, פָּרָשׁ). The origin of these terms is not satisfactorily made out; Pott (*Etym. Forsch.* i. 60) connects them respectively with Susa and Pares, or Persia, as the countries whence the horse was derived; and it is worthy of remark that *sûs* was also employed in Egypt for a *mare*, showing that it was a foreign term there, if not also in Palestine. There is a marked distinction between the *sûs* and the *pārāsh*: the former were horses for driving in the war-chariot, of a heavy build; the latter were for riding, and particularly for cavalry. This distinction is not observed in the A. V. from the circumstance that *pārāsh* also signifies "horseman;" the correct sense is essential in the following passages: 1 K. iv. 26, "forty (see below) thousand . . . *chariot* horses and twelve thousand *cavalry* horses" (A. V. "horsemen"); Ezek. xxvii. 14, "driving horses and riding (R. V. war-) horses" (A. V. "horsemen"); Joel ii. 4, "as riding horses (A. V. and R. V. text "horsemen," R. V. marg. *war-horses*), so shall they run;" and Is. xxi. 7, "a train of horses in couples" (A. V. "a chariot *with* a couple of horsemen"; R. V. text, "a troop, horsemen in pairs"). In addition to these terms we have *rèkesh* (רֶכֶשׁ, of undoubted Hebrew origin) to describe a swift horse, used for the royal post (Esth. viii. 10, 14; A. V. "mule") and similar purposes (1 K. iv. 28; A. V. "dromedary," R.V. "swift steed"), or for a rapid journey (Mic. i. 13); *rammāk* (רַמָּךְ), used once for a *mare* (Esth. viii. 10; A. V. "dromedary," R.V. "the stud"), a Persian word ; and *sûsāh* (סוּסָה) in Song of Sol. i. 9, where it is regarded in the A. V. as a collective term, "company of horses;" it rather means, according to the received punctuation, "my mare," but still better, by a slight alteration in the punctuation, "mares" (R. V. text "a steed," marg. *steeds*).

The Hebrews in the patriarchal age, as a pastoral race, did not stand in need of the services of the horse, and for a long period after their settlement in Canaan they dispensed with it, partly in consequence of the hilly nature of the country, which only admitted of the use of chariots in certain localities (Judg. i. 19), and partly in consequence of the prohibition in Deut. xvii. 16, which would be held to apply at all periods. Accordingly they hamstrung the horses of the Canaanites (Josh. xi. 6, 9). It was only on the maritime plains, in the plain of Esdraelon and on the north-eastern frontier, that chariots could be employed in warfare to any purpose. In these, while Israel had neither horses nor chariots, the Canaanites were well supplied with both. Consequently the usual order of successful invasions was reversed. The aboriginal Canaanites were driven out of the hills, but remained in the plains. The mountains were the secure and peaceful, the level and plain districts the insecure, parts of the country. In the story of the conquest by Joshua, we do not find chariots mentioned till, after his subjugation of the central and hill country, Jabin king of Hazor met him in the far north near the waters of Merom, "with horses and chariots very many" (Josh. xi. 4). This was a new feature in the war, and Joshua then received the command to "hough the horses and burn the chariots." Again, after a lapse of another 150 years, the horses of another Jabin king of Canaan were a terror to Israel; "for he had nine hundred chariots of iron, and twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel" (Judg. iv. 3). Then when the swamps and mud of the Kishon had engulfed the chariot-wheels, the horsehoofs were broken by the plunging and trampling of their mighty ones.

David first established a force of cavalry and chariots after the defeat of Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 4), when he reserved a hundred chariots, and, as we may infer, all the horses: for the rendering "houghed all the chariot *horses*" is manifestly incorrect. Shortly after this Absalom was possessed of some (2 Sam. xv. 1). But the great supply of horses was subsequently effected by Solomon through his connexion with Egypt; he is reported to have had "forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand cavalry horses" (1 K. iv. 26), and it is worthy of notice that these forces are mentioned parenthe-

tically to account for the great security of life and property noticed in the preceding verse. There is probably an error in the former of these numbers; for the number of chariots is given in 1 K. x. 26, 2 Ch. i. 14, as 1400; and consequently if we allow three horses for each chariot, two in use and one as a reserve, as was usual in some countries (Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1, § 27), the number required would be 4,200, or, in round numbers, 4,000, which is probably the correct reading. Solomon also established a very active trade in horses, which were brought by dealers out of Egypt and resold at a profit to the Hittites, who lived between Palestine and the Euphrates. The passage in which this commerce is described (1 K. x. 28, 29) is unfortunately obscure; the tenor of *v.* 28 seems to be that there was a regularly established traffic (R. V. "The horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt"), the Egyptians bringing the horses to a mart in the south of Palestine and handing them over to the Hebrew dealers at a fixed tariff. The price of a horse was fixed at 150 shekels of silver, and that of a chariot at 600; in the latter we must include the horses (for an Egyptian war-chariot was of no great value), and conceive, as before, that three horses accompanied each chariot, leaving the chariot itself at 150 shekels. In addition to this source of supply, Solomon received horses by way of tribute (1 K. x. 25). The force was maintained by the succeeding kings, and frequent notices occur both of riding horses and chariots (2 K. ix. 21, 33, xi. 16), and particularly of war-chariots (1 K. xxii. 4; 2 K. iii. 7; Is. ii. 7). The force seems to have failed in the time of Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 23) in Judah, as it had previously in Israel under Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 7). The number of horses belonging to the Jews on their return from Babylon is stated as 736 (Neh. vii. 68).

The northern kingdom was better adapted for the use of cavalry and chariots than the southern; and Ahab, Jehoram, and Jehu are repeatedly mentioned as using chariots for their ordinary mode of travelling. But in the reign of Jehoahaz the son of Jehu, a fatal blow was struck at the power of the Israelitish kingdom, by the annihilation of its cavalry and chariots, only 50 horses and 10 chariots being left (2 K. xiii. 7); and from the sneers of Rabshakeh, it would seem that the southern kingdom was not much better supplied with this military arm.

In the countries adjacent to Palestine, the use of the horse was much more frequent. It was introduced into Egypt probably by the Hyksos, as it is not represented on the monuments before the 18th dynasty (Wilkinson, i. 386 [1878]). At the period of the Exodus horses were abundant there (Gen. xlvii. 17, l. 9; Ex. ix. 3, xiv. 9, 23; Deut. xvii. 17), and subsequently, as we have already seen, they were able to supply the nations of Western Asia. The Jewish kings sought the assistance of the Egyptians against the Assyrians in this respect (Is. xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 8; Ezek. xvii. 15). The Canaanites were possessed of them (Deut. xx. 1; Josh. xi. 4; Judg. iv. 3, v. 22, 28), and likewise the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 K. xx. 1; 2 K. vi. 14, vii. 7, 10)—notices which are confirmed by the pictorial representations on Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, i. 393, 397, 401), and by the Assyrian inscriptions relating to Syrian expeditions. But the cavalry of the Assyrians themselves and other eastern nations was regarded as most formidable; the horses themselves were highly bred, as the Assyrian sculptures still testify, and fully merited the praise bestowed *on* them by Habakkuk (i. 8), "swifter than leopards, and more fierce than the evening wolves." Their riders "clothed in blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men" (Ezek. xxiii. 6), armed with the "bright sword and glittering spear" (Nah. iii. 3), made a deep impression on the Jews, who, plainly clad, went on foot; as also did their regular array, as they proceeded in couples, contrasting with the disorderly troops of asses and camels which followed with the baggage (Is. xxi. 7, *rèkeb* in this passage signifying rather a *train* than a single chariot). The number employed by the Eastern potentates was very great, Holofernes possessing not less than 12,000 (Jud. ii. 15). At a later period we have frequent notices of the cavalry of the Graeco-Syrian monarchs (1 Macc. i. 18, iii. 39, &c.).

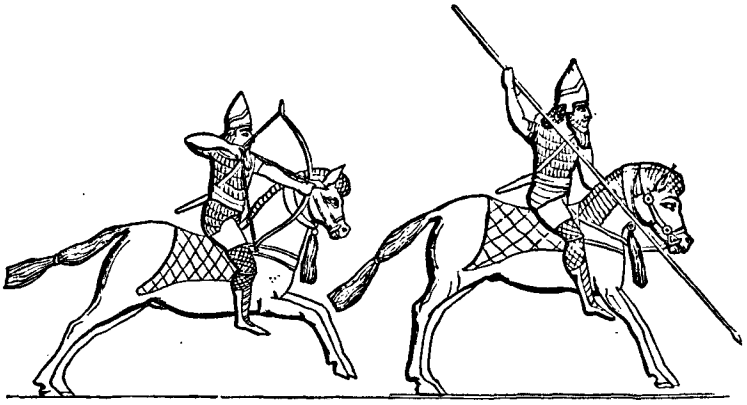
Under the Romans, that national genius for road-making which has left its traces in the remotest parts of Europe, greatly increased the facilities for the employment of horses even in the most rugged districts of Palestine. The track of the chariot-road to Egypt (Acts viii. 28), first constructed by Solomon, was paved by the Romans; and traces of the wheel-worn pavement, both of this and of several other roads among the hills near Hebron, are still to be seen. In the wilds of Gilead and Bashan, and in the pavement from the ruins of Gadara to the Jordan, and among the theatres and temples of Rabbath Ammon, we mark the wheel-ruts and the worn footholes of the horses, where wheels have never rolled for over 1000 years.

The best horses in Palestine are now supplied from Arabia and Egypt. But the breed of the latter country is now, and probably was in the

Trappings of Assyrian horse. (Layard.)

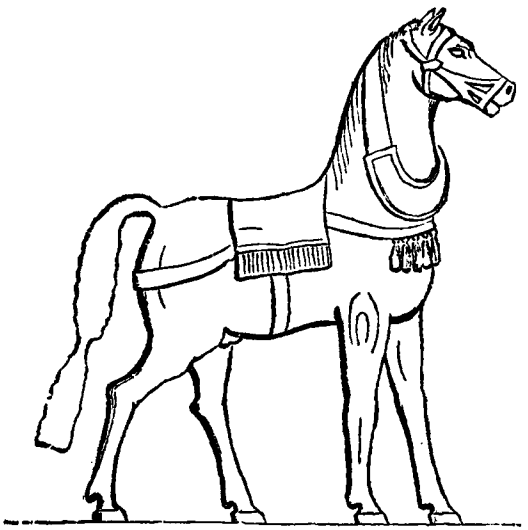
days when Solomon imported his horses thence, of Arabian origin. East of Jordan almost every man is mounted, and the horse has superseded the dromedary in their predatory warfare. The Syrian baggage horse is from a mixed race, and though not often exceeding 15 hands in height, and of no great speed, yet is endued with wonderful powers of endurance.

With regard to the trappings and management of the horse, we have little information; the bridle (*rèsen*) was placed over the horse's nose (Is. xxx. 28), and a bit or curb (*mèthèg*) is also noticed (2 K. xix. 28; Ps. xxxii. 9; Prov. xxvi. 3; Is. xxxvii. 29. In the A. V. it is incorrectly given "bridle," with the exception of Ps. xxxii.). The harness of the Assyrian horses was profusely decorated, the bits being gilt (1 Esd. iii. 6), and the bridles adorned with tassels; on the neck was a collar terminating in a bell, as described by Zechariah (xiv. 20). Saddles were not used until a late period: in the annexed cut one with a pad is represented.



Assyrian horsemen of the time of Sennacherib.

The horsemen were armed with long spears ("the glittering spear," Nah. iii. 3), or with bows, as we see in the Assyrian sculptures. The horses were not shod, and therefore hoofs as hard "as flint" (Is. v. 28) were regarded as a great merit. The chariot-horses were covered with embroidered trappings—the "precious clothes" manufactured at Dedan (Ezek. xxvii. 20): these were fastened by straps and buckles, and to this perhaps reference is made in Prov. xxx. 31, in the term *zarzîr*, "one girded about the loins" (A. V. "greyhound." See GREYHOUND). Thus adorned, Mordecai rode in state through the streets of Shushan (Esth. vi. 9). White horses were more particularly appropriate to such occasions, as being significant of victory (Rev. vi. 2; xix. 11, 14). Horses and chariots were used also in idolatrous processions, as noticed in regard to the sun (2 K. xxiii. 11). [W. L. B.] [H. B. T.]



Assyrian horse. (Nimrud.)

HORSELEACH (עֲלוּקָה, *'alūqāh*; βδέλλα; *sanguisuga*; Arab. علق, علقة, *'alaq*, *'alaqah*) occurs once only, viz. Prov. xxx. 15, "The horseleach hath two daughters, crying, Give, give." There is no doubt from the identity of the Hebrew and Arabic words that *'alūqāh* denotes some species of leech, or rather is the generic term for any bloodsucking annelid, such as *Hirudo medicinalis*, L. (the medicinal leech), *Haemopis sanguisuga*, L. (the horseleech), *Bdella Trochetia*, and *Aulastoma*, all found in the marshes and pools of the Bible-lands. Schultens (*Comment. in Prov.* l. c.) and Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 785) have endeavoured to show that *'alūqāh* is to be understood to signify "fate," or "impending misfortune of any kind" (*fatum unicuique impendens*); they refer the Hebrew term to the Arabic *'alūq*, *res appensa, affixa homini*. The "two daughters" are explained by Bochart to signify Hades (שְׁאוֹל) and the grave, which are never satisfied. This explanation is certainly very ingenious, but where is the necessity to appeal to it, when the important old Versions are opposed to any such interpretation? The bloodsucking leeches, such as *Hirudo* and *Haemopis*, were without a doubt known to the ancient Hebrews; and as the leech has been for ages the emblem of rapacity and cruelty, there is no reason to doubt that this annelid is denoted by *'alūqāh*. The Arabs to this day denominate the *Limnatis Nilotica*, *'alaq*. As to

the expression "two daughters," which has been by some writers absurdly explained to allude to "the double tongue" of a leech—this animal having no tongue at all—there can be no doubt that it is figurative (cp. Delitzsch and Strack, *Comm.* in loco), and is intended, in the language of Oriental hyperbole, to denote its bloodthirsty propensity, evidenced by the tenacity with which a leech keeps its hold on the skin (if *Hirudo*), or mucous membrane (if *Haemopis*). Comp. Horace, *Ep. ad. Pis.* 476; Cicero, *Ep. ad Atticum*, i. 16; Plautus, *Epid.* act iv. sc. 4. The etymology of the Hebrew word, from an unused root which signifies "to adhere," is eminently suited to "a leech." Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1038) reminds us that the Arabic *'alûk* is explained in Camus by *ghûl*, "a female monster like a vampire which sucked human blood." The passage in question, however, has simply reference to a "leech." The valuable use of the leech (*Hirudo*) in medicine, though undoubtedly known to Pliny and the later Roman writers, was in all probability unknown to the ancient Orientals; still they were doubtless acquainted with the fact that leeches of the above-named genus would attach themselves to the skin of persons going barefoot in ponds; and they must have been cognizant of the propensity horseleeches (*Haemopis*) have of entering the mouth and nostrils of cattle as they drink. The horseleech (*Haemopis sanguisuga*, L.) is very common in all the stagnant waters of Palestine, and our animals frequently suffered from its attacks, as it attaches itself firmly to the inside of the nostril or to the palate, causing much pain and loss of blood. It clings with such tenacity to its hold as to be almost torn in two before it can be detached. The medicinal leech (*Hirudo medicinalis*, L.) is still more abundant, especially in clear streams, where it is scarcely possible to turn a stone without finding some adhering to its undersurface.

The leeches or blood-sucking worms are annelids with red blood, and no external organs of respiration or branchiae. They can convert the anterior extremity of the body into a suctorial cavity, or flattened disk round the mouth, which is formed of three horny jaws. They have usually ten eyes; some species only eight. They swim very rapidly, with a serpentine and sinuous bounding of the body. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

HORSE-GATE. [JERUSALEM.]

HO'SAH (חֹסָה = *refuge;* B. Ἰασεί̈φ, A. Σουσά; *Hosa*), a city of Asher, not identified (Josh. xix. 29), the next landmark on the boundary to Tyre. Conder (*PEF. Mem.* i. 51) has suggested *el-'Ezziyah*, but this is very doubtful. [G.] [W.]

HO'SAH (חֹסָה = *refuge;* B. Ὀσσά [א. Ὀσά] and Ἰοσσά, A. Ὡσηὲ and Ὡσά; *Hosa*), a man who was chosen by David to be one of the first doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") to the Ark after its arrival in Jerusalem (1 Ch. xvi. 38). He was a Merarite Levite (xxvi. 10), with "sons and brethren" thirteen, of whom four were certainly sons (*vv.* 10, 11); and his charge was especially the "gate Shallecheth," and the causeway, or raised road which ascended (*v.* 16, מְסִלָּה הָעוֹלָה).

HOSAN'NA (*ὡσαννά*; neo-Heb. הוֹשַׁעְנָא, from הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא, Ps. cxviii. 25; *σῶσον δή*, as Theophylact correctly interprets it), the cry of the multitudes as they thronged in our Lord's triumphal procession into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 9, 15; Mark xi. 9, 10; John xii. 13). The Psalm from which it was taken, the 118th, was one with which they were familiar from being accustomed to recite the 25th and 26th verses at the Feast of Tabernacles. On that occasion the Great *Hallel*, consisting of Psalms cxiii.–cxviii., was chanted by one of the priests, and at certain intervals the multitudes joined in the responses, waving their branches of willow and palm, and shouting as they waved them, Hallelujah, or Hosanna, or "O Lord, I beseech Thee, send now prosperity" (Ps. cxviii. 25). This was done at the recitation of the first and last verses of Ps. cxviii.; but, according to the school of Hillel, at the words "Save now, we beseech Thee" (*v.* 25). The school of Shammai, on the contrary, say it was at the words "Send now prosperity" of the same verse. Rabban Gamaliel and R. Joshua were observed by R. Akiba to wave their branches only at the words "Save now, we beseech Thee" (Mishna, *Succah*, iii. 9). On each of the seven days during which the Feast lasted, the people thronged the court of the Temple, and went in procession about the Altar, setting their boughs bending towards it; the trumpets sounding as they shouted Hosanna. But on the seventh day they marched seven times round the Altar, shouting meanwhile the great Hosanna to the sound of the trumpets of the Levites (Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, xvi. 2). The children also, who could wave the palm branches, were expected to take part in the solemnity (Mishna, *Succah*, iii. 15; Matt. xxi. 15). From the custom of waving the boughs of myrtle and willow during the service the name Hosanna was ultimately transferred to the boughs themselves, so that according to Elias Levita (*Thisbi*, s.v.), "the bundles of the willows of the brook which they carry at the Feast of Tabernacles are called Hosannas." The term is frequently applied by Jewish writers to denote the Feast of Tabernacles, the seventh day of the Feast being distinguished as the great Hosanna (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s.v. יְשַׁע). It was not uncommon for the Jews in later times to employ the observances of this Feast, which was pre-eminently a feast of gladness, to express their feelings on other occasions of rejoicing (1 Macc. xiii. 51; 2 Macc. x. 6, 7), and it is not, therefore, matter of surprise that they should have done so under the circumstances recorded in the Gospels. [W. A. W.]

HOSE'A, the first in order of the Minor Prophets. 1. His name (הוֹשֵׁעַ; LXX. Ὡσηέ[a]; Vulg. *Osee;* hence A. V. *Osee* in Rom. ix. 25) means *deliverance* or *salvation*. It is more correctly transliterated HOSHEA. It is identical

[a] According to Jerome (*Comm.* on i. 1), the MSS. of the LXX. and Vet. Lat. in his day read Αὐσή, *Ause*. Cheyne compares the form *Ausi'* of the Assyrian inscriptions (Schrader, *Keilinschriften*, p. 255). This reading is not found in any extant MS. of the LXX. here, but in Num. xiii. 9, 17, all the MSS. read Αὐσὴ or Αὐσής. Volck in Herzog[2] calls the reading Ὡσηὲ "a hexaplar correction."

with the name originally borne by Joshua (Num. xiii. 16) and that of the last king of Israel (2 K. xv. 30).

2. Of Hosea's *life and personal history* nothing is known beyond what may be gathered from his Book. But he there tells us of the Divine discipline by which he was educated for his prophetic mission. "He had to understand the principles of his country's history by most fearful passages in his own" (Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 203). He took to wife Gomer the daughter of Diblaim. There is no need to suppose that she had already fallen into sin when he married her. She is not directly called "a harlot," but "a wife of whoredom," a woman with a tendency and inclination to sin. She proved unfaithful to him. Then, as he meditated on his bitter lot, he perceived that he had acted as he had done by direction of Jehovah. He recognised that the impulse which had led him to marry her was a Divine voice (i. 2). He realised that his own love for his erring wife, and her unfaithfulness to him, were but a faint reflexion of Jehovah's love for Israel and Israel's unfaithfulness to Jehovah. The experience of his own life impressed upon him this double truth, which underlies the whole of his teaching. For years he bore with her infidelity. She had children, to whom he was directed to give names significant of the judgment (Jezreel) and rejection (Lo-ruhamah, Lo-ammi) of the guilty nation. At last she deserted him altogether. She fell (we are not told how) into slavery. Out of that slavery he was directed to redeem her. He brings her home, and keeps her in seclusion, deprived at once of opportunities for her old sins, and of the legitimate rights of a wife. Meanwhile he waits with tender patience, if perchance her love for him might return. This course of action was designed to symbolise the unfailing love of Jehovah for Israel, and the discipline of exile by which He purposed to wean them from their idolatries, and win back their allegiance.

It is hardly too much to say that the literal interpretation of the narrative is the key to the right understanding of the Book. If we would enter into Hosea's intensity of feeling, we must realise how it had been generated. But it has been so commonly maintained that the narrative of chs. i.–iii. is purely an allegory, that the literal interpretation needs some defence. First, it must be observed that there is no hint in the narrative itself that it is anything but a record of actual occurrences in the Prophet's life. Next, such actual circumstances would be a far more forcible means of education to the Prophet himself, and of instruction to his contemporaries, than any mere vision or allegory. How was he led to represent the covenant relation of Jehovah to Israel as a marriage relation? Granted that the conception of the marriage of the deity with his land was familiar to Semitic nations, why was Hosea specially induced to bring it into prominence, and give it a moral application? His own domestic history supplies the answer. Further, if the narrative were only an allegory, we should naturally expect the wife to bear a significant name as well as the children. But while Jezreel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi tell their own story, Gomer bath-Diblaim baffles all attempts to extract from it a reasonable meaning. The natural inference is that it was the actual name of a woman, not part of an allegory. Lastly, the literal interpretation is supported by the parallel of Isaiah's family with their significant names (Is. viii. 1 sq., 18; cp. vii. 3).

The only serious objection to the literal interpretation is the moral objection. How, it is argued, could God, consistently with His holiness, have commanded the Prophet to take an unchaste wife? How could the Prophet, consistently with the fundamental principles of morality, have recognised the command as Divine? The objection is formidable, but it falls to the ground if Gomer had not fallen into sin when Hosea married her. This view, as has already been pointed out, is actually suggested by the language used, and it is in harmony with the symbolism. Her character, like that of Israel when Jehovah chose it to be His people, was still undeveloped. That God should command His servant to enter on a marriage which was to result in a lifelong sorrow is no matter for surprise. It is but an illustration of the principle of sacrifice. Hosea must learn through suffering, that he might be able to teach.

Another, but hardly satisfactory solution of the "moral objection" is offered by some interpreters (*e.g.*, Dr. Pusey, following Jerome and Augustine). Hosea, they suppose, married Gomer with full knowledge of her character, in the hope of reforming her. This, it is urged, would not be immoral, but an act of self-denial. There is, however, no hint of such a purpose in the narrative, nor does it suit the symbolism so well as the view taken above.

The "moral objection" is indeed an objection to the allegorical not less than to the literal interpretation if the action commanded was one repugnant to the moral sense. And if the Prophet had a faithful wife, it seems incredible that he should expose her to suspicion by an allegory which certainly does not bear its allegorical character on the face of it.

Another objection to the literal interpretation is based on the mistaken view that the woman of ch. iii. is not Gomer, but another. The command to take another wife proves, it is said, that no real marriage is intended. But the natural sense of the passage is that Hosea was to take means to recover Gomer, in spite of her infidelity; and the symbolism absolutely requires this interpretation. Jehovah did not purpose to choose another nation to be His people, but to take steps to recall Israel to its allegiance to Him.

For a full discussion see Nowack, *Hosea*, pp. 48 sq. Cp. Wellhausen in his ed. of Bleek's *Einleitung*, § 208; Prof. Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 178 sq.; Dean Plumptre's suggestive poem "Gomer," in *Lazarus and other Poems*.

The narrative of his unhappy marriage, and one or two possible allusions to opposition and persecution met with in the fulfilment of his ministry (iv. 4; ix. 7, 8), are the only personal details. In this respect the Book is a remarkable contrast to that of Amos. Yet what is told is enough to bring us into touch and sympathy with the Prophet.

3. It is plain that the *sphere of Hosea's ministry* was the Northern kingdom. Judah is only mentioned incidentally. In i. 7 the mercy

refused to Israel is promised to Judah; in xi. 12—if the precarious rendering of A. V. and R. V. text is retained—Judah is commended for its faithfulness in contrast to the apostasy of Israel. In iv. 15 Judah is bidden to take warning from Israel; in i. 11 the ultimate reunion of the divided kingdoms is predicted. But for the most part Judah is only incidentally introduced as sharing the guilt and destined to share the punishment of Israel (v. 5, 10–14; vi. 4, 11; viii. 14; x. 11; xi. 12 [R. V. marg., which is probably right]; xii. 2). Jerusalem is not once mentioned. On the other hand, Israel, Ephraim, and Samaria are constantly before the Prophet's eyes. It is to them that his prophecy is addressed.

It is equally clear that he was himself *a native of the Northern kingdom*, and not, like Amos, sent there on a temporary mission. This is evident not so much from particular expressions referring to his own experience (vi. 10, "In the house of Israel *I* have seen a horrible thing") or betraying his nationality (i. 2, "the land"=the land of Israel; vii. 5, "*our* king"= the king of Israel), but from the whole tone and contents of the prophecy. "He knows this kingdom, as every line betrays, from personal acquaintance, and in all its relations and circumstances, its joys and its calamities, in the very heart of its aims and its prospects... He is acquainted with it from the depths of his heart, and follows all its doings, aims, and fortunes, with the profound feeling gendered of such a sympathy as is conceivable in the case of a native prophet only" (Ewald's *Prophets of the Old Testament*, i. 211, Eng. tr.). He shows complete familiarity with the internal condition of the kingdom; with the depth and hopelessness of its social corruption; with the crimes of its kings and nobles and priests; with the intrigues of its politicians for alliances with Egypt or Assyria; with the religious apostasy which united a nominal worship of Jehovah with idolatry and Baal-worship and an utter disregard of morality. The picture is drawn with a force and feeling which attest an eye-witness, who felt intensely and bitterly that his own country was being dragged down to ruin by the sins which he rebuked but could not check.

The impression produced by the general tone of the prophecy is confirmed by the geographical references, and by the language of the Book. The places mentioned all belong to the Northern kingdom. Mizpah in Gilead, and Tabor in Galilee, describe the extent of the kingdom from east to west; Samaria is frequently mentioned (vii. 1; viii. 5, 6; x. 5, 7; xiii. 16); Jezreel (i. 4, 5, 11; ii. 22); Shechem (vi. 9); Gilead (vi. 8; xii. 11); Gilgal (iv. 15; ix. 15; xii. 11); Bethel, sometimes sarcastically called Beth-aven (iv. 15; v. 8; x. 5, 8, 15); Gibeah (v. 8; ix. 9; x. 9); Ramah (v. 8). Lebanon supplies him with imagery (xiv. 5–7).

Peculiarities of language indicate Northern authorship. The forms חִבֵּי (vi. 9) and תִּרְגַּלְתִּי (xi. 3) are Aramaean; and the words נהה (v. 13), שִׁבֳּבִים (viii. 6), רֶתֶת (xiii. 1), not found elsewhere in the O. T., are also Aramaean.

There can then be no reasonable doubt that Hosea not only prophesied to Israel, but was a native and citizen of the Northern kingdom. Ewald, indeed, maintains that he wrote his Book in Judah, whither he had been compelled to flee from the persecutions of his countrymen. His grounds for this view are as follows. (1) In his earlier prophecies (i.–iii.) Hosea speaks hopefully of Judah (i. 7); in his later prophecies (iii.–xiv.) Judah is represented as corrupt and in danger of falling along with Israel (v. 5, 10, 12–14; vi. 11; viii. 14; x. 11; xi. 12; xii. 2). This change of view was due to closer acquaintance with Judah, gained from actual residence there. (2) The word "there," in vi. 7, 10, ix. 15, xiii. 8, indicates that the writer surveyed the kingdom of Israel from outside. (3) In v. 8 sq. the alarm proceeds from South to North. These arguments are not conclusive. The second and third certainly do not prove that the writer was resident in Judah; and as for the first, it is admitted that chs. iv.–xiv. belong to a later period than chs. i.–iii.; Judah was rapidly deteriorating, and the sterner tone of the Prophet's language was justified. It would seem that the Prophet had become better acquainted with the condition of the Southern kingdom; but it is rash to assume that this could not have been the case without his actually residing there.

Duhm's conjecture (*Theologie der Propheten*, p. 130 sq.) that Hosea was a priest can only be mentioned here. His reasons are ingenious, but not convincing (cp. Nowack, *Hosea*, p. viii.).

4. Later traditions about Hosea possess no historical value. His father, Beeri, was identified with the Reubenite prince Beerah, carried captive by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch. v. 6; *Yuchasin*, f. 12 a), and, according to the Jewish canon that when a prophet's father is mentioned he was also a prophet, Beeri was himself a prophet, though he only uttered two words of prophecy, which are incorporated in Is. viii. 19 and Job xxviii. 25 b (*Vayyikra Rabba*, c. 15). The patristic accounts name Baalmoth (Ephraim the Syrian on Hos. i. 1) or Belemoth (Pseudo-Epiphanius, *de Vitis Proph.*; Isidore of Seville, *de Vita et Obitu Sanctorum*, c. 41), or Belemon (Pseudo-Dorotheus, ap. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 147), in the tribe of Issachar, as Hosea's birthplace, and relate that he died in peace and was buried in his own land. On the other hand, the Jewish work *Shalsheleth haqqabbábah* (f. 19) relates that he died in Babylon, leaving directions that he should be buried in his native country; that his body was accordingly placed on a camel, which forthwith conveyed it to Safed in Galilee, where it was buried. An Arabic tradition says that he was buried at Almenia near Tripoli; while the traveller Burckhardt relates that his grave was shown by the Arabs in the neighbourhood of the ancient Ramoth-gilead. The student curious in such matters may consult Carpzov's *Introduction*, part iii. p. 274 sq., or Wünsche's *Comm.* p. iii. sq.

5. The title prefixed to the Book (i. 1) assigns as *the date of Hosea's ministry* "the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel." According to the commonly received chronology, Jeroboam II. reigned from 825 to 784 B.C.; Uzziah from 810 to 758 B.C.; Hezekiah from 726 to 698 B.C. Recent investigations, however, make it all but certain that Jeroboam's reign must be placed later, and

that he did not die until 764 B.C. at the earliest. [CHRONOLOGY.] Two interregnums are assumed in the history of the Northern kingdom during this period: one of eleven years between the death of Jeroboam II. and the accession of Zechariah; and one of nine years after the death of Pekah. These interregnums are inferred from the synchronisms or cross references between the regnal years of the kings of Israel and Judah. But the actual history gives no hint of them. It is implied in 2 Kings xiv. 29 that Zechariah succeeded his father in the usual way; and in 2 Kings xv. 30 that Hoshea ascended the throne immediately after his murder of Pekah. It seems to be tolerably certain that these interregnums should be cut out. Some chronologists go further, and infer from a comparison of the dates on the Assyrian monuments that Jeroboam reigned till 750 B.C. or even later. The period between the death of Jeroboam and the fall of Samaria is thus shortened by twenty or possibly thirty-four years. The decline of Israel was more rapid, and its final ruin followed the denunciations of Hosea more closely, than has commonly been supposed.

How far, it must now be asked, does the statement of the title agree with the internal evidence of the Book?

(1) The prophecies contained in chs. i.–iii. must belong to a period before the extinction of the house of Jehu by the murder of Zechariah (i. 4: cp. Amos vii. 9, 11; 2 K. xv. 10–12). But they cannot be placed later than the time of Jeroboam. The prosperity which marked the reign of that powerful monarch was still unbroken (ii. 5–12); but it had borne evil fruit, and the nation was ripe for punishment. We can hardly be wrong in assigning this part of the Book to the closing years of the reign of Jeroboam.

(2) The rest of the Book (iv.–xiv.) belongs to a later period. It reflects the state of anarchy into which Israel fell after Jeroboam's death, when Zechariah, after six months' reign, was murdered by Shallum, and Shallum in turn, after a month's reign, was murdered by Menahem, who inflicted horrible vengeance on those who refused to support him, and could only maintain himself on the throne by becoming the vassal of Assyria (2 K. xv. 13 sq.).

The state of affairs described in Hosea corresponds strikingly to these circumstances. When once the strong hand of Jeroboam had been removed, evils of every kind broke out without restraint. The king and his court are described as encouraging one another in wickedness, and sunk in debauchery (vii. 3, 5). They pervert justice; they are not leaders but misleaders (iv. 18, v. 10). The priests, instead of rebuking the people's sin, encourage it, because it augments their revenues (iv. 8). Nay, the priest actually turns bandit on his own account (vi. 9). Foul immoralities are shamelessly practised (iv. 10 sq.); fidelity, humanity, piety, have vanished; falsehood and violence are universal (iv. 1 sq.; vi. 8 sq.; vii. 1; x. 4). Men profess to worship Jehovah (viii. 2), and think to propitiate Him by sacrifice (v. 6); but they ignore His real requirements (vi. 6), and are besotted with their senseless idolatries (iv. 17; viii. 4; xiii. 2). The root evil of all is that in their prosperity they have forgotten Jehovah (iv. 7; viii. 14; xiii. 6); so when danger threatens they look to Assyria and Egypt instead of turning in penitence to Him (v. 4, 13; vii. 11 sq.; viii. 9). They will not tolerate rebuke (iv. 4), but despise and persecute the prophet (ix. 7, 8). For such a nation nothing remains but sharp and speedy judgment.

At the latest these prophecies were all delivered before the fall of Samaria (xiii. 16); but indeed the *terminus ad quem* of Hosea's ministry may be fixed considerably earlier. The confederacy of Pekah and Rezin against Ahaz drove him to appeal to Assyria for help (2 K. xvi. 7). Tiglath-pileser accordingly invaded the kingdom of Israel, and ravaged and depopulated Northern Palestine, Galilee, and Gilead (2 K. xv. 29), B.C. 734.

Of this invasion, and of this change in the relation between Israel and Assyria, there is no trace in Hosea. He speaks of Gilead as still a part of the Northern kingdom (v. 1; vi. 8; xii. 11; contrast Micah vii. 14), while Assyria is nowhere spoken of as an enemy, but as a worthless and dangerous ally (v. 13; vii. 11; viii. 9; xii. 1; xiv. 3). There is no trace in Hosea of the circumstances which called forth the great prophecies of Isaiah vii. sq.; and his public ministry does not appear to have been continued beyond the reign of Menahem in Israel, and Jotham in Judah. He was thus the contemporary of Amos, Isaiah, and Micah; but the work of Amos was probably ended before that of Hosea began, and Hosea's ministry had closed before Isaiah and Micah had come into prominence.[b]

One allusion, indeed, has been supposed to mark a later date. Shalman, who sacked Beth-arbel (x. 14), has been thought to be Shalmaneser IV., the successor of Tiglath-pileser. The reference is too obscure to outweigh the other evidence, and Schrader (*KAT.*² p. 440), after stating the objections to the identification of Shalman with any of the Assyrian kings named Shalmaneser, points out that Salamana occurs in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser as the name of a king of Moab. There was an Arbela near Pella on the east of the Jordan, and the reference may be to some well-known episode in the disordered times after the death of Jeroboam. A recent event close at hand would most naturally be mentioned thus incidentally.

How then is the statement of the title to be reconciled with the conclusions drawn from internal evidence, if, on the one hand, the greater part of the Book must be assigned to the period after the reign of Jeroboam, and, on the other hand, no part of it can be placed so late as the time of Hezekiah or even Ahaz? The most probable explanation is that "in the days of Jeroboam" was the original title to the first section of the Book only (i.–iii.), and that "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah" is an addition by a later editor, who wished to mark that Hosea belonged to the same age as Isaiah and Micah (cp. Is. i. 1; Micah i. 1), without necessarily implying that his

[b] Prof. Sayce in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, i. 162 sq., endeavours, but upon insufficient grounds, to show that chs. iv. sq. are as late as the reign of Hoshea.

prophetic work extended throughout the whole of the period.

6. *Contents and plan.*—The two fundamental ideas of the Book are the unfaithfulness of Israel to Jehovah, and the unquenchable love of Jehovah for Israel. In the first division of the Book (i.–iii.) these ideas are symbolically expressed by the circumstances of the Prophet's domestic life, which have already been discussed.

The same ideas underlie the second division of the Book (iv.–xiv.). It contains a series of discourses, in which the sins of the people in all ranks of life are exposed and censured; warning is given of the inevitable chastisement which must follow; yet hope of final pardon and restoration is held out.

The two divisions are clearly separated. The circumstances of the Prophet's life out of which the teaching of chs. i.–iii. directly springs, are not referred to in chs. iv.–xiv. Internal evidence shows that the first part must be assigned to the closing years of the reign of Jeroboam; the second part to the period subsequent to his death.

Attempts have been made (as by Volck, in Herzog, *RE.*[2], following in the main an art. by Delitzsch in the *Zeitsch. f. Protestant. u. Kirche*, for 1854, xxviii. 98 sq.) to trace a chronological arrangement in the second part. They are, however, unsatisfactory. Some plan and progress of thought may be marked, but no precise and exact division of subject is to be looked for in a Prophet like Hosea, inspired by intense feeling, burning with shame and indignation at the sights he saw, yet yearning with a tender love for the guilty nation. The ideas of Israel's sin and impending punishment are interlaced. The Prophet circles round and round his theme, and constantly recurs to the same thoughts. Three groups of prophecies may perhaps be distinguished. In the first (iv.–viii.), Israel's guilt; in the second (ix.–xi. 11), Israel's punishment; in the third (xi. 12–xiv.), Israel's hope of restoration, come into special prominence.

The following analysis may be a help to study:—

Part I., chs. i.–iii.

(1) The Prophet's domestic relations, symbolical of the unfaithfulness, judgment, and rejection of Israel (i. 2–9). Yet this doom shall one day be reversed and Israel restored (i. 10–ii. 1).* Abruptly the Prophet reverts to the present, chides Israel for her faithlessness in deserting Jehovah and ascribing her prosperity to the Baalim, and predicts the punishment which awaits her (ii. 2–13). But punishment is for reformation, not destruction. There will be a second Exodus, a fresh wilderness-discipline, a new covenant of universal peace. The ideal relation of Israel to her God will in the end be realised (ii. 14–23).

(2) An interval has elapsed. Gomer has deserted Hosea, and fallen into slavery. But Hosea, at God's command, redeems her and retains her in a state of virtual widowhood, waiting till her affection for him may return. So in captivity Israel will be cut off at once from its idolatries and from the worship of Jehovah, until punishment has done its work and the people repent (iii. 1–5).

Part II., chs. iv.–xiv.

(1) Israel's guilt. The accusation (iv.–viii.).

(*a*) The corruption of the nation as a whole (iv.).

The prevalent immorality (*vv.* 1–5) is traced to its source in ignorance, for which selfish and unprincipled priests are to blame, and will suffer (*vv.* 6–10). The people are wholly abandoned to idolatry and licentiousness (*vv.* 11–14). Let Judah take warning from the sin of Israel. It is incurable and ripe for punishment (*vv.* 15–19).

(*b*) The universal godlessness of the nation, from its rulers downward, and its impending punishment (v.–vii.).

Priests and rulers, instead of helping the nation to amend its ways, have drawn it into sin (v. 1–7). The threatened storm of judgment breaks over Israel and Judah. In vain do they seek help from Assyria. They cannot escape from Jehovah's hand. He will withdraw His presence until they repent, and with contrite hearts turn to Him Who alone can heal (v. 8–vi. 3). But from such a hope the Prophet turns sadly back to the actual present. Israel's goodness is transitory, evanescent. The means by which Jehovah has endeavoured to bring them to repentance have borne no lasting fruit. Their corruption is inveterate (*vv.* 4–11). The desperate condition of Israel is disclosed when any attempt at reform is made. The rulers delight in the wickedness of the people. The people in turn intrigue against their kings (vii. 1–7). The suicidal policy of seeking help from foreign nations will issue in ruin (*vv.* 8–16).

(*c*) Fresh declaration of Israel's sin and punishment (viii.).

The enemy is at hand to avenge the broken covenant. Self-willed secession from the house of David led to idolatry. The idols cannot help, but will themselves be destroyed (viii. 1–7). Their Assyrian alliance will be their ruin. False and formal worship will not avail them. The cities in which they trust will be consumed with fire (*vv.* 8–14).

(2) Israel's punishment. The sentence (ix.–xi. 11).

Speedily will Israel be driven from its own land into a joyless exile (ix. 1–9). All their past history testifies to the ingratitude with which they have requited Jehovah's love. Rejection is the inevitable result of such continued rebellion (*vv.* 10–17). Israel's idolatry has increased in proportion to its prosperity. King, idols, altars shall share a common ruin (x. 1–8). Israel has sinned as in ancient days. They have perverted the Divine laws of right. Nation and king shall perish together (*vv.* 9–15). From the first Jehovah had chosen and guided Israel with loving care; but they abandoned Him, and now they must be punished. Yet He cannot utterly destroy them, and He will one day restore them to their own land (xi. 1–11).

(3) Redemption through judgment. The Restoration (xi. 12—xiv.).

The faithlessness of Israel, and even of Judah, is shown by their idolatries and foreign alliances. Yet the history of their ancestor Jacob should have taught them to trust Jehovah (xi. 12–

* Prof. Cheyne, following Steiner and Heilprin, would transpose this section to the end of ch. ii., in order to avoid the extreme abruptness of the transitions.

xii. 6). The chosen people has become no better than a Canaanite, whose only aim is gain; therefore they must return to the wilderness. They have not been left without warning, yet the land is full of idols. Once more the history of Jacob should have taught them Jehovah's goodness. For such flagrant ingratitude nothing remains but punishment (*vv.* 7–14).

Israel was a mighty nation, but idolatry is its ruin. Jehovah has preserved them from Egypt onwards, yet the more they prospered the more they forsook Jehovah, and now He will turn against them (xiii. 1–8). Israel is doomed; they have turned against their only help. Their self-chosen king cannot save them. Samaria shall be captured with all the worst horrors of war (*vv.* 9–16). Yet let Israel repent and turn from their sins; Jehovah's love will go out to them as of old, and with His blessing the nation will once more flourish (xiv.).

7. *Style and literary characteristics.*—"Osee," writes St. Jerome, "commaticus est et quasi per sententias loquens" (*Praef. ad Os.*). "Hoseam perlegentes," says Lowth, "nonnunquam videmur in sparsa quaedam Sibyllae folia incidere" (*Praelectiones*, p. 220). This abruptness and want of connexion may in part be due to the form in which Hosea's prophecies have come down to us. Even if they were reduced to writing by the Prophet himself (which there seems no reason to doubt, though it is incapable of proof), and not preserved through the recollections of his disciples, they can be but an abstract and outline of the discourses originally delivered, at different times and under different circumstances.

But in the main the style of the Prophet unquestionably reflects his character, and the conditions under which he worked. The tender sensitiveness of his nature had been developed by the discipline of his life. His loyalty to Jehovah fills him with holy indignation at the monstrous ingratitude of his countrymen. He cannot be blind to the enormity of their corruption. He sees that repentance is impossible; that only judgment remains. But he yearns over them with an infinite love and pity. "A divine amazement, anger, and sorrow give him words which roll on in exhaustless stream. Feeling, not reason, guides his pen. He is in no mood for calm reflexion and measured periods. His heart is too full of painful emotion, of heavy foreboding, to unfold his thoughts in long calm sentences, to arrange his words in close and intimate connexion. The thought is too full, the sentence too hasty and abrupt. The discourse often breaks off, as it were, into sobs" (Ewald, *Prophets*, i. 218). Hence the obscure allusions, the ideas thrown out and left without explanation, the abrupt transitions, which make the Book one of the most difficult in the O. T.

Hosea was gifted with an acute power of observation and rich poetical fancy. He is remarkable for the abundance and boldness of his figures. His language is characterised by striking originality, which disdains to be fettered by too rigid laws of language and grammar. Inversions, anacolutha, ellipses, are frequent, together with paronomasias and plays on words. Peculiar words, or common words in peculiar senses, rare orthographies, unusual constructions, are frequently found. Some at least of these characteristics may be due to his Northern origin (see Simson, p. 35 sq.; Nowack, p. xix. sq.; Cheyne, p. 32 sq.).

8. It is generally thought that Hosea was acquainted with the Book of Amos. Hos. iv. 3 may refer to Amos viii. 8; Hos. iv. 15, x. 5, 8, to Amos i. 5, v. 5 (Beth-aven for Beth-el); Hos. viii. 14 to the refrain in Amos i. 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, ii. 2, 5; Hos. xi. 10 to Amos i. 2 (simile of lion). Hos. xiv. 5–9 may reflect the imagery of Canticles.

Hosea shows, and presumes in his hearers, an intimate knowledge of the past history of Israel. He refers perhaps to the Fall (vi. 7, R. V. text), though the allusion is doubtful; to the destruction of the "cities of the plain" (xi. 8); to Jacob's history (xii. 3, 4, 12); to the Exodus (ii. 15; xi. 1; xii. 9, 13; xiii. 4); to the wanderings in the wilderness (ix. 10, xiii. 5); to the sin of Baal-peor (ix. 10); to the trespass of Achan (ii. 15); to the sin of Gibeah (ix. 9, x. 9); to the self-willed demand for a king (xiii. 10, 11).

A number of parallelisms to the thought and language of the Pentateuch and earlier Historical Books may be collected. Whether Hosea was acquainted with these Books in their present form, or only with documents and traditions out of which they were compiled, is an interesting question which cannot be discussed here (see Sharpe's *Hosea*, pp. 83 sq., for a full list of passages, and Cheyne's *Hosea*, pp. 34 sq., for some necessary cautions). But of far more importance than the question of the exact literary form in which Hosea knew it, is the plain fact that Hosea unquestionably regards the past history of Israel as possessing unique religious significance.

9. Numerous allusions in later Books indicate acquaintance with Hosea. Jeremiah, who was in many ways a kindred spirit, appears to have been specially influenced by the Book. The figure of the marriage relation between Jehovah and Israel is taken up and developed in Is. l., liv.; Jer. ii., iii.; Ezek. xvi., xxiii. Cp., too, Is. i. 23 with Hos. ix. 15; Jer. iii. 18, 22 with Hosea i. 11, xiv. 2, 5; Jer. iv. 3 with Hosea x. 12; Jer. viii. 5 with Hosea xi. 5; Jer. ix. 12 with Hosea xiv. 9; Jer. xiv. 10 with Hosea viii. 13, ix. 9; Jer. xxx. 9 with Hosea iii. 5; Ezek. xxxiv. 23 sq. with Hosea iii. 5, ii. 18 sq.; Zech. x. 9 with Hosea ii. 23; Zech. xiii. 2 with Hosea ii. 17; and other passages.

10. *Quotations in the N. T.*—Hosea xi. 1 is quoted as "fulfilled" in Matt. ii. 15. Our Lord twice appeals to Hosea vi. 6 in Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7; and uses the words of x. 8 in Luke xxiii. 30 (cp. Rev. vi. 16). St. Paul combines Hosea ii. 23 and i. 10 in Rom. ix. 25, 26; and quotes xiii. 14 in 1 Cor. xv. 55. 1 Pet. ii. 10 is a reminiscence of Hosea i. 6, 9; ii. 1, 23. Cp. also Hosea vi. 2 with 1 Cor. xv. 4; xiv. 2 with Heb. xiii. 15.

11. Hosea's teaching is based on the fundamental truth of the covenant which Jehovah has made with Israel (vi. 7; viii. 1); and the nation is regarded as an individual, possessing a continuity of life, and responsible for its acts. This covenant dates from the Exodus (ii. 3; xi. 1; xii. 9, 13; xiii. 4: cp. Ex. iv. 22), though even in earlier days Jehovah had preserved their ancestor Jacob (xii. 3–5, 12). The intimacy of the relation between Jehovah and Israel is expressed by the two figures of marriage and

sonship. The figure of sonship implies, on the one hand paternal care, on the other filial obedience; the figure of marriage (impressed on the Prophet's mind by the experience of his own life) adds the thought of an intimate fellowship, a close and indissoluble union, originating in Jehovah's free love and choice, and demanding a response of love from Israel. The obligations of the covenant were embodied in a law, which the priests had neglected to teach (iv. 6), and which Israel had transgressed and despised (viii. 1, 12). The moral requirements of Jehovah are summed up under the heads of "truth, mercy, and the knowledge of God" (iv. 1, vi. 6); "righteousness and mercy" (x. 12); "mercy and judgment" (xii. 6): compare the terms of the new betrothal of the purified people (ii. 19, 20). Specially characteristic of Hosea's teaching is the word *ḥèsed* (חֶסֶד, ii. 19; iv. 1; vi. 4, 6; x. 12; xii. 6). It is rendered "loving-kindness," "mercy," or "goodness," and it includes the ideas of "love" (*ἀγάπη*), "piety," or "dutiful regard" of man to his fellow-man. "Jehovah and Israel form, as it were, one community, and *ḥèsed* is the bond by which the whole community is knit together. It is not necessary to distinguish Jehovah's *ḥèsed* to Israel, which we would term His grace, Israel's duty of *ḥèsed* to Jehovah, which we would call piety, and the relation of *ḥèsed* between man and man, which embraces the duties of love and mutual consideration. To the Hebrew mind these three are essentially one, and all are comprised in the same covenant. Loyalty and kindness between man and man are not duties inferred from Israel's relation to Jehovah, they are parts of that relation; love to Jehovah and love to one's brethren in Jehovah's house are identical (cp. iv. 1 with vi. 4, 6." (Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 162.) It is characteristic of the difference between Amos and Hosea that Amos never uses the word. Amos is a stern preacher of righteousness. He represents Jehovah as the judge of Israel. Hosea goes deeper, and deals with the springs of action. He reveals another side of the Divine character, and introduces the motive of love.

Israel's sins are all summed up in its apostasy from Jehovah. The desertion of Jehovah for Baal and other false gods (i. 2; ii. 2 sq.; iv. 12 sq.; v. 3 sq.; ix. 1); the calf-worship which Hosea condemns as no better than Baal-worship (viii. 5 sq.; xiii. 2); the hankering for foreign alliances, which implied distrust of Jehovah, their natural protector (vii. 11, 13; viii. 9, 10: cp. v. 13; xii. 1; xiv. 3), are all so many acts of unfaithfulness to the marriage tie. The separation of the kingdoms was equally an act of apostasy. The unity of the nation corresponded to the unity of God. Jehovah's spouse should be one people. And idolatry had been the direct consequence of the separation (viii. 4). The deep moral corruption of the nation, about which in its manifold forms Hosea has so much to say, is traced also to the absence of the knowledge of God (iv. 6). It was intimately connected with false worships, for the Phoenician nature worship was essentially immoral.

Hosea's view of *Israel's future* is rooted in his conviction of the imperishableness of Jehovah's love for Israel (xi. 8 sq.). Chastisement must indeed come, but it will be for correction, not for destruction. The kingdom of Israel must come to an end (iii. 4; x. 3, 7; xiii. 10); Samaria must be destroyed (xiii. 16); Ephraim shall return to Egyptian bondage (ix. 3), and go into captivity in Assyria (ix. 3; xi. 5). But the day of restoration will come (xi. 10 sq.): Israel and Judah will be reunited under the house of David (i. 11; iii. 5); false worship and idolatry will cease (ii. 17; xiv. 8); there will be no more coquetting with foreign nations (xiv. 3); the nation will once more dwell in its own land in peace and prosperity, in perfect harmony with nature and with its God (ii. 18 sq.; iii. 5; xiv. 5 sq.).

The heathen world is not included in Hosea's prospect. His prophecy is limited to Israel. He leaves it to his successors, Isaiah and Micah, to speak of the time when the nations will stream up to Jerusalem to learn Jehovah's law (Is. ii. 2–4; Mic. iv. 1–3); when even Assyria and Egypt, the bitterest enemies of the chosen people, will serve Jehovah (Is. xix. 16 sq.).

12. *Commentaries.*—A full list of the older commentaries will be found in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, vii. 1, pp. 8 sq., 32 sq.; and of the literature of this century down to 1880 in Nowack's *Commentary*, pp. xxxv. sq. Of special commentaries on Hosea it may suffice here to mention those of Simson (1851); Wünsche (1868), interesting for its constant reference to Jewish exegesis; Nowack (1880), most thorough and careful; Scholz (1882): in English, Sharpe, *Notes and Dissertations on the Prophecy of Hosea* (1884); Cheyne, in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* (1884), sympathetic and suggestive; and (unrivalled as a general survey) Prof. Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, Lect. IV. Cp. also Driver, *LOT.* ch. vi. [A. F. K.]

HOSEN (Dan. iii. 21), plur. form of A.-S. hose. The word originally meant any kind of covering for the legs, and not merely stockings as now (Lumby, *Glossary of Bible Words*, s. n., in Eyre and Spottiswoode's "Teacher's Bible").

HOSHAI'AH (הוֹשַׁעְיָה = *Jah hath saved; Osaias*). **1.** (Ὡσαΐα.) A man who assisted in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem after it had been rebuilt by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 32). He led the princes (שָׂרֵי) of Judah in the procession, but whether he himself was one of them we are not told.

2. The father of a certain Jezaniah, or Azariah, who was a man of note after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xlii. [LXX. xlix.] 1 [T.[7] *Μαασαίου*, A. *Μασαιάς*, ℵ.[3] *Ὡσαΐου*], xliii. [LXX. l.] 2 [T.[7] and A. as before, ℵ.[1] *Μαασσαΐου*, ℵ.[23] *Μνασσ-*]).

HOSHA'MA (הוֹשָׁמָע = *Jah hath heard*; B. Ὡσαμώθ, A. Ὡσαμώ; *Sama*), one of the sons of Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, the last king of Judah but one (1 Ch. iii. 18). It is worthy of notice that, in the narrative of the capture of Jeconiah by Nebuchadnezzar, though the mother and the wives of the king are mentioned, nothing is said about his sons (2 K. xxiv. 12, 15). In agreement with this is the denunciation of him as a childless man in Jer. xxii. 30. There is good reason for suspecting some confusion

in the present state of the text of the genealogy of the royal family in 1 Ch. iii.; and these facts would seem to confirm it.

HOSHE'A (הוֹשֵׁעַ = *healing*; Ὡσηέ; *Osee*), the 19th, last, and best king of Israel. He succeeded Pekah, whom he slew in a successful conspiracy, thereby fulfilling a prophecy of Isaiah (Is. vii. 16). Although Josephus calls Hoshea a *friend* of Pekah (*φίλου τινὸς ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ*, *Ant.* ix. 13, § 1), we have no ground for calling this "a treacherous murder" (Prideaux, i. 16). It took place B.C. 737, "in the twentieth year of Jotham" (2 K. xv. 30), *i.e.* "in the twentieth year *after* Jotham became sole king," for he only reigned sixteen years (2 K. xv. 33). But there must have been an interregnum of at least eight years before Hoshea came to the throne, which was not till B.C. 729, in the twelfth year of Ahaz (2 K. xvii. 1: we cannot, with Clericus, read fourth for twelfth in this verse, because of 2 K. xviii. 9). This way of reconciling the apparent discrepancy between the passages has been adopted by Ussher, Des Vignoles, Tiele, &c. (Winer, s. v. *Hoseas*). The other methods suggested by Hitzig, Lightfoot, &c., are mostly untenable (Keil on 2 K. xv. 30).

The true aspect of Hoshea's elevation comes to us from the Assyrian inscriptions. Tiglath-pileser records that in his twelfth year (B.C. 734) he advanced as far as Gaza, capturing Gal[eed] and [A]bel on the way (see 2 K. xv. 29, 30), and "the land of the house of Omri, the distant . . . the whole of its inhabitants with their possessions to Assyria I deported. *Pekah, their king, I slew. Hosea over them I appointed.* Ten . . . I received from them" (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 255). It appears from this inscription that Hoshea was raised to the throne because he stood at the head of the Assyrian party in Ephraim, whereas Pekah was in alliance with Rezin, king of Damascus. Tiglath-pileser took Damascus in 732, and Hoshea was probably one of the vassal kings who there waited upon him, though he is not mentioned as Ahaz ("Joahaz") is by the conqueror.

It is expressly stated (2 K. xvii. 2) that Hoshea was not so sinful as his predecessors. According to the Rabbis, this superiority consisted in his removing from the frontier-cities the guards placed there by his predecessors to prevent their subjects from worshipping at Jerusalem (*Seder Olam Rabba*, cap. 22, quoted by Prideaux, i. 16), and in his not hindering the Israelites from accepting the invitation of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxx. 10), nor checking their zeal against idolatry (*id.* xxxi. 1). This encomium, however, is founded on the untenable supposition that Hezekiah's Passover preceded the fall of Samaria [HEZEKIAH], and we must be content with the general fact that Hoshea showed a more theocratic spirit than the former kings of Israel. The compulsory cessation of the calf-worship may have removed his greatest temptation, for Tiglath-pileser had carried off the golden calf from Dan some years before (*Sed. Ol. Rab.* 22), and that at Bethel was taken away by Shalmaneser in his first invasion (2 K. xvii. 3; Hos. x. 14; Prideaux, *l. c.*). But, whatever may have been his excellences, he still "did evil in the sight of the Lord," and it was too late to avert retribution by any improvements.

In the third year of his reign (B.C. 726) Shalmaneser IV., impelled probably by mere thirst of conquest, came against him, cruelly stormed the strong caves of Beth-arbel (Hos. x. 14), and made Israel tributary (2 K. xvii. 3) for three years. At the end of this period, encouraged perhaps by the revolt of Hezekiah, Hoshea entered into a secret alliance with So, king of Egypt (who was either the *Σεύεχος* of Manetho, and son of *Σαβακῶς*, Herod. ii. 137; Keil, Vitringa, Gesenius, &c.; Jahn, *Hebr. Com.* § xl.; or else Sabaco himself, Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 308 [1878]; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 610), to throw off the Assyrian yoke. The alliance did him no good; it was revealed to the court of Nineveh by the Assyrian party in Ephraim, and Hoshea was immediately seized as a rebellious vassal, shut up in prison, and apparently treated with the utmost indignity (Mic. v. 1). If this happened *before* the siege (2 K. xvii. 4), we must account for it either by supposing that Hoshea, hoping to dissemble and gain time, had gone to Shalmaneser to account for his conduct, or that he had been defeated and taken prisoner in some unrecorded battle. That he disappeared very suddenly, like "foam upon the water," we may infer from Hos. x. 7, xiii. 11. The siege of Samaria lasted three years; for that "glorious and beautiful city" was strongly situated like "a crown of pride" among her hills (Is. xxviii. 1–5). During the course of the siege Shalmaneser must have died, for it is certain that Samaria was taken by his successor Sargon in B.C. 722, who thus laconically describes the event in his Annals:—"Samaria I looked at, I captured; 27,280 men (families?) who dwelt in it I carried away. I constructed fifty chariots in their country . . . I appointed a governor over them, and continued upon them the tribute of the former people" (Botta, 145, 11, quoted by Dr. Hincks, *J. of Sacr. Lit.* Oct. 1858; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* i. 148). This was probably B.C. 721 or 720. For the future history of the unhappy Ephraimites, the places to which they were transplanted by the policy of their conqueror and his officer, "the great and noble Asnapper" (Ezra iv. 10), and the nations by which they were superseded, see SAMARIA. Of the subsequent fortunes of Hoshea we know nothing. He came to the throne too late, and governed a kingdom torn to pieces by foreign invasion and intestine broils. Sovereign after sovereign had fallen by the dagger of the assassin; and we see from the dark and terrible delineations of the contemporary Prophets [HOSEA, MICAH, ISAIAH], that murder and idolatry, drunkenness and lust, had eaten like "an incurable wound" (Mic. i. 9) into the inmost heart of the national morality. Ephraim was dogged to its ruin by the apostate policy of the renegade who had asserted its independence (2 K. xvii.; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14; Prideaux, i. 15 sq.; Keil, *On Kings*, ii. 50 sq., Engl. ed.; Jahn, *Hebr. Com.* § xl.; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 607–613; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* ch. ix., Engl. transl.; Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 149). [F. W. F.]

HOSHE'A (הוֹשֵׁעַ = *healing*. The name is precisely the same as that of the Prophet known to us as HOSEA). **1.** The son of Nun, *i.e.* Joshua

(Deut. xxxii. 44; and also in Num. xiii. 8, A. V. OSHEA, R. V. Hoshea). It was probably his original name, to which the Divine name of Jah was afterwards added—Jehoshua, Joshua—"Jehovah's help." The LXX. in this passage misses the distinction, and have Ἰησοῦς; Vulg. *Josue*.

2. (Ὡσή; *Osee*.) Son of Azaziah (1 Ch. xxvii. 20); like his great namesake, a man of Ephraim, ruler (*nāgīd*) of his tribe in the time of king David.

3. (B. Ὡσηθά, A. Ὡσηέ; *Osee*.) One of the heads of the "people"—*i.e.* the laymen—who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 23). [W. A. W.] [F.]

HOSPITALITY. The rites of hospitality are to be distinguished from the customs prevailing in the entertainment of guests [FOOD; MEALS], and from the laws and practices relating to charity, almsgiving, &c. Hospitality was regarded as one of the chief virtues by most nations of the ancient world, and especially by peoples of the Semitic stock; but that it was not characteristic of the latter alone is amply shown by the usages of the Greeks and even of the Romans. Race undoubtedly influences its exercise, and it must also be ascribed in no small degree to the social state of a nation. Thus the desert tribes have always placed the virtue higher in their esteem than the townsfolk of the same descent as themselves; and in our own day, though an Arab townsman is hospitable, he entertains notions on the subject different from those of the Arab of the desert (the Bedawi). The former has fewer opportunities of showing his hospitality; and when he does so, he does it not so much with the feeling of discharging an obligatory act as of performing a social duty. With the advance of civilisation the calls of hospitality become less and less urgent. The dweller in the wilderness, however, finds the entertainment of wayfarers to be a part of his daily life, and that to refuse it is to deny a common humanity. Viewed in this light, the notions of the Greeks and of the Romans must be appreciated as the recognition of the virtue where its necessity was not of the urgent character that it possesses in the more primitive lands of the East. The ancient Egyptians resembled the Greeks; but, with a greater exclusiveness, they limited their entertainments to their own countrymen, being constrained by the national and priestly abhorrence and dread of foreigners. This exclusion throws some obscurity on their practices in the discharge of hospitality; but otherwise their customs in the entertainment of guests resembled those well known to classical scholars—customs probably derived in a great measure from Egypt.

While hospitality is acknowledged to have been a wide-spread virtue in ancient times, we must concede that it flourished chiefly among the race of Shem. The O. T. abounds with illustrations of the religious ordinance to use hospitality, and of the strong national belief in its importance: so, too, in the writings of the N. T.; and though the Eastern Jews of modern times dare not entertain a stranger lest he be an enemy, and the long oppression they have endured has begotten that greed of gain that has made their name a proverb, the ancient hospitality still lives in their hearts. The desert, however, is yet free; it is as of old a howling wilderness; and hospitality is as necessary and as freely given as in patriarchal times. Among the Arabs we find the best illustrations of the old Bible narratives, and among them see traits that might beseem their ancestor Abraham.

The laws respecting strangers (Lev. xix. 33, 34) and the poor (Lev. xxv. 14 sq.; Deut. xv. 7), and concerning redemption (Lev. xxv. 23 sq.), &c., are framed in accordance with the spirit of hospitality; and the strength of the national feeling regarding it is shown in the incidental mentions of its practice. In the Law, compassion to strangers is constantly enforced by the words, "for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (cp. Lev. xix. 34). And before the Law, Abraham's entertainment of the Angels (Gen. xviii. 1 sq.), and Lot's (xix. 1), are in exact agreement with its precepts and with modern usage. So Moses was received by Jethro, the priest of Midian, who reproached his daughters, though he believed him to be an Egyptian, saying, "And where is he? why is it that ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread" (Ex. ii. 20). The story of Joseph's hospitality to his brethren, although he knew them to be such, appears to be narrated as an ordinary occurrence; and in like manner Pharaoh received Jacob with a liberality not merely dictated by his relationship to the benefactor of Egypt. Like Abraham, "Manoah said unto the Angel of the Lord, I pray thee, let us detain thee until we shall have made ready a kid for thee" (Judg. xiii. 15); and, like Lot, the old man of Gibeah sheltered the Levite when he saw him, "a wayfaring man in the street of the city: and the old man said, Whither goest thou? and whence comest thou? . . . Peace be with thee; howsoever, let all thy wants lie upon me; only lodge not in the street. So he brought him into his house, and gave provender unto the asses; and they washed their feet, and did eat and drink" (Judg. xix. 17, 20, 21).

In the N. T. hospitality is yet more markedly enjoined; and in the more civilised state of society which then prevailed, its exercise became more a social virtue than a necessity of patriarchal life. The good Samaritan stands for all ages as an example of Christian hospitality, embodying the command to love one's neighbour as oneself; and Christ's charge to the disciples strengthened that command: "He that receiveth you receiveth Me, and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me . . . And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water [only], in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward" (Matt. x. 42). The neglect of Christ is symbolised by inhospitality to our neighbours, in the words "I was a stranger, and ye took Me not in" (Matt. xxv. 43). The Apostles urged the Church to "follow after hospitality," using the forcible words τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες (Rom. xii. 13; cp. 1 Tim. v. 10); to remember Abraham's example, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained Angels unawares" (Heb. xiii. 2); to "use hospitality one to another without grudging" (1 Pet. iv. 9); while a Bishop must be a "lover of hospitality" (Tit. i. 8; cp. 1 Tim. iii. 2). The practice of

the early Christians was in accord with these precepts. They had all things in common, and their hospitality was a characteristic of their belief.

If such has been the usage of Biblical times, it is in the next place important to remark how hospitality was shown. In the patriarchal ages we may take Abraham's example as the most fitting, as we have of it the fullest account; and by the light of Arab custom we may see, without obscurity, his hasting to the tent-door to meet his guests, with the words, "My lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant: let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree, and I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts." "And," to continue the narrative in the vigorous language of the A. V., "Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth. And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf tender and good, and gave it unto a young man, and he hasted to dress it. And he took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat." A traveller in the Eastern desert may see, through the vista of ages, this far-off example in its living traces. "Hospitality," says Lane, "is a virtue for which the natives of the East in general are highly and deservedly admired; and the people of Egypt are well entitled to commendation on this account. A word which signifies literally 'a person on a journey' (musāfir) is the term most commonly employed in this country in the sense of a visitor or guest. There are very few persons here who would think of sitting down to a meal, if there was a stranger in the house, without inviting him to partake of it, unless the latter were a menial, in which case he would be invited to eat with the servants. It would be considered a shameful violation of good manners if a Muslim abstained from ordering the table to be prepared at the usual time because a visitor happened to be present. Persons of the middle classes in this country, if living in a retired situation, sometimes take their supper before the door of their house, and invite every passenger of respectable appearance to eat with them.[a] This is very commonly done among the lower orders. In cities and large towns claims on hospitality are infrequent, as there are many wakālahs or khāns, where strangers may obtain lodging; and food is very easily procured: but in the villages travellers are often lodged and entertained by the Sheykh or some other inhabitant; and if the guest be a person of the middle or higher classes, or even not very poor, he gives a present to the host's servants, or to the host himself. In the desert, however, a present is seldom received from a guest. By a Sunnah law a traveller may claim entertainment, of any person able to afford it to him, for three days. The account of Abraham's entertaining the three Angels, related in the Bible, presents a perfect picture of the manner in which a modern Bedawi sheykh receives travellers arriving at his encampment. He immediately orders his wife or women to make bread, slaughters a sheep or some other animal, and dresses it in haste, and bringing milk and any other provisions that he may have ready at hand, with the bread and the meat which he has dressed, sets them before his guests. If these be persons of high rank, he stands by them while they eat, as Abraham did in the case above alluded to. Most Bedawis will suffer almost any injury to themselves or their families rather than allow their guests to be ill-treated while under their protection. There are Arabs who even regard the chastity of their wives as not too precious to be sacrificed for the gratification of their guests (see Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, &c., 8vo ed., i. 179, 180); and at an encampment of the Bishārīn, I ascertained that there are many persons in this great tribe (which inhabits a large portion of the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea) who offer their unmarried daughters (cp. Gen. xxi. 8; Judg. xix. 24) to their guests, merely from motives of hospitality, and not for hire" (*Mod. Eg.* ch. xiii.). Lane adds that there used to be a very numerous class of persons, called Tufailīs, who lived by spunging, presuming on the well-known hospitality of their countrymen, and going from house to house where entertainments were being given. The Arabs along the Syrian frontier usually pitch the Sheykh's tent towards the west, that is, towards the inhabited country, to invite passengers and lodge them on their way (Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, &c., 8vo ed., i. 33); it is held to be disgraceful to encamp in a place out of the way of travellers; and it is a custom of the Bedawis to light fires in their encampments to attract travellers, and to keep dogs which, besides watching against robbers, may, in the night-time, guide wayfarers to their tents. Hence a hospitable man is proverbially called "one whose dogs bark loudly."[b] Approaching an encampment, the traveller often sees several horsemen coming towards him, and striving who shall be first to claim him as a guest. The favourite national game of the Arabs before Islām illustrates their hospitality. It was called "Maisir," and was played with arrows, some notched and others without marks. A young camel was caught and killed, and divided into twenty-four portions: those who drew marked arrows had shares in proportion to the number of notches; those who drew blanks paid the cost of the camel among them. Neither party, however, ate of

[a] "It is said to have been a custom of some of the Barmekees (the family so renowned for their generosity) to keep open house during the hours of meals, and to allow no one who applied at such times for admission to be repulsed."—Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, ch. v. note 97.

[b] The time of entertainment, according to the precept of Mohammad, is three days, and he permitted a guest to take this right by force; although one day and one night is the period of the host's being "kind" to him (*Mishkāt el-Musābih*, ii. 329). Burckhardt (*Notes on the Bedouins*, &c. i. 178, 179) says that a stranger without friends in a camp alights at the first tent, where the women, in the absence of the owner, provide for his refreshment. After the lapse of three days and four hours, he must, if he would avoid censure, either assist in household duties, or claim hospitality at another tent.

the flesh of the camel, which was always given to the poor; and "this they did out of pride and ostentation," says Sale, "it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion." Sale, however, is hardly philosophical in this remark, which concerns only the abuse of a practice originally arising from a national virtue: but Mohammad forbade the game, with all other games of chance, on the plea that it gave rise to quarrels, &c. (Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 96, ed. 1836, and *Koran*, ch. ii. and v.).

The Oriental respect for the covenant of bread and salt, or salt alone, certainly sprang from the high regard in which hospitality was held. Even accidentally to taste another's salt imposes this obligation; and to so great an extent is the feeling carried that a thief has been known to give up his booty in obedience to it. Thus Al-Laith As-Saffār, when a robber, left his booty in the passage of the royal treasury of Sig'istān; accidentally he stumbled over, and, in the dark, tasted a lump of rock-salt: his respect for his covenant gained his pardon, and he became the founder of a royal dynasty. The Arab peculiarity was carried into Spain by the so-called Moors.

For the customs of the Greeks and Romans in the entertainment of guests, and the exercise of hospitality generally, the reader is referred to the *Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Antiq.*, art. *Hospitium*. They are incidentally illustrated by passages in the N. T., but it is difficult to distinguish between those so derived and the native Oriental customs which, as we have said, are very similar. To one of the customs of classical antiquity a reference is supposed to exist in Rev. ii. 17: "To him that overcometh will *I* give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth [it]." [E. S. P.]

HO'THAM (חוֹתָם = *signet ring*; B. Χωθάν, A. Χωθάμ; *Hotham*), a man of Asher; son of Heber, of the family of Beriah (1 Ch. vii. 32).

HO'THAN, R. V. **HOTHAM** (חוֹתָם; B. Κωθάν, A. Χωθάν; *Hotham*), a man of Aroer, father of Shama and Jehiel, two of the heroes of David's guard (1 Ch. xi. 44). The substitution of Hothan for Hotham is an error which has been retained in the A. V. from the edition of 1611 till now. Cp. the rendering of the LXX. both of this and the preceding name.

HO'THIR (חוֹתִיר, ? = *fulness*; B. Ὠθηρεί, Ἡθεί, A. Ἰωεθιρί, Ἰεθιρί; *Othir*), the thirteenth son of HEMAN, "the king's seer" (1 Ch. xxv. 4), and therefore a Kohathite Levite. He had the charge of the twenty-first course of the musicians in the service of the Tabernacle (xxv. 28).

HOUGH (pron. *hock*) from the A.-S. *hoh* = the ham of the leg. The word is applied in Josh. xi. 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii. 4, to cutting the hamstrings of an animal and thus disabling it (see Lumby, *Gloss. of Bible Words*, s. n., in Eyre and Spottiswoode's "Teacher's Bible"). [F.]

HOUR (שְׁעָה, שַׁעְתָּא, Chald.). This word is first found in Dan. iii. 6, iv. 19, 33, v. 5; and it occurs several times in the Apocrypha (Judith xiv. 8; 2 Esd. ix. 44). It seems to be a vague expression for a short period, and the frequent phrase "in the same hour" means "immediately": hence we find כִּשְׁעָה substituted in the Targum for כְּרֶגַע, "in a moment" (Num. xvi. 21, &c.). Ὥρα is frequently used in the same way by the N. T. writers (Matt. viii. 13; Luke xii. 39, &c.). It occurs in the LXX. as a rendering for various words meaning time, just as it does in Greek writers long before it acquired the specific meaning of our word "hour." *Sā'ah* is still used in Arabic both for an hour and a moment.

The ancient Hebrews were probably unacquainted with the division of the natural day into twenty-four parts. The general distinctions of "morning, evening, and noonday" (Ps. lv. 17) were sufficient for them at first, as they were for the early Greeks (Hom. *Il.* xxi. 111); afterwards the Greeks adopted five marked periods of the day (Jul. Pollux, *Onom.* i. 68; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* ii. *de Glor.*), and the Hebrews parcelled out the period between sunrise and sunset into a series of minute divisions distinguished by the sun's course [DAY], as is still done by the Arabs, who have stated forms of prayers for each period (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. ch. 3).

The early Jews appear to have divided the day into *four* parts (Neh. ix. 3), and the night into three watches (Judg. vii. 19) [DAY; WATCHES], and even in the N. T. we find a trace of this division in Matt. xx. 1–5. There is, however, no proof of the assertion sometimes made, that ὥρα in the Gospels may occasionally mean a space of three hours.

The Greeks adopted the division of the day into twelve hours from the Babylonians (Herod. ii. 109; cp. Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. p. 334). At what period the Jews became first acquainted with this way of reckoning time is unknown, but it is generally supposed that they too learnt it from the Babylonians during the Captivity (Waehner, *Ant. Hebr.* § v. ch. i. 8, 9). They *may* have had some such division at a much earlier period, as has been inferred from the fact that Ahaz erected a sun-dial in Jerusalem, the use of which had probably been learnt from Babylon. There is, however, the greatest uncertainty as to the meaning of the word מַעֲלוֹת (A. V. "degrees," Is. xxxviii. 8). [DIAL.] It is strange that the Jews were not acquainted with this method of reckoning even earlier; for, although a purely conventional one, it is naturally suggested by the months in a year. Sir G. Wilkinson thinks that it arose from a less obvious cause (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 334). In whatever way originated, it was known to the Egyptians at a very early period. They had twelve hours of the day and of the night (called Nau = hour), each of which had its own genius, drawn with a star on its head. The word is said by Lepsius to be found as far back as the 5th dynasty (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 135).

[The Romans had two methods of reckoning the hours of the day: one, in common with other nations and in general use, from sunrise to sunset; the other, peculiar to themselves and adapted to legal and technical purposes (Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag*, p. 198 sq.), from

midnight to midnight. St. John is usually thought to have adopted this latter reckoning, but the question is very complicated. See Westcott on St. John xix., *Add. note;* Cross in *Class. Rev.*, June 1891; and Dods, *The Gospel of St. John*, i. 132.—F.]

There are two kinds of hours, viz. (1) the astronomical or equinoctial hour, *i.e.* the twenty-fourth part of a civil day, which, although "known to astronomers, was not used in the affairs of common life till towards the end of the 4th century of the Christian era" (*Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Ant.* s. v. *Hora*): and (2) the natural hour (which the Rabbis called זְמַנִּיּוֹת, *καιρικαὶ* or *temporales*), *i.e.* the twelfth part of the natural day, or of the time between sunrise and sunset. These are the hours meant in the N. T., Josephus, and the Rabbis (John xi. 9, &c.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4, § 3), and it must be remembered that they perpetually vary in length, so as to be very different at different times of the year. Besides this, an hour of the day would always mean a different length of time from an hour of the night except at the equinox. From the consequent uncertainty of the term there arose the proverbial expression "not all hours are equal" (R. Joshua *ap.* Carpzov. *App. Crit.* 345). At the equinoxes the third hour would correspond to 9 o'clock; the sixth would *always* be at noon. To find the exact time meant at other seasons of the year we must know when the sun rises in Palestine, and reduce the hours to our reckoning accordingly. [DAY.] (Winer, s. vv. *Tag, Uhren;* Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 101.) What horologic contrivances the Jews possessed in the time of our Lord is uncertain; but we may safely suppose that they had gnomons, dials, and clepsydrae, all of which had long been known to the Persians and other nations with whom they had come in contact. Of course the first two were inaccurate and uncertain indications, but the water-clock by ingenious modifications, according to the season of the year, became a very tolerable assistance in marking time. Mention is also made of a curious invention called צְרוֹר שָׁעָה, by which a figure was constructed so as to drop a stone into a brazen basin every hour, the sound of which was heard for a great distance and announced the time (Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Hora*).

For the purposes of prayer the old division of the day into four portions was continued in the Temple service, as we see from Acts ii. 15, iii. 1, x. 9. The Jews supposed that the third hour had been consecrated by Abraham, the sixth by Isaac, and the ninth by Jacob (Kimchi; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* ad Acts iii. 1). It is probable that the canonical hours observed by the Roman Catholics (of which there are eight in the twenty-four) are derived from these Temple hours (*Moses and Aar.* iii. 9).

The Rabbis pretend that the hours were divided into 1080 חֲלָקִים (minutes) and 56,848 רְגָעִים (seconds), which numbers were chosen because they are so easily divisible (*Gem. Hier. Berachoth*, 2, 4; in Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* iv. 1, § 19). [F. W. F.]

HOUSE (בַּיִת; *οἶκος; domus;* Chald. בֵּית, *to pass the night*, Gesen. *Thes.* p. 191 *b*), a dwelling in general, whether literally, as house, tent, palace, citadel, tomb; derivatively, as tabernacle, temple, heaven; or metaphorically, as family. Although, in Oriental language, every tent (see Gesen. p. 32) may be regarded as a house (Harmer, *Obs.* i. 194), yet the distinction between the permanent dwelling-house and the tent must have taken rise from the moment of the division of mankind into dwellers in tents and builders of cities, *i.e.* of permanent habitations (Gen. iv. 17, 20; Is. xxxviii. 12). The Hebrews did not become habitually dwellers in cities till the sojourn in Egypt and after the conquest of Canaan (Gen. xlvii. 3; Ex. xii. 7; Heb. xi. 9), while the Canaanites as well as the Assyrians were from an earlier period builders and inhabitants of cities, and it was into the houses and cities built by the former that the Hebrews entered to take possession after the conquest (Gen. x. 11, 19, xix. 1, xxiii. 10, xxxiv. 20; Num. xi. 27; Deut. vi. 10, 11). The private dwellings of the Assyrians and Babylonians have altogether perished, but the solid material of the houses of Syria, east of the Jordan, may perhaps have preserved entire specimens of the ancient dwellings, even of the original inhabitants of that region (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 195, 196; Graham in *Camb. Essays*, 1859, p. 160, &c.; cp. Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, pp. 171, 172).

In inferring the plan and arrangement of ancient Jewish or Oriental houses, as alluded to in Scripture, from existing dwellings in Syria, Egypt, and the East in general, allowance must be made for the difference in climate between Egypt, Persia, and Palestine, a cause from which would proceed differences in certain cases of material and construction, as well as of domestic arrangement.

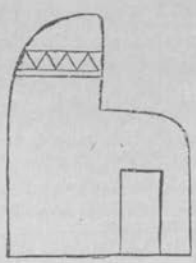
1. The houses of the rural poor in Egypt, as well as in most parts of Syria, Arabia, and Persia, are for the most part mere huts of mud, or sun-burnt bricks. In some parts of Palestine and Arabia stone is used, and in certain districts caves in the rock are used as dwellings (Amos v. 11; Bartlett, *Walks*, &c., p. 117; CAVES). The houses are usually of one story only, viz. the ground-floor, and sometimes contain only one apartment. Sometimes a small court for the cattle is attached; and in some cases the cattle are housed in the same building, or the people live on a raised platform, and the cattle round them on the ground (1 Sam. xxviii. 24; Irby and Mangles, p. 70; Jolliffe, *Letters*, i. 43; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 170; Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii. 119; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 72). In Lower Egypt the oxen occupy the width of the chamber farthest from the entrance, which is built of brick or mud, about four feet high, and the top is often used as a sleeping-place in winter. The windows are small apertures high up in the walls, sometimes grated with wood (Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 241, ii. 101, 119, 301, 329; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 44). The roofs are commonly but not always flat, and are usually formed of a plaster of mud and straw laid upon boughs or rafters; and upon the flat roofs, tents or "booths" of boughs or rushes are often raised to be used as sleeping-places in summer (Irby and Mangles, p. 71; Niebuhr, *Descr.* pp. 49, 53; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 112; *Nineveh*, i. 176; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 280; *Travels*, i. 190; Van Egmont, ii. 32; Malan, *Magdala & Bethany*, p. 15). To this description the houses of ancient Egypt and also

of Assyria, as represented in the monuments, in great measure correspond (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pt. ii. pl. 49, 50; bas-relief in Brit. Mus. Assyrian Room, No. 49; 1st Egypt. Room, case 17; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 13 [1878];

A Nestorian House, with stages upon the roof for sleeping. (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 177.)

Martineau, *East. Life*, i. 19, 97). In the towns the houses of the inferior kind do not differ much from the above description, but they are sometimes of more than one story, and the roof-terraces are more carefully constructed. In Palestine they are often of stone (Jolliffe, i. 26).

2. The difference between the poorest houses and those of the class next above them is greater than between these and the houses of the first



Assyrian House, Kouyunjik.

rank. The prevailing plan of Eastern houses of this class presents, as was the case in ancient Egypt, a front of wall, whose blank and mean appearance is usually relieved only by the door and a few latticed and projecting windows (*Views in Syria*, ii. 25). Within this is a court or courts with apartments opening into them. Some of the finest houses in the East are to be found at Damascus, where in some of them are seven such courts. When there are only two, the innermost is the *harīm*, in which the women and children live, and which is jealously secluded from the entrance of any man but the master of the house (Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 188; Van Egmont, ii. 246, 253; Shaw, p. 207; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 34, 37, 60; Chardin, *Voyages*, vi. 6; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 179, 207). Over the door is a projecting window with a lattice more or less elaborately wrought, which, except in times of public celebrations, is usually closed (2 K. ix. 30; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 207, Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 27). The doorway or door bears an inscription from

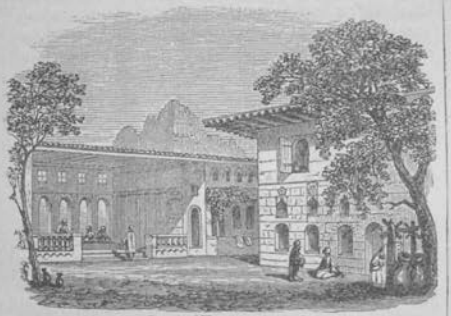
Entrance to House in Cairo. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians.*)

the Kur'ān, as the ancient Egyptian houses had inscriptions over their doors, and as the Israelites were directed to write sentences from the Law over their gates. [GATE.] The entrance is usually guarded within from sight by a wall or some arrangement of the passages. In the passage is a stone seat for the porter and other servants (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 32; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 207; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 111). Beyond this passage is an open court like the Roman impluvium, often paved with marble. Into this the principal apartments look, and are either open to it in front, or are entered from it by doors. An awning is sometimes drawn over the court, and the floor

Inner court of House in Cairo, with Mak'ad. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians.*)

strewed with carpets on festive occasions (Shaw, p. 208). On the ground-floor there is generally an apartment for male visitors, called *mandarah*,

having a portion of the floor sunk below the rest called *durkā'ah*. This is often paved with marble or coloured tiles, and has in the centre a fountain. The rest of the floor is a raised platform called *līwān*, with a mattress and cushions at the back on each of the three sides. This seat or sofa is called *dīwān*. Every person on entrance takes off his shoes on the *durkā'ah* before stepping on the *līwān* (Ex. iii. 5; Josh. v. 15; Luke vii. 38). The ceilings over the *līwān* and *durkā'ah* are often richly panelled and ornamented (Jer. xxii. 14). [CEILING.] The stairs to the upper apartments are in Syria usually in a corner of the court (Robinson, iii. 302). When there is no upper story, the lower rooms are usually loftier. In Persia they are open from top to bottom, and only divided from the court by a low partition (cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 8–10 [1878]; Chardin, iv. 119; Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 18, 19; *Views in Syria*, i. 56). Around part, if not the whole, of the court is a verandah, often nine or ten feet deep, over which, when there is more than one floor, runs a second gallery of like depth with a balustrade (Shaw, p. 208). Bearing in mind that the reception room is raised above the level of the court (Chardin, iv. 118; *Views in Syria*, i. 56), we may, in explaining the circumstances of the



Court of House at Antioch.

miracle of the paralytic (Mark ii. 3; Luke v. 18), suppose, 1. that our Lord was standing under the verandah, and the people in front in the court. The bearers of the sick man ascended the stairs to the roof of the house, and taking off a portion of the boarded covering of the verandah, or removing the awning over the impluvium, τὸ μέσον, in the former case let down the bed *through* the verandah roof, or in the latter, *down by way of* the roof, διὰ τῶν κεράμων, and deposited it before the Saviour (Shaw, p. 212). 2. Another explanation presents itself in considering the room where the company were assembled as the ὑπερῷον, and the roof opened for the bed to be the true roof of the house (Trench, *Miracles*, p. 199; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 39). 3. And one still more simple is found in regarding the house as one of the rude dwellings now to be seen near the Sea of Galilee, a mere room "10 or 12 feet high and as many or more square," with no opening except the door. The roof, used as a sleeping-place, is reached by a ladder from the outside, and the bearers of the paralytic, unable to approach the door, would thus have ascended the roof, and, having uncovered it (ἐξορύξαντες), let him down into the room where our Lord was (Miss Rogers, *Dom. Life in Palestine*, p. 47; Malan, *l. c.*).

The stairs to the upper apartments or to the roof are often shaded by vines or creeping plants, and the courts, especially the inner ones, planted with trees. The court has often a well or tank in it (Ps. cxxviii. 3; 2 Sam. xvii. 18; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 24, 32; Wilkinson, i. 6–8; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 32; *Views in Syria*, i. 56).

Kā'ah of House in Cairo. (Lane.)

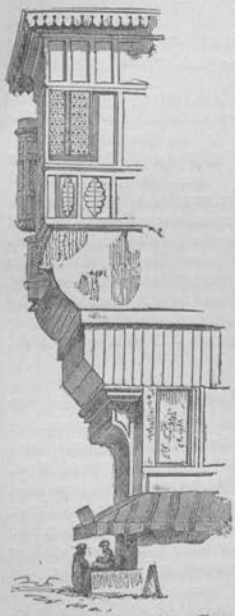
Besides the *mandarah*, there is sometimes a second room, either on the ground or upper floor, called *Kā'ah*, fitted with *dīwāns*, and at the corners of these rooms portions taken off and enclosed form retiring rooms (Lane, i. 39; Russell, i. 31, 33).

When there is no second floor, but more than one court, the women's apartments, *harīm*, *harem* or *haram* (حريم and حرم), *secluded*, or *prohibited*, with which may be compared the Hebrew Armon, אַרְמוֹן, Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 82), are usually in the second court; otherwise they form a separate building within the general enclosure, or are above on the first floor (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 179, 207; *Views in Syria*, i. 56). The entrance to the harem is crossed by no one but the master of the house and the domestics belonging to the female establishment. Though this remark would not apply

Interior of House (harem) in Damascus.

in the same degree to Jewish habits, the privacy of the women's apartments may possibly be indicated by the "inner chamber" (חֶדֶר; ταμιεῖον; *cubiculum*) resorted to as a hiding-place (1 K. xx. 30, xxii. 25; see Judg. xv. 1). Solomon, in his marriage with a foreigner, introduced also foreign usage in this respect, which was carried farther in subsequent times (1 K. vii. 8; 2 K. xxiv. 15). [WOMEN.] The harem of the Persian monarch (בֵּית נָשִׁים; ὁ γυναικών; *domus feminarum*) is noticed in the Book of Esther (ii. 3).

When there is an upper story, the Ká'ah forms the most important apartment, and thus probably answers to the ὑπερῷον, which was often the "guest-chamber" (Luke xxii. 12; Acts i. 13, ix. 37, xx. 8; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 154; Miss Rogers, pp. 130, 177; Robinson, ii. 229). The windows of the upper rooms often project one or two feet, and form a kiosk or latticed chamber, the ceilings of which are elaborately ornamented (Lane, i. 27; Russell, i. 102; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 190). Such may have been the "chamber in the wall" (עֲלִיָּה; ὑπερῷον; *coenaculum*; Gesen. p. 1030) made, or rather set apart for Elisha, by the Shunammite woman (2 K. iv. 10, 11). So also the "summer parlour" of Eglon (Judg. iii. 20, 23, but see Wilkinson, i. 11), the "loft" of the widow of Zarephath (1 K. xvii. 19). The "lattice" (שְׁבָכָה; δικτυωτόν; *cancelli*) through which Ahaziah fell, perhaps belonged to an upper chamber of this kind (2 K. i. 2), as also the "third loft" (τρίστεγον) from which Eutychus fell (Acts xx. 9; comp. Jer. xxii. 13). There are usually no special bed-rooms in Eastern houses, and thus the room in which Ishbosheth was murdered was probably an ordinary room with a *dīwān*, on which he was sleeping during the heat of the day (2 Sam. iv. 5, 6; Lane, i. 41).



House in a street at Cairo. (From Roberts.)

Sometimes the *dīwān* is raised sufficiently to allow of cellars underneath for stores of all kinds (ταμιεῖα, Matt. xxiv. 26; Russell, i. 32).

The outer doors are closed with a wooden lock, but in some cases the apartments are divided from each other by curtains only (Lane, i. 42; Chardin, iv. 123; Russell, i. 21).

There are no chimneys, but fire is made when required with charcoal in a chafing-dish; or a fire of wood might be kindled in the open court of the house (Luke xxii. 55; Russell, i. 21; Lane, i. 41; Miss Rogers, p. 153; Chardin, iv. 120).

Besides the *mandarah*, some houses in Cairo have an apartment called *mak'ad*, open in front to the court, with two or more arches, and a railing; and a pillar to support the wall above (Lane, i. 38). It was in a chamber of this kind, probably one of the largest size to be found in a palace, that our Lord was being arraigned before the high-priest, at the time when the denial of Him by St. Peter took place. He "turned and looked" on Peter as he stood by the fire in the court (Luke xxii. 56, 61; John xviii. 24), whilst He Himself was in the "hall of judgment," the *mak'ad*. Such was the "porch of judgment" built by Solomon (1 K. vii. 7), which finds a parallel in the golden alcove of Mohammed Uzbek (Ibn Batuta, *Trav.* p. 76, ed. Lee).

Before quitting the interior of the house, we may observe that on the *dīwān* the "corner" is the place of honour (cp. Amos iii. 12, the "couch" [R. V.] being the divan), which is never quitted by the master of the house in receiving strangers (Russell, i. 27; Miss Rogers, pp. 168–171; Malan, *Tyre and Sidon*, p. 38). The roofs of Eastern houses are, as has been said, mostly flat, though there are sometimes domes over some of the rooms. The flat portions are plastered with a composition of mortar, tar, ashes, and sand, which in time becomes very hard, but when not laid on at the proper season is apt to crack in winter, and the rain is thus admitted. In order to prevent this, every roof is provided with a roller, which is set at work after rain. In many cases the terrace roof is little better than earth rolled hard. On ill-compacted roofs grass is often found springing into a short-lived existence (Prov. xix. 13, xxvii. 15; Ps. cxxix. 6, 7; Is. xxxvii. 27; Shaw, p. 210; Lane, i. 27; Robinson, iii. 39, 44, 60).

In no point do Oriental domestic habits differ more from European than in the use of the roof. Its flat surface is made useful for various household purposes, as drying corn, hanging up linen, and preparing figs and raisins (Shaw, p. 211; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 191). The roofs are used as places of recreation in the evening, and often as sleeping-places at night (2 Sam. xi. 2, xvi. 22; Dan. iv. 29; 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26; Job xxvii. 18; Prov. xxi. 9; Shaw, p. 211; Russell, i. 35; Chardin, iv. 116; Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 177; Robinson, ii. 234). They were also used as places for devotion, and even idolatrous worship (Jer. xxxii. 29, xix. 13; 2 K. xxiii. 12; Zeph. i. 5; Acts x. 9). At the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, booths were erected by the Jews on the tops of their houses, as in the present day huts of boughs are sometimes erected on the housetops as sleeping-places, or places of retirement from the heat in summer time (Neh. viii. 16; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 280). As among the Jews the seclusion of women was not carried to the extent of Mohammedan usage, it is probable that the house-top was made, as it is among Christian inhabitants, more a place of public meeting, both for men and women, than is the case among Mohammedans, who carefully seclude their roofs from inspection by partitions (Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 191; cp. Wilkinson, i. 23). The Christians at Aleppo, in Russell's time, lived

contiguous, and made their house-tops a means of mutual communication to avoid passing through the streets in time of plague (Russell, i. 35). In the same manner the house-top might be made a means of escape by the stairs by which it was reached without entering any of the apartments of the house (Matt. xxiv. 17, x. 27; Luke xii. 3).

Both Jews and heathens were in the habit of wailing publicly on the house-tops (Is. xv. 3, xxii. 1; Jer. xlviii. 38). Protection of the roof by parapets was enjoined by the Law (Deut. xxii. 8). The parapets thus constructed, of which the types may be seen in ancient Egyptian houses, were sometimes of open work, and it is to a fall through or over one of these that the injury by which Ahaziah suffered is sometimes ascribed (Shaw, p. 211). To pass over roofs for plundering purposes, as well as for safety, would be no difficult matter (Joel ii. 9). In ancient Egyptian and also in Assyrian houses a sort of raised story was sometimes built above the roof, and in the former an open chamber, roofed or covered with awning, was sometimes erected on the house-top (Wilkinson, i. 9; Layard, *Mon. of Nin.* ii. pl. 49, 50).

There are usually no fire-places, except in the kitchen, the furniture of which consists of a sort of raised platform of brick with receptacles in it for fire, answering to the "boiling places" (מְבֻשָּׁלוֹת; *μαγειρεῖα*; *culinae*) of Ezekiel (xlvi. 23; Lane, i. 41; Gesen. p. 249; Miss Rogers, p. 153).

Special apartments were devoted in larger houses to winter and summer uses (Jer. xxxvi. 22; Amos iii. 15; Chardin, iv. 119).

The ivory house of Ahab was probably a palace largely ornamented with inlaid ivory. [PALACE.]

The circumstance of Samson's pulling down the house by means of the pillars, may be explained by the fact of the company being assembled on tiers of balconies above each other, supported by central pillars on the basement; when these were pulled down, the whole of the upper floors would fall also (Judg. xvi. 26; Shaw, p. 211).

Houses for jewels and armour were built and furnished under the kings (2 K. xx. 13). The draught house (מַחֲרָאוֹת; *κοπρών*; *latrinae*) was doubtless a public latrine, such as exists in modern Eastern cities (2 K. x. 27; Russell, i. 34).

Leprosy in the house was probably a nitrous efflorescence on the walls, which was injurious to the salubrity of the house, and whose removal was therefore strictly enjoined by the Law (Lev. xiv. 34, 55; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.*, p. 112; Winer, s. v. *Häuser;* Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, iii. 297: see Defoe, *Plague of London*, p. 137).

The word בַּיִת is prefixed to words constituting a local name, as Bethany, Bethhoron, &c. In modern names it is represented by *Beit*, as *Beitlahm*. [H. W. P.]

HOUSE OF GOD. The expression occurs in the A. V. of Judg. xx. 18, 26, xxi. 2, as a translation of בֵּית־אֵל. The R. V. renders the Hebrew more correctly "Bethel" (see *B. D.*, Amer. ed.). [F.]

HUK'KOK (חֻקֹּק, ? = *rock excavation*; B. Ἰαμνά, A. Ἰκώκ; *Hucuca*), a place on the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34) named next to Aznoth-Tabor. It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 261, 82; p. 166, 7; Εἰκώκ, *Icoc*), but in such a manner as to show that they knew nothing of it but from the text. By Hap-Parchi in 1320, and in this century by Wolcott and by Robinson, Hukkok has been recovered in *Yâkûk*, a village in the mountains of Naphtali, west of the upper end of the Sea of Galilee, about 7 miles S.S.W. of Safed, and at the head of *Wâdy el-'Amûd*, though Dillmann[2] considers this too far north. An ancient Jewish tradition locates here the tomb of Habakkuk (Zunz, in B. Tudela, ii. 421; Schwarz, p. 182; Robinson, iii. 81, 82; *PEF. Mem.* i. 364; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 354 sq.). [G.] [W.]

HU'KOK (חוּקֹק; B. Ἰκάκ, A. Ἰακάκ; *Hucac*), a name which in 1 Ch. vi. 75 is substituted for Helkath in the parallel list of the Gershonite cities in Asher, in Josh. xxi. 31.

HUL (חוּל; Οὖλ, in 1 Ch., B. om., A. Οὖδ; *Hul;* cp. 1 Ch. i. 17), the second son of Aram, and grandson of Shem (Gen. x. 23). The geographical position of the people whom he represents is not well decided. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 4) and Jerome fix it in Armenia; Schulthens (*Parad.* p. 262) on etymological grounds (as though the name =חוֹל, *sand*) proposes the southern part of Mesopotamia (cp. the name of the district Hulija in the Assyrian inscriptions; see Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] in *loco*); Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 249) places it in the neighbourhood of Chaldaea. Some favour the district about the roots of Lebanon, where the names *Ard el-Hûleh*, a district to the north of Lake Merom; Οὐλαθα, a town, or locality, noticed by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10, § 3), between Galilee and Trachonitis; and Golan, and its modern form *Jaulân*, bear some affinity to the original name of *Hul*, or, as it should rather be written, *Chul*. [W. L. B.] [W.]

HUL'DAH (חֻלְדָּה; Ὀλδαν; *Olda*), a prophetess, whose husband Shallum was keeper of the wardrobe in the time of king Josiah, and who dwelt in the suburb (Rosenmüller *ad* Zeph. i. 10) of Jerusalem. While Jeremiah was still at Anathoth, a young man unknown to fame, Huldah was the most distinguished person for prophetic gifts in Jerusalem; and it was to her that Josiah had recourse when Hilkiah found a book of the Law, to procure an authoritative opinion on it (2 K. xxii. 14; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 22). The name is found in Palmyrene inscriptions (MV.[11]), and on coins such as that of a Nabatean queen contemporary with Pompey (Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.). [W. T. B.] [F.]

HUM'TAH (חַמְתָּה; B. Εὐμά, A. Χαμματά; *Athmatha*), a city of Judah, one of those in the mountain-district, the next to Hebron (Josh. xv. 54). It was not known to Eusebius and Jerome (see *OS.*[2] p. 241, 53; p. 130, 20; Ἀμμαθά, *Amatthar*), nor has it since been identified. There is some resemblance between the name and that of Kimath (Κιμάθ), one of the places added by the Vat. LXX. to the list in the Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xxx. 27–31. [G.] [W.]

HUNTING. The objects for which hunting is practised, indicate the various conditions of society and the progress of civilisation. Hunting, as a matter of necessity, whether for the extermination of dangerous beasts, or for procuring sustenance, betokens a rude and semi-civilised state; as an amusement, it betokens an advanced state. In the former, personal prowess and physical strength are the qualities which elevate a man above his fellows and fit him for dominion, and hence one of the greatest heroes of antiquity is described as a "mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. x. 9), while Ishmael, the progenitor of a wild race, was famed as an archer (Gen. xxi. 20), and Esau, holding a similar position, was "a cunning hunter, a man of the field" (Gen. xxv. 27). The latter state may be exemplified, not indeed from Scripture itself, but from contemporary records. Among the accomplishments of Herod, his skill in the chase is particularly noticed; he kept a regular stud and a huntsman (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 10, § 3), followed up the sport in a wild country (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 7) which abounded with stags, wild asses, and bears, and is said to have killed as many as forty head in a day (*B. J.* i. 21, § 13). The wealthy in Egypt and Assyria followed the sports of the field with great zest; they had their preserves for the express purpose of preserving and hunting game (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 215 [1878]; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4, § 5, 14), and drew from hunting scenes subjects for decorating the walls of their buildings, and even the robes they wore on state occasions.

The Hebrews, as a pastoral and agricultural people, were not given to the sports of the field; the density of the population, the earnestness of their character, and the tendency of their ritual regulations, particularly those affecting food, all combined to discourage the practice of hunting; and perhaps the examples of Ishmael and Esau were recorded with the same object. There was no lack of game in Palestine; on their entrance into the land, the wild beasts were so numerous as to be dangerous (Ex. xxiii. 29); the utter destruction of them was guarded against by the provisions of the Mosaic Law (Ex. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 7). Some of the fiercer animals survived to a late period, as lions (Judg. xiv. 5; 1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 K. xiii. 24, xx. 36) and bears (1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 K. ii. 24). Jackals (Judg. xv. 4) and foxes (Cant. ii. 15) were also numerous; hart, roebuck, and fallow deer (Deut. xii. 15; 1 K. iv. 23) formed a regular source of sustenance, and were possibly preserved in enclosures. The manner of catching these animals was either by digging a pitfall (שַׁחַת), which was the usual manner with the larger animals, as the lion (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; Ezek. xix. 4, 8); or secondly by a trap (פַּח), which was set under ground (Job xviii. 10), in the run of the animal (Prov. xxii. 5), and caught it by the leg (Job xviii. 9); or lastly by the use of the net, of which there were various kinds, as for the gazelle (?) (Is. li. 20, A. V. "wild bull," R. V. "antelope"), and other animals of that class. [NET.] The method in which the net was applied is familiar to us from the descriptions in Virgil (*Aen.* iv. 121, 151 sq., x. 707 sq.); it was placed across a ravine or narrow valley, frequented by the animals for the sake of water, and the game was driven in by the hunters and then despatched either with bow and arrow, or spears (cp. Wilkinson, i. 212). The game selected was generally such as was adapted for food (Prov. xii. 27), and care was taken to pour out the blood of these as well as of tame animals (Lev. xvii. 13).

Birds formed an article of food among the Hebrews (Lev. xvii. 13), and much skill was exercised in catching them. The following were the most approved methods. (1) The trap (פַּח), which consisted of two parts: a net, strained over a frame, and a stick to support it, but so placed that it should give way at the slightest touch; the stick or springe was termed מוֹקֵשׁ (Amos iii. 5, "gin;" Ps. lxix. 22, "trap"); this was the most usual method (Job xviii. 9; Eccles. ix. 12; Prov. vii. 23). (2) The snare (צְמָמִים, from צָמַם, *to braid;* Job xviii. 9, A. V. "robber," R. V. "gin"), consisting of a cord (חֶבֶל, Job xviii. 10; cp. Ps. xviii. 5, cxvi. 3, cxl. 5), so set as to catch the bird by the leg. (3) The net, which probably resembled those used in Egypt, consisting of two sides or frames, over which network was strained, and so arranged that they could be closed by means of a cord: the Hebrew names are various. [NET.] (4) The decoy, to which reference is made in Jer. v. 26, 27—a cage of a peculiar construction (כְּלוּב)—was filled with birds, which acted as decoys; the door of the cage was kept open by a piece of stick acting as a springe (מַשְׁחִית), and closed suddenly on the entrance of a bird. The partridge appears to have been used as a decoy (Ecclus. xi. 30). [W. L. B.]

HU'PHAM (חוּפָם, (?) = *inhabitant of the coast*, Ges.; LXX. om.; *Hupham*), a son of Benjamin, founder of the family (*Mishpāchāh*) of the HUPHAMITES (Num. xxvi. 39). In the lists of Gen. xlvi. and 1 Ch. vii. the name is given as HUPPIM, which see.

HUPHAMITES, THE (הַחוּפָמִי; LXX. om.; *Huphamitae*), descendants of HUPHAM of the tribe of Benjamin (Num. xxvi. 39).

HUP'PAH (חֻפָּה = *a covering;* B. Ὀχχοφφά, A. Ὀφφά; *Hoppha*), a priest in the time of David, to whom was committed the charge of the thirteenth of the twenty-four courses in the service of the House of God (1 Ch. xxiv. 13).

HUP'PIM (חֻפִּים = *coverings:* Gen. xlvi. 21, A. Ὀφιμίν, *D.* Ὀφμείν; *Ophim:* 1 Ch. vii. 12, B. Ἀπφείν, A. Ἀφείμ; *Hapham*), head of a Benjamite family. According to the text of the LXX. in Gen., a son of Bela [BELA], but according to Ch. a son of Ir or Iri, who was one of the sons of Bela. The sister of Huppim married into the tribe of Manasseh. [A. C. H.]

HUR (חוּר, *Hur*). **1.** (Ὤρ; Joseph. Ὦρος.) A man who is mentioned with Moses and Aaron on the occasion of the battle with Amalek at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 10), when with Aaron he stayed up the hands of Moses (*v.* 12). He is mentioned again in xxiv. 14, as being, with Aaron,

left in charge of the people by Moses during his ascent of Sinai. It would appear from this that he must have been a person connected with the family of Moses and of some weight in the camp. The latter would follow from the former. The Jewish tradition, as preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 2, § 4), is that he was the husband of Miriam, and (iii. 6, § 1) that he was identical with

2. (Ὦρ.) The grandfather of Bezaleel, the chief artificer of the Tabernacle—"son of Uri, son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah" (Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, xxxviii. 22), the full genealogy being given on each occasion (see also 2 Ch. i. 5). In the lists of the descendants of Judah in 1 Ch. the pedigree is more fully preserved. Hur there appears as one of the great family of Pharez. He was the son of Caleb ben-Hezron, by a second wife, Ephrath (ii. 19, 20; cp. *v.* 5, also iv. 1), the first fruit of the marriage (ii. 50, iv. 4), and the father, besides Uri (*v.* 20), of three sons, who founded the towns of Kirjath-jearim, Beth-lehem, and Beth-gader (*v.* 51). Hur's connexion with Beth-lehem would seem to have been of a closer nature than with the others of these places, for he himself is emphatically called "Abi-Beth-lehem"—the "father of Bethlehem" (iv. 4). Certainly Beth-lehem enjoyed, down to a very late period, a traditional reputation for the arts which distinguished his illustrious grandson. Jesse, the father of David, is said to have been a weaver of the vails of the Sanctuary (Targ. Jonathan, 2 Sam. xxi. 19), and the dyers were still lingering there when Benjamin of Tudela visited Bethlehem in the 13th century.

In the Targum on 1 Ch. ii. 19 and iv. 4, Ephrath is taken as identical with Miriam: but this would be to contradict the more trustworthy tradition given above from Josephus.

In his comments on 1 Ch. iv. 1 (*Quaest. Hebr. in Paralip.*), Jerome overlooks the fact that the five persons there named as "sons" of Judah are really members of successive generations; and he attempts, as his manner is, to show that each of them is identical with one of the immediate sons of the Patriarch. Hur he makes to be another name for Onan.

3. (Οὖρ, Joseph. Οὖρης.) The fourth of the five "kings" (מַלְכֵי; LXX. and Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, § 1, βασιλεῖς) of Midian, who were slain with Balaam after the "matter of Peor" (Num. xxxi. 8). In a later mention of them (Josh. xiii. 21) they are called "princes" (נְשִׂיאֵי) of Midian and "dukes" (נְסִיכֵי; not the word commonly rendered "duke," but probably with the force of dependence, see Keil on Josh. *l. c.* and Dillmann[2] on Num. *l. c.*; LXX. ἔναρα) of Sihon king of the Amorites, who was killed at the same time with them. No further light can be obtained as to Hur.

4. (BA. omit.) Father of Rephaiah, who was ruler of half of the environs (פֶּלֶג, A. V. "part," R. V. "district") of Jerusalem, and assisted Nehemiah in the repair of the wall (Neh. iii. 9).

5. (B. Βαιώρ). The "son of Hur"—Ben-Chur—was commissariat officer for Solomon in Mount Ephraim (1 K. iv. 8). The LXX. A. gives the word Ben both in its original and its translated form (Βὲν υἱὸς Ὦρ), a not infrequent custom with them. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 3) has Οὔρης as the name of the officer himself. The Vulg. (*Benhur*) follows the Hebrew, and is in turn followed in the margin of the A. V. It is remarkable that the same form is observed in giving the names of no less than five out of the twelve officers in this list. [G.] [W.]

HU'RAI (חוּרַי; B. Οὐρεί, A. -ρι; *Hurai*), one of David's guard—Hurai of the torrents of Gaash—according to the list of 1 Ch. xi. 32. In the parallel catalogue of 2 Sam. xxiii. 30 the R is changed to D, as is frequently the case, and the name stands as HIDDAI. Kennicott has examined the discrepancy, and, influenced by the readings of some of the MSS. of the LXX., decides in favour of Hurai as the genuine name (*Dissert.* p. 194).

HU'RAM (חוּרָם, Ges. [MV.[11]=*nobly born*, but possibly an abbreviation for אֲחִירָם, or "אָח"]; Assyr. *Hirummu*; B. Ὡλίμ, A. Ἀιωλίμ; *Huram*). **1.** A Benjamite; son of Bela, the first-born of the Patriarch (1 Ch. viii. 5).

2. The form in which the name of the king of Tyre in alliance with David and Solomon—and elsewhere given as HIRAM—appears in Chronicles. (*a.*) At the time of David's establishment at Jerusalem (1 Ch. xiv. 1). In the A. V. and R. V. the name is Hiram, in accordance with the *Ketîb* or original Hebrew text (חירם); but in the marginal correction of the Masorets (*Qeri*) it is altered to Huram (חורם), the form which is maintained in all its other occurrences in these Books. The LXX. Χειράμ, Vulg. *Hiram*, and Targum, all agree with the *Khetîb*. (*b.*) At the accession of Solomon (2 Ch. ii. 3, 11, 12; viii. 2, 18; ix. 10, 21: in each of these cases also the LXX. has BA. Χειράμ, and the Vulg. *Hiram*).

3. The same change occurs in Chronicles in the name of Hiram the artificer, which is given as Huram in the following places: 2 Ch. ii. 13; iv. 11, 16. In the first and last of these a singular title is given him — the word Ab, "father"—"Huram my father,"[a] and "Huram his father." No doubt this denotes the respect and esteem in which he was held, according to the similar custom of the people of the East at the present day.[b] There also the LXX. and Vulgate follow the form Hiram. [G.] [F.]

HU'RI (חוּרִי = *linen-weaver*; B. Οὐρεί, A. Οὐρί; *Huri*), a Gadite; father of Abihail, a chief man in that tribe (1 Ch. v. 14).

HU'SHAH (חוּשָׁה = *haste*; Ὡσάν; *Hosa*), a name which occurs in the genealogies of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 4)—"Ezer, father of

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[a] The A. V. and R. V. (text) of 2 Ch. ii. 13 take the words "of Huram my father's" to mean the late king; but this is unnecessary, and the Hebrew will well bear the rendering given above (R. V. marg.).

[b] Analogous to this, though not exactly similar, is Joseph's expression (Gen. xlv. 8), "God hath made me a father unto Pharaoh." Cp. also 1 Macc. xi. 32; where note the use of the two terms "cousin" (συγγενής, *v.* 31) and "father" (*v.* 32). Somewhat analogous, too, is the use of terms of relationship—"brother," "cousin"—in legal and official documents of our own and other ntries.

Hushah." It may well be the name of a place, like Etam, Gedor, Beth-lehem, and others, in the preceding and succeeding verses; but we have no means of ascertaining the fact, since it occurs nowhere else. For a patronymic possibly derived from this name, see HUSHATHITE.

HU'SHAI (חוּשַׁי = *quick;* B. Χουσεί, A. [sometimes] and Joseph. Χουσί; *Chusai*), an Archite, *i.e.* possibly an inhabitant of a place called Erec (2 Sam. xv. 32 sq.; xvi. 16 sq.). He is called the "friend" of David (2 Sam. xv. 37: in 1 Ch. xxvii. 33, the word is rendered "companion;" cp. Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, § 2: the LXX. has a strange confusion of Archite and ἀρχιεταῖρος = chief friend). To him David confided the delicate and dangerous part of a pretended adherence to the cause of Absalom. His advice was preferred to that of Ahithophel, and speedily brought to pass the ruin which was intended. His son Baana was one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 16). Hushai himself was probably no longer living; at any rate his office was filled by another (1 K. iv. 5). [T. E. B.]

HU'SHAM (חֻשָׁם, in Chronicles חוּשָׁם = *quick;* Ασόμ; *Husam*), one of the kings of Edom, before the institution of monarchy in Israel (Gen. xxxvi. 34, 35; 1 Ch. i. 45, 46). He is described as "Husham of the land of the Temanite;" and he succeeded Jobab, who is taken by the LXX. in their addition to the Book of Job to be identical with that Patriarch.

HU'SHATHITE, THE (הַחֻשָׁתִי, and twice in Chronicles הַחוּשָׁתִי; *de Husati, Husathites*), the designation of two of the heroes of David's guard. **1.** SIBBECHAI (2 Sam. xxi. 18 [B. δ Ασσατωθεί, A. Λουσασταωνεεί]; 1 Ch. xi. 29 [B. δ Ἀθεί, א. δ Ἰαθεί, A. δ Ἀσωθί], xx. 4 [B. Θωσαθεί, A. δ Οὐσαθί], xxvii. 11 [B. δ Ἰσαθεί, A. om.]). In the last of these passages he is said to have belonged to the Zarhites; that is, (probably) to the descendants of Zerah of the tribe of Judah. So far this is in accordance with a connexion between this and HUSHAH; a name, apparently of a place, in the genealogies of Judah. Josephus, however (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 2), mentions Sibbechai as a Hittite.

2. (B. Ἀνωθεί της [*bis*], A. Ἀναθωθεί της and Ἀσωθεί της; *de Husati.*) A patronymic applied to one MEBUNNAI (2 Sam. xxiii. 27), a corruption of SIBBECHAI (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco).

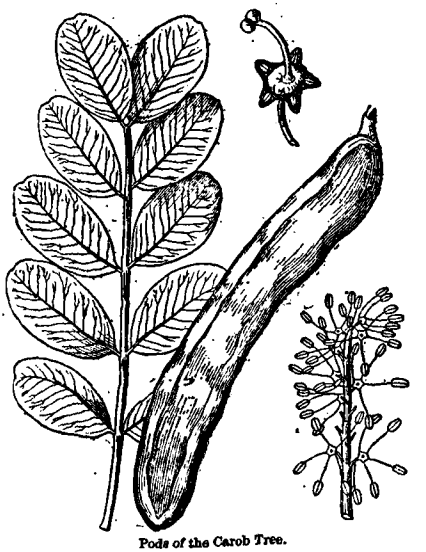
HU'SHIM. **1.** (חֻשִׁים; Ασόμ; *Husim.*) In Gen. xlvi. 23, "the children of (בְּנֵי) Dan" are said to have been Hushim. The name is plural, as if of a tribe rather than an individual, which perhaps is one way of accounting for the use of the plural in "children" (for another view see Knobel in Dillmann[5] on Gen. xxxvi. 25). In the list of Num. xxvi. 42 the name is changed to SHUHAM.

Hushim figures prominently in the Jewish traditions of the recognition of Joseph, and of Jacob's burial at Hebron. See the quotations from the Midrash in Weil's *Bib. Legends*, p. 88, note, and the Targum Pseudojon. on Gen. l. 13. In the latter he is the executioner of Esau.

2. (חֻשִׁם, *i.e.* Chushshim; B. om., A. Ασόβ, *Hasim*), a member of the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Ch. vii. 12); and here again apparently (as the text now stands) the plural nature of the name is recognised, and Hushim is stated to be "the sons of (*Bene*) Aher" (see Bertheau in *Exeg. Hdbuch.* ad loc.).

3. (חוּשִׁים and חֻשִׁים: B. in *v.* 8, Σωσίν, in *v.* 11 Ωσιμέν, A. Ωσίμ; *Husim*, but in *v.* 11 *Mehusim*, by inclusion of the Hebrew particle.) The name occurs again in the genealogy of Benjamin, but there as that of one of the two wives of Shaharaim (1 Ch. viii. 8), and the mother of two of his sons (*v.* 11). In this case the plural significance of the name is not alluded to.

HUSKS. By this word the A. V. and R. V. texts have rendered κεράτια in Luke xv. 16, correctly explained in the R. V. margin, *pods of the carob tree.* The tree is mentioned in this single passage in Scripture. It is also known as the locust tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*, L.), belonging to the botanical order *Leguminosae.* The name carob tree is derived from the Talmudic חרוב, *chārūb;* Arabic خرنوب, *charrūb, churnūb,* whence too the Italian *carouba.* It is one of the most common trees in Egypt and in Palestine from Hebron northwards, and is a very conspicuous and attractive feature in the landscape, with its dense, deep-green foliage. The leaves are pinnate, like those of our ash-tree, but more ovate and very dark, glossy, and evergreen. The carob blossoms in February, and from April to June yields enormous quantities of pods. These are flat and narrow, from 6 to 10 inches in length, and shaped like a horn, whence the Greek name. When ripe, they are of a dark



Pods of the Carob Tree.

purple colour; but when green and tender, they have an agreeable, sweet taste. They are often chewed, or steeped in water to supply a pleasant drink, like the tamarind of the West Indies, which they somewhat resemble in flavour.

Pliny (v. 24) writes, "Haud procul abesse videantur, et prædulces siliquæ, nisi quod in iis cortex ipse manditur." The Mishna mentions the carob beans as common food for cattle (*Shabb.* 24, § 2). Columella in his treatise on husbandry speaks of the carob tree as affording food for swine: "Nemora sunt convenientissima quae vestiuntur . . . . tamaricibus" (*i.e.* the carob) (*De Re Rust.* vii. 9). Our Lord in the parable represents the prodigal, when reduced to the most abject misery, as fain to fill his belly with the husks: and so we find it spoken of in classical authors as the food of the very poorest. Horace writes of the poor poet, "Vivit siliquis et pane secundo" (*Ep.* II. i. 123). So Persius of the youths who hand themselves over to the training of the Stoics—

> "Insomnis quibus et detonsa juventus
> Invigilat, siliquis et grandi pasta polenta."
> (*Sat.* iii. 54.)

And Juvenal, "Sed laudem siliquas occultus ganeo" (xi. 58).

These "husks" are still to be seen on the stalls in every Eastern bazaar, and are still especially used by the Christians for feeding pigs. The writer has seen in the woods north-east of Acre, herds of swine feeding under the carob trees. The carob tree is grown in all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Large quantities of the beans are exported from Malta to England, for feeding horses, under the name of locust beans. The tree is sometimes called "St. John's bread," from the tradition that its fruit was the locusts on which the Baptist was sustained in the wilderness. But the locust of the Gospel history was, as all commentators now are agreed, the ordinary insect of that name, and which the Arabs commonly use as food. [H. B. T.]

HUZ (עוּץ, *i.e.* Uz, as in R. V., in which form the name is uniformly given elsewhere in the A. V.; A. עֻץ; *Hus*), the eldest son of Nahor and Milcah (Gen. xxii. 21). [Buz; Uz.]

HUZ'ZAB (הֻצַּב; ἡ ὑπόστασις; *miles captivus*) was, according to the general opinion of the Jews (Buxtorf's *Lexicon* ad voc. צב), the queen of Nineveh at the time when Nahum delivered his prophecy (ii. 7). This view was also adopted by the A. V. (text) and R. V. (text), and has been defended by Ewald. Many modern expositors, however, incline to the belief that *Huzzab* here is not a proper name at all, but the Hophal of the verb נָצַב (Buxtorf, Gesenius), and this is allowed as possible by the marginal reading of the A. V., *that which was established*, and of the R. V., *it is decreed*, following Gesenius. The Assyrian historical inscriptions reveal to us no such royal name as Huzzab, either of king or queen, so that the marginal renderings (cp. also the LXX.), which translate the word, are certainly to be preferred.
[G. R.] [T. G. P.]

HYAENA. Authorities are at variance as to whether the term *ṣābūa* (צָבוֹעַ) in Jer. xii. 6 means a "hyaena," as the LXX. has it (ὑαίνη), or a "speckled bird," as in the Vulgate, A. V. and R. V. The etymological force of the word is equally adapted to either, the hyaena being *restaked*. The only other instance in which it occurs is as a proper name, Zeboim (1 Sam. xiii. 18, "the valley of hyaenas," Aquila; Neh. xi. 34). The Talmudical writers describe the hyaena by no less than four names, of which *ṣābūa* is one (Lewysohn, *Zool.*, § 119). The Arabic name ضبع, *dhabu'*, seems allied to it. The opinions of Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 163) and Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1149) are in favour of the same view; nor could any room for doubt remain, were it not for the word *'ayit* (עַיִט; A. V. "bird") connected with it, which in all other passages refers to a bird. The hyaena was common in ancient as in modern Egypt, and is constantly depicted on monuments (Wilkinson, i. 213, 225 [1878]). The sense of the passage in Jeremiah implies a fierce strong beast, not far below the lion in the parallel passage (v. 8): the hyaena fully answers to this description. Though cowardly in his nature, he is very savage when once he attacks, and the strength of his jaws is such that he can crunch the thigh-bone of an ox (Livingstone's *Travels*, p. 600). The striped hyaena (*Hyaena striata*, L.) is very common in every part of Palestine. I have met with it in localities as distinct in character as Beersheba, the Jordan Valley, Jerusalem, Mount Carmel, and Tabor. The country affords it peculiar facilities, for its favourite home is in caves or rock-hewn tombs, with which the land is honeycombed. But where these are not, it resides indifferently in woods, thickets or deserts. It rarely attacks living prey, unless very hard driven by hunger, but feeds on carrion and especially on bones, which it collects and stores in its caves. I have found seven camels' skulls together in a hyaena's den. But it is detested as the most unclean of animals, more particularly from its habit of prowling about burial-grounds and exhuming the corpses. Even when the grave is protected by heavy stones, the hyaenas will burrow alongside, and so drag forth the body. The hyaena is in fact the Oriental incarnation of a ghoul: and I know not a sound more ghostly than the wail of this beast in the dead of night, when encamped in some lonely desert. [W. L. B.] [H. B. T.]

HYDAS'PES (Ὑδάσπης), a river noticed in Judith i. 6, in connexion with the Euphrates and Tigris. It is uncertain what river is referred to; the well-known Hydaspes of India (the *Jhelam* of the *Panjáb*) is too remote to accord with the other localities noticed in the context. It may be an error for the Choaspes of Susiana. The Syriac has *Ulai*, the Eulaeus of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 31; cp. Dan. viii. 2), which Ball thinks to be probably the original word here (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Judith, *l. c.*). Zöckler ("Die Apokryphen d. A. T." in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*, in loco) thinks that the choice lies between the Choaspes and the Eulaeus. [W. L. B.] [F.]

HYMENAE'US (Ὑμέναιος), the name of a person occurring twice in the Pastoral letters which, we believe, were written by St. Paul to Timothy; the first time classed with Alexander, and with him "delivered to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. i. 20); and the second time classed with Philetus, and with him charged with having "erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is

past already," and with having thereby "overthrown the faith of some" (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18). These latter expressions, coupled with "the shipwreck of faith" attributed to Hymenaeus in the context of the former passage (v. 19), surely warrant our understanding both passages of the same person, notwithstanding the interval between the dates of the two letters. When the first was written, he had already made one proselyte; before the second was penned he had seduced another: and if so, the only points further to be considered are, the error attributed to him, and the sentence imposed upon him.

I. The error attributed to him was one that had been in part appropriated from others, and has frequently been revived since with additions. What initiation was to the Pythagoreans, wisdom to the Stoics, science to the followers of Plato, contemplation to the Peripatetics, that "knowledge" (γνῶσις) was to the Gnostics. As there were likewise in the Greek schools those who looked forward to a complete restoration of all things (ἀποκατάστασις, v. Heyne *ad* Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 5, cp. *Aen.* vi. 745): so there was "a regeneration" (Tit. iii. 5; Matt. xix. 28), "a new creation" (2 Cor. v. 17, see Alford ad loc.; Rev. xxi. 1), "a kingdom of heaven and of Messiah or Christ" (Matt. xiii.; Rev. vii.)—and herein popular belief among the Jews coincided—unequivocally propounded in the N. T.; but *here* with this remarkable difference, namely, that, in a great measure, it was present as well as future—the same thing in germ that was to be had in perfection eventually. "The kingdom of God is within you," said our Lord (Luke xvii. 21). "He that is spiritual judgeth all things," said St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 15). "He that is born of God cannot sin," said St. John (1 Ep. iii. 9). There are likewise two deaths and two resurrections spoken of in the N. T.; the first of each sort, that of the soul to and from sin (John iii. 3–8), "the hour which now is" (ibid. v. 24, 25, on which see Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 6); the second, that of the body to and from corruption (1 Cor. xv. 36–44; also John v. 28, 29), which last is prospective. Now as the doctrine of the resurrection of the body was found to involve immense difficulties even in those early days (Acts xvii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 35: how keenly they were pressed may be seen in St. Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 12 sq.), while on the other hand there was so great a predisposition in the then current philosophy (not even extinct now) to magnify the excellence of the soul above that of its earthly tabernacle, it was at once the easier and more attractive course to insist upon and argue from the force of those passages of Holy Scripture which enlarge upon the glories of the spiritual life that now is, under Christ, and to pass over or explain away allegorically all that refers to a future state in connexion with the resurrection of the body. In this manner we may derive the first errors of the Gnostics, of whom Hymenaeus was one of the earliest. They were on the spread when St. John wrote; and his grand-disciple, St. Irenaeus, compiled a voluminous work against them (*Adv. Haer.*). A good account of their full development is given by Gieseler, *E. H.*, Per. I. Div. I. § 44 sq.

II. As regards the sentence passed upon him—it has been asserted by some writers of eminence (see Corn. à Lapide *ad* 1 Cor. v. 5), that the "delivering to Satan" is a mere synonym for ecclesiastical excommunication. Such can hardly be the case. The Apostles possessed many extraordinary prerogatives, which none have since arrogated. Even the title which they bore has been set apart to them ever since. The shaking off the dust of their feet against a city that would not receive them (Matt. x. 14), even though the same injunction was afterwards given to the Seventy (Luke x. 11), and which St. Paul found it necessary to act upon twice in the course of his ministry (Acts xiii. 51 and xviii. 6), has never been a practice since with Christian ministers. "Anathema," says Bingham, "is a word that occurs frequently in the ancient canons" (*Antiq.* xvi. 2, 16), but the form "Anathema Maranatha" is one that none have ever ventured upon since St. Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 22). As the Apostles healed all manner of bodily infirmities, so they seem to have possessed and exercised the same power in inflicting them,—a power far too perilous to be continued when the manifold exigencies of the apostolical age had passed away. Ananias and Sapphira both fell down dead at the rebuke of St. Peter (Acts v. 5, 10); two words from the same lips, "Tabitha, arise," sufficed to raise Dorcas from the dead (ibid. ix. 40). St. Paul's first act in entering upon his ministry was to strike Elymas the sorcerer with blindness, his own sight having been restored to him through the medium of a disciple (ibid. ix. 17, xiii. 11); while soon afterwards we read of his healing the cripple of Lystra (ibid. xiv. 8). Even apart from actual intervention by the Apostles, bodily visitations are spoken of in the case of those who approached the Lord's Supper unworthily, when as yet no discipline had been established: "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and a good number (*ἱκανοί*, in the former case it is *πολλοί*) sleep" (1 Cor. xi. 30).

On the other hand, Satan was held to be the instrument or executioner of all these visitations. Such is the character assigned to him in the Book of Job (i. 6–12, ii. 1–7). Similar agencies are described in 1 K. xxii. 19–22 and 1 Ch. xxi. 1. In Ps. lxxviii. 49, such are the causes to which the plagues of Egypt are assigned. Even our Lord submitted to be assailed by him more than once (Matt. iv. 1–10: Luke iv. 13 says, "departed from Him *for a season*"); and "a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet" the very Apostle whose act of delivering another to the same power is now under discussion. At the same time large powers over the world of spirits were authoritatively conveyed by our Lord to His immediate followers (to the Twelve, Luke ix. 1; to the Seventy, as the results showed, ibid. x. 17–20).

It only remains to notice five particulars connected with its exercise, which the Apostle himself supplies. 1. That it was no mere prayer, but a solemn authoritative sentence, pronounced in the Name and power of Jesus Christ (1 Cor. v. 3–5). 2. That it was never exercised upon any without the Church: "them that are without God judgeth" (ibid. v. 13), he says in express terms. 3. That it was "for the destruction of the flesh," *i.e.* some bodily visi-

tation. 4. That it was for the improvement of the offender; that "his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (ibid. v. 5); and that "he might learn not to blaspheme" while upon earth (1 Tim. i. 20). 5. That the Apostle could in a given case empower others to pass such sentence in his absence (1 Cor. v. 3, 4).

Thus, while the "delivering to Satan" may resemble ecclesiastical excommunication in some respects, it has its own characteristics likewise, which show plainly that one is not to be confounded or placed on the same level with the other. Nor again does St. Paul himself deliver to Satan all those in whose company he bids his converts "not even to eat" (1 Cor. v. 11). See an able review of the whole subject by Bingham, *Antiq.* vi. 2, 15. [EXCOMMUNICATION.] [E. S. Ff.]

HYMN. This word is not used in the English Version of the O. T., and only twice in the N. T. (Ephes. v. 19; Col. iii. 16); though in the original of the latter the derivative verb occurs in three places (Matt. xxvi. 30, cp. Mark xiv. 26; Acts xvi. 25; Heb. ii. 12). The LXX., however, employ it freely in translating the Heb. names for almost every kind of poetical composition (Schleusn. *Lex.* ὕμνος). In fact the word does not seem to have had for the LXX. any very special meaning; and they called the Heb. book of *Tehillim* the Book of Psalms, not of Hymns. Accordingly the word *psalm* had for the later Jews a definite meaning, while the word *hymn* was more or less vague in its application, and capable of being used as occasion should arise. If a new poetical form or idea should be produced, the name of *hymn*, not being embarrassed by a previous determination, was ready to associate itself with the fresh thought of another literature. And this seems to have been actually the case.

Among Christians the Hymn has always been something different from the Psalm: a different conception in thought, a different type in composition. There is some dispute about the hymn sung by our Lord and His Apostles on the occasion of the Last Supper; but even supposing it to have been the *Hallēl*, or Paschal Hymn, consisting of Pss. cxiii.–cxviii., it is obvious that the word *hymn* is in this case applied not to an individual Psalm, but to a number of Psalms chanted successively, and altogether forming a kind of devotional exercise which is not unaptly called a Hymn. The prayer in Acts iv. 24–30 is not a hymn, unless we allow non-metrical as well as metrical hymns. It may have been a hymn as it was originally altered; but we can only judge by the Greek translation, and this is without metre, and therefore not properly a hymn. In the jail at Philippi (Acts xvi. 25), Paul and Silas "sang hymns" (R. V.; "praises," A. V.) unto God, and so loud was their song that their fellow-prisoners heard them. This must have been what we mean by singing, and not merely recitation. It was in fact a veritable singing of hymns. And it is remarkable that the noun *hymn* is only used in reference to the services of the Greeks, and in the same passages is clearly distinguished from the psalm (Ephes. v. 19; Col. iii. 16), "psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs."

It is probable that no Greek version of the Psalms, even supposing it to be accommodated to the Greek metres, would take root in the affections of the Gentile converts. It was not only a question of metre, it was a question of *tune;* and Greek tunes required Greek hymns. So it was in Syria. Richer in tunes than Greece, for Greece had but eight, while Syria had 275 (Benedict. *Pref.* vol. v. *Op. Eph. Syr.*), the Syrian hymnographers revelled in the varied luxury of their native music; and the result was that splendid development of the Hymn, as moulded by the genius of Bardesanes, Harmonius, and Ephrem Syrus. In Greece the eight tunes which seem to have satisfied the exigencies of church-music were probably accommodated to fixed metres, each metre being wedded to a particular tune. This is also the case in the German hymnology, where certain ancient tunes are recognised as models for the metres of later compositions, and their names are always prefixed to the hymns in common use.

It is worth while inquiring what profane models the Greek hymnographers chose to work after. In the old religion of Greece the word *hymn* had already acquired a sacred and liturgical meaning, which could not fail to suggest its application to the productions of the Christian muse. So much for the *name*. The special *forms* of the Greek hymn were various. The Homeric and Orphic hymns were written in the epic style, and in hexameter verse. Their metre was not adapted for singing; and therefore, though they may have been recited, it is not likely that they were sung at the celebration of the mysteries. We turn to the Pindaric hymns, and here we find a sufficient variety of metre, and a definite relation to music. These hymns were sung to the accompaniment of the lyre; and it is very likely that they engaged the attention of the early hymn-writers. The dithyramb, with its development into the dramatic chorus, was sufficiently connected with musical traditions to make its form a fitting vehicle for Christian poetry; and there certainly is a dithyrambic savour about the earliest known Christian hymn, as it appears in Clem. Alex. pp. 312, 313, ed. Potter.

The first impulse of Christian devotion was to run into the moulds ordinarily used by the worshippers of the old religion. This was more than an impulse, it was a necessity, and a twofold necessity. The new spirit was strong; but it had two limitations: the difficulty of conceiving a new musico-poetical literature; and the quality so peculiar to devotional music, of lingering in the heart after the head has been convinced and the belief changed. The old tunes would be a real necessity to the new life; and the exile from his ancient faith would delight to hear on the foreign soil of a new religion the familiar melodies of home. Archbishop Trench has indeed laboured to show that the reverse was the case, and that the early Christian shrank with horror from the sweet, but polluted, enchantments of his unbelieving state. We can only assent to this in so far as we allow it to be the second phase in the history of hymns. When old traditions died away, and the Christian acquired not only a new belief, but a new social humanity, it was possible, and it was desirable too, to break for ever the attenuated thread that bound him to the ancient world. And so it was broken; and the trochaic and

iambic metres, unassociated as they were with heathen worship, though largely associated with the heathen drama, obtained an ascendant in the Christian Church. In 1 Cor. xiv. 26 allusion is made to *improvised* hymns, which being the outburst of a passionate emotion would probably assume the dithyrambic form. But attempts have been made to detect fragments of ancient hymns conformed to more obvious metres in Ephes. v. 14; Jas. i. 17; Rev. i. 8 sq., xv. 3. These pretended fragments, however, may with much greater likelihood be referred to the swing of a prose composition unconsciously culminating into metre. It was in the Latin Church that the trochaic and iambic metres became most deeply rooted, and acquired the greatest depth of tone and grace of finish. As an exponent of Christian feeling they soon superseded the accentual hexameters; they were used mnemonically against the heathen and the heretics by Commodianus and Augustine. The introduction of hymns into the Latin Church is commonly referred to Ambrose. But it is impossible to conceive that the West should have been so far behind the East: similar necessities must have produced similar results; and it is more likely that the tradition is due to the very marked prominence of Ambrose as the greatest of all the Latin hymnographers.

The trochaic and iambic metres, thus impressed into the service of the Church, have continued to hold their ground, and are in fact the 7's, S.M., C.M., and L.M. of our modern hymns; many of which are translations, or at any rate imitations, of Latin originals. These metres were peculiarly adapted to the grave and sombre spirit of Latin Christianity. Less ecstatic than the varied chorus of the Greek Church, they did not soar upon the pinion of a lofty praise, so much as they drooped and sank into the depths of a great sorrow. They were subjective rather than objective; they appealed to the heart more than to the understanding; and if they contained less theology, they were fuller of a rich and Christian humanity. Cp. Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, Halis et Lipsiae, 1841–1855; *Lateinische Hymnen*, &c., by F. G. Mone; *Gesänge Christlicher Vorzeit*, by C. Fortlage, Berlin, 1844; *Sacred Latin Poetry*, by R. C. Trench; *Ephrem Syrus*, by Dr. Burgess; Hahn's *Bardesanes;* Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology*.

[T. E. B.]

HYSSOP (אֵזוֹב, *'ēzōb;* ὕσσωπος). Perhaps no plant mentioned in the Scriptures has given rise to greater differences of opinion than this. The question of the identification of the *'ēzōb* of the Hebrews with any plant known to modern botanists was thought by Casaubon "*adeo difficilis ad explicandum, ut videatur Esaias expectandus, qui certi aliquid nos doceat.*" Had the botanical works of Solomon survived, they might have thrown some light upon it. The chief difficulty arises from the fact that in the LXX. the Greek ὕσσωπος is the uniform rendering of the Hebrew *'ēzōb*, and that this rendering is endorsed by the Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 19, 21), when speaking of the ceremonial observances of the Levitical law. Whether, therefore, the LXX. made use of the Greek ὕσσωπος as the word most nearly resembling the Hebrew in sound, as Stanley suggests (*S. & P.* p. 21, note), or as the true representative of the plant indicated by the latter, is a point which, in all probability, will never be decided. Botanists differ widely even with regard to the identification of the ὕσσωπος of Dioscorides. The name has been given to the *Satureia Graeca* and the *S. Juliana*, to neither of which it is appropriate, and the hyssop of Italy and South France is not met with in Greece, Syria, or Egypt. Daubeny (*Lect. on Rom. Husbandry*, p. 313), following Sibthorpe, identifies the mountain-hyssop with the *Thymbra spicata*, but this conjecture is disapproved of by Kühn (*Comm. in Diosc.* iii. 27), who in the same passage gives it as his opinion that the Hebrews used the *Origanum Aegyptiacum* in Egypt, the *O. Syriacum* in Palestine, and that the hyssop of Dioscorides was the *O. Smyrnaeum*. The Greek botanist describes two kinds of hyssop, ὀρεινὴ and κηπευτή, and gives πεσαλὲμ as the Egyptian equivalent. The Talmudists make the same distinction between the wild hyssop and the garden-plant used for food.

The *'ēzōb* was used to sprinkle the doorposts of the Israelites in Egypt with the blood of the Paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 22); it was employed in the purification of lepers and leprous houses (Lev. xiv. 4, 51), and in the sacrifice of the red heifer (Num. xix. 6). In consequence of its detergent qualities, or from its being associated with the purificatory services, the Psalmist makes use of the expression, "purge me with *'ēzōb*" (Ps. li. 7). It is described in 1 K. iv. 33 as growing on or near walls. In John xix. 29 the phrase ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες corresponds to περιθεὶς καλάμῳ in Matt. xxvii. 48 and Mark xv. 36. If therefore καλάμῳ be the equivalent of ὑσσώπῳ, the latter must be a plant capable of producing a stick three or four feet in length.

Five kinds of hyssop are mentioned in the Talmud. One is called אזוב simply, without any epithet: the others are distinguished as Greek, Roman; wild hyssop, and hyssop of Cochali (Mishna, *Negaim*, xiv. 6). Of these the four last mentioned were profane; that is, not to be employed in purifications (Mishna, *Parah*, xi. 7). Maimonides (*de Vacca Rufa*, iii. 2) says that the hyssop mentioned in the Law is that which was used as a condiment. According to Porphyry (*De Abstin.* iv. 7), the Egyptian priests on certain occasions ate their bread mixed with hyssop; and the *ṣa'tar*, or wild marjoram, with which it has been identified, is often an ingredient in a mixture called *dukkah*, which is to this day used as food by the poorer classes in Egypt (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 200). It is not improbable, therefore, that this may have been the hyssop of Maimonides, who wrote in Egypt; more especially as R. D. Kimchi (*Lex.* s. v.), who reckons seven different kinds, gives as the equivalent the Arabic زعتر, *ṣa'tar*, origanum, or marjoram, and the German *Dosten* or *Wohlgemuth* (Rosenm. *Handb.*). With this agrees the Tanchum Hieros. MS. quoted by Gesenius. So in the Judaeo-Spanish version, Ex. xii. 22 is translated "y tomarédes manojo de *origano*." But Dioscorides makes a distinction between origanum and hyssop when he describes the leaf of a species of the former as resembling the latter (cp. Plin. xx. 67), though it is evident that he, as well as the Talmudists, regarded

them as belonging to the same family. In the Syriac of 1 K. iv. 33 hyssop is rendered by ܐܙܘܒܐ, *'ăzōbā*, "houseleek," although in other passages it is represented by ܐܙܘܒ, *'ăzōbō*, which the Arabic translation follows in Ps. li. 9 and Heb. ix. 19, while in the Pentateuch it has *za'tar* for the same. Patrick (on 1 K. iv. 33) was of opinion that *'ēzōb* is the same as the Ethiopic *'azab* (*'azāb*, or *'azōb*), which represents the hyssop of Ps. li. 9, as well as *ἡδυόσμον*, or mint, in Matt. xxiii. 23.

Bochart decides in favour of marjoram, or some plant like it (*Hieroz.* i. b. 2, c. 50), and to this conclusion, it must be admitted, all ancient tradition points. The monks on Jebel Musa give the name of hyssop to a fragrant plant called *ja'deh*, which grows in great quantities on that mountain (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* i. 157). Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 423), after enumerating eighteen different plants, thyme, southernwood, rosemary, French lavender, wall rue, and the maidenhair fern among others, which have been severally identified with the hyssop of Scripture, concludes that we have no alternative but to accept the *Hyssopus officinalis*, "nisi velimus apostolum corrigere qui τὸ אזוב *ὕσσωπον* reddit Heb. ix. 19." He avoids the difficulty in John xix. 29 by supposing that a sponge filled with vinegar was wrapped round a bunch of hyssop, and that the two were then fastened to the end of a stick. Dr. Kitto conceived that he had found the peculiarities of the Hebrew *'ēzōb* in the *Phytolacca decandra*, a native of America. Tremellius and Ben Zeb render it by "moss." It has been reserved for the ingenuity of a German to trace a connexion between Aesop, the Greek fabulist, and the *'ēzōb* of 1 K. iv. 33 (Hitzig, *Die Sprüche Salomo's, Einl.* § 2).

An elaborate and interesting paper by the late Dr. J. Forbes Royle, *On the Hyssop of Scripture*, in the *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc.* viii. 193–212, goes far to throw light upon this difficult question. Dr. R., after a careful investigation of the subject, arrived at the conclusion that the hyssop is no other than the caper-plant, or *Capparis spinosa* of Linnaeus. The Arabic name of this plant, *'asaf*, by which it is sometimes, though not commonly, described, bears considerable resemblance to the Hebrew. It is found in Lower Egypt (Forskål, *Flor. Eg.-Arab.*; Plin. xiii. 44). Burckhardt (*Trav. in Syr.* p. 536) mentions the *'aszef* as a tree of frequent occurrence in the valleys of the peninsula of Sinai, "the bright green creeper which climbs out of the fissures of the rocks" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 21, &c.), and produces a fruit of the size of a walnut, called by the Arabs *Felfel Jibbel*, or mountain pepper (Shaw, *Spec. Phytogr. Afr.* 39). Dr. R. thought this to be undoubtedly a species of *capparis*, and probably the caper-plant. The *Capparis spinosa* was found by M. Bové (*Rel. d'un Voy. Botan. en Eg.*, &c.) in the desert of Sinai, at Gaza, and at Jerusalem. Lynch saw it in a ravine near the convent of Mar Saba (*Exped.* p. 388). It is thus met with in all the localities where the *'ēzōb* is mentioned in the Bible. With regard to its habitat, it grows in dry and rocky places and on walls: "quippe quum capparis quoque seratur *siccis* maxime" (Plin. xix. 48). De Candolle describes it as found "in muris et rupestribus." The caper-plant was believed to be possessed of detergent qualities. According to Pliny (xx. 59), the root was applied to the cure of a disease similar to the leprosy. Lamarck (*Enc. Botan.* art. *Caprier*) says, "Les capriers . . . sont regardés comme . . . antiscorbutiques." Finally, the caper-plant is capable of producing a stick three or four feet in length. Pliny (xiii. 44) describes it in Egypt as "firmioris ligni frutex," and to this property Dr. Royle attaches great importance, identifying as he does the *ὑσσώπῳ* of John xix. 29 with the *καλάμῳ* of Matthew and Mark. He thus concludes: "A combination of circumstances, and some of them apparently too improbable to be united in one plant, I cannot believe to be accidental, and have therefore considered myself entitled to infer, what I hope I have succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of others, that the caper-plant is the hyssop of Scripture." Whether his conclusion is sound or not, his investigations are well worthy of attention; but it must be acknowledged that, setting aside the passage in John xix., which may possibly admit of another solution, there seems no reason for supposing that the properties of the *'ēzōb* of the Hebrews may not be found in some one of the plants with which the tradition of centuries has identified it. That it may have been possessed of some detergent qualities which led to its significant employment in the purificatory service is possible; but it does not appear from the narrative in Leviticus that its use was such as to call into action any medicinal properties by which it might have been characterised. In the present state of the evidence, therefore, there does not seem sufficient reason for departing from the old interpretation, which identified the Greek *ὕσσωπος* with the Hebrew אזוב. [W. A. W.]

Admitting the identity of אזוב and *ὕσσωπος*, there seems no historical or other ground, beyond the conjectures of modern botanists, for identifying the *ὕσσωπος* of the ancients with the genus of labiate plants to which the name of *Hyssopus* has been applied; or *Satureia*, allied to the mints. The rendering of אזוב by *ὕσσωπος* seems to have had no stronger foundation than the similarity of sound. But surely the key to the signification of the Hebrew should first be looked for in its cognate Arabic. And here we find ازوف, *azuf*, the identical word as the name of the familiar and well-known caper (*Capparis spinosa*, L.). Next, comparing all the passages in which *'ēzōb* is mentioned, we find that it was a plant that grew in Egypt, that it grew also in the desert of Sinai and in Palestine, that it grew out of chinks in walls and cliffs—for "Solomon spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall" (1 K. iv. 33)—and that it was capable of producing a stem of some length. None of these conditions meet in any species of *Satureia* or *Hyssopus*, but they do in *el asaf* of the Arabs. The caper is plentiful in the chinks of ruins in Egypt. It is a striking feature in the Sinaitic desert. Dean Stanley remarks, "The lasaf or asaf, the caper plant, the bright green creeper, which climbs out of the fissures of the rocks in the Sinaitic valleys, has

been identified, on grounds of great probability, with the hyssop or *'ézôb* of Scripture, and thus explains whence came the green branches used even in the deserts, for sprinkling the water over the tents of the Israelites" (*S. & P.* p. 21). So in the deserts of North Africa, after travelling for hours without detecting a green leaf, I have often in some desolate gorge been arrested by the patches of deepest green clinging here and there to the face of the cliff, in startling contrast to all around, and without a trace of moisture to nourish their verdure. The caper hangs from the walls of Jerusalem, and especially about the old Temple area. It clings to the rocks in the gorge of the Kedron. On the face of the Mons Quarantania, overhanging Jericho, it lets down its festoons of gauzy blossom in the month of January. It trails its branches, several feet long, on the sands of the plain of Shittim, and at the south-east of the Dead Sea. The leaves of the caper are ovate, and the stem has short recurved spines below the junction of each leaf. The blossom is very open, loose, and white, with many long straggling lilac stamens. The fruit is a pod, of the shape and size of a walnut. The blossom bud is the caper of commerce.

Caper-berry is the rendering in R. V. of אֲבִיּוֹנָה, *'abîyônāh*, A. V. "desire," *κάπταρις*, *capparis*, in Eccles. xii. 5, "The grasshopper shall be a burden, the caper-berry shall fail," the only passage where the word occurs. The Revisers are supported by Vallesius, Ursinus, and other critics. The sense according to this rendering is that the caper, which was eaten before meals as a provocative to appetite, shall fail to stimulate the declining powers of the aged. On this use of the caper Plutarch remarks: Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀποσίτων, ἐλαίων ἁλμάδα λαμβάνοντες, ἢ κάπταριν γευσάμενοι ταχέως ἀνέλαβον καὶ παρεστήσαντο τὴν ὄρεξιν (*Sympos.* vi. 2). [H. B. T.]

I

IB'HAR (יִבְחָר = [*God*] *chooses*: in Sam. B. Ἰεθάρ, A. Ἰεβδάρ; in Ch. B. Βαδάρ, A. Ἰεβαδάρ: Syr. *Jucobor*; *Jebahar*, *Jebaar*), one of the sons of David, mentioned in the lists next after Solomon and before Elishua (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Ch. iii. 6, xiv. 5). Ibhar was born in Jerusalem, and from the second of these passages it appears that he was the son of a wife and not of a concubine. He never comes forward in the history in person, nor are there any traditions concerning him. For the genealogy of David's family, see DAVID.

IB'LEAM (יִבְלְעָם: in Josh. B. and A. omit; in Judg. Ἰεβλαάμ; in 2 K. B. Ἐκβλαάμ, A. Ἰβλαάμ: *Jeblaam*), a city of Manasseh, with villages or towns (Heb. "daughters") dependent on it (Judg. i. 27). Though belonging to Manasseh, it appears not to have lain within the limits allotted to that tribe, but to have been situated in the territory of either Issachar or Asher (Josh. xvii. 11). It is not said which of the two, though there is no doubt from other indications that it was the former. The ascent of GUR, the spot at which Ahaziah received his death-wound from the soldiers of Jehu, was "at (בְּ) Ibleam" (2 K. ix. 27), somewhere near the present *Jenîn*, probably to the north of it, about where the village *Jelameh* now stands. Conder (*Hbk.* p. 407), Tristram (*Holy Places*, p. 221), Riehm (*HWB.*), and others (cp. Dillmann[2] on Josh. *l. c.*) identify it with *Bel'ameh* to the south of *Jenîn*; but neither of these places meet the requirements of the narrative so well as *Jelameh*, which is on the natural road from Jezreel to Judah.

In the list of cities given out of Manasseh to the Kohathite Levites (1 Ch. vi. 70), BILEAM is mentioned, answering to Gath-rimmon in the list of Josh. xxi. Bileam is possibly a mere alteration of Ibleam, though this is not certain.

[G.] [W.]

IBNEI'AH (יִבְנְיָה = *Jah builds*; B. Βαναάμ, A. Ἰεβναά; *Jobania*), son of Jeroham, a Benjamite, who was a chief man in the tribe apparently at the time of the first settlement in Jerusalem (1 Ch. ix. 8).

IBNI'JAH (יִבְנִיָּה = *Jah builds*; B. Βαναιά, A. Ἰεβαναάλ; *Jebania*), a Benjamite (1 Ch. ix. 8).

IB'RI (עִבְרִי; B. Ἀβαΐ, A. Ὠββδί; *Hebri*), a Merarite Levite of the family of Jaaziah (1 Ch. xxiv. 27), in the time of king David, concerned in the service of the house of Jehovah.

The word is precisely the same as that elsewhere rendered in the A. V. "Hebrew."

IB'ZAN (אִבְצָן; B. Ἀβαισάν, A. Ἐσεβών; Joseph. Ἀψάνης; *Abesan*), a native of Bethlehem, who judged Israel for seven years after Jephthah (Judg. xii. 8, 10). He had thirty sons and thirty daughters, and took home thirty wives for his sons, and sent out his daughters to as many husbands abroad. He was buried at Bethlehem. From the non-addition of "Ephratah," or "Judah," after Bethlehem, and from Ibzan having been succeeded by a Zebulonite, it seems pretty certain that the Bethlehem here meant is that in the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15; see Joseph. *Ant.* v. 7, § 73). [Nöldeke and Budde (*Die BB. Richter u. Samuel*, p. 97) are disposed to attach but little value to Ibzan's history.—F.] There is not a shadow of probability in the notion which has been broached as to the identity of Ibzan with Boaz (בֹּעַז). The history of his large family is singularly at variance with the impression of Boaz given us in the Book of Ruth. [A. C. H.]

I-CHABO'D (אִי־כָבוֹד, from אִי [*shortened from* אַיִן], the ordinary negative in Ethiopian and Phoenician [cp. R. V. marg. and see MV.[11]], and כָּבוֹד, "glory," Gesen. p. 79, *inglorious*; B. Ὀναιβαρχαβώθ, A. Ὀναιχαβώθ, which seems to be derived from אוֹי, "woe" [cp. *ovai* in 1 Sam. iv. 8, Gesen. p. 39]; *Ichabod*), the son of Phinehas, and grandson of Eli. In giving birth to him his mother died of grief at the news of the sudden deaths of her husband and father-in-law. His brother's name was Ahijah (1 Sam. iv. 21; xiv. 3). [H. W. P.]

ICO'NIUM (Ἰκόνιον), the modern *Konieh*, is situated in the western part of an extensive

plain, on the central table-land of Asia Minor, and not far to the north of the chain of Taurus. This level district was anciently called LYCAONIA. Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2, 19) reckons Iconium as the most easterly town of PHRYGIA; but all other writers speak of it as being in Lycaonia, of which it was practically the capital. It was on the great line of communication between Ephesus and the western coast of the peninsula on one side, and Tarsus, Antioch, and the Euphrates on the other. We see this indicated by the narrative of Xenophon (*l. c.*) and the letters of Cicero (*ad Fam.* iii. 8, v. 20, xv. 4). When the Roman provincial system was matured, some of the most important roads intersected one another at this point, as may be seen from the map in Leake's *Asia Minor*. These circumstances should be borne in mind, when we trace St. Paul's journeys through the district. Iconium was a well-chosen place for missionary operations. The Apostle's first visit was on his first circuit, in company with Barnabas; and on this occasion he approached it from Antioch in Pisidia, which lay to the west. From that city he had been driven by the persecution of the Jews (Acts xiii. 50, 51). There were Jews in Iconium also; and St. Paul's first efforts here, according to his custom, were made in the synagogue (xiv. 1). The results were considerable both among the Hebrew and Gentile population of the place (*ib.*). We should notice that the working of miracles in Iconium is emphatically mentioned (xiv. 3). The intrigues of the Jews again drove him away; he was in danger of being stoned, and he withdrew to LYSTRA and DERBE, in the eastern and wilder part of Lycaonia (xiv. 6). Thither also the enmity of the Jews of Antioch and Iconium pursued him; and at Lystra he was actually stoned and left for dead (xiv. 19). After an interval, however, he returned over the old ground, revisiting Iconium and encouraging the Church which he had founded there (xiv. 21, 22). These sufferings and difficulties are alluded to in 2 Tim. iii. 11; and this brings us to the consideration of his next visit to this neighbourhood, which was the occasion of his first practically associating himself with ST. TIMOTHY. Paul left the Syrian Antioch, in company with Silas (Acts xv. 40), on his second missionary circuit; and travelling through CILICIA (xv. 41), and up through the passes of Taurus into Lycaonia, approached Iconium from the east, by Derbe and Lystra (xvi. 1, 2). Though apparently a native of Lystra, Timothy was evidently well known to the Christians of Iconium (xvi. 2); and it is not improbable that his circumcision (xvi. 3) and ordination (1 Tim. i. 18, iv. 14, vi. 12; 2 Tim. i. 6) took place there. On leaving Iconium, St. Paul and his party travelled to the N.W.; and the place is not mentioned again in the sacred narrative, though there is little doubt that it was visited by the Apostle again in the early part of his third circuit (Acts xviii. 23). From its position it could not fail to be an important centre of Christian influence in the early ages of the Church. The curious apocryphal legend of St. Thecla, of which Iconium is the scene, must not be entirely passed by. The "Acta Pauli et Theclae" are given in full by Grabe (*Spicil.* vol. i.) and by Jones (*On the Canon*, vol. ii. 353–411). It is natural here to notice one geographical mistake in that document, viz. that Lystra is placed on the west instead of the south. In the declining period of the Roman empire, Iconium was made a *colonia*. In the Middle Ages it became a place of great consequence, as the capital of the Seljuk sultans. Hence the remains of Seljuk architecture, which are conspicuous here, and which are described by many travellers. *Konieh* is still a town of considerable size (Leake, *Tour in Asia Minor*, p. 49; Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, ii. 205; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 661 sq.; Murray, *Hbk. to Asia Minor*; Ramsay, *The Histor. Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 332, 377–8, 393–5).

[J. S. H.] [W.]

ID'ALAH (יְדִאֲלָה; B. Ἰερειχώ, A. Ἰαδηλά; *Jedala* and *Jerala*), one of the non-identified cities of the tribe of Zebulun, named between Shimron and Bethlehem (Josh. xix. 15; see Dillmann² in loco). Neubauer (*Géog. du Talmud*, p. 189) gives the name as Yidalah, or "according to the Talmud, *Hiriyeh*." Schwarz (*H. L.* p. 137) and Van de Velde (Map, 1866) would identify it with *Kh. Kireh*, S. of *Tell Keimûn*, Jokneam. But this is too far from Shimron and Bethlehem, and Conder (*PEF. Mem.* i. 288) identifies it, with more probability, with the ruins *el-Huwârah*, south of *Beit Lahm*, Bethlehem. It is not named in the *Onomasticon*.

[G.] [W.]

ID'BASH (יִדְבָּשׁ; B. Ἰαβάς, A. Ἰγαβής; *Jedebos*), one of the three sons of Abi-Etam—"the father of Etam"—among the families of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 3). The Ṣelelponite is named as his sister. This list is probably a topographical one, a majority of the names being those of places.

ID'DO. **1.** (עִדֹּא; B. Ἀχέλ, A. Ἀδώκ; *Addo.*) The father of Abinadab, one of Solomon's monthly purveyors (1 K. iv. 14).

2. (עִדּוֹ; A. Ἀδδί, B. Ἀδεί; *Addo*). A descendant of Gershom, son of Levi (1 Ch. vi. 21). In the reversed genealogy (*v.* 41) the name is altered to UDAIAH, and we there discover that he was one of the forefathers of Asaph the seer.

3. (יְדוֹ; BA. Ἰαδδαί; *Jaddo.*) Son of Zechariah, ruler (*nāgîd*) of the tribe of Manasseh east of Jordan in the time of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 21).

4. (יֶעְדּוֹ, *i.e.* Ye'doi; but in the correction of the Keri יֶעְדּוֹ, Ye'do; BA. Ἰωήλ; *Addo.*) A seer (חוֹזֶה) whose "visions" (חֲזוֹת) against Jeroboam incidentally contained some of the acts of Solomon (2 Ch. ix. 29). He also appears to have written a chronicle or story (*Midrash*, Gesen. p. 357; Driver, *LOT.* p. 497) relating to the life and reign of Abijah (2 Ch. xiii. 22), and also a book "concerning genealogies," in which the acts of Rehoboam were recorded (xii. 15). These books are lost, but they may have formed part of the foundation of the existing Books of Chronicles (Bertheau, *Chron.* Introd. § 3). The mention of his having prophesied against Jeroboam probably led to his identification in the ancient Jewish traditions (Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr.* in 2 Ch. xii. 15, Jaddo; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, § 5, Ἰαδών) with the "man

of God" out of Judah who denounced the altar of that king (1 K. xii. 1). He has also been identified with Oded (see Jerome on 2 Ch. xv. 1), and by the best texts of the LXX. (see above) with Joel.

5. (עִדּוֹא, in Zech. עִדּוֹ; in Ezra, B. Ἀδώ, A. Ἀδδώ; *Addo.*) The grandfather of the Prophet Zechariah (Zech. i. 1, 7), although in other places Zechariah is called "the son of Iddo" (Ezra v. 1, vi. 14). Iddo, returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. xii. 4), and in the next generation — the "days of Joiakim," son of Jeshua (*vv.* 10, 12)—his house was represented by Zechariah (*v.* 14). In 1 Esd. vi. 1, the name is ADDO.

6. (אִדּוֹ; LXX. om.; *Eddo.*) The chief of those who assembled at Casiphia, at the time of the second caravan from Babylon, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus B.C. 458. He was one of the Nethinim, of whom 220 responded to the appeal of Ezra to assist in the Return to Judaea (Ezra viii. 17; cp. *v.* 20). In the Apocr. Esdras the name is SADDEUS and DADDEUS. [G.] [W.]

IDOL, IMAGE. As no less than twenty-one different Hebrew words have been rendered in the A. V. either by "idol" or "image," and that by no means uniformly, it will be of some advantage to attempt to discriminate between them, and assign, as nearly as the two languages will allow, the English equivalents for each. But, before proceeding to the discussion of those words which in themselves indicate the objects of false worship, it will be necessary to notice a class of abstract terms, which, with a deep moral significance, express the degradation associated with it, and stand out as a protest of the language against the enormities of idolatry. Such are—

1. אָוֶן, *'āven*, rendered elsewhere "nought," "vanity," "iniquity," "wickedness," "sorrow," &c., and—once only—"idol" (Is. lxvi. 3). The primary idea of the root seems to be emptiness, nothingness, as of breath or vapour; and, by a natural transition, in a moral sense, wickedness in its active form of mischief, and then, as the result, sorrow and trouble. Hence *'āven* denotes a vain, false, wicked thing, and expresses at once the essential nature of idols, and the consequences of their worship. The character of the word may be learnt from its associates. It stands in parallelism with אֶפֶס, *'èphes* (Is. xli. 29), which, after undergoing various modifications, comes at length to signify "nothing;" with הֶבֶל, *hèbel*, "breath" or "vapour," itself applied as a term of contempt to the objects of idolatrous reverence (Deut. xxxii. 21; 1 K. xvi. 13; Ps. xxxi. 6; Jer. viii. 19, x. 8); with שָׁוְא, *shāu'*, "nothingness," "vanity;" and with שֶׁקֶר, *shèqer*, "falsehood" (Zech. x. 2): all indicating the utter worthlessness of the idols to whom homage was paid, and the false and delusive nature of their worship. It is employed in an abstract sense to denote idolatry in general in 1 Sam. xv. 23. There is much significance in the change of name from Bethel to Bethaven, the great centre of idolatry in Israel (Hos. iv. 15, x. 5). Cp. also the use of אָוֶן for אוֹן (Heliopolis), and the implied sense of a city of idols (Ezek. xxx. 17).

2. אֱלִיל, *'ĕlīl*, is thought by some to have a sense akin to that of שֶׁקֶר, *shèqer*, "falsehood," with which it stands in parallelism in Job xiii. 4, and would therefore much resemble *'āven*, as applied to an idol. Delitzsch (on Hab. ii. 18) derives it from the negative particle אַל, *'al*, "die Nichtigen" (cp. MV.[11] s. n. אלל, ii.). The word occurs in the Sabaean inscriptions under the form אלאלת, as the plural of אל, *gods* (cp. Bäthgen, *Beitr. z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 129), and this may be said to strengthen the contention of those who make אליל a diminutive of אֵל, "god," the additional syllable indicating the greatest contempt. In this case the signification above mentioned is a subsidiary one. The word is applied to the idols of Egypt and Phoenicia (Is. xix. 3; Jer. xiv. 14), Noph or Memphis (Ezek. xxx. 13). In strong contrast with Jehovah it appears in Ps. xc. 5, xcvii. 7; the contrast probably being heightened by the resemblance between *'ĕlīlīm* and *'ĕlōhīm*. A somewhat similar play upon words is observable in Hab. ii. 18, אֲלִילִים אִלְמִים, *'ĕlīlīm 'illĕmīm* ("dumb idols," A. V.).

3. אֵימָה, *'ēmāh*, in plural אֵימִים, "terrors" (R. V. marg.), and hence an object of horror or terror (Jer. l. 38), in reference either to the hideousness of the idols or to the gross character of their worship. In this respect it is closely connected with—

4. מִפְלֶצֶת, *miphlèṣeth*, a "fright," "horror," applied to the idol of Maachah, probably of wood, which Asa cut down and burned (1 K. xv. 13; 2 Ch. xv. 16; in both places, R. V. "an abominable image"). The opinion, advanced by Movers, that this was the Phallus, the symbol of the productive power of nature (*Phoen.* i. 571), cannot be maintained (cp. Keil on 1 K. *l. c.*, and Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 437). In 2 Ch. xv. 16, the Vulg. rendering "simulacrum Priapi" (cp. Hor., "furum aviumque maxima *formido*") does not bear such an application. The LXX. had a different reading, which it is not easy to determine. They translate in 1 K. xv. 13 the same word both by *σύνοδος* (with which corresponds the Syr. ܥܺܝܕܳܐ, *'īdō*, "a festival," reading perhaps עֲצֶרֶת, *'āṣereth*, as in 2 K. x. 20; Jer. ix. 2) and *καταδύσεις* (Luc. *καταλύσεις*), while in Chronicles it is *εἴδωλον*. Possibly in 1 K. xv. 13 they may have read מְצִלְּתָה, *mĕṣullāthāh* (see other conjectures in Klostermann in loco [Strack u. Zöckler, *Kgf. Komm.*]), for מִפְלַצְתָּה, *miphlaṣtāh*, as the Vulg. *specum*, of which "simulacrum turpissimum" is a correction.

With this must be noticed, though not actually rendered "image" or "idol,"

5. בֹּשֶׁת, *bōsheth*, "shame," or "shameful thing" (R. V.; Jer. iii. 24, xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10), applied to Baal or Baal-Peor, as characterising the obscenity of his worship.

With *'ĕlīl* is found in close connexion—

6. גִּלּוּלִים, *gillūlīm*, also a term of contempt, but of uncertain origin (Ezek. xxx. 13). The Rabbinical authorities, referring to such passages as Ezek. iv. 2, Zeph. i. 17, have favoured the interpretation given in the margin of the A. V. to Deut. xxix. 17, "dungy gods" (Vulg. *sordes, sordes idolorum*, 1 K. xv. 12). Gesenius (*Thes.*) gives his preference to the rendering "stones, stone gods," thus deriving it from גַּל, *gal*, "a heap of stones," while MV.[11] prefers "clods." Idols were frequently symbolized in the conical stone (*e.g.* of Astarte) or in the cairn of stones, alike animated by a god (see Robertson Smith, i. 189 sq.). The expression is applied, principally in Ezekiel, to false gods and their symbols (Deut. xxix. 17; Ezek. viii. 10, &c.). It stands side by side with other contemptuous terms in Ezek. xvi. 36, xx. 8; as for example שֶׁקֶץ, *shèqeṣ*, "filth," "abomination" (Ezek. viii. 10), and

7. The cognate שִׁקּוּץ, *shiqqūṣ*, "filth," "impurity," especially applied, like *shèqeṣ*, to that which produced ceremonial uncleanness (Ezek. xxxvii. 23; Nah. iii. 6), such as food offered in sacrifice to idols (Zech. ix. 7; cp. Acts xv. 20, 29). As referring to the idols themselves, it primarily denotes the obscene rites with which their worship was associated, and hence, by metonymy, is applied both to the objects of worship and also to their worshippers, who partook of the impurity, and thus "became loathsome like their love," the foul Baal-Peor (Hos. ix. 10).

We now come to the consideration of those words which more directly apply to the images or idols, as the outward symbols of the deity who was worshipped through them. These may be classified according as they indicate that the images were made in imitation of external objects, and to represent some idea or attribute; or as they denote the workmanship by which they were fashioned. To the first class belong—

8. סֶמֶל, *sèmel*, or סֵמֶל, *sēmel* (with which Gesenius compares as cognate צֶלֶם, *ṣèlem*, the Lat. *similis*, the Greek *ὁμαλός*), signifies a "likeness," "semblance," especially that of a statue (Baudissin in MV.[11]). It is used in the same sense both of male and females in Phoenician inscriptions (MV.[11]). The Targ. in Deut. iv. 16 gives צוּרָא, *ṣūrā*, "figure," as the equivalent; while in Ezek. viii. 3, 5 it is rendered by צֶלֶם, *ṣèlām*, "image." In the latter passages the Syriac has ܩܘܡܛܐ, *qōimtō*, "a statue" (the *στήλη* of the LXX.), which more properly corresponds to *maṣṣēbāh* (see No. 15 below); and in Deut. ܓܢܣ, *gĕnēs*, "kind" = (*γένος*). The word in 2 Ch. xxxiii. 7 (פֶּסֶל הַתַּמֻּל) is rendered by the Syriac "images of four faces," the latter words representing the one under consideration. In 2 Ch. xxxiii. 15 the Syriac adopts "carved images," following the LXX. *τὸ γλυπτόν*. On the whole the Gk. *εἰκὼν* of Deut. iv. 16, 2 Ch. xxxiii. 7, and the *simulacrum* of the Vulgate (2 Ch. xxxiii. 15), most nearly resemble the Hebrew *sēmel*.

9. צֶלֶם, *ṣèlem* (Ch. צְלֵם, *ṣĕlēm*; Assyr. *ṣalmu*) is by lexicographers connected with צֵל, *ṣēl*, "a shadow." It is the "image" of God in which man was created (Gen. i. 27; cp. Wisd. ii. 23), distinguished from דְּמוּת, *dĕmūth*, or "likeness," as an "image" is distinguished from the "idea" which it represents (Schmidt, *de Imag. Dei in Hom.* p. 84), though it would be rash to insist upon this distinction. In the N. T. *εἰκὼν* appears to represent the latter (Col. iii. 10; cp. LXX. of Gen. v. 1), as *ὁμοίωμα* the former of the two words (Rom. i. 23, viii. 29; Phil. ii. 7), but in Heb. x. 1 *εἰκὼν* is opposed to *σκία* as the substance to the unsubstantial form, of which it is the perfect representative. The LXX. render *dĕmūth* by *ὁμοίωσις, ὁμοίωμα, εἰκών, ὅμοιος*, and *ṣèlem* most frequently by *εἰκών*, though *ὁμοίωμα, εἴδωλον*, and *τύπος* also occur. But whatever abstract term may best define the meaning of *ṣèlem*, it is unquestionably used to denote the visible forms of external objects, and is applied to figures of gold and silver (1 Sam. vi. 5; Num. xxxiii. 52; Dan. iii. 1), such as the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, as well as to those painted upon walls (Ezek. xxxiii. 14). "Image" perhaps most nearly represents it in all passages. In Sabaean and Palmyrene inscriptions it represents an "image" (MV.[11]), but in the Teïma inscriptions it is the name of a god probably imported from Aramaic belief, whose picture is portrayed on a stele (Bäthgen, pp. 80–1). צֶלֶם, applied to the human countenance (Dan. iii. 19), signifies the "expression," and corresponds to the *ἰδέα* of Matt. xxviii. 3, though *dĕmūth* agrees rather with the Platonic usage of the latter word.

10. תְּמוּנָה, *tĕmūnāh*, rendered "image" (R. V. "form") in Job iv. 16; elsewhere "similitude" (Deut. iv. 12), "likeness" (Deut. v. 8): "form" or "shape" would be better. In Deut. iv. 16 it is in parallelism with תַּבְנִית, *tabnīth*, literally "built;" hence "plan," or "model" (2 K. xvi. 10; cp. Ex. xx. 4; Num. xii. 8).

11. עֲצָב, *'āṣāb*, 12. עֶצֶב, *'èṣeb* (Jer. xxii. 28), or 13. עֹצֶב, *'ōṣeb* (Is. xlviii. 5), "a figure," all derived from a root עָצַב, *'āṣāb*, "to work," or "fashion" (akin to חָצַב, *chāṣāb*, and the like), are terms applied to idols as expressing that their origin was due to the labour of man. The verb in its derived senses indicates the sorrow and trouble consequent upon severe labour, but the latter seems to be the radical idea. If the notion of sorrow were the more prominent, the words as applied to idols might be compared with *'āven* above. In Is. lviii. 3 it is rendered in the Peshitto "idols" (A. V. and R. V. "labours"), but the reading was evidently different. In Ps. cxxxix. 24, דֶּרֶךְ עֹצֶב, *dèrek 'ōṣeb*, is "idolatry."

14. צִיר, *ṣīr*, once only applied to an idol (Is. xlv. 16; LXX. *νῆσοι*, as if אִיִּים, *'iyyim*). The word usually denotes "a pang," but in this instance is probably connected with the roots צוּר, *ṣūr*, and יָצַר, *yāṣār*, and signifies "a shape" or "mould," and hence an "idol."

15. מַצֵּבָה, *maṣṣēbāh*, anything set up, a "statue" (=נְצִיב, *nĕṣīb*, Jer. xliii. 13; A. V. "images" [marg. *statues*], R. V. "pillars" [marg. *obelisks*]), applied variously; *e.g.* to a monolithic pillar or a memorial stone like those erected by Jacob on four several occasions (Gen xxviii. 18 [see Dillmann[5] in loco; Dillmann[2] on Deut. xvi. 22], xxxi. 45, xxxv. 14, 15) to commemorate a crisis in his life, or to mark the grave of Rachel; or to such cairns of stones as were set up by Joshua (Josh. iv. 9) after the passage of the Jordan and at Shechem (xxiv. 26), and by Samuel when victorious over the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 12). When solemnly dedicated, they were anointed with oil, and libations were poured upon them. The word is applied to denote the obelisks which stood at the entrance to the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis (Jer. xliii. 13; see R. V. marg.), two of which were a hundred cubits high and eight broad, each of a single stone (Her. ii. 111). It is also used of the statues of Baal (2 K. iii. 2), whether of stone (2 K. x. 27) or wood (*v.* 26), which stood in the innermost recess of the temple at Samaria. Movers (*Phoen.* i. 674) conjectures that the latter were statues or columns distinct from that of Baal, which was of stone and conical (p. 673), like the "meta" of Paphos (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 3), and probably therefore belonging to other deities who were his *πάρεδροι* or *σύμβωμοι*. The Phoenicians consecrated and anointed stones like that at Bethel, which were called, as some think, from this circumstance *Baetylia*. Many such are said to have been seen on the Lebanon, near Heliopolis, dedicated to various gods, and many prodigies are related of them (Damascius in Photius, quoted by Bochart, *Canaan*, ii. 2). The same authority describes them as aërolites, of a whitish and sometimes purple colour, spherical in shape, and about a span in diameter. The Palladium of Troy, the black stone in the Kaaba at Mecca, said to have been brought from heaven by the Angel Gabriel, the cone of Elagabalus at Emesa, and the stone at Ephesus "which fell down from Jupiter" (Acts xix. 35), are examples of the belief, anciently so common, that the gods dwelt in the stone; and, at the sanctuary, established stated relations with men and accepted their service (Robertson Smith, i. 190). In the older worship of Greece, stones, according to Pausanias (vii. 22, § 4), occupied the place of images. Those at Pharae, about thirty in number and quadrangular in shape, near the statue of Hermes, received divine honours from the Pharians, and each had the name of some god conferred upon it. The stone in the temple of Jupiter Ammon (*umbilico maxime similis*), enriched with emeralds and gems (Curt. iv. 7, § 31); that at Delphi, which Saturn was said to have swallowed (Paus. *Phoc.* 24, § 6); the black stone of pyramidal shape in the temple of Juggernaut, and the holy stone at Pessinus in Galatia, sacred to Cybele, show how widely spread and almost universal were these ancient objects of worship (cp. Dillmann[5] and Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. xxviii. 18).

Closely connected with these "statues" of Baal, whether in the form of obelisks or otherwise, were

16. חַמָּנִים, *chammānīm*, rendered in the margin of most passages *sun-images*. The word has given rise to considerable discussion, much of which is now obsolete (see 1st edit. of this work). In the Vulgate it is translated thrice *simulacra*, thrice *delubra*, and once *fana*. The LXX. give *τεμένη* twice, *εἴδωλα* twice, *ξύλινα χειροποίητα*, *βδελύγματα*, and *τὰ ὑψηλά*. With one exception (2 Ch. xxxiv. 4, which is evidently corrupt) the Syriac has vaguely either "fears," *i.e.* objects of fear, or "idols." The Targum in all passages translates it by חַנְיְכָנְמְיָא, *chānīsĕnēsayyā*, "houses for star-worship," a rendering which Rosenmüller supports. *Chammān* is now recognised as a title of Baal in the Phoenician and Palmyrene inscriptions in the sense of "Dominus Solaris," and *Chammānīm* is the term descriptive of the statues or columns erected for his worship (cp. Spencer, *de Legg. Hebr.* ii. 25; Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex. Hebr.* s. v.), like the pyramids or obelisks of Egypt. Movers, in his discussion of *Chammānīm*, says, "These images of the fire-god were placed on foreign or non-Israelitish altars, in conjunction with the symbols of the nature-goddess Asherah, as *σύμβωμοι* (2 Ch. xiv. 3, 5, xxxiv. 4, 7; Is. xvii. 9, xxvii. 9), as was otherwise usual with Baal and Asherah" (*Phoen.* i. 441. Cp. Bäthgen, p. 25 sq.). They are mentioned with the Asherim, and the latter are coupled with the statues of Baal (1 K. xiv. 23; 2 K. xxiii. 17). The *chammānīm* and statues are used promiscuously (cp. 2 K. xxiii. 14, and 2 Ch. xxiv. 4; 2 Ch. xiv. 3 and 5), but are never spoken of together. He is supported by the Palmyrene inscription at Oxford, alluded to above, which has been thus rendered: "This column (חמנא, *Chammānā*), and this altar, the sons of Malchu, &c., have erected and dedicated to the Sun." The Veneto-Greek Version leaves the word untranslated in the strange form *ἀκάβαντες*. From the expressions in Ezek. vi. 4, 6, and Lev. xxvi. 30, it may be inferred that these columns, which perhaps represented a rising flame of fire and stood near or upon the altar of Baal (2 Ch. xxxiv. 4), were of wood or stone. Dillmann[5] (on Is. xvi. 22) defines the *Chammānīm* as idolatrous Maṣṣebōth (No. 15) specially connected with Baal.

17. מַשְׂכִּית, *maskīth*, occurs in Lev. xxvi. 1; Num. xxiii. 52; Ezek. viii. 12: "device" most nearly suits all passages (cp. Ps. lxxiii. 7; Prov. xviii. 11, xxv. 11). This word has been the fruitful cause of as much dispute as the preceding. The general opinion appears to be that אֶבֶן מ', *'eben maskīth*, signifies a stone with figures graven upon it. Ben Zeb explains it as "a stone with figures or hieroglyphics carved upon it," and so Michaelis; and it is maintained by Movers (*Phoen.* i. 105) that the *baetylia* or columns with painted figures, the "lapides effigiati" of Minucius Felix (c. 3), are these "stones of device," and that the characters engraven on them are the *ἱερὰ στοιχεῖα*, or characters sacred to the several deities The invention of these characters, which is ascribed to Taaut, he conjectures originated with the Seres. Gesenius explains it as a stone with the image of an idol, Baal or Astarte, and refers to his *Mon. Phoen.* 21–24 for others of similar character (see MV.[11] s. n.). The Targum and Syr., Lev. xxvi. 1, give "stone of devotion," and the former in Num. xxxiii. 52 has "house of their devotion," where the Syr. only renders "their objects of devotion." For

the former the LXX. have λίθος σκοπός (Vulg. *lapis insignis*), and for the latter τὰς σκοπιὰς αὐτῶν (Vulg. *tituli*), connecting the word with the root שָׁכָה, "to look," a circumstance which has induced Saalschütz (*Mos. Recht.* pp. 382–385) to conjecture that *'eben maskîth* was originally a smooth elevated stone employed for the purpose of obtaining from it a freer prospect, and of offering prayer in prostration upon it to the deities of heaven. Hence, generally, he concludes that it signifies a stone of prayer or devotion, and that the "chambers of imagery" of Ezek. viii. 7 are "chambers of devotion." The renderings of the last-mentioned passage in the LXX. and Targum are curious, as pointing to a variant reading מַשְׂכִּתוֹ, or more probably מִשְׁכָּבוֹ. Saalschütz's idea—if simplified to suggest a stone visible from a distance, or a stone which attracts attention (cp. Knobel-Dillmann on Lev. *l. c.*)—is preferred by some to that of Gesenius.

18. תְּרָפִים, *terāphīm*. [TERAPHIM.]

The terms which follow have regard to the material and workmanship of the idol rather than to its character as an object of worship.

19. פֶּסֶל, *pèsel*, and 20. פְּסִילִים, *pesîlīm*, usually translated in the A. V. "graven or carved images." In two passages the latter is ambiguously rendered "quarries" (Judg. iii. 19, 26, A. V. and R. V.), following the Targum, but there seems no reason for departing from the ordinary signification. In the majority of instances the LXX. have γλυπτόν, once γλύμμα. The verb is employed to denote the finishing which the stone received at the hands of the masons, after it had been rough-hewn from the quarries (Ex. xxxiv. 4; 1 K. v. 32). It is probably a later usage which has applied *pèsel*[a] to a figure cast in metal, as in Is. xl. 19, xliv. 10. These "sculptured" images were apparently of wood, iron, or stone, covered with gold or silver (Deut. vii. 25; Is. xxx. 22; Hab. ii. 19), the more costly being of solid metal (Is. xl. 19). They could be burnt (Deut. vii. 5; Is. xlv. 20; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 4), or cut down (Deut. xii. 3) and pounded (2 Ch. xxxiv. 7), or broken in pieces (Is. xxi. 9). In making them, the skill of the wise iron-smith (Deut. xxvii. 15; Is. xl. 20) or carpenter, and of the goldsmith, was employed (Judg. xvii. 3, 4; Is. xli. 7), the former supplying the rough mass of iron beaten into shape on his anvil (Is. xliv. 12), while the latter overlaid it with plates of gold and silver, probably from Tarshish (Jer. x. 9), and decorated it with silver chains. The image thus formed received the further adornment of embroidered robes (Ezek. xvi. 18), to which possibly allusion may be made in Is. iii. 19. Brass and clay were among the materials employed for the same purpose (Dan. ii. 33, v. 23).[b] A description of the three great images of Babylon on the top of the temple of Belus will be found in Diod. Sic. ii. 9 (cp. Layard, *Nin.* ii. 433). The several stages of the process by which the metal or wood became the "graven image" are so vividly described in *Is.* xliv. 10–20, that it is only necessary to refer to that passage, and we are at once introduced to the mysteries of idol manufacture, which, as at Ephesus, "brought no small gain unto the craftsmen."

21. נֶסֶךְ, *nèsek*, or נָסֶךְ, *nēsek*, and 22. מַסֵּכָה, *massēkāh*, are evidently synonymous (Is. xli. 29, xlviii. 5; Jer. x. 14) in later Hebrew, and denote a "molten" image. *Massēkāh* is frequently used in distinction from *pèsel* or *pesîlīm* (Deut. xxvii. 15; Judg. xvii. 3, &c.). The golden calf which Aaron made was fashioned with "the graver" (חֶרֶט, *chèreṭ*), but it is not quite clear for what purpose the graver was used (Ex. xxxii. 4). The *chèreṭ* (cp. Gk. χαράττω) appears to have been a sharp-pointed instrument, used like the *stylus* for a writing implement (Is. viii. 1). Whether then Aaron, by the help of the *cheret*, gave to the molten mass the shape of a calf, or whether he made use of the graver for the purpose of carving hieroglyphics upon it, has been thought doubtful. The Syr. has ܛܘܦܣܐ, *ṭūpsō* (τύπος), "the mould," for *chèreṭ*. But the expression וַיָּצַר, *wayyāṣar*, decides that it was by the *chèreṭ*, in whatever manner employed, that the shape of a calf was given to the metal.

In N. T. εἰκών is the "image" or head of the emperor on the coinage (Matt. xxii. 20).

Among the earliest objects of worship, regarded as symbols of deity, were, as has been said above, the meteoric stones which the ancients believed to have been the images of the gods fallen down from heaven (cp. Robertson Smith, i. pp. 185–195). From these they transferred their regard to rough unhewn blocks, to stone columns or pillars of wood, in which the divinity worshipped was supposed to dwell, and which were consecrated, like the sacred stone at Delphi, by being anointed with oil, and crowned with wool on solemn days (Paus. *Phoc.* 24, § 6). Tavernier (quoted by Rosenmüller, *Alt. & N. Morgenland*, i. § 89) mentions a black stone in the pagoda of Benares which was daily anointed with perfumed oil, and such are the "Lingams" in daily use in the Siva worship of Bengal (cp. Arnobius, i. 39; Min. Fel. c. 3). Such customs are remarkable illustrations of the solemn consecration by Jacob of the stone at Bethel, as showing the religious reverence with which these memorials were regarded. And not only were single stones thus honoured, but heaps of stone were, in later times at least, considered as sacred to Hermes (Hom. *Od.* xvi. 471; *cp.* Vulg. of Prov. xxvi. 8, "sicut qui mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii"), and to these each passing traveller contributed his offering (Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 24). The heap of stones which Laban erected to commemorate the solemn compact between himself and Jacob, and on which he invoked the gods of his fathers, is an instance of the intermediate stage in which such heaps were associated with religious observances before they became objects of worship. Jacob, for his part, dedicated a single stone as his memorial, and called Jehovah to witness, thus holding himself aloof from the rites employed by Laban, which may have partaken of his ancestral idolatry. [JEGAR-SAHADUTHA.]

[a] Possibly *pèsel* denotes by anticipation the molten image in a later stage, after it had been trimmed into shape by the caster.

[b] Images of glazed pottery have been found in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 90 [large ed.]; cp. Wisd. xv. 8).

Of the forms assumed by the idolatrous images we have not many traces in the Bible.[a] Ea, the water-god of the Babylonians, was a human figure terminating in a fish [DAGON]; and that the Syrian deities were represented in later times in a symbolical human shape we know for certainty. The Hebrews imitated their neighbours in this respect as in others (Is. xliv. 13; Wisd. xiii. 13), and from various allusions we may infer that idols in human forms were not uncommon among them, though they were more anciently symbolised by animals (Wisd. xiii. 14), as by the calves of Aaron and Jeroboam, and the brazen serpent which was afterwards applied to idolatrous uses (2 K. xviii. 4; Rom. i. 23). When the image came from the hands of the maker, it was decorated richly with silver and gold, and sometimes crowned (Epist. Jer. 9); clad in robes of blue and purple (Jer. x. 9), like the draped images of Pallas and Hera (Müller, *Hand. d. Arch. d. Kunst*, § 69), and fastened in the niche appropriated to it by means of chains and rails (Wisd. xiii. 15), in order that the influence of the deity which it represented might be secured to the spot. So the Ephesians, when besieged by Croesus, connected the wall of their city by means of a rope to the temple of Aphrodite, with the view of ensuring the aid of the goddess (Her. i. 26); and for a similar object the Tyrians chained the stone image of Apollo to the altar of Hercules (Curt. iv. 3, § 15). Some images were painted red (Wisd. xiii. 14), like those of Dionysus and the Bacchantes, of Hermes, and the god Pan (Paus. ii. 2, § 5; Müller, *Hand. d. Arch. d. Kunst*, § 69). This colour was formerly considered sacred. Pliny relates, on the authority of Verrius, that it was customary on festival days to colour with red-lead the face of the image of Jupiter, and the bodies of those who celebrated a triumph (xxxiii. 36). The figures of Priapus, the god of gardens, were decorated in the same manner ("*ruber custos*," Tibull. i. 1, 18). Among the objects of worship enumerated by Arnobius (i. 39) are bones of elephants, pictures, and garlands suspended on trees, the "rami coronati" of Apuleius (*de Mag.* c. 56).

When the process of adorning the image was completed, it was placed in a temple or shrine appointed for it (*οἰκία*, Epist. Jer. 12, 19; *οἴκημα*, Wisd. xiii. 15; *εἰδωλεῖον*, 1 Cor. viii. 10; see Stanley's note on the latter passage). In Wisd. xiii. 15, *οἴκημα* is thought to be used contemptuously, as in Tibull. i. 10, 19, 20—"cum paupere cultu stabat in *exigua* ligneus *aede* deus" (Fritzsche and Grimm, *Handb.* in loco), but the passage quoted is by no means a good illustration. From these temples the idols were sometimes carried in procession (Epist. Jer. 4, 26) on festival days. Their priests were maintained from the idol treasury, and feasted upon the meats which were appointed for the idol's use (Bel and the Dragon, *vv.* 3, 13; see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). These sacrificial feasts formed an important part of the idolatrous ritual [IDOLATRY], and were a great stumbling-block to the early Christian converts. They were to the heathen, as Dean Stanley has well observed, what the observance of circumcision and the Mosaic ritual were to the Jewish converts, and it was for this reason that St. Paul especially directed his attention to the subject, and laid down the rules of conduct contained in his First Letter to the Corinthians (viii.–x.). [W. A. W.] [F.]

[a] Some hideous forms are given in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n. "Götzendienste." See also Babelon, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 294 sq.

IDOLATRY (the A. V. rendering of תְּרָפִים, *tĕrāphīm*, R. V. "teraphim," in 1 Sam. xv. 23), strictly speaking, denotes the worship of deity in a visible form, whether the images to which homage is paid are symbolical representations of the true God, or of the false divinities which have been made the objects of worship in His stead. With its origin and progress the present article is not concerned. The former is lost amidst the dark mists of antiquity,[a] and the latter is rather the subject of speculation than of history. But under what aspect it is presented to us in the Scriptures, how it affected the Mosaic legislation, and what influence it had on the history of the Israelites, are questions which may be more properly discussed, with some hope of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. Whether, therefore, the deification of the powers of nature, and the representation of them under tangible forms, preceded the worship of departed heroes, who were regarded as the embodiment of some virtue which distinguished their lives, is not in this respect of much importance. Some Jewish writers, indeed, grounding their theory on a forced interpretation of Gen. iv. 26, assign to Enos, the son of Seth, the unenviable notoriety of having been the first to pay divine honours to the host of heaven, and to lead others into the like error (Maimon. *de Idol.* i. 1). R. Solomon Jarchi, on the other hand, while admitting the same verse to contain the first account of the origin of idolatry, understands it as implying the deification of men and plants. Arabic tradition, according to Sir W. Jones, connects the people of Yemen with the same apostasy. The third in descent from Joktan, and therefore a contemporary of Nahor, took the surname of *'Abdu Shams*, or "servant of the sun," whom he and his family worshipped, while other tribes honoured the planets and fixed stars (Hales, *Chronol.* ii. 59, 4to ed.). Nimrod, again, to whom is ascribed the introduction of Sabianism, was after his death transferred to the constellation Orion, and on the slender foundation of the expression "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 31) is built the fabulous history of Abraham and Nimrod, narrated in the legends of the Jews and Mussulmans (Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, i. 23; Weil, *Bibl. Leg.* pp. 47–74; Hyde, *Rel. Pers.* c. 2).

I. But, descending from the regions of fiction to sober historic narrative, the first undoubted allusion to idolatry or idolatrous customs in the Bible is in the account of Rachel's stealing her father's teraphim (Gen. xxxi. 19), a relic of the worship of other gods, whom the ancestors of the Israelites served "on the other side of the

[a] Consult Tylor, *Primitive Culture*; Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, i.; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volk. Israel*, pp. 405 sq., 428 sq. The last two writers adopt the historic sequence and development of idolatry preferred by Kuenen and Wellhausen. See, on the other hand, Bäthgen, *Beitr. z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 131 sq.

river, in old time" (Josh. xxiv. 2). By these household deities Laban was guided, and these he consulted as oracles (obs. נִחַשְׁתִּי, Gen. xxx. 27, A. V. "learned by experience," R. V. "divined"), though without entirely losing sight of the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, to Whom he appealed when occasion offered (Gen. xxxi. 53), while he was ready, in the presence of Jacob, to acknowledge the benefits conferred upon him by Jehovah (Gen. xxx. 27). Such, indeed, was the character of most of the idolatrous worship of the Israelites. Like the Cuthean colonists in Samaria, who "feared Jehovah and served their own gods" (2 K. xvii. 33), they blended in a strange manner a theoretical belief in the true God with the external reverence which, in different stages of their history, they were led to pay to the idols of the nations by whom they were surrounded. For this species of false worship they seem, at all times, to have had an incredible propensity. On their journey from Shechem to Bethel, the family of Jacob put away from among them "the gods of the *foreigner*:" not the teraphim of Laban, but the gods of the Canaanites through whose land they passed, and the amulets and charms which were worn as the appendages of their worship (Gen. xxxv. 2, 4). And this marked feature of the Hebrew character is traceable throughout the entire history of the people. During their long residence in Egypt, the country of symbolism, they defiled themselves with the idols of the land, and it was long before the taint was removed (Josh. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 7). To these gods Moses, as the herald of Jehovah, flung down the gauntlet of defiance (Kurtz, *Gesch. d. Alt. B.* ii. 86), and the plagues of Egypt smote their symbols (Num. xxxiii. 4). Yet, with the memory of their deliverance fresh in their minds, their leader absent, the Israelites clamoured for some visible shape in which they might worship the God Who had brought them up out of Egypt (Ex. xxxii.). Aaron lent himself to the popular cry, and chose as the symbol of deity one with which they had long been familiar—the calf—embodiment of Apis, and emblem of the productive power of nature. But, with a weakness of character to which his greater brother was a stranger, he compromised with his better impulses by proclaiming a *solemn* feast to Jehovah (Ex. xxxii. 5). How much of the true God was recognised by the people in this brutish symbol it is impossible to conceive; the festival was characterised by all the shameless licentiousness with which idolatrous worship was associated (*v.* 25), and which seems to have constituted its chief attraction. But on this occasion, as on all others, the transgression was visited with swift vengeance, and three thousand of the offenders were slain. For a while the erection of the Tabernacle, and the establishment of the worship which accompanied it, satisfied that craving for an outward sign which the Israelites constantly exhibited; and for the remainder of their march through the desert, with the dwelling-place of Jehovah in the midst of them, they did not again degenerate into open apostasy. But it was only so long as their contact with the nations was of a hostile character that this seeming orthodoxy was maintained. The charms of the daughters of Moab, as Balaam's evil genius foresaw, were potent for evil: the Israelites were "yoked to Baal-Peor" in the trammels of his fair worshippers, and the character of their devotions is not obscurely hinted at (Num. xxv.). The great and terrible retribution which followed left so deep an impress upon the hearts of the people that, after the conquest of the Promised Land, they looked with an eye of terror upon any indications of defection from the worship of Jehovah, and denounced as idolatrous a memorial so slight as the altar of the Reubenites at the passage of Jordan (Josh. xxii. 16).

During the lives of Joshua and the elders who outlived him, they kept true to their allegiance; but the generation following, who knew not Jehovah, nor the works He had done for Israel, swerved from the plain path of their fathers, and were caught in the toils of the foreigner (Judg. ii.). From this time forth their history becomes little more than a chronicle of the inevitable sequence of offence and punishment. "They provoked Jehovah to anger . . . and the anger of Jehovah was hot against Israel, and He delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them" (Judg. ii. 12, 14). The narratives of the Book of Judges, contemporaneous or successive, tell of the fierce struggle maintained against their hated foes, and how women forgot their tenderness and forsook their retirement to sing the song of victory over the oppressor. By turns each conquering nation strove to establish the worship of its national god. During the rule of Midian, Joash the father of Gideon had an altar to Baal, and an Asherah (Judg. vi. 25), though he proved but a lukewarm worshipper (*v.* 31). Even Gideon himself gave occasion to idolatrous worship; yet the ephod which he made from the spoils of the Midianites was perhaps but a votive offering to the true God (Judg. viii. 27). It is not improbable that the gold ornaments of which it was composed were in some way connected with idolatry (cp. Is. iii. 18–24); and that from their having been worn as amulets, some superstitious virtue was conceived to cling to them even in their new form. But though in Gideon's lifetime no overt act of idolatry was practised, he was no sooner dead than the Israelites again returned to the service of the Baalim; and, as if in solemn mockery of the covenant made with Jehovah, chose from among them Baal Berith, "Baal of the Covenant" (cp. Ζεὺς ὅρκιος), as the object of their special adoration (Judg. viii. 33). Of this god we know only that his temple, probably of wood (Judg. ix. 49), was a stronghold in time of need, and that his treasury was filled with the silver of the worshippers (ix. 4). Nor were the calamities of foreign oppression confined to the land of Canaan. The tribes on the east of Jordan went astray after the idols of the land, and were delivered into the hands of the children of Ammon (Judg. x. 8). But they put away from among them "the gods of the foreigner," and with the baseborn Jephthah for their leader gained a signal victory over their oppressors. The exploits of Samson against the Philistines, though achieved within a narrower space and with less important results than those of his predecessors, fill a brilliant page in his country's history. But the tale of his marvellous deeds is prefaced by that ever-recurring

phrase, so mournfully familiar, "the children of Israel did evil again in the eyes of Jehovah, and Jehovah gave them into the hand of the Philistines." Thus far idolatry is a national sin. The episode of Micah, in Judg. xvii.–xviii., sheds a lurid light on the secret practices of individuals, who without formally renouncing Jehovah, though ceasing to recognise Him as the theocratic King (xvii. 6), linked with His worship the symbols of ancient idolatry. The house of God, or sanctuary, which Micah made in imitation of that at Shiloh, was decorated with an ephod and teraphim dedicated to God, and with a graven and molten image consecrated to some inferior deities (Selden, *de Dis Syris*, synt. i. c. 2). It is a significant fact, showing how deeply rooted in the people was the tendency to idolatry, that a Levite, who, of all others, should have been most sedulous to maintain Jehovah's worship in its purity, was found to assume the office of priest to the images of Micah; and that this Levite, priest afterwards to the idols of Dan, was no other than Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses. Tradition says that these idols were destroyed when the Philistines defeated the army of Israel and took from them the Ark of the covenant of Jehovah (1 Sam. iv.). The Danites are supposed to have carried them into the field, as the other tribes bore the Ark, and the Philistines the images of their gods, when they went forth to battle (2 Sam. v. 21; Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 9). But the Seder Olam Rabba (c. 24) interprets "the captivity of the land" (Judg. xviii. 30) of the captivity of Manasseh; and Benjamin of Tudela mistook the remains of later Gentile worship for traces of the altar or statue which Micah had dedicated, and which was worshipped by the tribe of Dan (Selden, *de Dis Syr.* synt. i. c. 2; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 398). In later times the practice of secret idolatry was carried to greater lengths. Images were set up on the corn-floors, in the wine-vats, and behind the doors of private houses (*Is.* lvii. 8; Hos. ix. 1, 2); and to check this tendency the statute in Deut. xxvii. 15 was originally promulgated.

Under Samuel's administration a fast was held, and purificatory rites performed, to mark the public renunciation of idolatry (1 Sam. vii. 3–6). But in the reign of Solomon all this was forgotten. Each of his many foreign wives brought with her the gods of her own nation; and the gods of Ammon, Moab, and Zidon were openly worshipped. Three of the summits of Olivet were crowned with the high-places of Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Molech (1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13), and the fourth, in memory of his great apostasy, was branded with the opprobrious title of the "Mount of Corruption." Rehoboam, the son of an Ammonite mother, perpetuated the worst features of Solomon's idolatry (1 K. xiv. 22–24); and in his reign took place the great schism in the national religion: when Jeroboam, fresh from his recollections of the Apis worship of Egypt, erected golden calves at Bethel and at Dan, and by this crafty state-policy severed for ever the kingdoms of Judah and Israel (1 K. xii. 26–33). To their use temples were consecrated, and the service in their honour was studiously copied from the Mosaic ritual. High-priest himself, Jeroboam ordained priests from the lowest ranks (2 Ch. xi. 15); incense and sacrifices were offered, and a solemn festival appointed, closely resembling the Feast of Tabernacles (1 K. xii. 23, 33; cp. Amos iv. 4, 5). [JEROBOAM.] The worship of the calves, "the sin of Israel" (Hos. x. 8), which was apparently associated with the goat-worship of Mendes (2 Ch. xi. 15; Herod. ii. 46) or of the ancient Sabii (Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 3), and the Asherim (1 K. xiv. 15; A. V. "groves"), ultimately spread to the kingdom of Judah, and centred in Beersheba (Amos v. 5, vii. 9). At what precise period it was introduced into the latter kingdom is not certain. The Chronicles tell us how Abijah taunted Jeroboam with his apostasy, while the less partial narrative in 1 Kings represents his own conduct as far from exemplary (1 K. xv. 3). Asa's sweeping reform spared not even the idol of his grandmother Maachah, and, with the exception of the high-places, he removed all relics of idolatrous worship (1 K. xv. 12–14), with its accompanying impurities. His reformation was completed by Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 6).

The successors of Jeroboam followed in his steps, till Ahab, who married a Sidonian princess, at her instigation (1 K. xxi. 25) built a temple and altar to Baal, and revived all the abominations of the Amorites (1 K. xxi. 26). For this he attained the bad pre-eminence of having done "more to provoke Jehovah, the God of Israel, to anger than all the kings of Israel that were before him" (1 K. xvi. 33). Compared with the worship of Baal, the worship of the calves was a venial offence, probably because it was morally less detestable and also less anti-national (1 K. xii. 28; 2 K. x. 28–31). [ELIJAH, p. 907.] Henceforth Baal-worship became so completely identified with the northern kingdom that it is described as walking in the way or statutes of the kings of Israel (2 K. xvi. 3; xvii. 8), as distinguished from the sin of Jeroboam, which ceased not till the Captivity (2 K. xvii. 23), and the corruption of the ancient inhabitants of the land. The idolatrous priests became a numerous and important caste (1 K. xviii. 19), living under the patronage of royalty, and fed at the royal table. The extirpation of Baal's priests by Elijah, and of his followers by Jehu (2 K. x.), in which the royal family of Judah shared (2 Ch. xxii. 7), was a deathblow to this form of idolatry in Israel, though other systems still remained (2 K. xiii. 6). But while Israel thus sinned and was punished, Judah was more morally guilty (Ezek. xvi. 51). The alliance of Jehoshaphat with the family of Ahab transferred to the southern kingdom, during the reigns of his son and grandson, all the appurtenances of Baal-worship (2 K. viii. 18, 27). In less than ten years after the death of that king, in whose praise it is recorded that he "sought not the Baalim," nor walked "after the deed of Israel" (2 Ch. xvii. 3, 4), a temple had been built for the idol, statues and altars erected, and priests appointed to minister in his service (2 K. xi. 18). Jehoiada's vigorous measures checked the evil for a time, but his reform was incomplete, and the high-places still remained, as in the days of Asa, a nucleus for any fresh system of idolatry (2 K. xii. 3). Much of this might be due to the influence of the king's mother, Zibiah of Beersheba, a place intimately connected with the idolatrous defection of Judah (Amos viii. 14).

After the death of Jehoiada, the princes prevailed upon Joash to restore at least some portion of his father's idolatry (2 Ch. xxiv. 18). The conquest of the Edomites by Amaziah introduced the worship of their gods, which had disappeared since the days of Solomon (2 Ch. xxv. 14, 20). After this period even the kings who did not lend themselves to the encouragement of false worship had to contend with the corruption which still lingered in the hearts of the people (2 K. xv. 35; 2 Ch. xxvii. 2). Hitherto the Temple had been kept pure. The statues of Baal and the other gods were worshipped in their own shrines, but Ahaz, who "sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which smote him" (2 Ch. xxviii. 23), and built altars to them at every corner of Jerusalem, and high-places in every city of Judah, replaced the brazen Altar of burnt-offering by one made after the model of "*the* altar" of Damascus, and desecrated it to his own uses (2 K. xvi. 10–15).[b]

The conquest of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser was for them the last scene of the drama of abominations which had been enacted uninterruptedly for upwards of 250 years. In the northern kingdom no reformer arose to vary the long line of royal apostates; whatever was effected in the way of reformation, was done by the hands of the people (2 Ch. xxxi. 1). But even in their captivity they helped to perpetuate the corruption. The colonists, whom the Assyrian conquerors placed in their stead in the cities of Samaria, brought with them their own gods, and were taught at Bethel by a priest of the captive nation "the manner of the God of the land," the lessons thus learnt resulting in a strange admixture of the calf-worship of Jeroboam with the homage paid to their national deities (2 K. xvii. 21–41). Their descendants were in consequence regarded with suspicion by the elders who returned from the Captivity with Ezra, and their offers of assistance rejected (Ezra iv. 3).

The first act of Hezekiah on ascending the throne was the restoration and purification of the Temple, which had been dismantled and closed during the latter part of his father's life (2 Ch. xxviii. 24, xxix. 3). The multitudes who flocked to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, so long in abeyance, removed the idolatrous altars of burnt-offering and incense erected by Ahaz (2 Ch. xxx. 14). The iconoclastic spirit was not confined to Judah and Benjamin, but spread throughout Ephraim and Manasseh (2 Ch. xxxi. 1), and to all external appearance idolatry was extirpated. But the reform extended little below the surface (Is. xxix. 13). Among the leaders of the people there were many in high position who conformed to the necessities of the time (Is. xxviii. 14), and under Manasseh's patronage the false worship, which had been merely driven into obscurity, broke out with tenfold virulence. Idolatry of every form, and with all the accessories of enchantments, divination, and witchcraft, was again rife; no place was too sacred, no associations too hallowed, to be spared the contamination. If the conduct of Ahaz in erecting an altar in the Temple-court is open to a charitable construction, Manasseh's was of no doubtful character. The two courts of the Temple were profaned by altars dedicated to the host of heaven, and the image of the Asherah polluted the holy place (2 K. xxi. 7; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 7, 15; cp. Jer. xxxii. 34). Even in his late repentance he did not entirely destroy all traces of his former wrong. The people, easily swayed, still burned incense on the high places; but Jehovah was the ostensible object of their worship. The king's son sacrificed to his father's idols, but was not associated with him in his repentance, and in his short reign of two years restored all the altars of the Baalim, and the images of the Asherah. With the death of Josiah ended the last effort to revive among the people a purer ritual, if not a purer faith. The lamp of David, which had long shed but a struggling ray, flickered for a while and then went out in the darkness of Babylonian Captivity.

But foreign exile was powerless to eradicate the deep inbred tendency to idolatry. One of the first difficulties with which Ezra had to contend, and which brought him well-nigh to despair, was the haste with which his countrymen took them foreign wives of the people of the land, and followed them in all their abominations (Ezra ix.). The priests and rulers, to whom he looked for assistance in his great enterprise, were among the first to fall away (Ezra ix. 2, x. 18; Neh. iv. 17, 18, xiii. 23). Even during the Captivity the devotees of false worship plied their craft as prophets and diviners (Jer. xxix. 8; Ezek. xiii.), and the Jews who fled to Egypt carried with them recollections of the material prosperity which attended their idolatrous sacrifices in Judah, and to the neglect of which they attributed their exiled condition (Jer. xliv. 17, 18). The conquests of Alexander in Asia caused Greek influence to be extensively felt, and Greek idolatry to be first tolerated, and then practised, by the Jews (1 Macc. i. 43–50, 54). The attempt of Antiochus to establish this form of worship was vigorously resisted by Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 23–26), who was joined in his rebellion by the Assidæans (*v.* 42), and destroyed the altars at which the king commanded them to sacrifice (1 Macc. ii. 25, 45). The erection of synagogues (cp. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalt. J. Christi*, ii. 358) has been assigned as a reason for the comparative purity of the Jewish worship after the Captivity (Prideaux, *Conn.* i. 374), while another cause has been discovered in the hatred for images acquired by the Jews in their intercourse with the Persians.

It has been a question much debated whether the Israelites were ever so far given up to idolatry as to have lost all knowledge of the true God. It would be hard to assert this of any nation, and still more difficult to prove. That there always remained among them a faithful few, who in the

[b] The Syr. supports the rendering of לִבְקֹר in *v.* 15, which the A. V. and R. V. have adopted—"to enquire by": but Keil translates the clause, "it will be for me to consider," *i.e.* what shall be done with the altar, in order to support his theory that this altar erected by Ahaz was not directly intended to profane the Temple by idolatrous worship. But it is clear that something of an idolatrous nature had been introduced into the Temple, and was afterwards removed by Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 5; cp. Ezra vi. 21, ix. 11). It is possible that this might have reference to the brazen serpent.

face of every danger adhered to the worship of Jehovah, may readily be believed, for even at a time when Baal-worship was most prevalent there were found 7,000 in Israel who had not bowed before his image (1 K. xix. 18). But there is still room for grave suspicion that among the masses of the people, though the idea of a Supreme Being—of Whom the images they worshipped were but the distorted representatives—was not entirely lost, it was so obscured as to be but dimly apprehended. And not only were the ignorant multitude thus led astray, but the priests, scribes, and prophets became leaders of the apostasy (Jer. ii. 8). Warburton, indeed, maintained that they never formally renounced Jehovah, and that their defection consisted "in joining foreign worship and idolatrous ceremonies to the ritual of the true God" (*Div. Leg.* B. v. § 3). But one passage in their history, though confessedly obscure, seems to point to a time when, under the rule of the judges, "Israel for many days had no true God, and no teaching priest, and no law" (2 Ch. xv. 3). There can be no doubt that much of the idolatry of the Hebrews consisted in worshipping the true God under an image, such as the calves at Bethel and Dan (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 8, § 5; δαμάλεις ἐπωνύμους τῷ θεῷ), and by associating His worship with idolatrous rites (Jer. xli. 5) and places consecrated to idols (2 K. xviii. 22). From the peculiarity of their position they were never distinguished as the inventors of a new pantheon, nor did they adopt any one system of idolatry so exclusively as ever to become identified with it.[c] But they no sooner came in contact with other nations than they readily adapted themselves to their practices, the old spirit of antagonism died rapidly away, and intermarriage was one step to idolatry.

II. The old religion of the Semitic races consisted, in the opinion of Movers (*Phoen.* i. c. 5), in the deification of the powers and laws of nature; these powers being considered either as distinct and independent, or as manifestations of one supreme and all-ruling being. In most instances the two ideas were co-existent. The deity, following human analogy, was conceived as male and female: the one representing the active, the other the passive principle of nature; the former the source of spiritual, the latter of physical life. The transference of the attributes of the one to the other resulted either in their mystical conjunction in the hermaphrodite, as the Persian Mithra and Phoenician Baal, or the two combined to form a third, which symbolized the essential unity of both.[d] With these two supreme beings all other deities are identical; so that in different nations the same nature-worship appears under different forms, representing the various aspects under which the idea of the power of nature is presented. The sun and moon were early selected as outward symbols of this all-pervading power, and the worship of the heavenly bodies was not only the most ancient but the most prevalent system of idolatry. Taking its rise, according to a probable hypothesis, in the plains of Chaldea, it spread through Egypt, Greece, Scythia, and even Mexico and Ceylon. It was regarded as an offence amenable to the civil authorities in the days of Job (xxxi. 26–28), and one of the statutes of the Mosaic Law was directed against its observance (Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3); the former referring to the star-worship of Arabia, the latter to the concrete form in which it appeared among the Syrians and Phoenicians. It is probable that the Israelites learnt their first lessons in sun-worship from the Egyptians, in whose religious system that luminary, as Osiris, held a prominent place. The city of On (Bethshemesh or Heliopolis) took its name from his temple (Jer. xliii. 13), and the wife of Joseph was the daughter of his priest (Gen. xli. 45). The Phoenicians worshipped him under the title of "Lord of heaven," בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם, *Ba'al-shāmàyim* (Βεελσάμην, acc. to Sanchoniatho in Philo-Byblius; cp. Bäthgen, p. 23, and Index, *s. n.* "Sonnengottheit"), and Adon (cp. Bäthgen, p. 41), the Greek Adonis, and the Thammuz of Ezekiel (viii. 14). [THAMMUZ.] Under the form of appellatives the Sun was worshipped as Molech or Milcom by the Ammonites, and as Chemosh by the Moabites. The Hadad of the Syrians is by some thought to be the same deity [see HADAD], whose name is traceable in Benhadad, Hadadezer, and Hadad or Adad, the Edomite. The Assyrian Bel or Belus is another form of Baal. According to Philo (*de Vit. Cont.* § 3; but see p. 998, col. 2), the Essenes were wont to pray to the sun at morning and evening (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8, § 5). By the later kings of Judah, sacred horses and chariots were dedicated to the sun-god, as by the Persians (2 K. xxiii. 11; Bochart, *Hieroz.* pt. 1, b. ii. c. xi.; Selden, *de Dis Syr.* ii. 8), to march in procession and greet his rising (R. Sol. Jarchi on 2 K. xxiii. 11). The Massagetae offered horses in sacrifice to him (Strabo, xi. p. 513), on the principle enunciated by Macrobius (*Sat.* vii. 7), "like rejoiceth in like" ("similibus similia gaudent;" cp. Her. i. 216), and the custom was common to many nations.

The moon, worshipped by the Phoenicians under the name of Astarte (Lucian, *de Dea Syra*, c. 4. Cp. Bäthgen, p. 31, &c.), or Baaltis, the passive power of nature, as Baal was the active (Movers, i. 149), and known to the Hebrews as Ashtoreth (see *s. n.*), the tutelary goddess of the Sidonians, appears early among the objects of Israelitish idolatry. But this Syro-phoenician worship of the sun and moon was of a grosser character than the pure star-worship of the Magi, which Movers distinguishes as Upper Asiatic or Assyro-Persian, and was equally removed from the Chaldean astrology and Sabianism of later times. The former of these systems tolerated no images or altars, and the contemplation of the heavenly bodies from elevated spots constituted the greater part of its ritual.

But, though we have no positive historical account of star-worship before the Assyrian

[c] As the Moabites with the worship of Chemosh (Num. xxi. 29).

[d] This will explain the occurrence of the name of Baal (see *s. n.*) with the masculine and feminine articles in the LXX.: cp. Hos. xi. 2; Jer. xix. 5; Rom. xi. 4. Philochorus, quoted by Macrobius (*Sat.* iii. 8), says that men and women sacrificed to Venus or the Moon, with the garments of the sexes interchanged, because she was regarded both as masculine and feminine (see Selden, *de Dis Syr.* ii. 2). Hence *Lunus* and *Luna*.

period,[e] we may infer that it was early practised in a concrete form among the Israelites from the allusions in Amos v. 26 and Acts vii. 42, 43. Even in the desert they are said to have been given up to worship the host of heaven, while Chiun and Remphan have on various grounds been identified with the planet Saturn. It was to counteract idolatry of this nature that the stringent law of Deut. xvii. 3 was enacted; and with the view of withdrawing the Israelites from undue contemplation of the material universe, Jehovah, the God of Israel, is constantly placed before them as Jehovah Zebaoth, Jehovah of Hosts, the King of Heaven (Dan. iv. 35, 37), to Whom the heaven and heaven of heavens belong (Deut. x. 14). However this may be, Movers (*Phoen.* i. 65, 66) contends that the later star-worship, introduced by Ahaz and followed by Manasseh, was purer and more spiritual in its nature than the Israelite-Phoenician worship of the heavenly bodies under symbolical forms, as Baal and Asherah; and that it was not idolatry in the same sense that the latter was, but of a simply contemplative character. He is supported, to some extent, by the fact that we find no mention of any images of the sun or moon or the host of heaven, but merely of vessels devoted to their service (2 K. xxiii. 4). But there is no reason to believe that the divine honours paid to the "Queen of Heaven," A. V. text and R. V. (or as others render, "the frame" or "structure of the heavens;" see A. V. marg.)[f] were equally dissociated from image worship. Sir H. Layard (*Nin.* ii. 451) discovered a bas-relief at Nimroud, which represented four idols carried in procession by Assyrian warriors. One of these figures he identifies with Hera, the Assyrian Astarte, represented with a star on her head (Amos v. 26), and with the "queen of heaven," who appears on the rock-tablets of Pterium "standing erect on a lion, and crowned with a tower, or mural coronet," as in the Syrian temple of Hierapolis (*Id.* p. 456; Lucian, *de Dea Syra*, 31, 32). But, in his remarks upon a figure which resembles the Rhea of Diodorus, Sir H. Layard adds, "The representation in a human form of the celestial bodies, themselves originally but a type, was a corruption which appears to have crept at a later period into the mythology of Assyria; for, in the more ancient bas-reliefs, figures with caps surmounted by stars do not occur, and the sun, moon, and planets stand alone" (*Id.* pp. 457, 458).

The allusions in Job xxxviii. 31, 32 (see Dillmann[4] in loco) are too obscure to allow any inference to be drawn as to the mysterious influences which were held by the old astrologers to be exercised by the stars over human destiny, nor is there sufficient evidence to connect them with anything more recondite than the astronomical knowledge of the period. The same may be said of the poetical figure in Deborah's chant of triumph, "the stars from their highways warred with Sisera" (Judg. v. 20). In the later times of the monarchy, Mazzaloth, the planets, or the zodiacal signs, received, next to the sun and moon, their share of popular adoration (2 K. xxiii. 5); and the history of idolatry among the Hebrews shows at all times an intimate connexion between the deification of the heavenly bodies, and the superstition which watched the clouds for signs, and used divination and enchantments. It was but a step from such culture of the sidereal powers to the worship of Gad and Meni, Babylonian divinities (see Bäthgen, pp. 79, 80), symbols of Venus or the moon, as the goddess of luck or fortune. Under the latter aspect, the moon was reverenced by the Egyptians (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 19); and the name Baal-gad has been thought to be an example of the manner in which the worship of the planet Jupiter as the bringer of luck was grafted on the old faith of the Phoenicians. The false gods of the colonists of Samaria were sometimes connected with Eastern astrology: Adrammelech, Movers regards as the sun-fire—the Solar Mars—and Anammelech the Solar Saturn (*Phoen.* i. 410, 411), but modern research seems opposed to this identification (see Pinches, *s. nn.* ADRAMMELECH, ANAMMELECH). The Vulgate rendering of Prov. xxvi. 8, "sicut qui mittit lapidem in *acervum Mercurii*," follows the Midrash on the passage quoted by Rashi, and requires merely a passing notice (see Selden, *de Dis Syris*, ii. 15; Maim. *de Idol.* iii. 2; Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. מרקוליס).

Beast-worship, as exemplified in the calves of Jeroboam and the dark hints which seem to point to the goat of Mendes, has already been alluded to (cp. Robertson Smith, i. 278 sq.). There is no actual proof that the Israelites ever joined in such worship,[g] though Ahaziah sent stealthily to Baalzebub, the fly-god of Ekron (2 K. i.), and in later times the brazen serpent became the object of idolatrous homage (2 K. xviii. 4). But whether the latter was regarded with superstitious reverence as a memorial of their early history, or whether incense was offered to it as a symbol of some power of nature, cannot now be exactly determined. The threatening in Lev. xxvi. 30, "I will put your carcases upon the carcases of your idols" (cp. Knobel-Dillmann in loco), may possibly be a protest against the tendency to regard animals, as in Egypt, as the symbols of deity (Robertson Smith, i. pp. 208, 283). Certain it is that "all the great deities of the Northern Semites had their sacred animals, and were themselves worshipped in animal form, or in association with animal symbols, down to a late date" (Robertson Smith, i. 270).

Of pure hero-worship among the Semitic races

[e] Bäthgen, p. 107, points out the existence of star-worship among the Nabataeans of Sinai.

[f] Jer. vii. 18; xlix. 19. In the former passage some MSS. have מלאכת for מלכת (see Baer's text of Jeremiah, p. 89), a reading supported by the LXX., τῇ στρατιᾷ, as well as by the Syr. ܦܠܟܐ, *pūlchōn*, its equivalent. But in the latter they both agree in the rendering "queen." The "queen of heaven" is identified with Athar-Astarte, which as Atar-Samain is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, and was the goddess of the N. Arabian Kedarenes (cp. Schrader, *KAT.*,[2] p. 414; Bäthgen, p. 69).

[g] Some have explained the allusion in Zeph. i. 9, as referring to a practice connected with the worship of Dagon; cp. 1 Sam. v. 5. The allusion is more likely a mere proverbial expression (see Orelli on Zeph. *l. c.* in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*). The Syrians, on the authority of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4, § 9), paid divine honours to fish (see Robertson Smith, i. 160, n. 1).

we find no trace. Moses, indeed, seems to have entertained some dim apprehension that his countrymen might, after his death, pay him more honours than were due to man; and the anticipation of this led him to review his own conduct in terms of strong reprobation (Deut. iv. 21, 22). The expression in Ps. cvi. 28, "they ate the sacrifices of the *dead*," is in all probability metaphorical (see Delitzsch[2] in loco), and Wisd. xiv. 15 refers to a later practice due to Greek influence. The rabbinical commentators discover in Gen. xlviii. 16 an allusion to the worshipping of Angels (cp. Col. ii. 18), while they defend their ancestors from the charge of regarding them in any other light than mediators, or intercessors with God (Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 3). It is needless to add that their inference and apology are equally groundless. With like probability has been advanced the theory of the demon-worship of the Hebrews, the only foundation for it being two highly poetical passages (Deut. xxxii. 17 [see Dillmann[2] in loco]; Ps. cvi. 37). It is possible that the Persian dualism is hinted at in Is. xlv. 7 (Delitzsch[4]), but not probable (Dillmann[5]).

But if the forms of the false gods were manifold, the places devoted to their worship were almost equally numerous. The singular reverence with which trees have in all ages been honoured (see Robertson Smith, i. Index, *s. v.* Trees) is not without example in the history of the Hebrews. The terebinth at Mamre, beneath which Abraham built an altar (Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 18), and the memorial grove planted by him at Beersheba (Gen. xxi. 33), were intimately connected with patriarchal worship, though in after-ages his descendants were forbidden to do that which he did with impunity, in order to avoid the contamination of idolatry.[h] As a symptom of their rapidly degenerating spirit, the oak of Shechem, which stood in the sanctuary of Jehovah (Josh. xxiv. 26), and beneath which Joshua set up the stone of witness, perhaps appears in Judges (ix. 37; cp. Bertheau[2]) as (R. V.) "the oak (not "plain," as in A. V.) of Meonenim" (R. V. marg. *augurs*).[i] Mountains and high places were chosen spots for offering sacrifice and incense to idols (1 K. xi. 7, xiv. 23); and the retirement of gardens and the thick shade of woods offered great attractions to their worshippers (2 K. xvi. 4; Is. i. 29; Hos. iv. 13). It was the ridge of Carmel which Elijah selected as the scene of his contest with the priests of Baal, fighting with them the battle of Jehovah as it were on their own ground. [CARMEL.] Carmel was regarded by the Roman historians as a sacred mountain of the Jews (Tac. *H.* ii. 78; Suet. *Vesp.* 7). The host of heaven was worshipped on the housetop (2 K. xxiii. 12; Jer. xix. 3, xxxii. 29; Zeph. i. 5). In describing the sun-worship of the Nabataeans, Strabo (xvi. p. 784) mentions two characteristics which strikingly illustrate the worship of Baal. They built their altars on the roofs of houses, and offered on them incense and libations daily. On the wall of his city, in the sight of the besieging armies of Israel and Edom, the king of Moab offered his eldest son as a burnt-offering. The Persians, who worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra (Strabo, xv. p. 732), sacrificed on an elevated spot, but built no altars or images.

The priests of the false worship are sometimes designated Kemarim (כְּמָרִים; see MV.[11]), a word of Syriac origin, to which different meanings have been assigned. It is applied to the non-Levitical priests who burnt incense on the high-places (2 K. xxiii. 5) as well as to the priests of the calves (Hos. x. 5); and the corresponding word is used in the Peshitto (Judg. xviii. 30) of Jonathan and his descendants, priests to the tribe of Dan, and in Targ. Onkelos (Gen. xlvii. 22) of the priests of Egypt. The Rabbis, followed by Gesenius, have derived it from a root signifying "to be black," and without any authority assert that the name was given to idolatrous priests from the black vestments which they wore. But white was the distinctive colour in the priestly garments of all nations from India to Gaul, and black was only worn when they sacrificed to the subterranean gods (Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 87, &c.). That a special dress was adopted by the Baal-worshippers, as well as by the false prophets (Zech. xiii. 4), is evident from 2 K. x. 22; the vestments were kept in an apartment of the idol temple, under the charge probably of one of the inferior priests. Micah's Levite was provided with appropriate robes (Judg. xvii. 11). The "strange (R. V. "foreign") apparel" mentioned in Zeph. i. 8 refers doubtless to a similar dress, adopted by the Israelites in defiance of the sumptuary law in Num. xv. 37–40.

In addition to the priests there were other persons intimately connected with idolatrous rites, and the impurities from which they were inseparable. Both men and women consecrated themselves to the service of idols (Robertson Smith, i. 133): the former as קְדֵשִׁים, *qedēshim*, for which there is reason to believe the A. V. (Deut. xxiii. 17; see the Heb. or R. V. marg.) has not given too harsh an equivalent; the latter as קְדֵשׁוֹת, *qedēshōth*, who wove shrines for Astarte (2 K. xxiii. 7), and resembled the ἑταῖραι of Corinth, of whom Strabo (viii. p. 378) says there were more than a thousand attached to the temple of Aphrodite. Egyptian prostitutes consecrated themselves to Isis (Juv. vi. 489, ix. 22–24). The same class of women existed among the Phoenicians, Armenians, Lydians, and Babylonians (Her. i. 93, 199; Strabo, xi. p. 532; Epist. of Jerem. *v.* 43). They are distinguished from the public prostitutes (Hos. iv. 14) and associated with the performances of sacred rites, just as in Strabo (xii. p. 559) we find the two classes co-existing at Comana, the Corinth of Pontus, much frequented

[h] Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 148, 16, s. v. *Drys*) mentions an oak near Hebron which existed in his infancy, and was the traditional tree beneath which Abraham dwelt. It was regarded with great reverence, and was made an object of worship by the heathen. Modern Palestine abounds with sacred trees. They are found "all over the land covered with bits of rags from the garments of passing villagers, hung up as acknowledgments or as deprecatory signals and charms: and we find beautiful clumps of oak trees sacred to a kind of beings called Jacob's daughters" (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ii. 151). [See GROVE.]

[i] Unless this be a relic of the ancient Canaanitish worship; an older name associated with idolatry, which the conquering Hebrews were commanded and endeavoured to obliterate (Deut. xii. 3).

by pilgrims to the shrine of Aphrodite.[j] The wealth thus obtained flowed into the treasury of the idol temple, and against such a practice the injunction in Deut. xxiii. 18 is directed. The class of persons alluded to was composed of foreigners (Lucian, *de Syra Dea*, c. 5); and from the juxtaposition of prostitution and the idolatrous rites against which the laws in Lev. xix. are aimed, it is probable that, next to its immorality, one main reason why it was visited with such stringency was its connexion with idolatry (cp. 1 Cor. vi. 9).

But, besides these accessories, there were the ordinary rites of worship which idolatrous systems had in common with the religion of the Hebrews. Offering burnt sacrifices to the idol gods (2 K. v. 17), burning incense in their honour (1 K. xi. 8), and bowing down in worship before their images (1 K. xix. 18) were the chief parts of their ritual; and from their very analogy with the ceremonies of true worship were more seductive than the grosser forms. Nothing can be stronger or more positive than the language in which these ceremonies were denounced by Hebrew Law. Every detail of idol-worship was made the subject of a separate enactment, and many of the laws, which in themselves seem trivial and almost absurd, receive from this point of view their true significance. We are told by Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* c. 12) that the prohibitions against sowing a field with mingled seed, and wearing garments of mixed material, were directed against the practices of idolaters, who attributed a kind of magical influence to the mixture (Lev. xix. 19; Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. 18. Cp. Knobel-Dillmann in loco). Such, too, were the precepts which forbade that the garments of the sexes should be interchanged (Deut. xxiii. 5; Maimon. *De Idol.* xii. 9). According to Macrobius (*Sat.* iii. 8), other Asiatics when they sacrificed to their Venus changed the dress of the sexes. The priests of Cybele appeared in women's clothes, and used to mutilate themselves (Creuzer, *Symb.* ii. 34, 42): the same custom was observed "by the Ithyphalli in the rites of Bacchus, and by the Athenians in their Ascophoria" (Young, *Idol. Cor. in Rel.* i. 105; cp. Lucian, *de Dea Syra*, c. 15). The Israelites were prohibited for three years after their conquest of Canaan from eating of the fruit-trees of the land (Lev. xix. 23). Some interpret this as a protection against contamination, the cultivation of the trees having been attended with magical rites; others consider it and such prohibitions as follow precautions to propitiate the Divine powers (Robertson Smith, i. 148–9, 444). They were forbidden to "round the corner of the head," and to "mar the corner of the beard" (Lev. xix. 27), as the Arabians did in honour of their gods (Her. iii. 8, iv. 175). Hence, the phrase קְצוּצֵי פֵאָה, *qeṣūṣē phe'āh*, (literally) "shorn of the corner," is especially applied to idolaters (Jer. ix. 26, xxv. 23; Robertson Smith, i. 307). Spencer (*de Leg. Hebr.* ii. 9, § 2) explains the law forbidding the offering of honey (Lev. ii. 11; see HONEY) as intended to oppose an idolatrous practice. Strabo describes the Magi as offering in all their sacrifices libations of oil mingled with honey and milk (xv. p. 733). Offerings in which honey was an ingredient were made to the inferior deities and the dead (Hom. *Od.* x. 519; Porph. *de Antr. Nymph.* c. 17). So also the practice of eating the flesh of sacrifices "over the blood" (Lev. xix. 26; Ezek. xxxiii. 25, 26) was, according to Maimonides, common among the Zabii (Robertson Smith, i. 324). Spencer gives a double reason for the prohibition: that it was a rite of divination, and divination of the worst kind, a species of necromancy by which they attempted to raise the spirits of the dead (cp. Hor. *Sat.* i. 8). There are supposed to be allusions to the practice of necromancy in Is. lxv. 4, or at any rate to superstitious rites in connexion with the dead (see Delitzsch[4] in loco). The grafting of one tree upon another was forbidden, because among idolaters the process was accompanied by gross obscenity (Maim. *Mor. Neb.* c. 12). Cutting the flesh for the dead (Lev. xix. 28; 1 K. xviii. 28), and making a baldness between the eyes (Deut. xiv. 1), were associated with idolatrous rites; the latter being a custom among the Syrians (Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 158, note. Cp. Robertson Smith, i. 304). The thrice-repeated and much-vexed passage, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk" (Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21), interpreted by some as a precept of humanity, but more probably a prohibition against some ancient form of sacrifice (Robertson Smith, i. 204), is explained by Cudworth by means of a quotation from a Karaite commentary which he had seen in MS.:—"It was a custom of the ancient heathens, when they had gathered in all their fruit, to take a kid and boil it in the dam's milk, and then in a magical way go about and besprinkle with it all the trees and fields and gardens and orchards; thinking by this means they should make them fructify, and bring forth again more abundantly the following year" (*On the Lord's Supper*, c. 2).[k] The law which regulated clean and unclean meats (Lev. xx. 23–26) may be considered both as a sanitary regulation and also as having a tendency to separate the Israelites from the surrounding idolatrous nations. It was with the same object, in the opinion of Michaelis, that while in the wilderness they were prohibited from killing any animal for food without first offering it to Jehovah (*Laws of Moses*, trans. Smith, art. 203). The mouse,[l] one of the unclean animals of Leviticus (xi. 29), was sacrificed by the ancient Magi (Is. lxvi. 17; Movers, *Phoen.* i. 219). It may have been some such reason as that assigned by Lewis (*Orig. Hebr.* v. 1), that the dog was the symbol of an Egyptian deity, which gave rise to the prohibition in Deut. xxiii. 18. Movers says that the dog was offered in sacrifice to Moloch (i. 404), as

[j] An illustration, though not an example, of this is found in the modern history of Europe. At a period of great profligacy and corruption of morals, licentiousness was carried to such an excess in Strasburg that the public prostitutes received the appellation of the *swallows* of the cathedral (Hiller, *Phil. of Hist.* ii. 441).

[k] Dr. Thomson mentions a favourite dish among the Arabs called *lebn immā*, to which he conceives allusion is made (*The Land and the Book*, i. 135).

[l] The swine, the dog, fish, the mouse, the horse, and the dove were unclean animals sacrificed among Semites (Robertson Smith, i. 272 sq.).

swine to the moon and Dionysus by the Egyptians, who afterwards ate of the flesh (Her. iii. 47; Is. lxv. 4). Eating of the things offered was a necessary appendage to the sacrifice (cp. Ex. xviii. 12, xxxii. 6, xxxiv. 15; Num. xxv. 2, &c.). Among the Persians the victim was eaten by the worshippers, and the soul alone left for the god (Strabo, xv. 732). "Hence it is that the idolatry of the Jews in worshipping other gods is so often described synecdochically under the notion of feasting. Is. lvii. 7, 'Upon a high and lofty mountain thou hast *set thy bed*, and thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice;' for in those ancient times they were not wont to sit at feasts, but lie down on beds or couches. Ezek. xxiii. 41; Amos ii. 8, 'They laid themselves down upon clothes laid to pledge by every altar,' *i.e.* laid themselves down to eat of the sacrifice that was offered on the altar: cp. Ezek. xviii. 11" (Cudworth, *ut supra*, c. 1; cp. 1 Cor. viii. 10). The Israelites were forbidden "to print any mark upon them" (Lev. xix. 28; in symbol of self-dedication to a deity; cp. Robertson Smith, i. 316, n. 1), because it was a custom of idolaters to brand upon their flesh some symbol of the deity they worshipped, as the ivy-leaf of Bacchus (3 Macc. ii. 29). According to Lucian (*de Dea Syra*, 59) all the Syrians wore marks of this kind on their necks and wrists (cp. Is. xliv. 5; Gal. vi. 17; Rev. xiv. 1, 11). Many other practices of false worship are alluded to, and made the subjects of rigorous prohibition, but none are more frequently or more severely denounced than those which peculiarly distinguished the worship of Molech. The worship of this idol was polluted by the foul stain of human sacrifice (Deut. xii. 31; 2 K. iii. 27; Jer. vii. 31; Ps. cvi. 37; Ezek. xxiii. 39: cp. Mic. vi. 7). Nor was this practice confined to the rites of Molech; it extended to those of Baal (Jer. xix. 5), and the king of Moab (2 K. iii. 27) offered his son as a burnt-offering to his god Chemosh. The Phoenicians, we are told by Porphyry (*de Abstin.* ii. c. 56), on occasions of great national calamity sacrificed to Kronos one of their dearest friends. This custom cannot be denied, if it may be explained as a "straining the gift-theory of sacrifice to cover rites to which it had no legitimate application" (Robertson Smith, i. 376). Kissing the images of the gods (1 K. xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2), hanging votive offerings in their temples (1 Sam. xxxi. 10), and carrying them to battle (2 Sam. v. 21), as the Jews of Maccabaeus' army did with the things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites (2 Macc. xii. 40), are usages connected with idolatry which are casually mentioned, though not made the objects of express legislation. But soothsaying, interpretation of dreams, necromancy, witchcraft, magic, and other forms of divination, are alike forbidden (Deut. xviii. 9; 2 K. i. 2; Is. lxv. 4; Ezek. xxi. 21). The history of other nations—and indeed the too common practice of the lower class of the population of Syria at the present day—shows us that such a statute as that against bestiality (Lev. xviii. 23) was not unnecessary (cp. Her. ii. 46; Rom. i. 26). Purificatory rites in connexion with idol-worship, and eating of forbidden food, were visited with severe retribution (Is. lxvi. 17). It is evident, from the context of Ezek. viii. 17, that the votaries of the sun, who worshipped with their faces to the east (*v.* 16), and "put the branch to their nose," did so in observance of some idolatrous rites. Movers (*Phoen.* i. 66) unhesitatingly affirms that the allusion is to the branch Barsom, the holy branch of the Magi (Strabo, xv. p. 733; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, iii. 571), and is followed by most modern commentators. The waving of a myrtle branch, says Maimonides (*de Idol.* vi. 2), accompanied the repetition of a magical formula in incantations. An illustration of the usage of boughs in worship will be found in the Greek ἱκετηρία (Aesch. *Eum.* 43, *Suppl.* 192; *Schol.* on Aristoph. *Plut.* 383; Porphyr. *de Ant. Nymph.* c. 33). For detailed accounts of idolatrous ceremonies, reference must be made to the articles upon the several idols.

III. It remains now briefly to consider the light in which idolatry was regarded in the Mosaic code, and the penalties with which it was visited. If one main object of the Hebrew polity was to teach the unity of God, the extermination of idolatry was but a subordinate end. Jehovah, the God of the Israelites, was the civil head of the State. He was the theocratic King of the people, Who had delivered them from bondage, and to Whom they had taken a willing oath of allegiance. They had entered into a solemn league and covenant with Him as their chosen King (cp. 1 Sam. viii. 7), by Whom obedience was requited with temporal blessings, and rebellion with temporal punishment. This original contract of the Hebrew government, as it has been termed, is contained in Ex. xix. 3–8, xx. 2–5; Deut. xxix. 10–xxx.; the blessings promised to obedience are enumerated in Deut. xxviii. 1–14, and the withering curses on disobedience in *vv.* 15–68. That this covenant was faithfully observed it needs but slight acquaintance with Hebrew history to perceive. Often broken and often renewed on the part of the people (Judg. x. 10; 2 Ch. xv. 12, 13; Neh. ix. 38), it was kept with unwavering constancy on the part of Jehovah. To their kings He stood in the relation, so to speak, of a feudal superior: they were His representatives upon earth, and with them, as with the people before, His covenant was made (1 K. iii. 14, vi. 11). Idolatry, therefore, to an Israelite was a state offence (1 Sam. xv. 23),[m] a political crime of the gravest character, high treason against the majesty of his King. It was a transgression of the covenant (Deut. xvii. 2), "*the* evil" pre-eminently in the eyes of Jehovah (1 K. xxi. 25), opp. to הַיָּשָׁר, "*the* right" (2 Ch. xxvii. 2). But it was much more than all this. While the idolatry of foreign nations is stigmatised merely as an abomination in the sight of God, which called for His vengeance, the sin of the Israelites is regarded as of more glaring enormity and greater moral guilt. In the figurative language of the Prophets, the relation between Jehovah and His people is represented as a marriage bond (Is. liv. 5; Jer. iii. 14), and

[m] The point of this verse is lost in the A. V.: it should be "for the sin of witchcraft (is) rebellion; and idolatry (lit. vanity) and teraphim (are) stubbornness" (cp. R. V.). The Israelites, contrary to command, had spared of the spoil of the idolatrous Amalekites to offer to Jehovah, and thus associated His worship with that of idols.

the worship of false gods with all its accompaniments (Lev. xx. 56) becomes then the greatest of social wrongs (Hos. ii.; Jer. iii., &c.). This is beautifully brought out in Hos. ii. 16, where the heathen name Baali, "my master," which the apostate Israel had been accustomed to apply to her foreign possessor, is contrasted with Ishi, "my man," "my husband," the native word which she is to use when restored to her rightful husband, Jehovah. Much of the significance of this figure was unquestionably due to the impurities of idolaters, with whom such corruption was of no merely spiritual character (Ex. xxxiv. 16; Num. xxv. 1, 2, &c.), but manifested itself in the grossest and most revolting forms (Rom. i. 26–32).

Regarded in a moral aspect, false gods are called "stumbling blocks" (Ezek. xiv. 3), "lies" (Amos ii. 4; Rom. i. 25), "horrors" or "frights" (1 K. xv. 13; Jer. l. 38), "abominations" (Deut. xxix. 17, xxxii. 16; 1 K. xi. 5; 2 K. xxiii. 13), "guilt" (abstract for concrete, Amos viii. 14, אַשְׁמָה, *'ashmāh*, cp. 2 Ch. xxix. 18, perhaps with a play on *Ashima*, 2 K. xvii. 30. Cp. Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 283); and with a profound sense of the degradation consequent upon their worship, they are characterised by the Prophets, whose mission it was to warn the people against them (Jer. xliv. 4), as "shame" (Jer. xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10). As considered with reference to Jehovah, they are "other gods" (Josh. xxiv. 2, 16), "strange gods" (Deut. xxxii. 16), "new gods" (Judg. v. 8), "devils,—not God" (Deut. xxxii. 17; 1 Cor. x. 20, 21); and, as denoting their foreign origin, "gods of the foreigner" (Josh. xxiv. 14, 15).[a] Their powerlessness is indicated by describing them as "gods that cannot save" (Is. xlv. 20), "that made not the heavens" (Jer. x. 11), "nothing" (Is. xli. 24; 1 Cor. viii. 4), "wind and emptiness" (Is. xli. 29), "vanities of the heathen" (Jer. xiv. 22; Acts xiv. 15); and yet, while their deity is denied, their personal existence seems to have been acknowledged (Kurtz, *Gesch. d. A. B.* ii. 86, &c.), though not in the same manner in which the pretensions of local deities were reciprocally recognised by the heathen (1 K. xx. 23, 28; 2 K. xvii. 26). Other terms of contempt are employed with reference to idols, אֱלִילִים, *'ĕlīlim* (Lev. xix. 4), and גִּלּוּלִים, *gillūlim* (Deut. xxix. 17), to which different meanings have been assigned, and many which indicate ceremonial uncleanness. [IDOL, pp. 1419, 1420.]

Idolatry, therefore, being from one point of view a political offence, could be punished without infringement of civil rights. No penalties were attached to mere opinions. For aught we know, theological speculation may have been as rife among the Hebrews as in modern times, though such was not the tendency of the Semitic mind. It was not, however, such speculations, heterodox though they might be, but overt acts of idolatry, which were made the subjects of legislation (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 245, 246). The first and second commandments are directed against idolatry of every form. Individuals and communities were equally amenable to the rigorous code. The individual offender was devoted to destruction (Ex. xxii. 20); his nearest relatives were not only bound to denounce him and deliver him up to punishment (Deut. xiii. 2–10), but their hands were to strike the first blow when, on the evidence of two witnesses at least, he was stoned (Deut. xvii. 2–5). To attempt to seduce others to false worship was a crime of equal enormity (Deut. xiii. 6–10). An idolatrous nation shared a similar fate. No facts are more strongly insisted on in the O. T. than that the extermination of the Canaanites was the punishment of their idolatry (Ex. xxxiv. 15, 16; Deut. vii., xii. 29–31, xx. 17), and that the calamities of the Israelites were due to the same cause (Jer. ii. 17). A city guilty of idolatry was looked upon as a cancer of the State; it was considered to be in rebellion, and treated according to the laws of war. Its inhabitants and all their cattle were put to death. No spoil was taken, but everything it contained was burnt with it; nor was it allowed to be rebuilt (Deut. xiii. 13–18; Josh. vi. 26). Saul lost his kingdom, Achan his life, and Hiel his family, for transgressing this Law (1 Sam. xv.; Josh. vii.; 1 K. xvi. 34). The silver and gold with which the idols were covered were accursed (Deut. vii. 25, 27). And not only were the Israelites forbidden to serve the gods of Canaan (Ex. xxiii. 24), but even to mention their names; that is, to call upon them in prayer or any form of worship (Ex. xxiii. 13; Josh. xxiii. 7). On taking possession of the land, they were to obliterate all traces of the existing idolatry; statues, altars, pillars, idol-temples, every person and everything connected with it, were to be swept away (Ex. xxiii. 24, 32, xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5, 25, xii. 1–3, xx. 17), and the name and worship of the idols blotted out. Such were the precautions taken by the framer of the Mosaic code to preserve the worship of Jehovah, the true God, in its purity. Of the manner in which his descendants have "put a fence" about "the Law" with reference to idolatry, many instances will be found in Maimonides (*de Idol.*). They were prohibited from using vessels, scarlet garments, bracelets, or rings, marked with the sign of the sun, moon, or dragon (vii. 10); trees planted or stones erected for idol-worship were forbidden (viii. 5, 10); and, to guard against the possibility of contamination, if the image of an idol were found among other images intended for ornament, they were all to be cast into the Dead Sea (vii. 11).

IV. Much indirect evidence on this subject might be supplied by an investigation of proper names. Sir H. Layard has remarked, "According to a custom existing from time immemorial in the East, the name of the Supreme Deity was introduced into the names of men. This custom prevailed from the banks of the Tigris to the Phoenician colonies beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and we recognise in the Sardanapalus of the Assyrians, and the Hannibal of the Carthaginians, the identity of the religious system of the two nations, as widely distinct in the time

[a] In the A. V. the terms זָר, *zār*, "strange," and נֵכָר or נָכְרִי, *nēkār* or *nokrī*, "foreign," are not uniformly distinguished, and the point of a passage is frequently lost by the interchange of one with the other, or by rendering both by the same word. So Ps. lxxxi. 9 should be, "There shall not be in thee a *strange* god, nor shalt thou worship a *foreign* g d."

of their existence as in their geographical position" (*Nin.* ii. 450). The hint which he has given can be but briefly followed out here. Traces of the sun-worship of the ancient Canaanites remain in the nomenclature of their country. Beth-Shemesh, "house of the sun," En-Shemesh, "spring of the sun," and Ir-Shemesh, "city of the sun," whether they be the original Canaanitish names or their Hebrew renderings, attest the reverence paid to the source of light and heat, the symbol of the fertilising power of nature. Samson, the Hebrew national hero, took his name from the same luminary, and was born in a mountain-village above the modern *'Ain Shems* (En-Shemesh: Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ii. 361). The name of Baal, the sun-god, is one of the most common occurrence in compound words, and is often associated with places consecrated to his worship, and of which perhaps he was the tutelary deity. Bamoth-Baal, "the high-places of Baal;" Baal-Hermon, Beth-Baal-Meon, Baal-Gad, Baal-Hamon, in which compound the names of the sun-god of Phoenicia and Egypt are associated; Baal-Tamar, and many others, are instances of this.° Nor was the practice confined to the names of places: proper names are found with the same element. Esh-baal, Ish-baal, &c., are examples. The Amorites, whom Joshua did not drive out, dwelt on Mount Heres, in Aijalon, "the mountain of the sun" [TIMNATH-HERES]. Here and there we find traces of the attempt made by the Hebrews, on their conquest of the country, to extirpate idolatry. Thus Baalah or Kirjath-Baal, "the town of Baal," became Kirjath-Jearim, "the town of forests" (Josh. xv. 60). The Moon, Astarte or Ashtaroth, gave her name to a city of Bashan (Josh. xiii. 12, 31), and it is not improbable that the name Jericho may have been derived from being associated with the worship of this goddess. [JERICHO.] Nebo, whether it be the name under which the Chaldeans worshipped the Moon or the planet Mercury, enters into many compounds: Nebu-zaradan, Samgar-nebo, and the like. Bel is found in Belshazzar, Belteshazzar, and others. Baladan, in Merodach-Baladan, is simply the Babylonian *abil-iddina*, "gave a son." The father of Merodach-Baladan, whose name was probably the same, is called Baladan, as in Heb. El-nathan might be called Nathan (see *KAT.*², p. 339). Hadad, Hadadezer, Benhadad, are derived from the tutelar deity of the Syrians, and in Nergalsharezer we recognise the god of the Cushites. Chemosh, the fire-god of Moab, appears in Carchemish, and Peor in Beth-Peor. Malcam, a name which occurs but once, and then of a Moabite by birth, may have been connected with Molech and Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites. A glimpse of star-worship may be seen in the name of the city Chesil, the Semitic Orion, and the month Chisleu, without recognising in Rahab "the glittering fragments of the sea-snake trailing across the northern sky." It would perhaps be going too far to trace in Engedi, "spring of the kid," any connexion with the goat-worship of Mendes, or any relics of the wars of the giants in Rapha and Rephaim. But there are fragments of ancient idolatry in other names in which it is not so impalpable. Ishbosheth is identical with Eshbaal, and Jerubbesheth with Jerubbaal, and Mephibosheth and Meribbaal are but two names for one person (cp. Jer. xi. 13). The worship of the Syrian Rimmon appears in the names Hadad-Rimmon and Tabrimmon; and if, as some suppose, it be derived from רמון, *Rimmōn*, "a pomegranate-tree," we may connect it with the towns of the same name in Judah and Benjamin, with En-Rimmon and the prevailing tree-worship. It is impossible to pursue here this investigation: the hints which have been thrown out may prove suggestive (cp. Robertson Smith, i. Index, *s. v.* "Theophorous proper names;" Bäthgen, p. 140). [W. A. W.] [F.]

° That temples in Syria, dedicated to the several divinities, did transfer their names to the places where they stood, is evident from the testimony of Lucian, an Assyrian himself. His derivation of Hiera from the temple of the Assyrian Hera shows that he was familiar with the circumstance (*de Dea Syr.* c. 1). Baisampsa (= Bethshemesh), a town of Arabia, derived its name from the sun-worship (Vossius, *de Theol. Gent.* ii. c. 8), like Kir Heres (Jer. xlviii. 31) in Moab.

IDU'EL ('Ιδουήλος; *Eccelon*), 1 Esd. viii. 43. [ARIEL, 1.]

IDUMÆA (Mark iii. 8), or

IDUME'A, R. V., in each case, EDOM (אֱדוֹם; ἡ Ἰδουμαία; *Idumaea, Edom*), Is. xxxiv. 5, 6; Ezek. xxxv. 15, xxxvi. 5; 1 Macc. iv. 15, 29, 61, v. 3, vi. 31; 2 Macc. xii. 32. [EDOM.]

IDUME'ANS (*οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι*; *Idumaei*), 2 Macc. x. 15, 16. [EDOM.]

IG-AL (יִגְאָל = [*God*] *redeems*). **1.** (LXX. [*v.* 8], B. Ἰαάλ, AF. Ἰγάλ; *Igal, Igaal.*) Son of Joseph, of the tribe of Issachar; chosen by Moses to represent that tribe among the spies who went up from Kadesh to search the Promised Land (Num. xiii. 7).

2. One of the heroes of David's guard, son of Nathan of Zobah (2 Sam. xxiii. 36, Γαάλ). In the parallel list of 1 Ch. the name is given as "Joel the brother of Nathan" (xi. 38, Ἰωήλ). Kennicott, after a minute examination of the passage both in the original and in the ancient Versions, decides in favour of the latter as most like the genuine text (*Dissertation*, pp. 212–214).

This name is really identical with IGEAL.

IGDALI'AH (יִגְדַּלְיָהוּ = *Jehovah is great*; Γοδολίας; *Jegedelias*), a prophet or holy man—"the man of God"—named once only (Jer. xxxv. 4), as the father of Hanan, in the chamber of whose sons, the Bene-Hanan, in the house of Jehovah, Jeremiah had that remarkable interview with the Rechabites which is recorded in that chapter.

IG-EAL, R. V. IGAL (יִגְאָל; Ἰωήλ; *Jegaal*), a son of Shemaiah; a descendant of the royal house of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 22). According to the present state of the text of this difficult genealogy, he is fourth in descent from Zerubbabel; but, according to Lord A. Hervey's plausible alteration, he is the son of Shimei, brother to Zerubbabel, and therefore but one generation distant from the latter (*Genealogy of our Lord*, pp. 107–109). The name is identical

with IGAL; and, as in 1 Ch. xi. 38, the LXX. give it as Joel.

I'IM, R. V. **IYIM** (עִיִּים = *stone heaps*). **1.** (Γαί; *Iieabarim.*) The partial or contracted form of the name IJE-ABARIM, one of the later stations of the Israelites on their journey to Palestine (Num. xxxiii. 45). In the Samaritan Version Iim is rendered by Caphrānī, "villages;" and in the Targum Pseudojon. by Megizāthā, "narrow passes" (*die Engpässe*). But in no way do we gain any clue to the situation of the place.

2. (LXX. *v.* 29, B. Βακώκ, A. Αβείμ; *Iim.*) A town in the extreme south of Judah, named in the same group with Beersheba, Hormah, &c. (Josh. xv. 28). The Peshiṭto Syriac Version has Elin, ܐܠܥܢ. No trace of the name has yet been discovered in this direction. [G.] [W.]

IJE-ABA'RIM, R. V. **IYE-ABA'RIM** (עִיֵּי הָעֲבָרִים), with the definite article, Iye ha-Abarim = *the heaps, or ruins, of the further regions* [as distinct from the Ijim of Judah, Josh. xv. 29]; Jerome ad Fabiolam, *acervos lapidum transeuntium;* in xxi. B. Χαλγλεί, AF^{vid}. Ἀχελγαί, in xxxiii. BA. Γαί; *Jeabarim* and *Iicabarim*), one of the later halting-places of the children of Israel as they were approaching Palestine (Num. xxi. 11, xxxiii. 44). It was next beyond Oboth, and the station beyond it again was the Wâdy Zared—the torrent of the willows—probably one of the streams which run into the S.E. angle of the Dead Sea. Between Ije-abarim and Dibongad, which succeeds it in Num. xxxiii., the Zared and the Arnon have to be inserted from the parallel accounts of xxi. and Deut. ii.; Dibongad and Almon-Diblathaim, which lay above the Arnon, having in their turn escaped from the two last-named narratives. Ije-abarim was on the boundary—the E. or S.E. boundary—of the territory of Moab; not on the pasture-downs of the Mishor, the modern *Belka*, but in the *midbar*, the waste uncultivated "wilderness" on its skirts (xxi. 11). Moab they were expressly forbidden to molest (Deut. ii. 9–12); but we may perhaps be allowed to conclude from the terms of *v.* 13, "now rise up" (קוּמוּ), that they had remained on his frontier in Ije-abarim for some length of time. Nothing more than a general identification of its situation has been attempted (cp. Dillmann^2 on Num. xxi. 11, "somewhere near the Wâdy el Aḥsa"), nor has the name been found lingering in the locality, which, however, has yet to be explored. If there is any connexion between the Ije-abarim and the Har-abarim, the mountain-range opposite Jericho, then Abarim is doubtless a general appellation for the whole of the highland east of the Dead Sea. [ABARIM.]

The rendering given by the LXX. is remarkable. Γαί is no doubt a version of Iye (see this developed in *OS.*^{2} p. 241, 57)—the Ain being converted into G: but whence does the Ἀχελ come? Can it be the vestige of a *nachal*—"torrent" or "wâdy"—once attached to the name? The Targum Pseudojon. has *Megizath 'Ibārā'ē*, "the narrow pass of Abarim."

In Num. xxxiii. 45 it is given in the shorter form of IIM. [G.] [W.]

I'JON (עִיּוֹן = *ruin*; in 1 and 2 K., B. Αἰν, A. Ναίν; in 2 Ch., B. Ἰώ, A. Αἰών; *Ahion, Aion*), a town in the north of Palestine, belonging to the tribe of Naphtali. It was taken and plundered by the captains of Benhadad, along with Dan and other store-cities of Naphtali (1 K. xv. 20; 2 Ch. xvi. 4). It was plundered a second time by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 29). We find no farther mention of it in history. At the base of the mountains of Naphtali, a few miles N.W. of the site of Dan, is a fertile and beautiful little plain called *Merj 'Ayûn* (مرج عيون; the Arabic word عيون, though different in meaning, is radically identical with the Heb. עִיּוֹן); and near its northern end is a large mound called *Tell Dibbin*. This, in all probability, is the site of the long-lost Ijon (Robinson's *Palestine*, iii. 375; Porter, *Hbk. to S. and P.*; Guérin, *Galilée*, ii. 280; Riehm, *HWB.* s. v.). Conder (*Hbk.* p. 415) suggests *el-Khiâm*, a village N.E. of the *Merj 'Ayûn*. [J. L. P.] [W.]

IK'KESH (עִקֵּשׁ = *perverse;* in 2 Sam. B. Εἰσκά, A. Ἐκκάς, in 1 Ch. xi. LXX. om., in xxvii. BA. Ἐκκής; *Acces*), the father of IRA the Tekoite, one of the heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Ch. xi. 28, xxvii. 9).

I'LAI (עֵילַי = *? most high;* BN. Ἠλεί; *Ilai*), an Ahohite, one of the heroes of David's guard (1 Ch. xi. 29). In the list of 2 Sam. xxiii. the name is given as ZALMON (Luc. Ἀλιμάν). Kennicott (*Dissertation*, pp. 187–9) examines the variations at length, and decides in favour of Ilai as the original name.

ILLYRICUM (Ἰλλυρικόν), an extensive district lying along the eastern coast of the Adriatic from the boundary of Italy on the north to Epirus on the south, and contiguous to Moesia and Macedonia on the east: it was divided by the river Drilo into two portions,—Illyris Barbara, the northern, and Illyris Graeca, the southern. Within these limits was included Dalmatia, which appears to have been used indifferently with Illyricum for a portion, and ultimately for the whole of the district. St. Paul records that he preached the Gospel "round about unto Illyricum" (Rom. xv. 19): he probably uses the term in its most extensive sense, and the part visited (if indeed he crossed the boundary at all) would have been about Dyrrachium. (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.* s. v.) [W. L. B.] [W.]

IMAGE. [IDOL.]

IM'LA (יִמְלָא = *fulness;* B. Ἰεμαδς (*v.* 7), -ά (*v.* 8), A. Ἰεμλά; *Jemla*), father or progenitor of Micaiah, the prophet of Jehovah, who was consulted by Ahab and Jehoshaphat before their fatal expedition to Ramoth-gilead (2 Ch. xviii. 7, 8). The form

IM'LAH (יִמְלָה; B. Ἰεμλας [*v.* 8], -α [*v.* 9], A. Ἰεμαά; *Jemla*) is employed in the parallel narrative (1 K. xxii. 8, 9).

IMMANUEL (עִמָּנוּאֵל), or in two words in many MSS. and editions, עִמָּנוּ אֵל; Ἐμμανουήλ;

Emmanuel), the symbolical name given by the prophet Isaiah to the child who was announced to Ahaz and the people of Judah, as the sign which God would give of their deliverance from their enemies (Is. vii. 14). It is applied by the Apostle St. Matthew to the Messiah, born of the Virgin (Matt. i. 23). By the LXX. in one passage (*Is.* vii. 14), and in both passages by the Vulg., Syr., and Targ., it is rendered as a proper name; but in Is. viii. 8 the LXX. translate it literally *μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός*. The verses in question have been the battle-field of critics for centuries, and in their discussions there has been no lack of the *odium theologicum*. As early as the times of Justin Martyr the Christian interpretation was attacked by the Jews, and the position which they occupied has of late years been assumed by many continental theologians. Before proceeding to a discussion, or rather to a classification, of the numerous theories of which this subject has been the fruitful source, the circumstances under which the prophecy was delivered claim especial consideration.

In the early part of the reign of Ahaz the kingdom of Judah was threatened with annihilation by the combined armies of Syria and Israel. A hundred and twenty thousand of the choice warriors of Judah, all "sons of might," had fallen in one day's battle. The Edomites and Philistines had thrown off the yoke (2 Ch. xxiii.). Jerusalem was menaced with a siege; the hearts of the king and of the people "shook, as the trees of a forest shake before the wind" (*Is.* vii. 2). The king had gone to "the conduit of the upper pool," probably to take measures for preventing the supply of water from being cut off or falling into the enemy's hand, when the Prophet met him with the message of consolation. Not only were the designs of the hostile armies to fail, but within sixty-five years the kingdom of Israel would be overthrown. In confirmation of his words, the Prophet bids Ahaz ask a sign of Jehovah, which the king, with pretended humility, refused to do. After administering a severe rebuke to Ahaz for his obstinacy, Isaiah announces the sign which Jehovah Himself would give unasked: "Behold! the virgin (הָעַלְמָה, *hā-'almāh*)[a] is with child and beareth a son, and she shall call his name *Immanuel*."

The interpreters of this passage are naturally divided into three classes, each of which admits of subdivisions, as the differences in detail are numerous. The first class consists of those who refer the fulfilment of the prophecy to a historical event, which followed immediately upon its delivery. The majority of Christian writers, till within the last fifty years, form a second class, and apply the prophecy exclusively to the Messiah; while a third class, almost equally numerous, agree in considering both these explanations true, and hold that the prophecy had an immediate and literal fulfilment, but was completely accomplished in the miraculous conception and birth of Christ. Among the first are numbered the Jewish writers of all ages, without exception. Jerome refutes, on chronological grounds, a theory which was current in his day amongst the Jews that the prophecy had reference to Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, who, from a comparison of 2 K. xvi. 2 with xviii. 2, must have been nine years old at the time it was delivered. The force of his argument is somewhat weakened by the evident obscurity of the numbers in the passages in question, from which we must infer that Ahaz was eleven years old at the time of Hezekiah's birth. By the Jews in the Middle Ages this explanation was abandoned as untenable, and in consequence some, as Rashi and Aben Ezra, refer the prophecy to a son of Isaiah himself, and others to a son of Ahaz by another wife, as Kimchi and Abarbanel. In this case, the *'almāh* is explained as the wife or betrothed wife of the Prophet, or as a later wife of Ahaz. Kelle (Ges. *Comm. über den Jesaia*) degrades her to the third rank of ladies in the harem (cp. Cant. vi. 28). Hitzig (*Der Proph. Jesaia*) rejects Gesenius' application of *'almāh* to a second wife of the Prophet, and interprets it of the prophetess mentioned in viii. 3. Hendewerk (*Des Proph. Jesaia Weissag.*) follows Gesenius. In either case the Prophet is made to fulfil his own prophecy. Isenbiehl, a pupil of Michaelis, defended the historical sense with considerable learning, and suffered unworthy persecution for expressing his opinions. The *'almāh* in his view was some Hebrew girl who was present at the colloquy between Isaiah and Ahaz, and to whom the Prophet pointed as he spoke. This opinion was held by Bauer, Cube, and Rosenmüller (1st ed.). Michaelis, Eichhorn, Paulus, and Ammon, give her a merely ideal existence; whilst Umbreit allows her to be among the bystanders, but explains the pregnancy and birth as imaginary only. Interpreters of the second class, who refer the prophecy, solely to the Messiah, of course understand by the *'almāh* the Virgin Mary. Among these, Vitringa (*Obs. Sacr.* v. c. 1) vigorously opposes those who, like Grotius, Pellicanus, and Tirinus, conceded to the Jews that the reference to Christ Jesus was not direct and immediate, but by way of typical allusion. For, he maintains, a young married woman of the time of Ahaz and Isaiah could not be a type of the Virgin, nor could her issue by her husband be a figure of the child to be born of the Virgin by the operation of the Holy Ghost. Against this hypothesis of a solely Messianic reference, it is objected that the birth of the Messiah could not be a sign of deliverance to the people of Judah in the time of Ahaz. In reply to this, Theodoret advances the opinion that the birth of the Messiah involved the conservation of the family of Jesse, and therefore by implication of the Jewish state. Cocceius argues on the same side, that the sign of the Messiah's birth would intimate that in the interval the kingdom and state of the Jews could not be alienated from God, and besides it confirms *v.* 8, indicating that before the birth

[a] *'Almāh* denotes a girl of *marriageable* age, but not *married*, and therefore a *virgin* by implication. It is never even used, as בְּתוּלָה, *bethūlāh*, which more directly expresses virginity, of a bride or betrothed wife (Joel i. 8). *'Almāh* and *bethūlāh* are both applied to Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 16, 43), as apparently convertible terms; and in addition to the evidence from the cognate languages, Arabic and Syriac, we have the testimony of Jerome (on Is. vii. 14) that in Punic *Alma* denoted a virgin.

of Christ Judaea should not be subject to Syria, as it was when Archelaus was removed, and it was reduced to the form of a Roman province. Of all these explanations Vitringa disapproves and states his own conclusion, which is also that of Calvin and Piscator, to be the following:—In *vv.* 14–16, the Prophet gives a sign to the pious in Israel of their deliverance from the impending danger, and in *v.* 17, &c. announces the evils which the Assyrians, not the Syrians, should inflict upon Ahaz and such of his people as resembled him. As surely as Messiah would be born of the Virgin, so surely would God deliver the Jews from the threatened evil. The principle of interpretation here made use of is founded by Calvin on the custom of the Prophets, who confirmed special promises by the assurance that God would send a redeemer. But this explanation involves another difficulty, besides that which arises from the distance of the event predicted. Before the child shall arrive at years of discretion the Prophet announces the desolation of the land whose kings threatened Ahaz. By this Vitringa understands that no more time would elapse before the former event was accomplished than would intervene between the birth and youth of Immanuel, an argument too far-fetched to have much weight. Hengstenberg (*Christology*, ii. 44–66, Eng. trans.) supports to the full the Messianic interpretation, and closely connects vii. 14 with ix. 6. He admits frankly that the older explanation of *vv.* 15, 16 has exposed itself to the charge of being arbitrary, and confidently propounds his own method of removing the stumbling-block. "In *v.* 14 the Prophet had seen the birth of the Messiah as present. Holding fast this idea and expanding it, the Prophet makes him who has been born accompany the people through all the stages of its existence. We have here an *ideal anticipation of the real incarnation* . . . . What the Prophet means, and intends to say here is, *that, in the space of about a twelvemonth, the overthrow of the hostile kingdoms would already have taken place.* As the representative of the contemporaries, he brings forward the wonderful child who, as it were, formed the soul of the popular life. . . . In the subsequent prophecy, the same wonderful child, grown up into a warlike hero, brings the deliverance from Asshur, and the world's power represented by it." The learned Professor thus admits the double sense in the case of Asshur, but denies its application to Immanuel. It would be hard to say whether text or commentary be the more obscure.

In view of the difficulties which attend these explanations of the prophecy, the third class of interpreters above alluded to have recourse to a theory which combines the two preceding, viz. the hypothesis of the double sense. They suppose that the immediate reference of the Prophet was to some contemporary occurrence, but that his words received their true and full accomplishment in the birth of the Messiah. Jerome (*Comm. in Esaiam*, vii. 14) mentions an interpretation of some Judaizers that Immanuel was the son of Isaiah, born of the prophetess, as a type of the Saviour, and that his name indicates the calling of the nations after the Word became flesh and dwelt among us. Something of the same kind is proposed by Dathe; in his opinion "the miracle, while it immediately respected the times of the Prophet, was a type of the birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary." Dr. Pye-Smith conjectured that it had an immediate reference to Hezekiah, "the virgin" being the queen of Ahaz; but, like some other prophetic testimonies, had another and a designed reference to some remoter circumstance, which when it occurred would be the *real* fulfilment, answering every feature and filling up the entire extent of the original delineation (*Script. Test. to the Messiah*, i. 357, 3rd ed.). A serious objection to the application of the prophecy of Hezekiah has already been mentioned. Kennicott separates *v.* 16 from the three preceding, applying the latter to Christ, the former to the son of Isaiah (*Sermon on* Is. vii. 13–16).

Such in brief are some of the principal opinions which have been held on this important question [see also the summary in Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[5] on Is. vii. 14; cp. ISAIAH, p. 1457]. From the manner in which the quotation occurs in Matt. i. 23, there can be no doubt that the Evangelist did not use it by way of accommodation, but as having in view its actual accomplishment. Whatever may have been his opinion as to any contemporary or immediate reference it might contain, this was completely obscured by the full conviction that burst upon him when he realised its completion in the Messiah. What may have been the light in which the promise was regarded by the Prophet's contemporaries, we are not in a position to judge; the hypothesis of the double sense satisfies most of the requirements of the problem, and as it does less violence to the text than the others which have been proposed, and is at the same time supported by the analogy of the Apostle's quotations from the O. T. (Matt. ii. 15, 18, 23; iv. 15), we accept it as approximating most nearly to the true solution. [MESSIAH; PROPHECY.] [W. A. W.]

IM'MER. **1.** (אִמֵּר, ? = *eloquent:* in 1 Ch. ix. 12, B. Ἐμήρ, A. Ἐμμήρ; in Neh. xi. 13, BA. omit: *Emmer*), apparently the founder of an important family of priests, although the name does not occur in any genealogy which allows us to discover his descent from Aaron (1 Ch. ix. 12; Neh. xi. 13). This family had charge of, and gave its name to, the sixteenth course of the service (1 Ch. xxiv. 14). From them came Pashur, chief governor of the Temple in Jeremiah's time, and his persecutor (Jer. xx. 1). They returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezra ii. 37; Neh. vii. 40). Zadok ben-Immer repaired his own house (Neh. iii. 29), and two other priests of the family put away their foreign wives (Ezra x. 20). But it is remarkable that the name is omitted from the list of those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah, and also of those who came up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and who are stated to have had descendants surviving in the next generation—the days of Joiakim (see Neh. xii. 1, 10, 12–21). [EMMER.] Different from the foregoing must be

2. (In Ezra B. Ἐμήρ, A. Ἐμμήρ; in Neh. B. Ἰεμήρ, A. Ἐμήρ: *Emer*, *Emmer*), apparently the name of a place in Babylonia from which certain persons returned to Jerusalem with the first caravan, who could not satisfactorily prove

their genealogy (Ezra ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61). In 1 Esdras the name is given as 'Αλάρ.

IM'NA (יִמְנָע = *holding back*; 'Ιμανά; *Jemna*), a descendant of Asher, son of Helem, and one of the "chief princes" of the tribe (1 Ch. vii. 35; cp. *v.* 40).

IM'NAH (יִמְנָה, ? = *good fortune*; A. 'Ιεμνά, B. 'Ιννά; *Jemna*). **1.** The first-born of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 30). In the Pentateuch the name (identical with the present) is given in the A. V. as JIMNAH.

2. (B. Αἰμάν, A. 'Ιεμνά.) Kore ben-Imnah, the Levite, assisted in the reforms of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxxi. 14).

IMPLEAD (Acts xix. 38), a technical term (like the ἐγκαλεῖν of the Greek text), replaced in the R. V. and explained by "accuse." [F.]

IM'RAH (יִמְרָה = *obstinacy*; B. 'Ιμαρή, A. 'Ιεμρά; *Jamra*), a descendant of Asher, of the family of ZOPHAH (1 Ch. vii. 36), and named as one of the chiefs of the tribe.

IM'RI (אִמְרִי = *eloquent*). **1.** (B. 'Αμρεί, A. -ρι; *Omrai*.) A man of Judah of the great family of Pharez (1 Ch. ix. 4).

2. (BN. 'Αμαρεί, A. Μιαρί; *Amri*.) Father or progenitor of ZACCUR, who assisted Nehemiah in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 2).

INCENSE, קְטוֹרָה (*qeṭōrāh*), Deut. xxxiii. 10; קְטֹרֶת (*qeṭōreth*), Ex. xxv. 6, xxx. 1, &c.; לְבוֹנָה (*lebōnāh*), Is. xliii. 23, lx. 6, &c. The incense employed in the service of the Tabernacle was distinguished as קְטֹרֶת הַסַּמִּים (*qeṭōreth hassammīm*, Ex. xxv. 6), from being compounded of the perfumes stacte, onycha, galbanum, and pure frankincense. All incense which was not made of these ingredients was called קְטוֹרָה זָרָה (*qeṭōrāh zārāh*, Ex. xxx. 9), and was forbidden to be offered. According to Rashi on Ex. xxx. 34, the above-mentioned perfumes were mixed in equal proportions, seventy manehs being taken of each. They were compounded by the skill of the apothecary, to whose use, according to Rabbinical tradition, was devoted a portion of the Temple, called, from the name of the family whose especial duty it was to prepare the incense, "the house of Abtines." So in the large temples of India "is retained a man whose chief business it is to distil sweet waters from flowers, and to extract oil from wood, flowers, and other substances" (Roberts, *Orient. Illus.* p. 82). The priest or Levite to whose care the incense was entrusted, was one of the fifteen ממונים (*memunnīm*), or prefects of the Temple. Constant watch was kept in the house of Abtines that the incense might always be in readiness (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. אבטינס).

In addition to the four ingredients already mentioned Jarchi enumerates seven others, thus making eleven, which the Jewish doctors affirm were communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai. Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, § 5) mentions thirteen. The proportions of the additional spices are given by Maimonides (*Kelē hammiqdāsh*, ii. 2, § 3) as follows:—Of myrrh, cassia, spikenard, and saffron, sixteen manehs each; of costus twelve manehs, cinnamon nine manehs, sweet bark three manehs. The weight of the whole confection was 368 manehs. To these was added the fourth part of a cab of salt of Sodom, with amber of Jordan, and a herb called "the smoke-raiser" (מעלה עשן, *ma'ălēh 'āshān*), known only to the cunning in such matters, to whom the secret descended by tradition. In the ordinary daily service one maneh was used, half in the morning and half in the evening. Allowing then one maneh of incense for each day of the solar year, the three manehs which remained were again pounded, and used by the high-priest on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 12). A store of it was constantly kept in the Temple (Jos. *B. J.* vi. 8, § 3).

The incense possessed the threefold characteristic of being salted (not *tempered* as in A. V.), pure, and holy. Salt was the symbol of incorruptness, and nothing, says Maimonides, was offered without it, except the wine of the drink-offerings, the blood, and the wood (cp. Lev. ii. 13). The expression בַּד בְּבַד (*bad bĕbad*, Ex. xxx. 34) is interpreted by the Chaldee "weight by weight,"—that is, an equal weight of each (cp. Jarchi in loco); and this rendering is adopted by our Versions (A. V. and R. V. "like weight." Cp. Knobel-Dillmann in loco). Others however, and among them Aben Ezra and Maimonides, consider it as signifying that each of the spices was separately prepared, and that all were afterwards mixed. The incense thus compounded was specially set apart for the service of the sanctuary: its desecration was punished with death (Ex. xxx. 37, 38); as in some part of India, according to Michaelis (*Mosaisch. Recht*, art. 249), it was considered high treason for any person to make use of the best sort of *Calambak*, which was for the service of the king alone.

Aaron, as high-priest, was originally appointed to offer incense, but in the daily service of the second Temple the office devolved upon the inferior priests, from among whom one was chosen by lot (Mishna, *Yoma*, ii. 4; Luke i. 9), each morning and evening (Abarbanel on Lev. x. 1). A peculiar blessing was supposed to be attached to this service; and in order that all might share in it, the lot was cast among those who were "new to the incense," if any remained (Mishna, *Yoma*, l. c.; Bartenora on *Tamid*, v. 2). Uzziah was punished for his presumption in attempting to infringe the prerogatives of the descendants of Aaron, who were consecrated to burn incense (2 Ch. xxvi. 16–21; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, § 4). The officiating priest appointed another, whose office it was to take the fire from the brazen Altar. According to Maimonides (*Tmid. Umus.* ii. 8, iii. 5), this fire was taken from the second pile, which was over against the S.E. corner of the Altar of burnt-offering, and was of fig-tree wood. A silver shovel (מַחְתָּה, *machtāh*) was first filled with the live coals, and afterwards emptied into a golden one, smaller than the former, so that some of the coals were spilled (Mishna, *Tamid*, v. 5, *Yoma*, iv. 4; cp. Rev. viii. 5). Another priest cleared the golden Altar from the cinders which had been left at

the previous offering of incense (Mishna, *Tamid*, iii. 6, 9; vi. 1).

The times of offering incense were specified in the instructions first given to Moses (Ex. xxx. 7, 8). The morning incense was offered when the lamps were trimmed in the Holy place, and before the sacrifice, when the watchmen set for the purpose announced the break of day (Mishna, *Yoma*, iii. 1, 5). When the lamps were lighted "between the evenings," after the evening sacrifice and before the drink-offerings were offered, incense was again burnt on the golden Altar, which "belonged to the oracle" (1 K. vi. 22), and stood before the veil which separated the Holy place from the Holy of Holies, the Throne of God (Rev. viii. 4; Philo, *de Anim. Idon.* § 3).

When the priest entered the Holy place with the incense, all the people were removed from the Temple, and from between the porch and the Altar (Maimon. *Tmid. Umus.* iii. 3; cp. Luke i. 10). The incense was then brought from the house of Abtines in a large vessel of gold called כַּף (*kaph*), in which was a phial (בזיך, *bāzīk*, properly "a salver") containing the incense (Mishna, *Tamid*, v. 4). The assistant priests who attended to the lamps, the clearing of the golden Altar from the cinders, and the fetching fire from the Altar of Burnt-offering, performed their offices singly, bowed towards the Ark of the covenant, and left the Holy place before the priest, whose lot it was to offer incense, entered. Profound silence was observed among the congregation who were praying without (cp. Rev. viii. 1), and at a signal from the prefect the priest cast the incense on the fire (Mishna, *Tamid*, vi. 3), and bowing reverently towards the Holy of Holies retired slowly backwards, not prolonging his prayer that he might not alarm the congregation, or cause them to fear that he had been struck dead for offering unworthily (Lev. xvi. 13; Luke i. 21; Mishna, *Yoma*, v. 1). When he came out, he pronounced the blessing in Num. vi. 24–26, the "magrephah" sounded, and the Levites burst forth into song, accompanied by the full swell of the Temple-music, the sound of which, say the Rabbins, could be heard as far as Jericho (Mishna, *Tamid*, iii. 8). It is possible that this may be alluded to in Rev. viii. 5. The priest then emptied the censer in a clean place, and hung it on one of the horns of the Altar of Burnt-offering.

On the Day of Atonement the service was different. The high-priest, after sacrificing the bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his family, took incense in his left hand and a golden shovel filled with live coals from the west side of the brazen Altar (Jarchi on Lev. xvi. 12) in his right, and went into the Holy of Holies. He then placed the shovel upon the Ark between the two bars. In the second Temple, where there was no Ark, a stone was substituted. Then sprinkling the incense upon the coals, he stayed till the house was filled with smoke, and walking slowly backwards came without the veil, where he prayed for a short time (Maimonides, *Yom hakkippur*, quoted by Ainsworth on Lev. xvi.; Outram, *de Sacrificiis*, i. 8, § 11).

The offering of incense has formed a part of the religious ceremonies of most ancient nations (see the useful note in Knobel-Dillmann on Ex. xxx. 34). The Egyptians burnt resin in honour of the sun at its rising, myrrh when in its meridian, and a mixture called Kuphi at its setting (cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 265). Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* cc. 52, 80) describes Kuphi as a mixture of sixteen ingredients. "In the temple of Siva incense is offered to the Lingam six times in twenty-four hours" (Roberts, *Orient. Illus.* p. 468). It was an element in the idolatrous worship of the Israelites (Jer. xi. 12, 17, xlviii. 35; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 25).

With regard to the symbolical meaning of incense, opinions have been many and widely differing. While Maimonides regarded it merely as a perfume designed to counteract the effluvia arising from the beasts which were slaughtered for the daily sacrifice, other interpreters have allowed their imaginations to run riot, and vied with the wildest speculations of the Midrashim. Philo (*Quis rer. div. haer. sit.* § 41, p. 501) conceives the stacte and onycha to be symbolical of water and earth; galbanum and frankincense of air and fire. Josephus, following the traditions of his time, believed that the ingredients of the incense were chosen from the products of the sea, the inhabited and the uninhabited parts of the earth, to indicate that all things are of God and for God (*B. J.* v. 5, § 5). As the Temple or Tabernacle was the palace of Jehovah, the theocratic King of Israel, and the Ark of the covenant His throne, so the incense, in the opinion of some, corresponded to the perfumes in which the luxurious monarchs of the East delighted. It may mean all this, but it must mean much more. Grotius, on Ex. xxx. 1, says the mystical signification is "sursum habenda corda." Cornelius à Lapide, on Ex. xxx. 34, considers it as an apt emblem of propitiation, and finds a symbolical meaning in the several ingredients. Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, ii. 320), with many others, looks upon prayer as the reality of which incense is the symbol, founding his conclusion upon Ps. cxli. 2; Rev. v. 8, viii. 3, 4. Bähr (*Symb. d. Mos. Cult.* vol. i., c. vi. § 4) opposes this view of the subject, on the ground that the chief thing in offering incense is not the producing of the smoke, which presses like prayer towards heaven, but the spreading of the fragrance. His own exposition may be summed up as follows. Prayer, among all Oriental nations, signifies calling upon the name of God. The oldest prayers consisted in the mere enumeration of the several titles of God. The Scripture places incense in close relationship to prayer, so that offering incense is synonymous with worship. Hence incense itself is a symbol of the name of God. The ingredients of the incense correspond severally to the perfections of God, though it is impossible to decide to which of the four names of God each belongs. Perhaps stacte corresponds to יְהוָה (*Jehovah*), onycha to אֱלֹהִים (*'Elōhīm*), galbanum to חַי (*chai*), and frankincense to קָדוֹשׁ (*qādōsh*). Such is Bähr's exposition of the symbolism of incense, rather ingenious than logical. Looking upon incense in connexion with the other ceremonial observances of the Mosaic ritual, it would rather seem to be symbolical, not of prayer itself, but of that which makes prayer acceptable, the inter-

cession of Christ. In Rev. viii. 3, 4, the incense is spoken of as something distinct from, though offered with, the prayers of all the saints (cp. Luke i. 10); and in Rev. v. 8 it is the golden vials, and not the odours or incense, which are said to be the prayers of saints. Ps. cxli. 2, at first sight, appears to militate against this conclusion; but if it be argued from this passage that incense is an emblem of prayer, it must also be allowed that the evening sacrifice has the same symbolical meaning. [W. A. W.] [F.]

INDIA (הֹדּוּ, i.e. *Hŏddū*; ἡ Ἰνδική; *India*). The name of India does not occur in the Bible before the Book of Esther, where it is noticed as the limit of the territories of Ahasuerus in the east, as Ethiopia was in the west (i. 1; viii. 9); the names are similarly connected by Herodotus (vii. 9). The Hebrew form "*Hoddu*" is an abbreviation of *Hondu*, which is identical with the indigenous names of the river Indus, "Hindu" or "Sindhu," and again with the ancient name of the country as it appears in the Vendidad, "Hapta Hendu" (see MV.[11]). The native form "Sindus" is noticed by Pliny (vi. 23). The India of the Book of Esther is not the peninsula of Hindostan, but the country surrounding the Indus—the *Panjâb*, and perhaps *Scinde*—the India which Herodotus describes (iii. 98) as forming part of the Persian empire under Darius, and the India which at a later period was conquered by Alexander the Great. The name occurs in the inscriptions of Persepolis and Nakhsh-i-Rustam, but not in those of Behistûn (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 485). In 1 Macc. viii. 8 India is reckoned among the countries which Eumenes, king of Pergamus, received out of the former possessions of Antiochus the Great. It is clear that India proper cannot be understood, inasmuch as this never belonged either to Antiochus or Eumenes. Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comm.* in loco) and Zöckler (*Kgf. Komm.* in loco) consider the expression a mistake due to the ignorance of the writer or historically incorrect. Other explanations offered are not satisfactory: the Eneti of Paphlagonia have been suggested, but these people had disappeared long before (Strab. xii. 534): the India of Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 5, § 3; iii. 2, § 25), which may have been above the Carian stream named Indus (Plin. v. 29, probably the Calbis), is more likely; and the emendation "Mysia and Ionia" for *Media and India* is but a guess. [IONIA.] A more authentic notice of the country occurs in 1 Macc. vi. 37, where Indians are noticed as the drivers of the war-elephants introduced into the army of the Syrian king (see also 1 Esd. iii. 2; Esth. xiii. 1, xvi. 1).

But though the *name* of India occurs so seldom, the people and productions of that country must have been tolerably well known to the Jews. There is undoubted evidence that an active trade was carried on between India and Western Asia: the Tyrians established their depôts on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and procured "horns of ivory and ebony," "broidered work and rich apparel" (Ezek. xxvi. 15, 24), by a route which crossed the Arabian desert by land, and then followed the coasts of the Indian Ocean by sea. The trade opened by Solomon with Ophir through the Red Sea chiefly consisted of Indian articles, and some of the names even of the articles—*'algummīm*, "sandal wood;" *qōphīm*, "apes;" *tukkīyim*, "peacocks" (1 K. x. 22)—are of Tamul origin (Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii. 133); to which we may add the Hebrew name of the "topaz," *piṭdāh*, derived from the Sanscrit *pîta*. There is a strong probability that productions of yet greater utility were furnished by India through Syria to the shores of Europe, and that the Greeks derived both the term κασσίτερος (cp. the Sanscrit *kastira*), and the article it represents, "tin," from the coasts of India, or of the Malayan Peninsula. (For many notices relating to trade routes between the E. and W., see Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither*.) The connexion thus established with India led to the opinion that the Indians were included under the ethnological title of Cush (Gen. x. 6), and hence the Syrian, Chaldaean, and Arabic Versions frequently render that term by India or Indians, as in 2 Ch. xxi. 16; Is. xi. 11, xviii. 1; Jer. xiii. 23; Zeph. iii. 10. For the connexion which some have sought to establish between India and Paradise, see EDEN. [W. L. B.] [W.]

INFIDEL. The word occurs in the A. V. of 2 Cor. vi. 15 and 1 Tim. v. 8. The R. V. replaces it in both cases by "unbeliever," a term which is more correct, and in the passage in 2 Cor. preserves the alliteration. [F.]

INHERITANCE. [HEIR.]

INK, INKHORN. [WRITING.]

INN (מָלוֹן, *mālōn*; κατάλυμα, πανδοκεῖον). The Hebrew word thus rendered literally signifies "a lodging-place for the night."[a] Inns, in our sense of the term, were, as they still are, unknown in the East, where hospitality is religiously practised. The khans, or caravanserais, are the representatives of European inns, and these were established but gradually. It is doubtful whether there is any allusion to them in the O. T. The halting-place of a caravan was selected originally on account of its proximity to water or pasture, by which the travellers pitched their tents and passed the night. Such was undoubtedly the "inn" (R. V. "lodging-place") at which occurred the incident in the life of Moses, narrated in Ex. iv. 24. It was probably one of the halting-places of the Ishmaelitish merchants who traded to Egypt with their camel-loads of spices. Moses was on his journey from the land of Midian, and the merchants in Gen. xxxvii. are called indiscriminately Ishmaelites and Midianites. At one of these stations, too, the first which they reached after leaving the city, and no doubt within a short distance from it, Joseph's brethren discovered that their money had been replaced in their wallets (Gen. xlii. 27).

Increased commercial intercourse, and in later times religious enthusiasm for pilgrimages,[b] gave

[a] In the language of the A. V. "to lodge" has the force of remaining for the night. The word לִין is rendered in 1 K. xix. 9 "lodge;" in Gen. xix. 2 "tarry all night;" cp. also Jer. xiv. 8, &c.

[b] The erection of hospitals in the Middle Ages was due to the same cause. Paula, the friend of Jerome, built several on the road to Bethlehem; and the Scotch and Irish residents in France erected hospitals for the

rise to the establishment of more permanent accommodation for travellers. On the more frequented routes, remote from towns (Jer. ix. 2), caravanserais were in course of time erected, often at the expense of the wealthy. The following description of one of those on the road from Baghdad to Babylon will suffice for all:—"It is a large and substantial square building, in the distance resembling a fortress, being surrounded with a lofty wall, and flanked by round towers to defend the inmates in case of attack. Passing through a strong gateway, the guest enters a large court, the sides of which are divided into numerous arched compartments, open in front, for the accommodation of separate parties and for the reception of goods. In the centre is a spacious raised platform, used for sleeping upon at night, or for the devotions of the faithful during the day. Between the outer wall and the compartments are wide vaulted arcades, extending round the entire building, where the beasts of burden are placed. Upon the roof of the arcades is an excellent terrace, and over the gateway an elevated tower containing two rooms—one of which is open at the sides, permitting the occupants to enjoy every breath of air that passes across the heated plain. The terrace is tolerably clean; but the court and stabling below are ankle-deep in chopped straw and filth" (Loftus, *Chaldea*, p. 13). The great khans established by the Persian kings and great men, at intervals of about six miles on the roads from Baghdad to the sacred places, are provided with stables for the horses of the pilgrims. "Within these stables, on both sides, are other cells for travellers" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 478, note). The "stall" or "manger," mentioned in Luke ii. 7, was probably in a stable of this kind (see Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 184; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, p. 2 [pop. ed.]). Such khans are sometimes situated near running streams, or have a supply of water of some kind, but the traveller must carry all his provisions with him (Ouseley, *Trav. in Persia*, i. 261, note). At Damascus the khans are, many of them, substantial buildings; the small rooms which surround the court, as well as those above them which are entered from a gallery, are used by the merchants of the city for depositing their goods (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 33). The *wekâlehs* of modern Egypt are of a similar description (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 10).

"The house of paths" (Prov. viii. 2, *ἐν οἴκῳ διόδων*, Vers. Ven.), where Wisdom took her stand, is understood by some to refer appropriately to a khan built where many ways met and frequented by many travellers. A similar meaning has been attached to גֵּרוּת כִּמְהָם, *gērûth Kimhām*, "the hostel of Chimham" (Jer. xli. 17) beside Bethlehem, built by the liberality of the son of Barzillai for the benefit of those who were going down to Egypt (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 163; App. § 90). The Targum says, "which David gave to Chimham, son of Barzillai the Gileadite" (cp. 2 Sam. xix. 37, 38). With regard to this passage in Jer., the ancient Versions are strangely at variance. The LXX. (xlviii. 17) had evidently another reading with ב and ג transposed, which they left untranslated, T.^{J} *γαβηρωχαμάα*, A. *γηβηρωθχαμάαμ*, ℵ. *γηβαηρωχαμά*. The Vulgate, if intended to be literal, must have read גֵּרִים בְּכְנַ֫, *peregrinantes in Chanaam*. The Arabic, following the Alexandrian MS., read it *ἐν γῇ* Βηρωθχαμάαμ, "in the land of Berothchamaam." The Syriac has בֵּידְרֵי, *b'edrē*, "in the threshing-floors," as if בְּגָרְנוֹת, *begornōth*. Josephus had a reading different from all, בְּגִדְרוֹת, *begidrōth*, "in the folds of" Chimham; for he says the fugitives went "to a certain place called Mandra" (*Μάνδρα λεγόμενον*, *Ant.* x. 9, § 5), and in this he was followed by Aquila and the Hexaplar Syriac.

The *πανδοκεῖον* (Luke x. 34) probably differed from the *κατάλυμα* (Luke ii. 7) in having a "host" or "innkeeper" (*πανδοκεύς*, Luke x. 35), who supplied some few of the necessary provisions, and attended to the wants of travellers left to his charge. The word has been adopted in the later Hebrew, and appears in the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, xvi. 7) under the form פוּנְדָק, *pūndak*, and the host is פּוּנְדָקִי, *pūndākī*. The Jews were forbidden to put up their beasts at establishments of this kind kept by idolaters (*Aboda Zara*, ii. 1). It appears that houses of entertainment were sometimes, as in Egypt (Her. ii. 35), kept by women, whose character was such that their evidence was regarded with suspicion. In the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, xvi. 7) a tale is told of a company of Levites who were travelling to Zoar, the City of Palms, when one of them fell ill on the road and was left by his comrades at an inn, under the charge of the hostess (פּוּנְדָקִית, *pūndekīth* = *πανδοκευτρία*). On their return to enquire for their friend, the hostess told them he was dead and buried, but they refused to believe her till she produced his staff, wallet, and roll of the Law. In Josh. ii. 1, זוֹנָה, *zōnāh*, the term applied to Rahab, is taken by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 2) to mean an innkeeper, and it is rendered in the Targum of Jonathan פּוּנְדְקִיתָא, *pūndekithā*, a term both for the *zōnāh* and "a woman who keeps an inn" (according to Dillmann^{2}). So in Judg. xi. 1, of the mother of Jephthah; of Delilah (Judg. xvi. 1) and the two women who appealed to Solomon (1 K. iii. 16). The words, in the opinion of Kimchi on Josh. ii. 1, appear to have been synonymous.

In some parts of modern Syria a nearer approach has been made to the European system. In all villages not provided with a khan, the Sheikh's house (*menzoul*) becomes the place of entertainment of all strangers who are not visiting at the house of friends. The stranger is supplied with provisions and fodder if required, which he pays for at the usual rates (see *B. D.*, Amer. ed.). [W. A. W.] [F.]

INSTANT, INSTANTLY. A word employed by our translators in the N. T. with the force of urgency or earnestness, to render five distinct Greek words. We still say "at the instance of;" but as that sense is no longer attached to "instant"—though it is still to the verb "insist," and to other compounds of the same root, such as "persist," "constant"—it has been thought advisable to notice its occurrences. They afford an interesting example, if

use of pilgrims of their own nation, on their way to Rome (Beckmann, *Hist. of Inv.* ii. 457). Hence *hospital*, *hostel*, and finally *hotel*.

an additional one be needed, of the close connexion which there is between the Authorised Version and the Vulgate; the Vulgate having, as will be seen, suggested the word in three out of its five occurrences.

1. σπουδαίως — "they besought Him instantly" (Luke vii. 4). This word is elsewhere commonly rendered "earnestly," and is so rendered here by R. V.

2. ἐπέκειντο, from ἐπίκειμαι, to lie upon:— "they were instant with loud voices" (Vulg. *instabant*), Luke xxiii. 23. This might be rendered "they were pressing" (as in *v.* 1).

3. ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ, "instantly (R. V. 'earnestly') serving God" (Acts xxvi. 7). The metaphor at the root of this word is that of stretching—on the stretch. Elsewhere in the A. V. it is represented by "fervently."

4. προσκαρτεροῦντες, "continuing instant" (Rom. xii. 12); Vulg. *instantes*. Here the adjective is hardly necessary, the word being elsewhere rendered by "continuing," or, to preserve the rhythm of so familiar a sentence, "continuing stedfastly" (as Acts ii. 42), and so R. V. in Rom.

5. ἐπίστηθι, from ἐφίστάναι, to stand by or upon—"be instant in season, out of season" (2 Tim. iv. 2); Vulg. *insta*. Four verses further on it is rendered "is at hand." The sense is "stand ready"—"be alert" for whatever may happen. Of the five words this is the only one which contains the same metaphor as "instant."

In Luke ii. 38, "that instant" is literally, as in R. V., "that very hour,"—αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.

[G.] [W.]

IO'NIA (Ἰωνία). The substitution of this word for ἡ Ἰνδικὴ in 1 Macc. viii. 8 (E. V. "India") is a conjecture of Grotius without any authority of MSS. It must be acknowledged, however, that the change removes a great difficulty, especially if, as the same commentator suggests, Μυσία [MYSIA] be substituted for Μηδεία or Μηδία in the same context. The passage refers to the cession of territory which the Romans forced Antiochus the Great to make; and it is evident that India and Media are nothing to the purpose, whereas Ionia and Mysia were among the districts *cis Taurum*, which were given up to Eumenes.

As to the term Ionia, the name was given in early times to that part of the western coast of Asia Minor which lay between Aeolis on the north and Doris on the south. These were properly ethnological terms, and had reference to the tribes of Greek settlers along this shore. Ionia, with its islands, was celebrated for its twelve, afterwards thirteen, cities; five of which, Ephesus, Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, and Samos, are conspicuous in the N. T. In Roman times Ionia ceased to have any political significance, being absorbed in the province of Asia. The term, however, was still occasionally used, as in Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2, § 3, from which passage we learn that the Jews were numerous in this district. This whole chapter in Josephus is very interesting, as a geographical illustration of that part of the coast. [JAVAN.] [J. S. H.] [W.]

IPHEDEI'AH (יִפְדְּיָה = (*whom*) *Jehovah frees*; B. Ἰεφερειά, A. Ἰεφαδία; *Jephdaia*), a descendant of Benjamin, one of the Bene-Shashak (1 Ch. viii. 25); specially named as a chief of the tribe, and as residing in Jerusalem (cp. *v.* 28).

IR (עִיר, (?) = *city, town*; B. Ἀιρά, A. ? Ὠρά *Hir*), 1 Ch. vii. 12. [IRI.]

I'RA (עִירָא = *watchful; Ira*). **1.** (BA. Εἴρας.) "The Jairite," named in the catalogue of David's great officers (2 Sam. xx. 26) as "priest to David" (כֹּהֵן; and so in R. V.; A. V. "a chief ruler"). The Peshitto Version for "Jairite" has "from Jathir," *i.e.* probably JATTIR, where David had found friends during his troubles with Saul. [JAIRITE.] If this can be maintained, and it certainly has an air of probability, then this Ira is identical with

2. (In Sam. BA. Εἴρας; in Ch. B. Ἰρά, A. -*ας*, א. Ἰά.) "Ira the Ithrite" (as in R. V., הַיִּתְרִי; A.V. omits the article), that is, the Jattirite, one of the heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Ch. xi. 40). [ITHRITE; JATTIR; JETHER.]

3. (In Sam. BA. Εἴρας; in 1 Ch. xi. BאA. Ὠραί, in 1 Ch. xxvii. B. Ὀδουίας, A. Εἴρα; *Hira.*) Another member of David's guard, a Tekoite, son of Ikkesh (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Ch. xi. 28). Ira was leader of the sixth monthly course of 24,000, as appointed by David (1 Ch. xxvii. 9).

I'RAD (עִירָד, (?) = *swift* [see MV.[11]]; Γαιδάδ in both MSS.; Joseph. Ἰαρέδης; Syr. Idar; *Irad*), son of Enoch; grandson of Cain, and father of Mehujael (Gen. iv. 18).

I'RAM (עִירָם; A. Ζαφωεί, *DE.* Ζαφωείν in Gen. l. c.; but B. Ζαφωείν, A. Ἠράμ in Ch. l. c.; *Hiram*), an Edomite "duke," or rather emir or tribal prince (Gen. xxxvi. 43; 1 Ch. i. 54). The list of eleven (originally doubtless twelve*) tribal princes of Esau in Gen. xxxvi. 40–43, a section assigned to P, is expressly stated to give the names "according to their clans," and "their places" or "seats." Thus Iram, for instance, is the designation at once of the emir, of his clan or tribe, and of their territory in the land of Edom.

The name of Iram, as the present writer believes, is identical with that of the king of Edom, who paid tribute to Sennacherib, and whom he calls Ai-ram-mu *mât* U-du-um-ma-ai, "Airâm the Edomite" (Taylor Cylinder, 2, 54). See *Bab. and Or. Record*, 1889, p. 55. [C. J. B.]

IR-HA-HE'RES (עִיר הַהֶרֶס, עִיר הַחֶרֶס; πόλις ἀσεδέκ; *Civitas Solis*), an appellation or name of a city in Egypt (Is. xix. 18). The reading עִיר הַהֶרֶס, "City of destruction," has the weight of manuscript authority; the reading עִיר הַחֶרֶס, "City of the Sun," is not without manuscript support besides that of the Vulgate and Talmud. [The LXX., in fact, supports it; for its reading ἀσεδὲκ is only an inversion of החרס, which the translator read הכרח (for ח = κ, cp. פסח, φασέκ).]

The prophecy in which Ir-ha-heres is men-

* As Ewald has pointed out, the Septuagint Zaphoï or Zaphoïn is not really the equivalent of Iram, but preserves the name of the missing twelfth chieftain and his clan, viz. ZEPHO (Heb. צְפִי, *vv.* 11, 15), Iram being accidentally omitted.

tioned is the close of "the burden of Egypt," or is a separate prediction; the separate part or new prophecy being contained in *vv.* 16 or 18–25. It has even been held to be of the Maccabaean period, in consequence of the supposed reference to the temple of Onias. This view requires the assumption that in this period there was a reasonable prospect of the religious harmony of Israel, Egypt, and Syria, by which we are to understand the Assyria of the prophecy. The party of Onias may have had some hopes of proselytism in Egypt, but there is not a trace of any such idea as to Syria. The prediction is clearly Messianic, and did not receive its fulfilment in a Jewish sense. The critical questions that have arisen being however due to the building of the temple of Onias, the history of that event must be noticed in brief. During the Syrian oppression, a certain Onias, of the stock of the high-priests, fled to Egypt. He had been prevented from holding the high-priesthood by Antiochus Epiphanes, and Ptolemy Philometor kindly received him, and granted him permission to build a temple for the Egyptian Jews at a place in the east of the Delta. No doubt a large emigration had taken place in B.C. 170 and for a short time after, as the settlement of a colony and the consequent building of a temple must have preceded the cleansing and dedication of the Temple at Jerusalem by Judas Maccabaeus in B.C. 165, and must certainly have followed its desecration in B.C. 168. The Jewish establishment in the west of the Delta was manifestly schismatic, and there is no trace of any relation with the powerful and learned community of Alexandria, which was always anxious that the central authority of Jerusalem should regard it as orthodox, in order that its freedom in philosophy might not be limited. Our knowledge of the colony of Onias is derived from Josephus, who evidently uses traditionary material in the narrative of the foundation of the temple. Evidently it produced no literature: all that has survived has been discovered by Mr. Naville in the inscriptions in the necropolis of the city of Onias. Pending their publication, more cannot be ventured on than this, that the names seem rather Palestinian than Alexandrian, but that the use of πίστις and χάρις, both in the Alexandrian sense, point to the influence of the great Egyptian colony.

According to the tradition reported by Josephus, Onias pointed to the prophecy of Isaiah as a prediction and justification of his project. Great use has been made of this in the criticism as to the origin of the different names of the city spoken of by the Prophet. According to Geiger, the LXX. retains the true reading, "righteousness," altered into "destruction" in disparagement, and again changed to "sun" by the Egyptian Jews. Cheyne remarks on this: "To me the Sept. reading looks more like a retort upon the Palestine Jews for expounding Ir-ha-heres in a manner uncomplimentary to Onias." He adds this bold remark: "Very possibly the Book of Isaiah was translated into Greek at Leontopolis" (*The Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 4th ed. p. 152). It must be remarked that we have no evidence of literary activity in this colony, and that it is impossible that the same translator should have rendered the same Hebrew appellation by πόλις δικαιοσύνης of Jerusalem in i. 26, and by πόλις ἀσεδὲκ of the Egyptian city in xix. 18, when he had changed the text to introduce the epithet he thus left untranslated. It is possible that the more liberal views which prevailed after the fall of the Jewish polity induced some editors to see a fulfilment of the prophecy in the settlement of the colony of Onias, and even in its temple: hence perhaps the alternative reading, supported by the nearness of the city of Onias to Heliopolis. [R. S. P.]

I'RI (B. Οὐρεί, A. Οὐρί; *Jorus*). 1 Esd. viii. 62. This name answers to URIAH in Ezra (viii. 33).

IRI'JAH (יִרְאִיָּה = *Jehovah seeth*; Σαρουία, A. Σαρουιάς; *Jerias*), son of Shelemiah, a "captain of the ward" (בַּעַל פְּקֻדֹת), who met Jeremiah in the gate of Jerusalem called the "gate of Benjamin," accused him of being about to desert to the Chaldeans, and led him back to the princes (Jer. xxxvii. 13, 14).

IR-NA'HASH (עִיר־נָחָשׁ = *serpent-city*; πόλις Ναάς; *Urbs Naas*; R. V. marg., *the city of Nahash*), a name which, like many other names of places, occurs in the genealogical lists of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 12). Tehinnah Abi Ir-nahash—"father of Ir-nahash"—was one of the sons of Eshton, all of them being descendants of Chelub (*v.* 11). But it seems impossible to connect this special genealogy with the general genealogies of Judah, and it has the air of being a fragment of the records of some other family, related, of course, or it would not be here, but not the same. May not "Shuah, the brother of Chelub" (*v.* 11), be Shuah the Canaanite, by whose daughter Judah had his three eldest sons (Gen. xxxviii. 2, &c.), and these verses be a fragment of Canaanite record preserved amongst those of the great Israelite family, who then became so closely related to the Canaanites? True, the two Shuahs are written differently in Hebrew—שׁוּעַ and שׁוּחָה; but considering the early date of the one passage and the corrupt and incomplete state of the other, this is perhaps not irreconcilable.

No trace of the name of Ir-nahash attached to any site has been discovered. Jerome's interpretation (*Qu. Hebr.* ad loc.)—whether his own or a tradition, he does not say—is that Ir-nahash is Bethlehem, Nahash being another name for Jesse. Conder (*Hbk.* p. 415) suggests as a possible identification *Deir Nakhkhâs*, near *Beit Jibrîn*. [NAHASH.] [G.] [W.]

IR-ON (יִרְאוֹן; B. Κερωέ, A. Ἰαριών; *Jeron*), one of the cities of Naphtali, named between En-hazor and Migdal-el (Josh. xix. 38); it is now *Yârûn* (*PEF. Mem.* i. 258). [G.] [W.]

IRON (בַּרְזֶל, *barzel*; Ch. בַּרְזְלָא, *parz'lâ*; σίδηρος), mentioned with brass as the earliest of known metals (Gen. iv. 22). As it is rarely found in its native state, but generally in combination with oxygen, the knowledge of the art of forging iron, which is attributed to Tubal Cain, argues an acquaintance with the difficulties which attend the smelting of this metal. Iron

melts at a temperature of about 3000° Fahrenheit, and to produce this heat large furnaces supplied by a strong blast of air are necessary. But, however difficult it may be to imagine a knowledge of such appliances at so early a period, it is perfectly certain that the use of iron is of extreme antiquity, and that therefore some means of overcoming the obstacles in question must have been discovered. What the process may have been is left entirely to conjecture; a method is employed by the natives of India, extremely simple and of great antiquity, which, though rude, is very effective, and suggests the possibility of similar knowledge in an early age of civilization (Ure, *Dict. Arts and Sciences*, art. *Steel*). The smelting furnaces of Aethalia, described by Diodorus (v. 13), correspond roughly with the modern bloomeries, remains of which still exist in this country (Napier, *Metallurgy of the Bible*, p. 140). Malleable iron was in common use, but it is doubtful whether the ancients were acquainted with cast-iron. The allusions in the Bible supply the following facts:—

The natural wealth of the soil of Canaan is indicated by describing it as "a land whose stones are iron," *i.e.* iron-stones (Deut. viii. 9). By this Winer (*RWB.* art. *Eisen*), followed by modern critics (see Dillmann [2] in loco), understands the basalt which predominates in the Hauran. It was the material of which Og's bedstead (Deut. iii. 11) was made, and contains a large percentage of iron. Some consider that the expression is a poetical figure. Pliny (xxxvi. 11), who is quoted as an authority, says indeed, that basalt is "ferrei coloris atque duritiae," but does not hint that iron was ever extracted from it. The Book of Job contains passages which indicate that iron was a metal well known. Of the manner of procuring it, we learn that "iron is taken from dust" (xxviii. 2). It does not follow from Job xix. 24, that it was used for a writing implement, though such may have been the case, any more than that adamant was employed for the same purpose (Jer. xvii. 1), or that shoes were shod with iron and brass (Deut. xxxiii. 25). Indeed, iron so frequently occurs in poetic figures, that it is difficult to discriminate between its literal and metaphorical sense. In such passages as the following, in which a "*yoke* of iron" (Deut. xxviii. 48) denotes hard service; "a *rod* of iron" (Ps. ii. 9), a stern government; "a *pillar* of iron" (Jer. i. 18), a strong support; "and *threshing instruments* of iron" (Amos i. 3), the means of cruel oppression, —the hardness and heaviness (Ecclus. xxii. 15) of iron are so clearly the prominent ideas, that though it may have been used for the instruments in question, such usage is not of necessity indicated. The "*furnace* of iron" (Deut. iv. 28; 1 K. viii. 51) is a figure which vividly expresses hard bondage, as represented by the severe labour which attended the operation of smelting. Iron was used for chisels (Deut. xxvii. 5), or something of the kind; for axes (Deut. xix. 5; 2 K. vi. 5, 6; Is. x. 34; Hom. *Il.* iv. 485); for harrows and saws (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Ch. xx. 3); for nails (1 Ch. xxii. 3), and the fastenings of the Temple; for weapons of war (1 Sam. xvii, 7; Job xx. 24), and for war chariots (Josh. xvii. 16, 18; Judg. i. 19, iv. 3, 13). The latter were plated or studded with it. Its usage in defensive armour is implied in 2 Sam. xxiii. 7 (cp. Rev. ix. 9), and as a safeguard in peace it appears in fetters (Ps. cv. 18), prison-gates (Acts xii. 10), and bars of gates or doors (Ps. cvii. 16; Is. xlv. 2), as well as for surgical purposes (1 Tim. iv. 2). Sheet-iron was used for cooking utensils (Ezek. iv. 3*; cp. Lev. vii. 9), and bars of hammered iron are mentioned in Job xl. 18, though here the LXX. perversely render *σίδηρος χυτός*, "cast-iron." That it was plentiful in the time of David appears from 1 Ch. xxii. 3. It was used by Solomon, according to Josephus, to clamp the large rocks with which he built up the Temple mount (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 3); and by Hezekiah's workmen to hew out the conduits of Gihon (Ecclus. xlviii. 17). Images were fastened in their niches in later times by iron brackets or clamps (Wisd. xiii. 15). Agricultural implements were early made of the same material. In the treaty made by Porsena was inserted a condition like that imposed on the Hebrews by the Philistines, that no iron should be used except for agricultural purposes (Plin. xxxiv. 39).

The market of Tyre was supplied with bright or polished iron by the merchants of Dan and Javan (Ezek. xxvii. 19). Some, as the LXX. and Vulg., render this "wrought iron:" so De Wette, "geschmiedetes Eisen." The Targum has "bars of iron," which would correspond with the *stricturae* of Pliny (xxxiv. 41). But Kimchi (*Lex.* s. v.) expounds עשׁוֹת, *'ashōth*, as "pure and polished" (= Span. *acéro*, steel), in which he is supported by R. Sol. Parchon, and by Ben Zeb, who gives "glänzend" as the equivalent (cp. the Homeric *ἀἰθων σίδηρος*, *Il.* vii. 473). If the Javan alluded to were Greece, and not, as Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 21) seems to think, some place in Arabia (so Orelli in loco, in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm. z. A. T.*), there might be reference to the iron mines of Macedonia, spoken of in the decree of Aemilius Paulus (Liv. xlv. 29); but Bochart urges as a very strong argument in support of his theory that, at the time of Ezekiel's prophecy, the Tyrians did not depend upon Greece for a supply of cassia and cinnamon, which are associated with iron in the merchandise of Dan and Javan, but that rather the contrary was the case. Pliny (xxxiv. 41) awards the palm to the iron of Serica, that of Parthia being next in excellence. The Chalybes of the Pontus were celebrated as workers in iron in very ancient times (Aesch. *Prom.* 733). They were identified by Strabo with the Chaldaei of his day (xii. 549), and the mines which they worked were in the mountains skirting the sea-coast. The produce of their labour is supposed to be alluded to in Jer. xv. 12, as being of superior quality. Iron mines are still in existence on the same coast, and the ore is found "in small nodular masses in a dark yellow clay which overlies a limestone rock" (Smith's *Geog. Dict.*, art. *Chalybes*).

It was for a long time supposed that the Egyptians were ignorant of the use of iron, and that the allusions in the Pentateuch were anachronisms, as no traces of it have been found in their monuments; but in the sepulchres at

* The passage of Ezekiel is illustrated by the screens behind which the archers stand in the representations of a siege on the Nimroud sculptures.

Thebes butchers are represented as sharpening their knives on a round bar of metal attached to their aprons, which from its blue colour is presumed to be steel. The steel weapons on the tomb of Rameses III. are also painted blue; those of bronze being red (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 155 [1878]). One iron mine only has been discovered in Egypt, which was worked by the ancients. It is at Hammámi between the Nile and the Red Sea; the iron found by Mr. Burton was in the form of specular and red ore (*Id.* iii. 246). That no articles of iron should have been found is easily accounted for by the fact that it is easily destroyed by exposure to the air and moisture. According to Pliny (xxxiv. 43), it was preserved by a coating of white lead, gypsum, and liquid pitch. Bitumen was probably employed for the same purpose (xxxv. 52). The Egyptians obtained their iron almost exclusively from Assyria Proper in the form of bricks or pigs (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 415). Specimens of Assyrian iron-work overlaid with bronze were discovered by Sir H. Layard, and are now in the British Museum (*Nin. and Bab.* p. 191). Iron weapons of various kinds were found at Nimroud, but fell to pieces on exposure to the air. Some portions of shields and arrow-heads (*Id.* pp. 194, 596) were rescued, and are now in England. A pick of the same metal (*Id.* p. 194) was also found, as well as part of a saw (p. 195), and the head of an axe (p. 357), and remains of scale-armour and helmets inlaid with copper (*Nin.* i. 340). It was used by the Etruscans for offensive weapons, as bronze for defensive armour. The Assyrians had daggers and arrow-heads of copper mixed with iron, and hardened with an alloy of tin (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 418). So in the days of Homer war-clubs were shod with iron (*Il.* vii. 141); arrows were tipped with it (*Il.* iv. 123); it was used for the axles of chariots (*Il.* v. 723), for fetters (*Od.* i. 204), for axes and bills (*Il.* iv. 485; *Od.* xxi. 3, 81). Adrastus (*Il.* vi. 48) and Ulysses (*Od.* xxi. 10) reckoned it among their treasures, the iron weapons being kept in a chest in the treasury with the gold and brass (*Od.* xxi. 61). In *Od.* i. 184, Mentes tells Telemachus that he is travelling from Taphos to Tamese to procure brass in exchange for iron, which Eustathius says was not obtained from the mines of the island, but was the produce of piratical excursions (Millin, *Mineral. Hom.* p. 115, 2nd ed.). Pliny (xxxiv. 40) mentions iron as used symbolically for a statue of Hercules at Thebes (cp. Dan. ii. 33, v. 4), and goblets of iron as among the offerings in the temple of Mars the Avenger, at Rome. Alyattes the Lydian dedicated to the oracle at Delphi a small goblet of iron, the workmanship of Glaucus of Chios, to whom the discovery of the art of soldering this metal is attributed (Her. i. 25). The goblet is described by Pausanias (x. 16). From the fact that such offerings were made to the temples, and that Achilles gave as a prize of contest a rudely-shaped mass of the same metal (*Il.* xxiii. 826), it has been argued that in early times iron was so little known as to be greatly esteemed for its rarity. That this was not the case in the time of Lycurgus is evident, and Homer attaches to it no epithet which would denote its preciousness (Millin, p. 106). There is reason to suppose that the discovery of brass preceded that of iron (Lucr. v. 1292), though little weight can be attached to the line of Hesiod often quoted as decisive on this point (*Op. et Dies*, 150). The Dactyli Idaei of Crete were supposed by the ancients to have the merit of being the first to discover the properties of iron (Plin. vii. 57; Diod. Sic. v. 64), as the Cyclopes were said to have invented the iron-smith's forge (Plin. vii. 57). According to the Arundelian Marbles, iron was known B.C. 1370, while Larcher (*Chronol. d'Hérod.* 570) assigns a still earlier date, B.C. 1537. Enough has been said to prove that the allusions to iron in the Pentateuch and other parts of the O. T. are not anachronisms.

There is considerable doubt whether the ancients were acquainted with cast-iron. The rendering given by the LXX. of Job xl. 18, as quoted above, seems to imply that some method nearly like that of casting was known, and is supported by a passage in Diodorus (v. 13). The inhabitants of Aethalia traded with pig-iron in masses like large sponges to Dicaearchia and other marts, where it was bought by the smiths and fashioned into various moulded forms (*πλάσματα παντοδαπά*).

In Ecclus. xxxviii. 28, we have a picture of the interior of an iron-smith's (Is. xliv. 12) workshop. The smith, parched with the smoke and heat of the furnace, sits beside his anvil and contemplates the unwrought iron, his ears are deafened with the din of the heavy hammer, his eyes are fixed on his model, and he never sleeps till he has accomplished his task. [STEEL.] [W. A. W.]

IR-PE-EL (יִרְפְּאֵל = *Jehovah heals*; Καφάν, A. Ἰερφαήλ; *Jarephel*), one of the cities of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 27), occurring in the list between Rekem and Taralah. No certain trace has yet been discovered of its situation, but Major Conder has suggested the village of *Râfât*, north of *el-Jîb*, Gibeon (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 13, 154). It will be observed that the Ir in this name is radically different from that in the names Ir-nahash, Ir-shemesh, &c. [G.] [W.]

IR-SHE'MESH (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ = *city of the sun*; B. πόλεις Σαμμαύς, A. πόλις Σαμές; *Hersemes, id est, Civitas Solis*), a city of the Danites (Josh. xix. 41), probably identical with BETH-SHEMESH, *'Ain Shems*, and, possibly, connected with MOUNT HERES (Judg. i. 35), the "mount of the sun." Beth-shemesh is probably the later form of the name. In other cases Beth appears to have been substituted for other older terms [see BAAL-MEON, &c.], such as Ir or Ar, a very ancient word. [G.] [W.]

I'RU (עִירוּ; B. Ἤρ, A. Ἤρα; *Hir*), the eldest son of the great Caleb son of Jephunneh (1 Ch. iv. 15.) The name is probably Ir, the vowel at the end being merely the conjunction "and," properly belonging to the following name.

ISAAC (יִצְחָק, or יִשְׂחָק;[a] Ἰσαάκ; *Isaac*; "the Laugher," *i.e.* the Joyous or Happy One),

[a] Cp. the Syriac form ܐܸܣܚܳܩ Is-ḥāq. The corresponding Hebrew form occurs only in Amos vii. 9, 16; Jer. xxxiii. 26; Ps. cv. 9.

the son born to Abraham and Sarah in their old age, to be the "Heir of the Promises," to the exclusion of Hagar's son Ishmael (Gen. xv. 1–6; xviii. 9 sqq.; xxi. 12).

The Biblical recollections of Isaac are far less lively and copious than those of Abraham and of Jacob. The life is comprised in Gen. xxi.–xxxv. 29; but the greater part of these chapters is concerned less with Isaac's own fortunes than with those of his parents and progeny. The narratives relating to this patriarch are, as usual, of a composite character [GENESIS]; and though the hand of the compiler has pruned away some of the discrepancies between the various traditions, others have been suffered to survive in the ultimate form of the story. Let us first consider the reasons assigned or suggested for the name of Isaac, "the Laugher," or "he who laughs" (יִצְחָק, from צָחַק, "to laugh"). According to P (Gen. xvii. 17), "Abraham fell on his face *and laughed*," when he heard that a son was to be born to him; whence, as the story implies (*v.* 19), the child was to be called Isaac (Heb. Yiṣ-ḥâq), qs. "Laughter." According to J (Gen. xviii. 12), Sarah *laughed to herself* when she overheard the promise to her husband, and then denied the fact through fear. According to E (Gen. xxi. 6), Sarah exclaimed at the birth of her son: "Laughter (צְחוֹק) hath Elohim made for me" (= perhaps, "Elohim hath made me to laugh," as A. V.; or else, "Elohim hath caused laughter *at* me"; cp. the next clause, which Budde with some reason assigns to J, assuming that it originally followed *v.* 7: "whoever heareth of it will laugh at me," καταγελάσεταί μου, LXX.). But presently E gives another glance at the meaning of the name. In *v.* 9, Sarah sees Ishmael מְצַחֵק, either "laughing" (Kautzsch) or "jesting" (xix. 14), or "playing" (add, "with Isaac her son," LXX. παίζοντα μετὰ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἑαυτῆς).

These divergences, which are characteristic enough of the Oriental indifference to verbal consistency of statement so long as picturesque allusions are secured, troubled the mind of St. Jerome in the fourth century, who argues manfully for the suggestion of P (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.*), while Josephus in the first had affirmed that of J (*Ant.* i. 12, § 2).

It is doubtful whether Isaac, which does not occur as the name of any other individual in either Testament, although like Abraham, Jacob, David, and other great names of the heroic past, it was revived in the later period of Judaism, was originally a theophoric name, as Jacob appears to have been [JACOB]. No trace of a proper name formed by composition of the root צחק with either El or Jah (Jeho-, or -jahu, -jah) is to be found. Not that such a combination of ideas would necessarily have been repugnant to the ancient Hebrew mind. Indeed an approach to it is seen in the words of Ps. ii. 4: יוֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִצְחָק, "He that sitteth in the heavens *laugheth*." Goldziher, who cites this line, supposes that Isaac was originally the smiling sun of myths and poetry (*Myth. Heb.* pp. 92 sqq., E. Tr.). The name, however, may very well have had an original mythical reference, and yet be that of a historical personage or people, or of a famous chief and his tribe. And it must be said that the learned Arabist's attempts to explain or claim as mythical features such very natural details as Isaac's marriage with Rebekah,[b] his preference for Esau, his blindness in old age, are far from striking one as inevitable or convincing (*op. cit.* pp. 106 sqq.). In any case, little is gained in the way of insight into the Biblical narratives or illustration of their sources, by a precarious comparison of these old national and tribal designations[c] and reminiscences with the meagre and monotonous conceptions of solar mythology.

Other grounds have been alleged for recognising in the story of Isaac a sort of Euhemeristic treatment of primitive legends about the gods and heroes, and thus resolving the Hebrew patriarch into a metamorphosed deity. An original identity has been assumed of the Biblical relation of the sacrifice of Isaac with a somewhat apocryphal Phoenician counterpart. The legend of "El offering his only son Jeud upon the mountains of Canaan" (Sayce; cp. Selden, *de dis Syris*, Syntagma i. 97) has been supposed to supply the primitive basis of the narrative which in Gen. xxii. has been brought down from the world of gods to that of men. The Phoenician legend is given by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* iv. 16; i. 10) as an extract from Sanchoniathon; and without committing ourselves to the questionable assertion that it is only "a singular and inaccurate version of the offering of Isaac," we may at least mention that the work of Sanchoniathon was a late forgery by Philo of Byblus (see Von Gutschmid, *Encyc. Brit.* art. Phoenicia, *Religion*). The mere fact that a myth was current in Byblus, to the effect that the divine founder of the town was the first to sacrifice "an only son or a virgin daughter to the supreme god," does not seem to carry us far on the road to a positive identification of the much older narrative in Genesis with a local Phoenician legend obviously intended to lend a religious sanction to child-sacrifice. The moral of the Hebrew story is the exact contrary (*vid. infr.*).

Prof. Robertson Smith thinks there is a sacrificial air about the scene in which Jacob approaches his father with the dish of young goats' flesh in order to win his blessing. In particular, the wearing of the skins of the slaughtered kids recalls a similar feature of heathen ritual. The Assyrian Dagon-worshipper offered the mystic fish-sacrifice to the Fish-god draped in a fish-skin, and the Cypriotes wore sheep-skins when offering a sheep to the

[b] Explained as the marriage of the Sun with "the fruitful, rich *earth*," after C. P. Tiele.

[c] Isaac appears as a national designation in Amos, who calls the people of the northern kingdom "House of Isaac," and their sanctuaries "the high places of Isaac" (Amos vii. 9, 16). Isolated as these expressions are, they are important as implying a nomenclature which may have been familiar in the days of Amos (8th cent. B.C.). The passages Amos v. 5, viij. 14, indicate a reference to Bethel, Gilgal, Samaria, Dan, as well as Beersheba, in the latter phrase.

That Isaac was something more than a private individual is evident from his alliance on equal terms with the king of Gerar. It is remarkable that, save in the single passage Jer. xxxiii. 26, Isaac is not named again in the whole volume of the Prophets.

Sheep-goddess. According to Philo Byblius (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 10, 10), it was the god Usoüs (that is, Esau, as Scaliger suggested) who first taught men to clothe themselves in the skins of beasts taken in hunting, and to pour out their blood sacrificially before sacred stones (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 417, 448).[d]

If, however, we are to recognise in these traits of the story glimpses of some old myth about the Father of Israel and Edom, it must be admitted that neither of the two old Hebrew writers (J, E) whose accounts are so curiously interwoven in Gen. xxvii., appears to have had any perception of the true significance of the story. It is, in fact, evident that their intention was to illustrate, as in the subsequent account of the shepherd tricks by which Jacob contrived to transfer to himself the ownership of Laban's flocks and herds, the supreme craft of Jacob's character, which on this occasion secured the blessing of a reluctant father. The broad fact of history which lay before these Israelite chroniclers was the former greatness (Gen. xxxvi.) and subsequent decline of Edom, Israel's elder brother; in other words, the transfer of Divine favour from the elder to the younger people: and what they have given us is apparently the traditional explanation of the fact current and popular in their day.

To return to the narrative: after Isaac's birth we are told of his weaning feast, and of the dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael at Sarah's bidding, sanctioned by Elohim on the ground that Isaac was to be the father of Abraham's true offspring (Gen. xxi. 8–12, E). At the time, Abraham was living at Beer-sheba (*v.* 33, J; cp. xxii. 19, E). Then follows immediately[e] what may be called the one distinctive event in the otherwise somewhat colourless life of Isaac; the sacrifice begun but not consummated on the unnamed mountain in "the land of Moriah" (xxii. 1–14, E; 15–18, J, perhaps expanded or recast by the compiler of JE; *v.* 19, E. So Driver, *LOT.*; see note[f] *infr.*). The beautiful narrative of the obedience of Abraham, the childlike submission of Isaac, the sudden arrest of the bloody rite at the moment of execution by the Angel of Jahvah, and the substitution of a ram for the human victim, has naturally been a favourite with Christian writers of all ages, many of whom have seen in Isaac a type of our Lord (for the Apostolic use of the incident, see Heb. xi. 17–19). Here, it seems necessary to ask what the narrative signified to the original narrator; a question on which there is, happily, little or no difference of opinion among scholars. The intervention of JAHVAH at the crisis of Isaac's fate (xxii. 11), whereas *Elohim* who had instigated the sacrifice is alone mentioned up to that point (*vv.* 1, 3, 8, 9), can hardly be accidental. It is, in fact, quite clear that the intention is to reveal Jahvah, the God of Israel, as opposed to the dreadful rites of human sacrifice which were commonly rendered to the *elohim* of Canaan, and which the bene Israel were from time to time tempted to copy. With this agrees the memorial name which Abraham gives to the high place, *Jahvah-jir'eh* (in contrast with, e.g., *El-elohe-Israel*, xxxiii. 20), which is evidently the author's resolution of Moriah (Mōrī-jah = Mor'ī-Jah, as if, "Provided of Jah").[f]

It was, perhaps, hardly possible in the writer's time to represent the conflict of religious ideas in any more direct way. The impulse to sacrifice children was not a thing of mere antiquarian speculation even in the time of the literary prophets and the later monarchy (Mic. vi. 7; 2 K. iii. 27, xvi. 3, xvii. 17, xxiii. 10; cp. Lev. xviii. 21; Judg. xi. 31, 39). And if in some perilous

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[d] In this case, Isaac's fondness for "savoury meat"—which as a man and a pastoral chief he would share with most nomads—becomes an instance not of a human failing ("Schwachheit sinnlicher Wohlschmeckerei," *HWB.*), but of the liking of gods for the *κνῖσα* or ריח ניחוח, the reek and savour of the sacrifice; a conception common to ancient religions. Cp. *Ilāni içinu iriša ilāni içinu iriša tāba*, "The gods snuffed in the savour, The gods snuffed in the sweet savour" (Chaldean Legend of the Flood, l. 151).

[e] Josephus, probably from a Haggadic source, says that Isaac was twenty-five years old at this time (*Ant.* . 13, § 2).

[f] The LXX. renders ארץ המריה, "the land of Moriah," by "the lofty land," τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλήν: cp. Gen. xii. 6, where for אלון מורה, "oak of Moreh," it gives τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὑψηλήν. Hence Bleek, Tuch, and other critics would restore ארץ המורה, "the land of Moreh," in Gen. xxii. 2. Moreh was the name of a hill at Shechem (Judg. vii. 1); and hence it is supposed that *ha-Moreh* was altered in the Hebrew text to *ha-Moriyah*, in the interest of the Jerusalem Temple as against the Samaritan one. The Samaritan Pentateuch, however, reads המוראה, which is interpreted by the Samaritan Targum as meaning חזיתה, "vision." Moreover, the Chronicler calls the Temple Mount "the hill of Moriah" (2 Ch. iii. 1); cp. Jos. *Ant.* i. 13, §§ 1, 2. The Targ. Jerus. agrees with this; while the rendering of Onkelos ארע פולחנא, "the land of worship," obviously takes מריה as equivalent to מורא, "fear," perhaps reading מרה (cp. Ps. ix. 20). The rarity or rather the total absence of *local* names compounded with Jah is a fact which militates strongly against the traditional form of the name. The Syriac "land of the Amorites" may be right.

Kautzsch and Socin think המריה is due to R (either of JE or of P), ascribing the etymology in *v.* 14 to R, and *vv.* 14–18 to the same hand. But the explanation מריה=מראיה is quite in the manner of J; in fact, if המריה be omitted, a characteristic feature of the narrative will be eliminated, and the point of the allusions (*v.* 8) "God will *provide him* the lamb" (יראה־לו), and (*v.* 14) "Abraham called the name of that place *Jahvah-jir'eh*," will be quite lost. It would seem, therefore, that Driver's analysis is preferable.

Perhaps the proverb current in the writer's day (*v.* 14) should rather be pointed בְּהַר יְהוָה יֵרָאֶה, "In the mountain Jahvah will provide;" *the mountain* being a metaphorical designation of a difficulty which can only be overcome by Divine intervention (Zech. iv. 7; Matt. xxi. 21). Otherwise, keeping the traditional pointing of the verb as a reflexive, we might render, "In the mountain Jahvah is seen" (or, "letteth *Himself* be seen"), *i.e.* revealeth His Will, as in the matter of child-sacrifice on this occasion; as if Moriah meant "vision of Jah." So the LXX. has ἐν τῷ ὄρει κύριος ὤφθη.

Perhaps, however, the true sense of *v.* 14 b is "which name is still given to (ל for ב) the hill where Jahvah appeareth" (cp. 2 Ch. iii. 1); a gloss on the preceding words.

juncture of public affairs a zealot for the honour of Jahvah, in advocating such an extreme proof of devotion, could appeal to an oracle of Elohim, could cite some ancient law prescribing these dreadful rites,[g] could even relate a tradition that in the remote past the great father of Israel had been moved to offer his only son for a burnt-offering at a well-known high place, and had only been stayed from his purpose by the direct interposition of the satisfied Deity; a more enlightened teacher, putting a different construction on the facts, might affirm that this very tradition proved that the God of Israel, the Merciful and Compassionate, had by that intervention once for all dispensed his people from such an inhuman obligation, and, as in the case of Abraham, would always accept the will for the deed.

It is difficult to read the narrative of Gen. xxii. without recalling a famous passage of the prophet Micah (vi. 1–8), which, although referring to another historical episode, may yet be held to include the present one in its outlook. As Abraham is directed by Elohim—that is to say, either by an oracle in His Name, or by an inward impulse—to offer his son "upon one of the mountains"; so Micah apostrophizes the mountains (vi. 1, 2), which were the scene of the popular sacrifices, calling upon them to hear an old prophetic declaration of the futility of that worship with its rites of blood. A ram is accepted in the stead of Isaac: but the Prophet affirms that no burnt offerings, whether of thousands of rams, or even of the first-born son, can avail to atone for sin. What Jahvah really requires of man is not these, but doing justice and loving mercy and walking humbly with God.

To resume the thread of the story of Isaac. Abraham "while he yet lives" dismisses the sons of his inferior wives, to settle in "the east country" at a distance from Isaac his heir. Isaac dwells by the well Lahai-roï, in the vicinity of Beersheba (Gen. xxv. 1–6, 11 b; J).[h] Then, in his extreme age, Abraham sends his principal slave to Aram-Naharaïm, to the city of Nachor, to take a wife for Isaac of his own Aramean kindred. The man successfully accomplishes his mission, and returns with Rebekah, or rather Ribkah, bath Bethuel ben Nachor. There is nothing in the whole idyllic story of the servant's journey and its incidents and results, which can be fairly said to contradict the truth of Oriental ways and ideas, nor the facts of pious experience (ch. xxiv., J).[i]

We pass on to the story of the famine and Isaac's sojourn in Gerar (xxvi. 1–33, mostly J).[k] The statement of *v.* 2 that *Jahvah appeared unto Isaac* may best be understood of a dream or "vision of the night" (cp. *v.* 24). In Gerar Isaac imitates the timid ruse which his father is said to have practised on two similar occasions, once in Egypt (Gen. xii.) and again in Gerar (Gen. xx.), and evasively declares that Rebekah is his "*sister*." He is found out by Abimelech the king of Gerar, who rebukes him for the deceit, and then charges his people not to molest him. It is needless to attempt to palliate Isaac's conduct, which does not seem to have greatly shocked the old narrators of Genesis (E and J). We will only observe that it would be a moral and theological anachronism to assume in the case of Isaac or of Abraham that strict sense of the obligation of veracity which belongs to a far more advanced stage of religious culture. Indeed, there are many indications that throughout the O. T. period verbal deceit was not looked upon with any high degree of reprobation (*e.g.* Josh. ii. 4, sqq.; Judg. iv. 18, v. 24; 1 Sam. xvi. 2, xx. 5, 6, 28; Jer. xxxviii. 26, 27).

The truth of the incident itself has been doubted, because of the similarity of the three narratives (Gen. xii., xx., xxvi.). Kuenen, however, asks, "Why should there be no historical fact at the foundation of the threefold tradition of the violation [*sic*] of Abraham's or Isaac's wife?" (*HI.* i. 113). And Ewald, who considers that the narrative "as it stands in Gen. xx. is Canaanitish and primeval" (*HI.* i. 293, Eng. Tr.), sees nothing unsuited to the times in the story; though he holds that Gen. xii. is merely a modification of the passage in Gen. xx., and Gen. xxvi. 7–11 "an application by others of the same story to Rebekah also." Wellhausen remarks: "The stories about Abraham and those about Isaac are so similar that they cannot possibly be held to be independent of each other. The stories about Isaac, however, are more original, as may be seen in a striking way on comparing Gen. xx. 2–16 with xxvi. 6–12. The short and profane (?) version, of which Isaac is the hero, is more lively and pointed; the long and edifying version in which Abraham replaces Isaac, makes the danger not possible but actual, thus necessitating the intervention of the Deity and so bringing about a glorification of the patriarch, which he little deserved" (*HI.* p. 320, n. 1). To us, this contrast of E with J appears to be somewhat subjective.

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[g] See Ex. xxii. 29, "The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto Me," and compare the commutation of the ruthless demand of the older Law, Ex. xiii. 2, 13. See also Kuenen, *HI.* i. 237–240; Geiger, *Das Judenthum*, i. 51; Goldziher, *Myth. Hebr.* pp. 45 sqq.

[h] We assume, with Driver (cp. Wellhausen, and Kautzsch and Socin), that an accidental transposition has occurred in Gen. xxiv.–xxvi. The original order is thus restored: xxv. 1–6, 11 b; xxiv. (for xxiv. 36 presupposes xxv. 5); xxvi. 1–33; xxv. 21–26 a, 27–34, upon which xxvii. naturally follows.

[i] The Heb. text at the close of the narrative has unfortunately suffered some degree of corruption (certainly in *v.* 62 a; cp. the LXX. and Sam.). Some critics, as Wellhausen, Kautzsch and Socin, suppose a gap at the end of *v.* 61, after the words, "and the servant took Rebekah and went . . . ." It is suggested that R omitted J's account of the death of Abraham, because he wished to insert P's account of the same event a little further on in the narrative (xxv. 7–11 a, P). The obscure term לִשְׁוֹחַ (*v.* 63) is rendered "to lament," *i.e.* for *his father's* death (correcting אָבִיו, "his father," for אִמּוֹ, "his mother," in *v.* 67); a sense which it may bear (cp. Job vii. 11, Ps. lv. 17), and which appears, upon the whole, preferable (Ewald, Knobel, Dillmann) to the "meditate" of LXX., Vulgate, and A. V.

[k] Ascribed to J, with a few insertions by R; *e.g.* the Redactor has added a note to *v.* 1, to the effect that this famine was not the same as the one which happened in Abraham's time: see xii. 10 sqq. The preliminary Divine Promise to Isaac, xxvi. 3 b–5, would also appear to have been "expanded or recast" by the same hand.

The Divine care of Isaac is certainly implied in the second narrative (xxvi. 12; cp. *vv.* 2a, 3a, 10), and it is difficult to see the relevance of the epithet "profane," or that the one account is more lively and pointed than the other. Why, moreover, may not the same or a similar tradition have been preserved about the behaviour of both patriarchs under similar or identical circumstances?[1] The narrative further tells of Isaac's sowing and reaping in the land of Gerar, and growing so rich in flocks and herds and slaves as to stir the envy of the Philistines. The statements (*vv.* 15, 18) that they had stopped up the wells dug by Abraham, and that Isaac dug these wells again, and gave them the names that his father had given them, are thought to have been added by R, for the sake of harmony with the previous account of Abraham's digging the wells (xxi. 25 sqq. See Driver, *LOT.*; Kautzsch and Socin, *ad loc.*). The ill-feeling culminates in Abimelech's request that Isaac would depart; and Isaac removes his camp to a distance. His camping-grounds are marked by the successive digging of the wells Esek (Strife), Sitnah (Enmity), and Rehoboth (Room), which he so names because the men of Gerar quarrelled for possession of the former two, but not for the third. The patriarch finally removes to Beer-sheba. Jahvah appears to him "in that night" (the night of his arrival), and promises him numerous offspring for Abraham's sake. He builds an altar, pitches tent, and digs a well there. (Perhaps xxi. 33 originally belonged here.) Abimelech and his wazîr Achuzzath and his general Pikol now pay him a visit, and make a treaty with him (against Egypt?). The same day Isaac's slaves tell him, "We have found water." Isaac names the new well Sheba (an allusion to the *shebū'oth* or oaths with which the treaty was ratified); whence the place gets its name, Beer-sheba (Gen. xxvi. 1ac, 2a, 3a, 6–33; J). With this should be compared E's account of the origin of the name (xxi. 22–32).[m] Upon the entire narrative (Gen. xxvi.; cp. xii. 10 sqq., xx., xxi. 22 sqq.) Riehm observes that it, for the most part, consists only of side-pieces to traditions about Abraham; showing "how the special relation into which God had entered with Abraham and his posterity manifested itself plainly in the life of Isaac, and how the promises were, in a measure, already fulfilled to him, so that even envious and quarrelsome neighbours recognised in him the blessed of Jehovah, and had to seek his alliance (cp. especially xxvi. 28 sq., as the beginning of the fulfilment of the promise given in xii. 2 sq., and appropriated to Isaac in xxvi. 4)."

There follows a brief mention of Isaac's intercession for his barren wife, and of the premonitory struggle of the twin babes within her; of the oracle about their future, and the circumstances of their birth (xxv. 21–26a, J). In the anecdote of Jacob's purchase of the birthright (*vv.* 27–34, J), the only reference to Isaac is the statement that he preferred the elder twin Esau, for venison was to his taste (*v.* 28). Then we have, in a graphic narrative, compounded from J and E, the account of Jacob's winning by fraud the blessing of Isaac (xxvii. 1–45), who was now old and blind with age, and whose death was expected in the near future (*vv.* 2, 10, 41). Because of Esau's anger, Rebekah, who had planned the deception, bids Jacob fly to her brother Laban at Charran, who, according to Oriental ideas, would be bound to give him an asylum.

From this point, the composite narrative of Genesis is mainly occupied with the fortunes of Jacob. In the older sections (J, E) the name of Isaac occurs only in such expressions as "the God of Isaac" (xxviii. 13; cp. xxxii. 10; J), "the Dread[n] of Isaac" (xxxi. 53; cp. *v.* 42; E). It would seem to have been taken for granted by the older accounts that Isaac had died during the long interval of Jacob's sojourn in Paddan-Aram; perhaps, indeed, soon after the Blessing of Jacob, which gives the impression of the closing scene of Isaac's life (cp. the parallel, ch. xlviii.). On the other hand, the narrative of P represents Isaac himself as sending Jacob to Paddan-Aram, through apprehension not of Esau's vengeance but of a Canaanitish marriage (xxviii. 1 sqq., P). This account appears to be wholly independent of JE's episode of the Blessing of Jacob in the previous chapter. The author knows nothing of the wiles by which Jacob secured it, to the indignation, one would have supposed, of Isaac, whose good intentions towards his favourite Esau were thus thwarted for ever. At this time, according to P, Isaac was a hundred years old (cp. xxvi. 34 sq. with xxv. 26b). According to the same source, when Jacob left Paddan-Aram, his purpose was "to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan" (xxxi. 18); and the life of Isaac is concluded in the following terms (xxxv. 27–29): "And Jacob came unto Isaac his father, unto Mamre, unto Kirjath-Arba, which is Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned. And the days of Isaac were an hundred and fourscore years. And Isaac gave up the ghost, and died, and was gathered unto his fellow tribesmen, being old and full of days: and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him." Now, according to E (xxxi. 38, 41), Jacob had served Laban "full twenty years." Even after allowing a period of several years for the homeward journey of Jacob's by no means inconsiderable following, there is still a wide difference between the numbers of P and E. The former makes Isaac a hundred years old when Jacob goes to Paddan-Aram, and a hundred and eighty when he dies, immediately, as it would seem, after Jacob's return. Thus Jacob's absence covers some eighty years instead of the twenty of E. And further, the long

[1] Wellhausen holds that Abraham is "perhaps the youngest figure in the company" of the three patriarchs. But although Amos does mention Isaac and does not mention Abraham, we have an early mention of Abraham in Micah (vii. 20), which cannot be said with certainty "to belong to the Exile" (see Driver, *LOT.* Micah). And as to Is. xxix. 22, see Ewald, *HI.* 318[1]. Must every enigma be an interpolation in these ancient texts?

[m] Sheba, "seven," was perhaps the designation of a god, as in Babylonian (3 R 66, 12d). So Arba, "four," denoted a god, in the name *Arba-ilu*, Arbela (cp. Kirjath-Arba); and "six" denoted Rimmon, "fifteen" Ishtar, and so on.

[n] An unique phrase, not occurring elsewhere. Cp. Is. viii. 12, 13; and the Aramean פַּחְלְתָּא, "Fear" = "god."

period (whether of eighty or of twenty years) during which Isaac survives after Jacob's departure, though nothing is said of him or his doings throughout the entire interval, is hardly consistent with the indications of ch. xxvii., where Isaac in old age and blindness lies expecting his death (*v.* 2: "I know not the day of my death"), and desires, as was the custom, to give the last blessing to his elder son before he dies (*v.* 4: "that my soul may bless thee before I die"; cp. also *vv.* 7, 10, 41). Here again there is evident a conflict of tradition. Some have thought to get rid of the difficulty by the idea of Isaac's unexpected recovery from a dangerous illness. But his extreme age and blindness and general decrepitude, and the survival of his appetite for venison and wine (*v.* 25), are circumstances which do not seem to agree very well with such a view; while the entire absence of any statement either of his having fallen sick, or of his recovery, or of the incidents of his renewed existence during the twenty (or eighty) years that followed, is decidedly against it. Eighty, or, for that matter, twenty years, is a long time even in a comparatively uneventful life; and must surely have been marked by some incidents as worthy of notice as those previously recorded of Isaac.° But it is perfectly evident that the traditions left us are only the stray relics of far more opulent treasures of ancient story.

If it is necessary to indicate the general impression left upon the mind by the figure of Isaac, so far as it is possible to realize his personality without drawing too much upon imagination or upon the expanding and harmonizing work of later ages, we may borrow Wellhausen's language so far as to say that he is a peace-loving shepherd, inclined to live quietly beside his tents, anxious to steer clear of strife and clamour, and to avoid appeals to force. He serves Jehovah in essentially the same way as his descendants in historical times; religion with him does not consist of sacrifice alone, but also of an upright conversation and trustful resignation to God's Providence (*HI.* p. 320 sq.). As Riehm has observed, Isaac is "Jehovah's servant" (Ex. xxxii. 13; Deut. ix. 27), who stands continually under God's guidance, and follows it with willing faithfulness (xxvi. 2); who receives revelations and promises (xxvi. 24), whose prayers are answered (xxv. 21), and who remains the prophetic mouthpiece of the counsels of God, not only in the blessing which he utters knowingly and intentionally (xxvii. 39 sqq.), but also and even in that which he pronounces involuntarily (xxvii. 27 sqq.; cp. John xi. 51). He evinces a tender attachment, outlasting death, for the mother (xxiv. 67, if the reading be sound) who had been so zealous for his rights and welfare (xxi. 10), and a pious memory of his father Abraham (xxvi. 18). He is an example of single wedlock, in marked contrast with his father and his sons (see Riehm, *HWB.*). The unconscious irony of the episode in which against his will he is made to execute the Divine Purpose by blessing his younger son, is remarkable. Like the story of Joseph, the narrative seems to enforce the moral of many another Oriental tale; the moral that human opposition is powerless to thwart the decrees of Heaven, and is, in fact, made use of to accomplish them.

The following remarks from the former edition of this work are valuable, as illustrating the various modes in which the religious thought of the past has laboured to find prophetic types and allegories in the incidents recorded of Isaac: —"The typical view of Isaac is barely referred to in the N. T.; but it is drawn out with minute particularity by Philo and those interpreters of Scripture who were influenced by Alexandrian philosophy. Thus in Philo, Isaac=laughter=the most exquisite enjoyment=the soother and cheerer of peace-loving souls, is foreshadowed in the facts that his father had attained 100 years (the perfect number) when he was born, and that he is specially designated as given to his parents by God. His birth from the mistress of Abraham's household symbolizes happiness proceeding from predominant wisdom. His attachment to one wife (Rebekah=perseverance) is contrasted with Abraham's multiplied connexions and with Jacob's toil-won wives, as showing the superiority of Isaac's heaven-born, self-sufficing wisdom, to the accumulated knowledge of Abraham and the painful experience of Jacob. In the intended sacrifice of Isaac Philo sees only a sign that laughter=rejoicing is the prerogative of God, and is a fit offering to Him, and that He gives back to obedient man as much happiness as is good for him. Clement of Rome (ch. 31), with characteristic soberness, merely refers to Isaac as an example of faith in God. In Tertullian he is a pattern of monogamy and a type of Christ bearing the cross. But Clement of Alexandria finds an allegorical meaning in the incidents which connect Abimelech with Isaac and Rebekah (Gen. xxvi. 8) as well as in the offering of Isaac. In this latter view he is followed by Origen, and by Augustine, and by Christian expositors generally. The most minute particulars of that transaction are invested with a spiritual meaning by such writers as Rabanus Maurus, *in Gen.* § iii. Abraham is made a type of the First Person in the blessed Trinity, Isaac of the Second; the two servants dismissed are the Jewish sects who did not attain to a perception of Christ in His humiliation; the ass bearing the wood is the Jewish nation, to whom were committed the oracles of God which they failed to understand; the three days are the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations; the ram is Christ on the Cross; the thicket they who placed Him there. Modern English writers hold firmly the typical significance of the transaction, without extending it into such detail (see Pearson *on the Creed*, i. 243, 251, ed. 1843; Fairbairn's *Typology*, i. 332). A recent writer (A. Jukes, *Types of Genesis*), who has shown much ingenuity in attaching a spiritual meaning to the characters and incidents in the Book of Genesis, regards Isaac as representing the spirit of sonship, in a series in which Adam represents human nature, Cain the carnal mind, Abel the

° If Isaac lived to a hundred and eighty, he must, according to the chronological data of Genesis, have outlived the sale of Joseph by some twelve or thirteen years, and have survived pretty nearly if not quite to the time of his grandson's elevation in Egypt! As Riehm observes, the figures belong to different sources, and therefore must not be combined as if they belonged to one and the same account.

spiritual, Noah regeneration, Abraham the spirit of faith, Jacob the spirit of service, Joseph suffering or glory. With this series may be compared the view of Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 387-400), in which the whole patriarchal family is a prefigurative group, comprising twelve members with seven distinct modes of relation: 1. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are three fathers, respectively personifying active power, quiet enjoyment, success after struggles, distinguished from the rest as Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ulysses among the heroes of the Iliad, or as the Trojan Anchises, Aeneas, and Ascanius, and mutually related as Romulus, Remus, and Numa; 2. Sarah, with Hagar, as mother and mistress of the household; 3. Isaac as child; 4. Isaac with Rebekah as the type of wedlock (cp. *Alterthümer*, p. 233); 5. Leah and Rachel the plurality of coequal wives; 6. Deborah as nurse (cp. Anna and Caieta, *Aen.* iv. 654, and vii. 1); 7. Eliezer as steward, whose office is compared to that of the messenger of the Olympic deities."—[W. T. B.]

Upon a review of the whole account of Isaac preserved in Genesis, it is clear (i) that it supplies but a fragmentary and episodical narrative,—a mosaic composed of unequal pieces collected from independent sources; (ii) that the data of the various sources sometimes conflict with each other in a remarkable manner. The facts certainly suggest that, while fuller accounts relating to Isaac must have once been known to popular tradition,[p] the historians of Israel only thought it to the purpose to give a few reminiscences by way of introduction to the life of Jacob, their own special ancestor. Isaac was the father of Edom as well as of Israel: he represents a stage of national development when the two brother stocks had not yet separated into distinct and rival peoples. Perhaps, therefore, if the lost "wisdom" of Edom had survived, we might have been able to fill up the blanks in the Biblical story of the common Father of the two nations. That wisdom can hardly have been entirely of the gnomic order; nor is it likely that it was exhibited only in the concerns of statecraft. The kingdom of Edom doubtless had its patriotic poets and annalists, as had the younger kingdom of Israel (Gen. xxxvi. 31-39; Jer. xlix. 7; Obad. *v.* 8; Job iv. 1).

As Isaac represents the stage before the parting of the two peoples, it seems worthy of note that the narratives of Genesis place the patriarch exactly where this fact would lead us to look for him. Isaac dwells not in the north nor in middle Palestine, but always in the Negeb or south country; a dry parched region in which a few oases and wells made life possible for a pastoral chief and his tribe. From the neighbourhood of the well Lahai-roi he moves westward to Gerar; then follows the course of the Wâdy in a south-eastern direction; then proceeds to Rehoboth, and thence NE. to BEERSHEBA, whose ancient sanctuary is the only one which tradition ascribed to his special foundation (xxv. 11 b; xxvi. 1, 6, 17, 22-25; xxiv. 62, cp. xxi. 33; *J*). There are, moreover, certain indications of an advance from the purely pastoral and nomadic stage of life. Isaac is not, indeed, represented as permanently settled in any one of his southern haunts; but he practises husbandry with profit where occasion serves (xxvi. 12), and he is a wine-drinker (xxvii. 25, with which contrast the milk, curdled and sweet, of xviii. 8), and used to daintier fare than is customary with the mere wandering shepherd (xxvii. 3, 4, 9, 14). [C. J. B.]

ISAIAH. The name Isaiah (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ) signifies either *Jahu saves* (יֵשַׁע, *kal*, for *hiphil*, as in הוֹשַׁעְיָה, &c.), or יְהוֹה יֵשַׁע, *σωτηρία Κυρίου*, *the salvation* or *help of Jahveh*. A reference to the meaning of the name is probably found in Is. viii. 18. The name itself was common (1 Ch. xxv. 3, 15; xxvi. 25). The shortened form, יְשַׁעְיָה, is employed in 1 Ch. iii. 21; Ezra viii. 7, 19; Neh. xi. 7. In the latter passages the R. V. gives the name *Jeshaiah*. The LXX. usually transliterate it *Ἡσαΐας*, occasionally also *Ἰσαΐας*, *Ἰσαΐας*, *Ἰεσαΐας*, *Ἰωσαΐα*, *Ἰωσαΐας*, *Ὡσαΐας*. The Vulg. write *Isaias*, or in various editions *Esaias*, and *Osaias*. According to Klostermann, the analogies of such names as *Jaazaniah* (יַאֲזַנְיָהוּ), *Ishmael*, and *Ishmaiah*, *Jahaziel* (יַחְזִיאֵל) and *Jahzeiah* (יַחְזְיָה), with others, which names are prayers for children so named, point rather to a derivation from יָשָׁה, *to behold*, *to have respect to* (Gen. iv. 4). In that case the name should be pointed יִשְׁעְיָהוּ, יִשְׁעְיָהוּ, or shortened יִשְׁעְיָה. Isaiah corresponds in signification with אֱלִישָׁע, *Elisha*, although the latter fact is no proof that it was compounded of שָׁעָה; the שָׁע in Elisha being probably derived from שָׁעַע or יָשַׁע. Hence the traditional vocalisation is preferable.

Isaiah the prophet was son of Amoz (אָמוֹץ), which signifies *strong*. The latter is not to be identified with Amos (עָמוֹס, *burden-bearer*), who lived much earlier. The LXX. transliterated both names *Ἀμώς*, and hence the confusion. Nothing is known of Isaiah's father. The Rabbis maintained that he was a prophet, on the assumption that whenever the name of a prophet's father occurs in Scripture, that father was also a prophet. The notion that Amoz and Amaziah (אֲמַצְיָה) the king of Judah were brothers was

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p Ewald thinks not; on the ground that "if Isaac was in truth what his name—'the Laughing,' that is the kind and gentle—implies; if he, among the three Patriarchs, passed pre-eminently for the type of that kindly and quiet nature which preserves the possession of its inherited share of worldly goods through unpretending goodness and constant fidelity, the old legends could hardly have anything very remarkable or varied to relate of him. As rightful son and heir, he had no need by great deeds or great qualities to win for himself what was already his" (*Hi.* i. 339). But, we may ask, whence then the long relations of the sacrifice, and of the servant's journey to Charran to woo a wife for Isaac? And whence the metrical oracle to Rebekah concerning her unborn babes? These things certainly resemble extracts from older and fuller traditional histories. The casual mention of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, who dies in Jacob's camp (xxxv. 8, E), and whose memory is perpetrated by the *Allón-bâkûth* near Bethel, points in the same direction. How came she to be in Jacob's company? and why is she mentioned at all, unless more were once known and told about her?

suggested by the similarity of name, but is unsupported by any evidence.

Isaiah's house was situated in the lower part of Jerusalem (see 2 K. xx. 4, R. V.). Hence Ewald and Knobel supposed the name "valley of vision" was given to that quarter of the city, where probably other prophets also lived. It is, however, more likely the name refers to the "valley" in which the final struggle of ch. xxii. is depicted. גֵּיא חִזָּיוֹן, "*valley of vision*," is analogous to the עֵמֶק הֶחָרוּץ, "*valley of decision*" (Joel iv. 14), although the meaning of *decision* is not, with Bredenkamp, to be extracted from חָרַץ.

The wife of Isaiah is termed a prophetess (viii. 3), although it is not clear whether she was so called merely because her husband was a prophet, or because she herself was endowed with the gift of prophecy, like Huldah (2 K. xxii. 14) and other women. Isaiah's two sons, who were regarded as gifts from God, were given names which contained a summary of Isaiah's mission. These were Shear-jashub, "*a remnant shall return*" (vii. 3), and Maher-shalal-hash-baz, "*haste spoil, speed booty*" (viii. 3). Some maintain that Isaiah had a third son, named Immanuel (vii. 14), the child of a second wife, in which case that son must have been born before Maher-shalal-hash-baz. But there are weighty reasons against that conjecture.

In i. 1 it is stated that Isaiah "saw" his visions concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. An account is given in ch. vi. of the "vision" by which Isaiah was called to the prophetic office. The vision was "seen" "in the year that king Uzziah died." The year in question has been variously reckoned as B.C. 758 or 740, the latter being the more probable, for Isaiah was probably not an old man at the time of the invasion of Sennacherib (B.C. 701). As no mention is made of "the days of Manasseh," it has often been maintained that Isaiah died prior to the close of Hezekiah's reign. All, however, that can be affirmed from the superscription in Is. i. 1, assuming its correctness, is that the Book to which it was affixed contains no vision later than the reign of Hezekiah. The tradition concerning his death, referred to in the Talmud, and current in the Christian Church, is that he was slain during the bloody persecution in the early days of Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 16; xxiv. 4), having been "sawn asunder." Heb. xi. 37 probably refers to that tradition, for no other instance of such a death is recounted in legend.

The story of Isaiah's martyrdom has been highly embellished by later tradition. It was known to Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 120), Tertullian (*De patientia*, 14), and other early Christian writers. The *wooden saw* (πρίονι ξυλίνῳ) of Justin Martyr may be a legendary embellishment of *a woodman's saw*. The apocryphal work, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, which narrates the whole story, is, as Dillmann has satisfactorily proved, a pseudepigraph written in Christian times. The legend has been still further improved on in fragments of Targums (cp. that given in Lagarde's *Proph. Chald.*, 1872, p. xxxiii.).

Chapter vi. is the only chapter of Isaiah which can with any degree of probability be assigned to the reign of Uzziah. The bulk of his prophecies in their present shape belong to Hezekiah's reign. Several were composed in the reign of Ahaz, notably chs. vii.–ix., and possibly chs. ii.–v. None of the prophecies contained in the Book bear the impress of Jotham's reign. It is, however, possible that several prophecies delivered in Jotham's reign may have been revised at a later time by the Prophet. Such re-edited prophecies would naturally bear the impress of the later, not that of the earlier, period.

In the Jewish canon the Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are arranged in the order of historical sequence. The same order is followed in the LXX., save that the Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets is placed before the three great Prophets; the Books of Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle of Jeremiah being put between Jeremiah and Ezekiel in their supposed historical order. The historical arrangement is as old as the days of Ben Sira (see Ecclus. xlviii. 22–25, xlix. 6–10). Another order is mentioned in *Baba Bathra*, 14 a; namely, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets. But, as Klostermann has pointed out, the latter arrangement is simply based on the principle of placing the longer Books before the shorter Isaiah exceeds Jeremiah in the number of chapters (having 66 chapters in place of the 52 of the latter), although, if the number of the verses or pages be considered, the Book of Jeremiah exceeds Isaiah. Jeremiah (exclusive of Lamentations) contains 1365 verses, Isaiah 1295, Ezekiel 1273, and the Book of the Twelve 1050. Thus calculated, Isaiah stands second. If, however, the actual size of the first three Books be computed by pages, Isaiah ranks third, and the list would stand in the order given in *Baba Bathra*. The number of the Sedarim, into which the Books are divided in the Hebrew, corresponds with the result drawn from pagination. Jeremiah contains 31 Sedarim, Ezekiel 29, Isaiah 26, and the Book of the Twelve 21. Hence the order of *Baba Bathra* is that of length or size. Other more artificial reasons have, however, been assigned. The passage of *Baba Bathra* will be found translated and commented on in the Excursus on *The Talmud and the Old Test. Canon*, appended to my commentary on the *Book of Koheleth*.

Lightfoot and others have unsuccessfully made use of the order in *Baba Bathra* to get over the difficulty connected with the quotation from Jeremiah in Matt. xxvii. 9. Equally mistaken are the attempts of Gesenius, &c., to construct thereon an argument for the post-exilian redaction of Isaiah.

Three portions of 2 Kings—namely, chs. xviii. 13, 17–37, xix., xx.—are quoted almost verbatim from Is. xxxvi.–xxxix. The psalm of Hezekiah is peculiar to the Book of Isaiah. Reference is made to Isaiah in 2 Ch. xxvi. 22 and xxxii. 32. In the former Isaiah is said to have written "the acts of Uzziah, first and last." The reading of that passage is uncertain (see LXX. and Vulg.). In 2 Ch. xxxii., "the vision of Isaiah, the son of Amoz the prophet," is evidently the Book of Isaiah's prophecies. The difficulty in the second part of that verse, connected with the reading עַל סִפְרוֹ וגו׳, does not affect the statement of the first part.

The superscription in Is. i. 1 presents serious difficulties. It does not adequately describe even the prophecies of the first portion (chs. i.–xxxv.). Those chapters contain not only prophecies "concerning Judah and Jerusalem," but prophecies also concerning Ephraim or Israel and the surrounding nations, with others of wider scope. Nor does the title suit even the first chapter (the second chapter has a title of its own); for the words "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah" prove that that superscription was designed to be the title of the entire Book. It cannot, therefore, be regarded in its present shape as genuine.

The opening chapter is well characterised by Ewald as "the great Arraignment." Heaven and earth are called upon to judge the cause between Jehovah and His people. The chapter vividly describes Israel's sin, and announces the Divine vengeance, which was however to lead to the purification of Israel and the transformation of Zion into a city of righteousness. The storm described had already burst forth. All Judah, with the exception of Jerusalem, was in the hands of the enemy. Hence the original composition of the chapter can scarcely (as Caspari and Kay suppose) be assigned to the times of Jotham and Uzziah when Judah was in a state of prosperity. At such a time the prophecy, even as a vision of coming judgment, would scarcely have been intelligible. According to Gesenius, Knobel, Delitzsch, and Dillmann, the vision was composed in the days of Ahaz, during the invasion of Judah by the united Syrian and Israelite army. Vitringa, Hitzig, Ewald, Nägelsbach, and Wellhausen preferably assign the chapter to the time of Hezekiah. It cannot have been composed after the invasion of Sennacherib. The chapter expresses only a general hope of deliverance, and contains no reference to the victorious overthrow of the Assyrians. Notwithstanding the arguments adduced by Cheyne, the prophecy cannot well be assigned to the time of Sargon's invasion, but must have been composed when the fenced cities of Judah had all successively fallen before the foe, and when the city of Jerusalem was the last remaining bulwark of the land.

We are therefore disposed, with Bredenkamp, to regard the prophecy as composed when Sennacherib, as stated in his own inscription, had shut up Hezekiah "as a bird in a cage at Jerusalem," and had even given part of Jewish territory to the kings of the Philistines. But, though originally composed at that period, there is no difficulty in regarding the chapter as placed in its present position by Isaiah himself as a suitable introduction to his collected prophecies. Alterations may have been made in its phraseology when thus re-edited. The picture is too vivid to be regarded as an ideal sketch painted in the prosperous days of Uzziah or Jotham. It is natural to suppose that Isaiah put forth a collection of his prophecies after the overthrow of the Assyrian foe, which was the grandest victory vouchsafed since the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage. Isaiah's subsequent prophecies derive no small portion of their imagery from that wondrous manifestation of the "God of judgment" (Is. xxx. 18) in aid of His people. We are indisposed, therefore, to lay stress on every expression, or to argue on the assumption that the prophecies were necessarily preserved even by the Prophet himself in the exact form in which they were originally delivered.

In the historical notices of the Book of Kings no mention is made of the fenced cities of Judah having been burned with fire. Such an additional detail, however, presents no difficulty. The description in Is. i. of the deeds of murder and villainy practised by judges and nobles, and of the prevalent idolatry, has often been regarded as inconsistent with the composition of the piece in the reign of Hezekiah. But though generally suppressed, such malpractices may have even then been common, and Isaiah would naturally regard the Assyrian invasion as a judgment for such trangression, whether past or present. The public practice of idolatry in gardens and groves dedicated to Asherah was put an end to by Hezekiah. But idolatry must have been still practised in private, and have been popular with the nobility, if we are to account for the fearful outbreak which took place in the beginning of Manasseh's reign.

The second chapter of Isaiah has no connexion with ch. i. It commences with a superscription of its own, which was probably intended to include chs. ii.–iv. inclusive. The vision must have been originally composed at a period of prosperity. The land of Judah is described as full of silver and gold. Horses and chariots were in abundance everywhere. The daughters of Zion, proud and haughty, revelled in all kinds of luxury and display. Idolatry was rife among both rich and poor; magic and divination were largely practised. The nation still owned its "ships of Tarshish." Consequently Elath, the sea-port on the north end of the Gulf of Akaba which had been recovered by Uzziah (2 K. xiv. 22), had not then ceased to belong to the kingdom of Judah, as related in 2 K. xvi. 6. The reading in that passage is, however, to be corrected as in the margin of the R. V. The prophecy must therefore have been delivered in the early part of the reign of Ahaz, prior to the reverses which befel the nation in the latter years of that monarch. It cannot have been delivered during the reigns of Uzziah or Jotham, who discouraged idolatry; for the idolatry denounced was not idolatry practised in secret by the few, but idolatry common among the nation.

The opening verses of ch. ii., namely verses 2–4, are almost identical with Micah iv. 1–3. As Micah and Isaiah were contemporary Prophets, the phenomenon has been variously explained. Critics have maintained that Isaiah quoted from Micah, not only because the passage harmonizes better with the context of Micah, but also because of certain peculiarities of expression in the original which tend to show that it is a quotation. Micah's prophecy was, however, delivered in "the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah" (Jer. xxvi. 18; Micah iii. 12); and as Is. ii. cannot (from the reasons already set forth) have been composed later than the early part of the reign of Ahaz, Isaiah could not have quoted the passage from that special prophecy of Micah. Similar instances of quotations occur in other parts of Scripture (cp. Obad. *vv.* 5, 6 with Jer. xlix. 9, 10; 1 Pet. v. 5–9 with Jas. iv. 6–10; or 2 Pet. ii. with the Epistle of Jude). It is probable that the view defended by Cheyne and others

is correct; namely, that Isaiah and Micah made use of the words of an earlier prophet, whose closing words (Micah iv. 4) were omitted by Isaiah as unsuited to the solemn denunciations he had to tack on to the quotation. If, as Bredenkamp observes, ch. i. begins with what may be regarded almost as a quotation from Moses (cp. i. 2 with Deut. xxxii. 1), why should not ch. ii. similarly commence with a prediction of one of the older prophets?

No objection can be made to Cheyne's translation, "the mountain of Jehovah's house shall be fixed at the head of the mountains," so far as the rendering of the preposition in בְּרֹאשׁ is concerned (cp. 1 Sam. ix. 22; Amos vi. 7). But that translation presents too realistic a picture, and suggests an allusion to heathen mythology which is wholly unnecessary. The picture, like those in v. 26, xi. 10, is purely poetical. The Prophets Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah use language in their ideal descriptions of the future, which, if taken literally, would predict the actual elevation of the temple mountain above all the other mountains. Such language, however, was only used figuratively.

The future predicted by Isaiah and Micah was a future which must have appeared to "the men of the world" at that time as the veriest day-dream. It was that "a law would go forth from Zion, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem;" that Israel and the Nations would ultimately form one united community, of which Jehovah would be the Judge and King; that under His rule and arbitration wars would ultimately cease, and universal peace prevail. The marvellous fulfilment of the first portion of this prophecy in the salvation which has come from the Jews to the Gentile world needs here only to be referred to.

In his further discourse, the Prophet contrasts the fallen state of Israel with its glorious future, and urges the house of Jacob to walk themselves "in the light" vouchsafed to them by Jehovah. He describes how Israel had fallen short of the ideal presented in the Law. In place of being a hardy agricultural race, satisfied with the riches provided by nature, Israel had become "like all the nations" (1 Sam. viii. 20), and had followed them on the way to ruin. Luxury had overspread the land. Wealth produced love of display. Magic and divination were introduced from "the east." "The land was full of idols," to be seen alike in the houses of the poor and in the palaces of the rich. The wicked walked on every side, and vileness was exalted among the sons of men (Ps. xii. 8). Men, high and low, basely prostrated themselves before the works of their own hands, and thus dragged down upon themselves heavy chastisement. Jehovah would, therefore, arise to shake terribly the land. Nature and art, both alike made subservient to idolatry, would be given over to destruction. Lofty mountains would be abased, trees felled, high towers overthrown. Strong walls, ships of Tarshish, treasures of art, would all alike perish, levelled in the dust or otherwise destroyed, in the universal ruin brought about by "the day of Jehovah."

The ejaculation "Cease ye from man in whose nostrils is (only) a breath, for at what ought he to be accounted?" is suitably interposed between two portions of this prophecy. Whatever earthly riches or glory man may have, without God, apart from God, man is of no account. The verse is omitted in the LXX., and Diestel and Cheyne regard it as an interpolation, harmonizing badly with the description of the day of Jehovah. Dillmann, however, observes that there is no object for an interpolation in the passage, while the thought expressed in the verse is striking and fully worthy of Isaiah. Dillmann compares ii. 9, 11; v. 15; xxxi. 3.

The details of the judgment of "the day of Jehovah" are given in ch. iii. The commonwealth would be overthrown, every "stay and staff" broken. The leaders of the people in the field and in the council-chamber would be cut off. Among the latter the prophets and diviners are mentioned. Children become princes, babes bear rule. Anarchy and confusion follow, until any decently-attired man begged to act as ruler of the ruined land would be forced to decline the task, inasmuch as even such a person would be forced to confess that in spite of outward appearance, his house, too, would be found equally destitute of bread or clothing. For the abrupt manner in which the illustration is introduced, compare Zech. xiii. 3–6.

"The day of Jehovah" would affect not only men, but also women. Delicately brought-up women experience then in full measure the descent of Jehovah's retributive justice. Their pride and haughtiness are abased to the dust, their ornaments stripped off, their bodies afflicted with disease. As the men are described looking vainly about for a ruler, so the women are depicted as looking out eagerly for merely nominal husbands.

"The day of Jehovah" would thus be terrible to all. Yet, to use the expression of Zechariah, "in the eventide there would be light." Mercy would succeed judgment, a day of building up would follow a day of casting down. A remnant would be saved, who would trust in Jehovah, and not in carved images, who would return to the simplicity commended in the Law, and at last reap the blessing from above. The barren and devastated land would yield its increase, the hills and valleys be covered with beauteous shoots, "the fruit of the land be excellent and comely for the escaped of Israel." The old signs of Jehovah's Presence would be again vouchsafed. Guilt removed, sin washed away, there would be a new creation; the cloudy pillar by day and the shining of flaming fire by night would again be seen; and over all the glory an abiding canopy.

The exposition of "the branch of Jehovah" in iv. 2, as the personal Messiah, in accordance with the later usage of Jeremiah and Zechariah, cannot be proved to be the original signification of the prophecy. The parallel expression "the fruit of the land" shows that the passage in Isaiah really refers to vegetation. The human nature of our Lord is not pointed at under the expression "the fruit of the land," nor can that interpretation be justified by a reference to Ezek. xvii. 5. But though not in accordance with Isaiah's mode of thought, the use of similar phraseology in a metaphorical sense by the later prophets justifies such an allegorical accommodation of the passage, inas-

much as similar language is employed in Rev. xxii. 2.

The fifth chapter is an independent prophecy, unconnected, save in the expression of somewhat similar ideas, with those which precede or follow. The closing sentence of v. 25 is, however, employed afterwards as the refrain of a later prophecy (ix. 12, 21; x. 4, 12, 17, 21).

Chapter v. is a vision of judgment, in which no ray of promise appears. It opens with a striking parable in the form of a love-song. That song of unrequited love is succeeded by six woes pronounced against national sins. (1) Against covetous land-grabbers, *vv.* 8–10. (2) Against drunkards and revellers, *vv.* 11–17. The first two woes are described in detail. The great mansions built by avaricious land-owners will become a desolation; the curse of barrenness is to rest upon the ill-gotten fields. The revellers are to be carried off into captivity; starvation follows after gluttony; in place of a multitude of drunkards are seen crowds of persons parched with thirst. Sheol, or the Under-world, opens her mouth without measure for an ungodly people, and into its yawning abyss descend their splendour and multitude and joy. (3) The third woe is against ungodly scoffers, *vv.* 18, 19. (4) The fourth woe is pronounced on those who dare impiously to confound the distinction between good and evil, *v.* 20. (5) The fifth is directed against those who are wise in their own eyes, and whose "folly" becomes "evident unto all men" (see *v.* 21). (6) The sixth and last is directed against corrupt judges, and men of might whose strength was exhibited only in their ability to imbibe strong drink, and who shamelessly sold justice for bribes, *vv.* 22, 23. The fire of the Divine indignation burns up as stubble all such unrighteous judges. They are "left neither root nor branch;" the roaring flame consumes the branches above, and rottenness destroys the roots below (cp. Mal. iii. 19).

The closing verses (*vv.* 25–30) describing the hurricane of wrath sweeping over the nation are particularly fine. Jehovah lifts up a banner to marshal the avengers, to draw together nations from far against His degenerate people. Like a bee-master with his pipe, the Lord collects the foes in swarms against His land. No warrior is missing in those hostile ranks, no one stumbles in the way. The anxiety of the foe for battle is so intense that they do not slumber or sleep; no one looses the girdle from his loins, or unbinds his sandals. With arrows sharpened, bows bent, horses' hoofs hard as flint, the adversaries of Israel enter the land, the noise of their chariot-wheels like the whirlwind. The roar of the approaching enemies is like the roaring of lions,—like the thundering roar of the waves of the sea dashing over the land. The sun of Judah and Israel sinks in blood below the horizon. Everywhere are darkness and sorrow; the light is darkened above, by means of the thick clouds which cover the heavens with a darkness which can be felt.

Isaiah's call to the prophetic office forms the subject of ch. vi., although that chapter has been less fitly explained as only describing Isaiah's call to a particular mission. The vision was beheld in the year that king Uzziah died, probably before the death of that monarch.

If the reading of 2 Ch. xxvi. 22 be correct, Isaiah wrote a history of the events of Uzziah's reign. Uzziah reigned fifty years, and during his reign the kingdom of Judah flourished, while the kingdom of Israel for a great portion of the same period was the scene of anarchy and confusion. Uzziah succeeded in the wars which he undertook, and so powerfully strengthened the defences of Judah that "his name spread far abroad."

Although young, Isaiah appears to have been a person of some importance during the reign of Uzziah, and probably regarded the condition of Judah with pride and satisfaction. The vision recorded in ch. vi. showed him that God "seeth not as man seeth." In spite of its outward prosperity the Jewish state was honeycombed with corruption, and tottering to ruin.

The incidents recorded in the chapter were presented not in a dream, but in an ecstatic vision, during which the prophet was "in the spirit" (*ἐν πνεύματι*), and "saw" and "heard" what could not have been perceived with the natural senses. It is probable that the Hebrew prophets "saw" in visions much concerning which they afterwards "spoke," and their prophetic discourses may in many cases have been but the interpretation of what was "seen" in the ecstatic state.

In the vision of ch. vi. Isaiah was transported to the Temple above, of which the Temple in Jerusalem was but a representation. The scene presented was not that of an Oriental monarch on his throne, attended by courtiers. There is no trace in the vision of reports being presented from different countries (as in Zechariah's vision of the angelic riders), nor is it necessary to explain *v.* 8 as a consultation of the king with his trusted servants. Such a view is wholly inadequate. In the heavenly Temple the symbols of the Ark of the covenant and its mercy-seat were not seen, but "the things signified" thereby—namely, the throne of Jehovah "high and lifted up"—were "beheld" by the prophet. Seraphim took the place of Cherubim. The latter were probably the emblems of creation in its highest form, and corresponded with "the four living creatures" of Ezekiel, and *τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα* of the Apocalypse. Seraphim are nowhere else mentioned; but in the vision they acted as "ministering spirits" attending on Jehovah's commands, and for that purpose hovered over and below the throne. Friedr. Delitzsch connects the שְׂרָפִים of Isaiah with the הַנְּחָשִׁים הַשְּׂרָפִים, *fiery serpents*, of Num. xxi. 6, and Cheyne regards the prophet as making use of the symbol of seraphim, which, in the "popular mythic" form of speech, represented "the serpent-like lightning." But Isaiah's opening vision suggests a contrast between the earthly and the heavenly Temples. In the Holy of Holies on earth Jehovah was supposed to be throned above or upon the Cherubim, whose eyes were directed toward the mercy-seat, which covered the tables of the covenant. In the Temple of Isaiah's vision there was no distinction between the Holy place and the most Holy. There was but one הֵיכָל or *ναός*, which was completely filled with the train of Jehovah's robe. In the sanctuary above the

Altar of Incense was the sole furniture; while the golden Altar of Incense was the most conspicuous piece which belonged to the הֵיכָל of the Temple in Jerusalem. Hence we adhere to the view which connects the name *seraphim* with the Arabic شَرَف, *to be high, to be noble*, and would compare with Bredenkamp the רָמִים, or *high ones*, mentioned Job xxi. 22, or the *princes*, הַשָּׂרִים, spoken of in Dan. x. 13.

The cry of the seraphim, "Holy, holy, holy is Jahveh Tzebaoth, the whole earth is full of His glory," corresponds in its first clause with that of "the four living beings," in Rev. iv. 8, "who have no rest day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God, the Almighty." For Κύριος in the latter passage is the rendering of יהוה; ὁ Θεὸς is the אלהי understood in the Isaianic phrase; and ὁ παντοκράτωρ, *the Almighty*, is the LXX. rendering of צבאות (cp. Amos iv. 13; Jer. v. 14, xv. 16, &c.). The close connexion of Is. vi. 3 with Ps. xxix. 10 is also not to be lost sight of.

In whatever manner the expression "hosts" may be explained, it is clear that the phrase יהוה צבאות *is* an abbreviation of the fuller יהוה אלהי צבאות, *Jehovah the God of hosts*. The full phrase occurs in 2 Sam. v. 10; 1 K. xix. 10, 14; Jer. v. 14, xv. 16, xxxv. 17, xliv. 7; Hosea xii. 6; Amos v. 15, vi. 8; Ps. lxxxix. 9. Writers who use the full phrase also make use of abbreviated forms. Thus יהוה צבאות frequently occurs in Jeremiah, while אלהי צבאות, with the omission of Jehovah, occurs in Amos iv. 13, v. 14, 27; Jer. xxxviii. 17. A still fuller phraseology is found in Amos v. 16, יהוה אלהי צבאות אדני, *Jehovah, the God of hosts, the Lord*; and in Amos iii. 13, נאם־אדני יהוה אלהי הצבאות, *The utterance of the Lord Jehovah, the God of hosts*. The same phrase occurs in Amos vi. 14 with the omission of אדני (*Lord*); and, with אדני (*Lord*) at the beginning, and the omission of אלהי (*God*) in the middle, in Amos ix. 5. Other phrases into which *Jehovah Tzebaoth* enters are יהוה צבאות אלהים על ישראל, *Jehovah of hosts is God over Israel*, 2 Sam. vii. 26; or יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל, *Jehovah of hosts is the God of Israel*, 1 Ch. xvii. 24; and in several passages of Jeremiah, *e.g.* xlii. 15, 18. Isaiah uses אדני יהוה צבאות, *the Lord Jehovah of hosts*, in ch. iii. 15, x. 23, 24, &c., which also occurs in Jer. xlvi. 10. Unique is האדון אדני צבאות in Is. x. 16. In the Psalms we find יהוה אלהים צבאות, Pss. lix. 6, lxxx. 5, 20; lxxxiv. 9; and in Ps. lxxx. 8, 15, אלהים צבאות. These instances in the Psalter are the only passages which tell in favour of Luzzatto's view; namely, that Tzebaoth in process of time was regarded as a proper name, as it is notably in the LXX. The "*hosts*" have been variously explained to mean (1) the *angels*, (2) the *armies* of Israel, and (3) the *stars of heaven*, the last being perhaps the most probable view, in which case the formula "Jehovah the God of hosts" is like "the God of heaven," an affirmation that the *stars* and all other powers are entirely under the control of God as their Creator.

At the cry of the Seraphim (הַקּוֹרֵא, either collective, or as Cheyne explains it, "of each one that cried"), the foundations of the thresholds were moved, and the house (הבית, i.q. ההיכל) was filled with smoke (עשן, similar in some respects, though not identical with the ענן mentioned in Ex. xl. 34, 35, and 1 K. viii. 10). The smoke may have come from the Altar of Incense, although that is somewhat uncertain. It must not be identified with the smoke mentioned in Rev. viii. 3, 4, which was occasioned by the petitions of saints below. The "smoke" in Isaiah's vision accompanied the songs of praise of the Seraphim. Cheyne compares Rev. xv. 8, where it should be noted that the language of Ex. xl. 34 is partly quoted.

The proclamation of Jehovah's holiness convinced Isaiah of his own sin and of that of his people. The conviction found expression in the cry of *v.* 5. The Targum considers that Isaiah had contracted the guilt referred to by not reproving Uzziah for the sin recorded in 2 Ch. xxvi. 16–21. This exegesis is founded upon an erroneous connexion of the verb (נִדְמֵיתִי, "*I am undone*") with the idea of *dumbness, silence* (as if, "*I was dumb*"). Isaiah's cry of "woe" was immediately followed by the Divine exhibition of mercy. One of the Seraphim flew straightway to the Prophet with a live coal taken with the tongs from the Altar of Incense. The application of the coal of fire (cp. Jer. i. 9) had a purifying effect (similar to that caused by the רוּחַ בָּעֵר, *the spirit of burning*, mentioned in iv. 4). "Lo this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away and thy sin is covered." The load of guilt being thus removed, Isaiah, when invited, boldly accepted the Divine commission, and became the Prophet of Jehovah.

The word רִצְפָּה, generally translated *coal*, is a noun of unity, indicating *a single hot stone*, from רָצַף. The two Hebrew words have their corresponding equivalents in Arabic; namely, رَضْف and رَضْفَة. רִצְפָּה, save as the proper name of Saul's concubine (*Rizpah*), is found only in this passage; and רָצַף, the name of an Assyrian city, *Rezeph*, occurs as an ordinary noun only in the plural in the expression עֻגַת רְצָפִים (1 K. xix. 6), *a cake baked upon hot stones*. The Rabbinical authorities explain both words to mean *coals* (cp. ἀνθρακιά, John xxi. 9), and so the LXX. But the other Greek translators in Isaiah have more precisely ψῆφος (Vulg. *calculus*). As the fire in the heavenly Temple was a Divine emanation, whence its purifying power, the word seems deliberately used in Isaiah in the technical signification *hot-stone*, in which it is commonly employed in Arabic. There is no allusion, as Ewald and Cheyne suppose, to the unhewn stones of which altars were originally built (Ex. xx. 25). For although רִצְפָּה, with *raphē*, is used in Ezekiel and elsewhere in the sense of a *pavement composed of stones*, the רִצְפָּה of Isaiah was not any part of the Altar itself,

but a *hot-stone* which took the place of *coals*, and which is distinctly stated to have been taken with the tongs "*from off* (מֵעַל) the altar."

The section of Isaiah's prophecies which comprises chs. vii.–xii. has been suitably designated "the Book of Immanuel." The first portion of these, including chs. vii.–ix. 6, probably belongs to the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic war. It commences with an historical introduction, which, owing to the employment of the third person, has been by some critics considered not to have been the work of Isaiah. Cp., however, Is. xx.; Hos. i. 2; Amos vii. 12, 14, &c. On account of the fragmentary character belonging to these prophecies, and their looseness in style, Guthe, Stade, Cheyne, and others, suppose them to have been collected by Isaiah's disciples, and thus to lack the arrangement of the master. The force of such critical arguments is, however, justly denied by Dillmann. Ewald conjectures that the historical notices met with in these chapters were originally fuller.

The Syro-Ephraimitish war took place B.C. 737–734. According to the Assyrian inscription (see Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften u. A. T.*, English translation by Whitehouse, on 2 K. xv.), Tiglath-pileser commenced his campaign against Palestine with the capture of Gaza in 734, after which he overran the land of Israel. Pekah king of Israel, an enemy of Assyria, was slain by Hoshea, who, placing himself at the head of a party favourably disposed to Assyria, succeeded to the throne of Israel and became a nominal vassal of Tiglath-pileser. In the following years the Assyrian monarch crushed Rezin king of Syria, and put an end to the kingdom of which Damascus was the capital. The alliance, therefore, between Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Syria, and the war which they jointly waged against Judah, must have occurred prior to 734.

The coalition between the kings of Syria and Israel had for its primary object the conquest of Judah. The allied monarchs conspired together to overthrow the Davidic dynasty, and intended to place on the throne of Judah an obscure chieftain, known as the Son of Tabeel. They appear also to have designed to throw off the yoke of Assyria, of which empire, according to Assyrian inscriptions, both were nominal vassals. Rezin assisted in the capture of Elath, the Jewish port on the Gulf of Akaba, which was restored by him to Edom; for it is tolerably clear that in 2 K. xvi. 6 the reading אֲדֹם (Edom) is to be preferred to that of אֲרָם (Aram or Syria). The probable object, therefore, of the coalition was to weld together the Philistines, Edomites, and possibly Egypt also (cp. vii. 18), into a strong confederacy against the advance of Assyria.

In endeavouring as a king of Northern Israel, for the first time since the great disruption, to root out the Davidic dynasty in Judah, Pekah may have sought to give a deathblow to the Messianic expectations cherished more or less in the sister-kingdom. It is not a little significant that, notwithstanding the idolatry re-established by Ahaz, Isaiah should have been bidden at that crisis to proffer the help of Jehovah. He was accompanied on the occasion by his son Shear-jashub, whose name (*a-Remnant-shall-return*) was a standing prediction of combined judgment and mercy.

The Prophet boldly informed the Jewish monarch that the alliance between Syria and Israel would not stand. He described Rezin and Pekah as "two tails of smoking firebrands," destined soon to die out, however brightly they might blaze up for a moment. "Within sixty and five years" Ephraim, strangely leagued with an idolatrous nation for the extinction of the Messianic hope, would be "broken in pieces that it be not a people." This denunciation has often presented a difficulty to critics. What, under such circumstances, was Ahaz likely to care for what might happen in sixty-five years? But the prophecy was not given with the object of winning over Ahaz. It was a solemn declaration that the kingdom of Israel had filled up the measure of its iniquity. The words with which the Prophet concluded the announcement (see *v.* 9) contained a solemn warning to the Divinely-established House of David. Sixty and five years from 736, the second year of Ahaz's reign (14 of Ahaz + 29 of Hezekiah + 22 of Manasseh = 65), span the period up to the times of Esarhaddon (2 K. xvii. 24; Ezra iv. 2) and of Assurbanipal (identical with Asnapper, Ezra iv. 10), his co-regent and successor, when the kingdom of Samaria was colonised with a mixture of Gentile nations, and Ephraim ceased to be a people. It is needless to mention that the passage has been rejected by some critics as an interpolation, and adduced by others as a proof that the whole prophecy must have been composed after that exile.

Ahaz gave little heed to the Prophet. It is possible that, although greatly alarmed at the confederacy, he had some reliance on the military strength of the kingdom, which as organized by Uzziah had been so strong as to deter Tiglath-pileser from assailing Judah (see Schrader, p. 253, Eng. trans., vol. i. p. 245). Moreover Ahaz had already probably opened communciations with the great king of Assyria. Whatever were his expectations, the opening of the campaign was disastrous. The account given in Chronicles (2 Ch. xxviii.) is not generally relied on, although, due allowance being made for the mistakes in numbers, Caspari in his monograph gives strong arguments in support of its credibility. The Chronicler states that the Jewish army was almost annihilated, one of the king's sons was slain on the field, and a huge number of prisoners were taken captive. A subsequent siege of Jerusalem proved, however, unsuccessful (2 K. xvi. 5). Hence the Syrians and Israelites, who appear to have carried on separate warlike operations, retired for a short time from Jewish territory. Their southern allies, however, the Edomites and Philistines (2 Ch. xxviii. 17, 18), invaded the land, and Judah was greatly distressed.

Under such national trials, Isaiah seems a second time to have sought an interview with Ahaz, when he offered to adduce a sign of his Divine commission "either in the depth or in the height above." According to the narrative, Ahaz never doubted the possibility of the sign being afforded, but feared to behold it (J. D. Michaelis). Already in league with the king of Assyria, whose armies were on the march to his assistance, he "dealt wantonly in Judah,

and trespassed sore against the Lord" (2 Ch. xxviii. 19). He refused the Prophet's offer, hypocritically pretending that he would not commit the sin for which Israel in early days had been punished so severely (Ex. xvii. 7; Deut. vi. 16). Notwithstanding the idolatries of that monarch, Isaiah had spoken to him of "Jehovah thy God." The worship of Jehovah never seems to have been abandoned during all the apostasies of Israel and Judah. They, like the colonists of Samaria, were eclectics in religion (2 K. xvii. 33). The Prophet now addressed him and the royal family in different language: "Hear ye now, House of David! Is it a small thing that ye should weary men" (alluding to the gross acts of injustice committed in the land) "that ye will weary my God also? Therefore Jehovah Himself shall give you a sign: Behold the maiden shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."

The "sign from heaven" once rejected was offered no more. Another "sign," attended not with "outward show," would in due season be vouchsafed to those that waited for redemption in Israel (cp. viii. 16–18). Even the iniquity of the House of David would not keep back the "gift" from being bestowed in its season, "for the gifts and calling of God are without repentance" (Rom. xi. 29). Messiah, the Child of the House of David, and the Child of Israel, also, in consequence of the sin both of the family of David and of the people of Israel, would be revealed in troublous times. The "salvation of Jehovah" would be granted in a day of dire affliction. A day of darkness would come upon the land, more gloomy than that of the great schism which rent the twelve tribes of Israel into two antagonistic kingdoms. Ere a day of grace would dawn, the land would be treated like a leper covered with leprosy (Lev. xiv. 9). Before the day of its recovery, Jehovah would shave it clean with "the razor" of the king of Assyria, "hired" by Ahaz in his infatuation. The armies of Egypt and Assyria would both cover the land, numerous as flies and bees, until it would be wasted and its cities destroyed. Immanuel would be born in a day of adversity; and when old enough to discern between good and evil, that royal Child, the long-expected One, would, in a wasted land, be forced to subsist on sour milk and honey. Made like in all things to His people, He would learn, like them, obedience in the school of suffering. Messiah's advent to an unbelieving people would be preceded by, and accompanied with, bitter sorrows. A day of wrath would precede the day of mercy.

The prophecy was thus an ideal description. The picture of the future was painted upon the lines of the Prophet's own present. The Messianic character of the prophecy, often denied, is now generally acknowledged. The supposed reference to the Virgin-birth in Is. vii. 14 was long regarded as the main point of the prophecy. That point is not now considered to possess the importance assigned to it by the older commentators. The significance of the prophecy does not rest upon the translation of הָעַלְמָה as "the virgin." With the glorious light cast upon our Lord's history after His Resurrection by the fact of His miraculous Incarnation, then only made known to the disciples in general, it was natural to see a deeper meaning in the terms of the O. T. prediction. But the Hebrew student must admit that the idea of *virginity* is not conveyed by the word made use of; and there are other weighty reasons which lead to the conclusion that such could not have been the "sign" referred to. Like the Hebrew prophets in general, and the Apostles in later days, Isaiah cherished the hope of witnessing himself the dawn of the Messianic day. All attempts, however, to explain "the maiden" as the consort of Ahaz, or as a second wife of the Prophet, are now generally discarded. The most satisfactory view is that which considers the mother of the Messiah to be distinctly pointed to, and hence the article is used, although the particular individual signified was unknown. She whose Son, as "the seed of the woman," was to bruise the serpent's head, was fitly designated "the Maiden," as the link by which the blessing was to descend. The Book of Immanuel describes in ideal terms the Messiah as born in adversity, the predestined Child of the maiden of the House of David (ch. vii.), and the Child too of the people of Israel born for adversity. The Child Himself is therefore addressed as He to Whom the land rightfully belonged; for Isaiah's ejaculation (ch. viii. 8) may well be regarded in one aspect as a Divinely inspired cry to Immanuel, that He would look in pity upon the sorrows of His own country (cp. John i. 11, R. V.; see Westcott).

God would not cast off His people. Deliverance would be vouchsafed, for the sake of the Child who was to be born, the Son that was to be given. The Assyrian invader, after a time of success, would be overthrown suddenly, as in "the day of Midian" (ch. ix.). A vivid description is next drawn of the victorious march of the Assyrian through the land to his grave in sight of Jerusalem (ch. x.). For from the stump of Jesse's tree, felled though it was on account of long-continued sins, a Shoot would come forth, and a Branch out of its roots would bear glorious fruit (ch. xi.). The redemption would be in due season complete and final; the long-looked-for King would redeem Israel from all their enemies, and unite in one the scattered people. The world would be subject to His sway, and universal peace brought in. The redemption when completed would cast into the shade the great deliverance vouchsafed to Israel at the Red Sea, and in praise thereof the Book of Immanuel closes with a song of salvation (ch. xii.).

It must not be forgotten that Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, represents the Messiah as the Child of Israel. The travailing woman of Micah iv. 9, 10, is the community or Church of Israel, also described in Is. lxvi. 7, 8, as bringing forth children. Hence there is much to be said in favour of the view adopted by von Hofmann, Köhler, and Weir, that "the maiden" of *Is.* vii. is Israel viewed as the bride of Jehovah. Cheyne's objection that "this figure of speech is reserved for the higher style of prophecy," is of little weight when it is remembered that Micah and Isaiah were fellow-Prophets, and that the imagery of the one might well be employed by the other, even in comparatively prosaic passages. It may also be questioned whether such an ideal description of the future as that in Is. vii. 14, viewed in connexion with the

subsequent context, is not itself an instance of "the higher style."

The prophecies in chs. xiii.–xxiii. treat chiefly of the Gentile nations. Isaiah's prophecies concerning the nations, like the similar predictions in Jeremiah (xlvi.–li.) and Ezekiel (xxv.–xxxii.), are grouped together. The prophecy of ch. xxii. is exceptional in its character. Such an arrangement of prophecies according to subject-matter, and not in chronological order, is suggestive of the hand of an editor.

Several of the prophecies in this group are assigned by critics of eminence to a post-exilian date. It has been plausibly argued that in the time of Isaiah the power hostile to Judah was Assyria, and not Babylon. It is, therefore, somewhat strange that Isaiah should denounce Babylon (chs. xiii., xiv.) as the oppressor and ruler of all the kingdoms of the earth, when Babylon never attained such a position in his lifetime. It is still more strange that the Prophet should speak of Babylon as a power actually keeping the Jews in exile, at a time when the people of Judah had not yet been carried into captivity.

Reference is unquestionably made in ch. xi. to a wholesale deportation of Israel from Palestine, and among the countries mentioned from whence the exiles were to be restored the land of Shinar or Babylonia is not forgotten. Critics, however, like Stade and Giesebrecht, have maintained that chs. xi. 10–xii. 6 are not Isaianic. Among the points unfavourable to its genuineness Giesebrecht adduces the "combination of the idea of the Messiah and of the idea of universalism" in *v.* 11; the sense in which the expression "remnant of the people" is employed in *vv.* 11 and 16; the countries in "the four corners of the earth" from whence the Israelites were to be restored; together with the union of contradictory ideas, such as the universal monarchy of the prophetic Son of David with the notion of a narrow Israelitish kingdom, described in *v.* 14. Hence Giesebrecht assigns the passage to an imitator of Isaiah in post-exilian days.

On the other hand it may be argued that the whole passage bears the impress of pre-exilian times. Shinar, though mentioned, occupies a subordinate place to Assyria. Assyria and Egypt are spoken of as the chief foes of Israel; the name of Babylon does not occur in the prophecy; while the Philistines, with Edom and Moab, are brought into a prominence which a writer of post-exilian times could not have dreamed of assigning to them.

That Isaiah foresaw the wholesale deportation of Israel is plain from passages admittedly genuine, such as vi. 11, 12, vii. 17, viii. 4–7. The Babylonian Captivity is alluded to distinctly in the historical appendix to the first part of Isaiah at ch. xxxix. Hence it is not after all so strange that the Prophet, in a collected edition of his prophecies put forth probably some time after the deliverance from Sennacherib, should have also predicted Babylon's overthrow. If the captivity of Judah was foreseen by him, it was necessary that he should also speak of a restoration. That Jehovah would not for ever forsake His people was a truth enunciated by Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 22), and never lost sight of by the subsequent prophets. It was an article of Israel's faith.

Isaiah's prophecies concerning the nations deal mainly with the nations mentioned in the close of ch. xi.—although the order in which they are mentioned is not the same as in that chapter. Thus Assyria is spoken of in xiv. 24–27; Philistia in xiv. 28–32; Moab in chs. xv., xvi.; Cush or Ethiopia in ch. xviii.; Egypt in chs. xix., xx. In the later chapters of the group Elam is mentioned in combination with Media (xxi. 2, xxii. 6; cp. xiii. 17), and Edom in xxi. 11, 12. The prophecy against Damascus in ch. xvii. is one which very naturally follows the Book of Immanuel, where Syria comes so prominently on the scene; and Tyre, against which the prophecy of ch. xxiii. is directed, may be regarded as included in "the coast lands" referred to in xi. 11.

Babylon was not in Isaiah's time regarded as a different empire from that of Assyria, although, like many other provinces of the Assyrian empire, Babylon might be restive under the Assyrian yoke. Tigiath-pileser, king of Assyria, after his campaign against Chaldea, assumed the title of "king of Sumír and Akkad," *i.e.* of Babylonia (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 249). Consequently it is not strange that after the prediction of the overthrow of Assyria in the Book of Immanuel, the Book of the Nations should begin with the prediction of Babylon's downfall (ch. xiii.), or even that the dirge over Babylon (xiv. 3–23) should immediately be followed by an utterance concerning the overthrow of the Assyrian upon the holy mountains (xiv. 24–27).

It is easy to assert that those passages are but instances in which prophecies, widely differing in date, have been pieced together by a post-exilian editor. But the Jews of post-exilian days clearly distinguished between the empires of Assyria and Babylon. It was very different in the time of Isaiah. It mattered little to a Jew of that period whether the centre of the great Eastern empire—which, like a huge boa constrictor, was strangling the Jewish nationality—were fixed at Nineveh on the Tigris or at Babylon on the Euphrates.

It has been argued that Isaiah predicted only the overthrow of a particular Assyrian king, and not the overthrow of the Eastern empire. If however, as we maintain, the second half of ch. xi. be genuine, the overthrow of both the Assyrian and Egyptian powers is predicted as among the results connected with the coming forth of the Shoot out of the stem of Jesse. Micah, Isaiah's contemporary, similarly predicts the overthrow of Assyria as brought about by Messiah (Micah v. 4–6). And alongside of that prophecy, Micah further speaks of the poor daughter of Zion forced in her pains of travail to go forth out of the city of Jerusalem, compelled to dwell in the field, carried off as a captive to Babylon, and there finally rescued and redeemed from the hands of her enemies (Micah iv. 10).

Consequently, according to the evidence of the received texts of Isaiah and Micah, no marked distinction was drawn in the days of Hezekiah between Assyria and Babylon. A critic is not justified in tampering with the prophetic text, on the ground of a theoretical assumption of interpolations, so as to force it into harmony with his theories. On the other

hand, if the general integrity of the prophetical books is to be upheld, attention must be called to the fact that the prophecies of the Old Testament contain more of the ideal element than popularly imagined. The reader of the Bible must be trained to observe that literal predictions are the exception and not the rule. The glowing prophecy of Isaiah which depicts Sennacherib's march upon Jerusalem (Is. x. 28–34), and his equally grand description of the overthrow of the Assyrian king before its walls (Is. xxxi. 27–33), were not literally fulfilled. Sennacherib probably did not march against Jerusalem by the route described in ch. x., while all the details of the latter passage (ch. xxxi.) did not actually take place (see Driver's *Isaiah, Life and Times*, pp. 61, 73). No attempt was ever made in later days to "touch up" those prophecies of Isaiah, in order to make them coincide better with the actual facts of history, which fact speaks volumes for the general integrity of the text. Such details were regarded by the Prophet and his disciples as but the pictorial filling up of the picture "seen" in prophetic "vision." These ideal portions are of the utmost importance, because they are evidences that the prophecies were delivered prior to the events predicted. The "supernatural" element in each prophecy is to be looked for in the prophecy viewed as a whole, and not in its mere descriptive details, which are, more or less, simply pictorial.

It would, if space permitted, be easy to show that the prophecies concerning Babylon in chs. xiii. and xiv. present marked characteristics of Isaiah's diction. Although some weight is to be assigned to arguments drawn from such peculiarities, the critic must be on his guard against the attempt so constantly made to assign "to each prophet his own Lexicon" (Bredenkamp). It is therefore more important to observe that this prophecy about Babylon is not deficient in the purely ideal element. When Cyrus captured Babylon with his army of Medes and Persians, he did not destroy that city. The prophecy of ch. xiii. was not fulfilled in the letter, but fully accomplished in the spirit. If written prior to Babylon's capture, it exhibits all the marks of supernatural inspiration. Babylon after its capture by Cyrus sank to rise no more. That city never regained the position of being the capital of an empire. Strabo describes it as lying waste in the century prior to the Christian era, although centuries later it became a seat of Jewish learning. Bredenkamp calls attention to the fact that in the predictions of Babylon's downfall by Isaiah or Jeremiah, the union of Elam and Media is not spoken of, although Cyrus was a Persian (Elamite). The fact is a strong argument in favour of the composition of those predictions prior to the Exile. For it is scarcely necessary to observe that the prediction in Is. xxi. 2 does not refer to the final successful coalition against Babylon.

The ideas presented in the opening of ch. xiv. are peculiar, and scarcely harmonize with those of ch. xiii. They may, however, have been written by the Prophet at a later period to form a kind of framework in which to insert his dirge over Babylon. That dirge is assigned by many critics to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, but there is no serious difficulty in the way of regarding it as Isaianic. The details given in xiv. 19, 20, are purely ideal. The king of Babylon is only a personification of the empire over which that king ruled. There is no evidence to show that the scene pourtrayed of the royal corpse cast forth from its grave was realised as a fact of history.

The superscription assigns the prophecy against Philistia (xiv. 28–32) to the year of Ahaz's death. "The rod" (שֵׁבֶט) which smote the Philistines is often interpreted of Ahaz, who with the aid of Assyria repelled the Philistine invasion. It is, however, preferably explained as a prophecy not of any particular king but of the House of David. The Davidic family for centuries (2 Ch. xxvi. 6, 7) kept the Philistines in subjection. The rod or sceptre of David was "broken" by the "serpent" of Assyria (Tiglath-pileser, or Shalmaneser), although Assyria had been "hired" (cp. vii. 20) to uphold the Davidic throne. Judah had become an Assyrian vassal. The "adder" and "the fiery-flying serpent" are best explained (with Cheyne and Driver) as referring to Sargon (see Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 396), or even Sennacherib, for those Assyrian monarchs crushed the Philistines under foot. In the expressions "*from the root*" (מִשֹּׁרֶשׁ) and also "*and his fruit*" (וּפִרְיוֹ), distinct allusions seem made to xi. 1, though not altogether identical in meaning. The "*rod*" (שֵׁבֶט) and its *smiting* are mentioned in xi. 4. Delitzsch, after the Targum, explains the "fiery-flying serpent" of Messiah. The "rod" in the hand of the Assyrian, wherewith he "smote" the Philistines, was "Jehovah's indignation" (see x. 5, cp. *vv.* 24–26); and the Messiah, whether recognised or not, was the real source of all deliverances vouchsafed to the Lord's people, and hence was appealed to by the Prophet in the day of calamity (viii. 8) as one able to deliver His land, or one for whose sake Jehovah might grant deliverance.

Chs. xv., xvi. contain a prophecy against Moab. The prophecy in xvi. 13, 14 is generally admitted to be Isaianic. Most critics, however, think that the rest of chs. xv., xvi. is the work of an earlier prophet re-edited by Isaiah (cp. the R. V. xvi. 13). The prophecy is later than the time of Mesha, although seven of the proper names here mentioned are found on the Mesha-stone. Ch. xvi. 1 refers to the tribute once paid by Mesha to Judah (2 K. iii. 4), which Moab is now advised again to pay. The Moabites according to the prophecy were in possession of territory north of the Arnon which formerly belonged to the tribes of Reuben and Gad. This fact is, as Bredenkamp remarks, in favour of the Isaianic composition. For the tribes of Reuben and Gad had been carried away captive by Tiglath-pileser, and Moab was afterwards free to extend her territories in that direction. Sennacherib boasts (Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 291) that Camosnadab king of Moab paid him tribute. Nothing has yet been discovered which casts light upon the events predicted in xvi. 14.

Ch. xvii. 1–11 depicts "the burden upon Damascus." That title only describes part of the prediction, which is mainly occupied with a description of the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, united with Syria against Judah (ch. vii.). The prophecy was probably composed about the

time of Tiglath-pileser's campaign against Syria and Israel. Israel's ruin is predicted, but notes of mercy mingle with those of judgment in *vv.* 6–8.

The passage that follows (xvii. 12–14) is one of considerable beauty. It does not seem to be connected with the prophecy which precedes, and does not belong to that which follows. It is one of Isaiah's striking miniatures of the overthrow of Sennacherib's army. There is no necessity to regard it as a fragment of some larger prophecy. The Prophet probably inserted the piece in this place of his gallery to mark the contrast between the fates of Israel and of Judah when they severally came into collision with the might of Assyria. The moral of the lesson is too evident to need comment.

The following chapter (ch. xviii.) contains a reference to the same grand event. The picture describes Ethiopia with its swarms of flies. Isaiah appears well acquainted with the land and its inhabitants: for *v.* 2 in a few master-strokes delineates the appearance of the Ethiopians, the general features of their land, and their fleet of papyrus canoes. Shabataka, then monarch of Egypt, was more of an Ethiopian than an Egyptian prince (Cheyne). The Prophet represents the king of Ethiopia in the act of collecting an army to co-operate against the king of Assyria when startled by the news of the disaster before Jerusalem. The victory of Jehovah is described as announced by an ensign lifted up on the mountain, and by the blowing of the trumpet in the land. In consequence of that overthrow many nations brought gifts unto Jerusalem (2 Ch. xxxii. 23), and among them were probably the representatives of Ethiopia.

The next prophecy concerns Egypt: xix. 1–15 describes the judgment; xix. 16–25 its results. The former is regarded by most critics as Isaianic, although some dispute that point. The Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions have thrown considerable light upon the historical references of the chapter (Cheyne), although the points of contact cannot here be noticed. The drying up of the Nile is not a literal prediction; but a symbolical description of the wasting away of that once mighty empire. Egypt was symbolised by the Nile, while the Euphrates in viii. 7, 8 is the symbol of Assyria.

The authorship of the second part (xix. 16–25) is called in question by many critics. The commendatory manner in which *v.* 19 speaks of "an altar" in the land of Egypt, and of the erection of a sacred "pillar" (מַצֵּבָה), notwithstanding the prohibitions as to pillars in Lev. xvii. and Deut. xii. 3, 4, has occasioned no little difficulty. It must, however, be observed that the Prophet regards the "pillar" only as "a sign," or pillar of remembrance, and by no means as the mark of "a high place." The "altar" he speaks of was in like manner only an altar of "witness," like that of 'Ed. The reference to Josh. xxii. is unmistakable. Both the "altar" and "pillar" in the prophetic picture were "signs" that Egypt would in future days be a centre of pure worship. By the "pillar at the border thereof," Egypt was ecclesiastically annexed to Canaan; as were the territories across the Jordan by the altar of 'Ed (Josh. xxii.). Hence the prediction of five cities speaking the language of Canaan (cp. Zeph. iii. 9) is simply an illustration of that spiritual annexation. It must not be viewed as a literal prediction. The reading of *v.* 18 seems corrupt. The prophecy, though purely symbolical, was no doubt made use of in later times to support the erection of a Jewish temple in Egypt in B.C. 160. The LXX. referred the prophecy to that event, and accordingly altered the phrase "city of destruction" in *v.* 18 into עִיר הַצֶּדֶק, "city of righteousness." The manner in which Assyria and Egypt are spoken of in *vv.* 23–25 forcibly recalls the picture in xiv. 2. They are not, however, identical. The reference to Assyria would have been an anachronism in B.C. 160.

Ch. xx., though following ch. xix., contains an earlier prophecy of Isaiah concerning the conquest of Egypt by Assyria. The Tartan, or Assyrian commander-in-chief, is not to be identified with the Tartan mentioned in 2 K. xviii. 17. The title "the Tartan" does not occur in the parallel passage in Is. xxxvi. 2. "The Tartan" of ch. xx. was sent by Sargon, the predecessor of Sennacherib, against the Philistines prior to the Assyrian operations against Egypt. An influential party in Jerusalem relied on an alliance with Egypt and Ethiopia as the strongest bulwark against Assyria. To indicate the downfall of Egypt and Ethiopia, Isaiah for three years walked up and down in the garb of a captive in the streets of Jerusalem, having laid aside both his outer rough garment of sackcloth ("*naked*," cp. 1 Sam. xix. 24, Amos ii. 16, Micah i. 8) and his sandals. On the difficulties connected with the reading "three years," and on the attempts to obviate them, whether by the Hebrew punctuators, who disconnect the word "barefoot" from the "three years" following, or by critics who conjecturally read "three days" in the place of "three years," see Cheyne's *Commentary*.

The prophecy against Babylon (xxi. 1–10) probably refers to the siege which happened in Isaiah's lifetime, when Sargon captured that city and defeated Merodach-baladan. The latter monarch afterwards recovered much of his former power, and was formidable in the reign of Sennacherib (Is. xxxix.). At the time of this prophecy many Jewish statesmen longed for the success of Merodach-baladan, as a check to the growing power of Assyria. Isaiah, however, predicted the failure of that monarch's attempts against Assyria. The language used by Isaiah shows his sympathy with the natural sentiments of his nation, though from a higher standpoint he recognised the need of Judah's being taught by bitter experience to lean only on her God.

The superscription (xxi. 1) is somewhat enigmatical, though picturesque like the prophecy itself. The Euphrates, like the Nile (xviii. 2; xix. 5), was sometimes styled "a sea." The land of Chaldea was termed the "sea-land" (*mât tiâm-tiv*, תהום, Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 353). Few prophecies so distinctly convey the impression that what is described was actually "seen" in prophetic vision, and afterwards recalled to mind and expounded. The pictures presented to the Prophet's view did not represent what actually took place at the conquest of Babylon. The details, like similar details in the Apocalypse, are ideal; the prophecy true, but symbolical.

Ch. xxi. 11–17 contains two prophecies, the first of Edom under the symbolical appellation

of Dumah, *silence;* the second concerning Arabia, *i.e.* Tema and Kedar. The answer to inquiring Edomites was to the effect that their day of prosperity would soon close in night; but that a day of grace was not yet over, if they were disposed to make use of it. Nothing definite is known as to the events noted in the second prediction as shortly to come to pass.

Ch. xxii. is also concerned with the nations who suffered bitterly from the "overwhelming scourge" which passed through them, and then descended upon Jerusalem. This is probably the reason why the prophecy occupies its special position in the Book. It is, however, strictly speaking, a "domestic prediction." "The valley of vision" has sometimes been explained to signify the low-lying quarter of the city in which the Prophet beheld his "visions," or some "valley" in prophetic "vision" where the contest here described seemed to take place. The prophecy depicts Jerusalem. It may refer to some event which occurred during the invasion of Sennacherib, or (as Cheyne supposes) during the earlier invasion of Sargon. That monarch styles himself "he who subdued the land of Judah whose position is remote" (Schrader, p. 188). The history, however, of that campaign is not given in the Kings, and all details are wanting.

Ch. xxii. 15–25 *contains* a denunciation of Shebna, who was then over the treasury. That statesman's deposition is predicted, and the promotion of Eliakim to office. While the personal integrity of the latter is praised, he was solemnly warned that his partiality for his relations would in turn bring about his own downfall. There are no means of tracing the accomplishment of these particular prophecies.

The "Book of the Nations" closes with a description of the fate of Tyre (ch. xxiii.). The authorship of this highly-finished piece is much disputed, chiefly because of the mention made of the Chaldeans in *v.* 13. The language is, however, decidedly Isaianic, and no convincing arguments have been adduced against the traditional view. The date of the prophecy cannot be absolutely determined, nor can the fulfilment of the prediction in all its details be pointed out. No light has yet been cast upon the predictions of the closing verses. It may, however, safely be affirmed (even against Ewald and Cheyne) that the seventy years of Tyre's desolation (*vv.* 15–17) have no connexion with the seventy years of Judah's exile predicted by Jeremiah.

The next section of the Book, comprising chs. xxiv.–xxvii. inclusive, might almost be styled the Apocalypse of Isaiah. It has, as Delitzsch justly remarks, no counterpart in the O. T., except Zech. ix.–xiv., and that only to a partial extent. Though admirably suited to the place it occupies in the Book, it is not placed in its chronological order, whether as regards its composition or subject-matter. The Isaianic authorship of the portion has been disputed, because the historical situation depicted does not correspond with the events of Isaiah's time. Moreover the character of the section, although confessedly abounding with phrases peculiar to Isaiah, wholly differs from the other Isaianic prophecies.

These arguments, however, are not conclusive. The prominence given to Moab (xxv. 10–12) is in favour of Isaiah's authorship. If Isaiah really predicted the Babylonish Captivity, the reference to Israel's three great enemies—Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon—in xxvii. 1 agrees with his historical standpoint, and xxv. 6 proves that the writer lived at Jerusalem. Wellhausen maintains that the ideal of the older prophets was the establishment of the Davidic kingdom and monarchy on a grander scale, and that the Prophets only dreamed Apocalyptic dreams when they lost hold of that historical environment (*Proleg.*, pp. 444–5). If Wellhausen's canon be accepted, the genuineness of the prophecy is indefensible. But that canon is purely arbitrary. Wellhausen summarily rejects as interpolations all the passages which can be adduced as evidence against his theory. There is, however, nothing really opposed to the admission of the Isaianic authorship of the prophecy, unless it be assumed that whatever savours of "the supernatural" is necessarily spurious.

The prophecy is, however, not literal. It is in the grandest sense ideal. It does not describe the devastation only of "*the land*" of Israel or Judah. That "land," indeed, is not forgotten; it is prominently before the Prophet's mind. But the thought which filled his soul was that of a world (תבל) collapsing into ruin. The days of Noah are recalled to mind: "the windows on high are opened" (xxiv. 18), "the everlasting covenant" then made is now "dissolved" (xxiv. 5), and the curse devours the earth once more (*v.* 6), chaos (תהו) coming again into view (*v.* 10).

The catastrophe being thus world-wide, "the remnant" of *vv.* 13–15 is not exclusively that of the Jewish nation. "Few are left" among the peoples (העמים), *vv.* 6, 13 (cp. Matt. xxiv. 22). Hence the voices of the remnant that escape arise from the western sea and from the lands of the rising sun (Delitzsch). The city of confusion (תהו) is neither Babylon nor Jerusalem, but the idealised "capital of the God-estranged world" (Delitzsch), distinguished only for pictorial effect from the world with which in many aspects it may be identified. A world estranged from God has ever a tendency to relapse into the chaos from whence it arose. The final victory described by the Prophet is delineated by him as achieved both in heaven above and in earth beneath. Angels and kings are described as hurled together into the prison, from whence they are to be brought forth to judgment, when order and beauty are re-established, and Jehovah "shall reign before His ancients gloriously."

This picture of "the last things" is unique. There is, however, nothing improbable in such a vision of final victory being revealed to the Prophet for his consolation after the Assyrian deliverance, when led to contemplate the dark storm-clouds which soon began again to gather over the horizon.

The hymn of praise which follows (xxv. 1–5) describes Jehovah's mercy in the midst of trouble, and the feast made for all peoples on Mount Zion. Zion is not always to be a stone of stumbling, but a source of rejoicing. All peoples are to rejoice in her. Death will be swallowed up, and the veil of ignorance and sorrow drawn off from all eyes.

Beneath the mountain on which the joyous feast is held, a striking contrast is depicted. At the close of ch. xxx. "tabrets and harps" are represented as sending forth melody on the mountain above, while at its foot the funeral pile is made ready for the Assyrian king. It is kindled by the breath of Jehovah "like a stream of brimstone." Similarly in ch. xxv., Moab, Israel's haughty foe, is seen trodden down, at the foot of the mountain, like straw in the water of earth's dung-pit. In vain Moab spreads forth his hands to swim, for he is trampled under, and stifled beneath the fetid water.

A third hymn of praise follows (xxvi. 1–7). Zion is described as surrounded by the walls and bulwarks of salvation. The ideas presented under other phraseology in xxxiii. 20, 21, are repeated almost in identical language in lx. 18. Through the gates and doors of the city, stream in "the righteous nation which keepeth truth." *Vv.* 8–11 describe either the Prophet's past or present trials, the thoughts of which dimmed awhile the view of future glory. Faith, however, bursts forth victoriously from *v.* 12 onwards, rising almost to the level of New Testament revelation. "The dead" of *v.* 14 are not merely Israel's oppressors. The Prophet's gaze is fixed on the distant future. The faith that believes in Jehovah bringing His people down to Sheol is compelled to affirm a bringing up from Hades (1 Sam. ii. 6), in the same way that the faith that foresaw the national captivity prophesied a glorious Return. Hofmann rightly maintains (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 461) that a belief in the resurrection of the dead is no mere product of exilian days. It is no light borrowed from Zoroaster. The revivification of the dead was often obscured by the clouds that shut out the world beyond. The awakening of the dead to consciousness and life was, perhaps, thought of in Old Testament days as limited to Israel, and the resurrection of all men was not clearly revealed. But the fact of a life beyond the grave, and of deliverance from Sheol, was surely, though slowly, recognised as a necessity of faith.

The language in which Old Testament Psalmists and Prophets speak of the state of the dead in the Under-world is not, indeed, to be regarded as literal. The Church of Hades is described in Is. xxvi. as a woman travailing with child, awaiting the time of her delivery. Bredenkamp calls attention to the fact that Isaiah's similitude is expanded in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) iv. 35–42. As Daniel looked forward, after a period of rest, to stand in his lot at the end of the days (Dan. xii. 13), so in an ecstasy of believing rapture, Isaiah cries out to the longing Church of Hades (cp. 1 Thess. iv. 14–18): "Thy dead shall live, my dead body" (there is no necessity to view the expression as collective) "shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, for thy dew (the dew of Jehovah) is as a dew of herbs!" It is a dew which falls upon the grass, and makes it spring up luxuriously, or "a dew of lights" (cp. Jas. i. 17), "so full of the light of life that it draws forth the shades even from the dark womb of the Under-world" (Cheyne). "The earth shall cast forth the dead," also from its womb (cp. Rev. xx. 13). Numerous as the dew-drops from the womb of the morning, are the youths that range themselves under the banner of Messiah (Ps. cx. 3). So the dew of Jehovah, in the morning of Resurrection, shall bring forth a mighty army from the womb of Earth and Hades.

The burst of rapture is succeeded (*vv.* 20, 21) by an exhortation to the people of Jehovah. A further descent in the sobriety of language marks ch. xxvii., the Prophet being actuated by the principle enunciated by St. Paul in 2 Cor. v. 13. Ch. xxvii., however, possesses beauties of its own, and the fourth song of thanksgiving (contained in *vv.* 2–5) is not a little striking. The rest of the chapter is devoted to setting forth practical lessons, and is finally brought to an end by another picture, not so apocalyptic in its colouring, of the day of deliverance.

The next group of prophecies comprises chs. xxviii.–xxxv. Delitzsch terms xxviii.–xxxiii. "the book of woes," owing to the five woes with which each of these five chapters severally begins; these prophecies were delivered at various times, but were placed together owing to the similarity in their contents. The internal evidence of xxviii. 1–6 proves, as Driver remarks, the chapter to "have been written prior to the fall of Samaria in 722, and therefore during the reign of Shalmaneser IV." Jerusalem is warned of Samaria's sin and of her approaching ruin. The words of mockery and scorn with which the prophet's messages were received by the people of Jerusalem are re-echoed, and turned back upon those mockers "with a new and terrible significance." The exact significance of the monosyllabic words used in *v.* 10, and repeated in *v.* 13, is a matter of some uncertainty. Their general meaning is clear. The Jews were warned that, if they despised the repetition of Jehovah's message as monotonous, they would as captives in a strange land and in a strange tongue be compelled to hearken to the harsh monotones of commands from the lips of foreign taskmakers. Judah relied on the help of Egypt in her struggle against Assyria. That hope, the Prophet pointed out, was a delusion. She had, however, if she only knew it, surer ground of confidence. Jehovah had laid in Zion "for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone of sure foundation." This was not Zion itself, or her Temple, but the Davidic house, from whence Messiah was to arise. The N. T. interpretation gives the true explanation of *v.* 16 (Rom. ix. 33; 1 Pet. ii. 6). The nation of Israel was eternal, the Davidic throne indestructible, if the nation only relied on her God. If not, she would be compelled to learn in days of sorrow the lessons which might have been learned in days of prosperity. Prophetic lessons of wisdom for the present and of consolation for the future are presented by the common operations of husbandry, for what seems the severest treatment of the grain tends to provide bread for the use of man. Similarly "the holy seed," purified by affliction and taught in adversity, will one day be perfected, and become a blessing to the nations (*vv.* 23–29). The Apostle Paul's exclamation (Rom. xi. 33–36) is a fitting parallel to, and commentary upon, *v.* 29.

Ch. xxix., though referring also to the As-

syrian invasion, was written at a later period, and predicts the desolation which Sennacherib's invasion would bring on the land. Ariel, which more probably signifies "*hearth of God*" (cp. xxxi. 9) than "*lion of God*," is used to designate Jerusalem, which, though highly favoured, would be brought down by sin, and afterwards redeemed by God's mercy. The Prophet denounces the secret plottings with Egypt (*v.* 15), which were bringing the country to the verge of ruin; though he predicts a marvellous deliverance within the course of a year (xxxix. 1), which would be accompanied with blessed results. In ch. xxx. the embassy sent to Egypt is derided by the Prophet, who points out the disobedient character of the people who desired to have "smooth things" spoken to them. The consequence of their folly would be, that they would be compelled to experience God's heavy chastisements before the day of repentance and of mercy. At the close of the chapter, Isaiah's finest imagery is employed to sketch the path along which the nations were to be lured to destruction, when Jahveh would go forth for the redemption of His people. He is described as an indignant hero striding forth to the battle-field, a mightier than Samson, whose arms would bring salvation. Amid the storm stroke upon stroke descends upon the mighty foe. And as those mighty blows break the enemy in pieces, tabrets and harps resound with melody from the walls of Jerusalem, where the afflicted people recognise that their Lord has gone forth to the battle. The funeral pile is depicted as already constructed for the reception of the carcases of the fallen foes, for the king and his glorious host. In the valley of Tophet beneath the holy city, the pile is lighted to consume the relics of the enemy. The prophecy is highly figurative and not literal, though in very essence fulfilled: "The Assyrian soldiers, cut down in their ranks like sheaves of corn, were gathered in that spot into the threshing-floor (Micah iv. 12), and laid in their last earthly beds along the sides of that deep valley. Sennacherib's death at Nineveh was the direct result of his discomfiture before Jerusalem" (Wright's *Biblical Essays*, p. 126).

The same thoughts under different imagery form the subject of ch. xxxi., while ch. xxxii. depicts the salutary result of this judgment and deliverance upon both king and people. The opening verses of ch. xxxii. were by the older commentators generally regarded as Messianic, but they are not Messianic in their primary signification, although some of the features characteristic of Messianic times (ch. xi.) reappear here. All temporal deliverances, however, more or less distinctly foreshadow that final salvation. Some critics, like Stade, regard the chapter as post-exilian, but there is no real necessity for such a supposition. Although we have no historical narrative to guide us, we may fairly assume that Hezekiah was, after that "crowning mercy," enabled to rule with a firmer hand, and suppressed many of the oppressions whereby the nobles of Jerusalem unjustly and ignobly oppressed their poorer brethren. True nobility for a season at least was seen to consist in executing righteousness. The rebukes administered to the careless women of Jerusalem at the close of the chapter (*vv.* 9–20), and the manner in which Isaiah insists on the necessity of an outpouring of the Spirit from on high on all the people, all show plainly that, although he could vividly paint the ideal, the Prophet was not forgetful of the low spiritual character of the people in general.

Ch. xxxiii. presents another grand picture of the same period. The fresh details here depicted upon the prophetic canvas are interesting. The scorn with which Hezekiah's messengers of peace were received by the Assyrian king, and the lamentation of the people when all attempts at negotiations with the cruel foe proved to be in vain, are vividly set forth. In *v.* 14 the dejection caused by the sight of the perpetual burnings of cities and villages is well pourtrayed. Never was a grander illustration afforded of the truth that man's day of adversity is God's day of opportunity (cp. xxx. 18, xxxiii. 10, 11). The closing verses of the chapter, with the description of Jahveh as the judge, the general, the king, and deliverer of His people, are peculiarly fine.

The next two chapters (xxxiv. and xxxv.) differ considerably from the preceding, and are in many respects of an apocalyptic character. They are, therefore, assigned by critics who follow Wellhausen's dictum to the post-exilian age. There are no doubt "striking parallels between chs. xxxiv., xxxv. and Zephaniah, and between ch. xxxiv. and parts of Jeremiah (xlvi. 3–12, xxv., l. and li.), which are of great critical importance" (Cheyne). But as Caspâri has pointed out, and others before and after him, not a few eschatological points are to be found in the previous chapters of Isaiah. Cp. the healing of the deaf and blind (xxix. 18; xxxii. 3, 4), the transformation of the wilderness (xxxii. 15), the springing up of water (xxx. 25). Cp. also the marvellous pictures in chs. xxiv.–xxvii., and especially the contrasted picture in ch. xxvi. The favourite style of criticism is a kind of reasoning in a circle. It is assumed, first of all, as an axiom, that the second portion of Isaiah is post-exilian; and next that every part of the first portion of the Book which presents any similarities to the second is also non-Isaianic. The argument frequently proceeds upon a number of unproved assertions, while those who ask for proofs are accused of the lack of "sound judgment," and informed that the question has been finally decided.

Many wrongs committed by the Edomites against Judah were fresh in the memory of the men of Isaiah's time. This makes it easy to understand why Edom is used in ch. xxxiv. to designate the foes of Jahveh's people, and why the different fates of the two kindred peoples are so often contrasted. The story of Gen. xix. and the Song of Moses in Deut. xxxii. (cp. especially *vv.* 41–43) were distinctly in the Prophet's mind. The ideal character of chs. xxxiv. and xxxv. must be insisted on. It is impossible to regard such statements as designed to be understood literally.

Chs. xxxvi.–xxxix. are an historical supplement to the first part of the Book of Isaiah. This appendix presents not a few difficulties. Its outlines may have been drawn up by the Prophet; but if so, it has certainly been added to by later writers. The murder of Sennacherib, recorded in ch. xxxvii., took place in B.C. 682–1,

after the death of Isaiah. The narrative is in the main identical even in verbiage with that in the Kings. There are, however, notable differences. The three verses 2 K. xviii. 14–16 do not occur in Isaiah, and are different in style, the name of Hezekiah himself being there spelled in a peculiar manner. The psalm of Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii. 9–20) is peculiar to Isaiah, while the account of Hezekiah's sickness is shorter than that in the Kings. The prophecy (xxxix. 22–35) is certainly Isaianic. The narrative in the Kings appears to be the original, that in Isaiah the copy. The latter, however admirably suited it may be to the place it occupies, dates in its present shape from post-exilian days.

The account of Sennacherib's campaign presented in the Assyrian inscriptions differs in some respects from the Biblical. Driver regards both accounts as imperfect, though in substantial agreement. The Assyrian inscriptions deal with the entire campaign; the Biblical account is mainly concerned with the expedition against Judah. It is not improbable that the Assyrian account has, as Schrader supposes, transposed the order of events so as to gloss over the disaster before Jerusalem.

The chief difficulty is in reference to the time when the invasion occurred. The Bible places it in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah; that monarch reigned only twenty-nine years. His life was, according to ch. xxxviii., prolonged for fifteen years after the overthrow of Sennacherib. But the Assyrian account places the invasion in the spring of 701; that is, in the very last year of Hezekiah. Consequently Hezekiah must have reigned considerably longer, and Manasseh's reign (stated at fifty-five years) must be reduced, or the events recorded in chs. xxxviii., xxxix. as having occurred after Sennacherib's defeat must have preceded that event. There is much to be said in favour of the former hypothesis, though the latter is adopted by Delitzsch, v. Orelli, and others. Cheyne, too, considers Merodach-baladan's embassy from Babylon to have preceded the invasion of Sennacherib. Following up the hints originally given by Hincks, Cheyne supposes the events of 2 K. xviii. 14–16 to refer to an invasion in the reign of Sargon. There are as yet scarcely sufficient data on which to base any definite conclusion on these points. The embassy of Merodach-baladan, so far as the history of that remarkable antagonist of Assyria is known to us, may just as well have followed as preceded the defeat of Sennacherib.

The second part of the Book of Isaiah, containing chs. xl.–lxvi., is generally regarded by modern critics as the work of another writer. This is the view now almost universally adopted. Scholars of unimpeachable orthodoxy, who firmly believe in the Divine inspiration of the Book (as Delitzsch, Oehler, v. Orelli, and Bredenkamp), and some who long defended the genuineness of this portion, have at last yielded to the prevalent opinion. The arguments in support of the theory are in themselves cumulative, and derived from three distinct lines of evidence: namely, (1) the subject-matter of the prophecy, (2) its literary style, and (3) the theological ideas which characterise it.

1. The theme of the chapters is the restoration of Israel from Babylon. In these chapters no reference is made to the existence of the Assyrian empire, which was so powerful in the days of Isaiah. The Babylonian empire is spoken of as bearing rule over Israel. The Assyrian empire is, however, in one place referred to as having oppressed Israel in days gone by (lii. 4). The "old waste places" of Jerusalem are repeatedly mentioned (lviii. 12), along with "the waste cities and the desolations of former generations" (lxi. 4). In a prayer addressed to Jahveh, the lamentation is put into the lips of the nation: "The holy and beautiful house where our fathers praised Thee is burned with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste" (lxiv. 10). Israel is throughout depicted as actually in captivity, while there is no prophecy of the Exile as an event still future. The oppression of the Chaldaeans is so keenly felt that Zion exclaims, "The Lord hath forgotten me" (xlix. 14). The very days of exile are described as almost over; the destined deliverer, Cyrus, is at hand, whom the Almighty had been leading on in a wondrous career of victory (xli. 1–7), in order that he might burst open Babylon's gates of brass (xlv. 1–4), overturn her idols (ch. xlvi.), and dash to the ground the "virgin daughter of Babylon." All those events, too, are stated to have been pre-arranged with the object of Jacob's deliverance (xlv. 4), and of the restoration of Israel "not for price, nor for reward." The coming deliverer was even to build the walls of Jerusalem, and to lay the foundations of the temple. Cyrus and Babylon, however, entirely disappear from view after ch. xlix. Grander and loftier visions then float before the Prophet's eye, who winds up his predictions with a picture of the future Zion, thoughts of which again and again have crossed his mind at various portions of the earlier chapters.

To ascribe a prophecy possessing such peculiarities to Isaiah, who lived in the Assyrian period, is, it is argued, contrary to all analogy. Prophets do, indeed, occasionally throw themselves forwards to an ideal standpoint, and from it depict the future. Such transferences are, however, only transient. "No such sustained transference to the future" can be pointed out "as would be implied if these chapters were by Isaiah, or for the *detailed* and definite description of the circumstances of a distant age" (Driver). If other Prophets predict the Restoration, they predict also the Exile, as in the cases of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But in the second part of Isaiah the Captivity is spoken of as something present under which Israel was then suffering.

On the other hand, it may be fairly asked, If the second portion be supposed to have been written by the writer of the first portion of the Book, what need was there for that Prophet to repeat again and again his predictions of a coming exile? If, as is abundantly proved from passages in the first portion, the Prophet was able to transfer himself for a "transient" period to the standpoint of the future, what improbability is implied in the supposition that, after long pondering over the subject, he should have composed prophecies written entirely from that standpoint? It must be borne in mind, whatever theory of authorship be adopted, the second portion of Isaiah is a work *sui generis*. It is not

a work which would have been expected from a writer at Babylon prior to the Restoration, and still less one who lived after that event. To this point we shall presently allude.

There are many passages in the first portion of the Book which predict a coming exile and a future restoration. Such thoughts underlie portions of the introductory chapters (cp. iii. 25, 26). The Captivity is distinctly spoken of at the end of the song of the vineyard (v. 5 sq.) and in the verses which follow after (v. 13–17). It is referred to in Isaiah's opening vision (vi. 11, 12). Captivity and restoration are mentioned in ii. 11 sq. We do not refer to the sayings in xxx. 12 or xxxii. 14, because they have probably a different force. If ch. xiii. be Isaianic, the judgment on Babylon is there distinctly predicted; and Israel's Captivity in Babylon must have been prophesied by Isaiah, if xxxix. 6, 7 be regarded as historically true.

There are, moreover, portions in the second part of the Book which have distinctly a pre-exilian stamp. Ewald and Bleek regard ch. lvi. and a portion of ch. lvii. as predictions of an age prior to the Exile. Ch. lix. and most of ch. lxv. have also been assigned by other critics to the same period. The phenomena of the second part of the Book (if that portion be regarded as a whole) are not so very distinct from those of the other Prophets. The writer does occasionally refer to the circumstances of his age, and permits us now and then to see that, though generally writing from the standpoint of the Exile, he was himself living before the event had actually taken place, which he yet foresaw to be certain.

The fact must also be borne in mind, to which Bredenkamp and others have called attention, that the author of the second part, amid all his denunciations against idolatry, does not show that acquaintance with the land or religion of Babylon which an exile in Babylon would naturally have displayed, and which is actually shown by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other Prophets.

If moreover we compare these chapters of Isaiah with the prophecies of Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, the substance of their prophecies appears to be the same. Micah gives the same vivid picture of the future glory (iv. 1–6), found in the early part of Isaiah. He then transfers himself to the days of gloom and captivity, speaks of a coming restoration (iv. 6–7), predicts the recovery by Zion of her former dominion forfeited because of sin (iv. 8), depicts Zion in sorrow and travail (iv. 9), which bitter "pains" were to be the birth-throes of a glorious future (iv. 10)—a picture somewhat similar to that in Isaiah lxvi. 5–9. The nation, however, must go to Babylon, and in that place its redemption would take place (iv. 10). The designs of Israel's foes are sketched out (Micah iv. 11), which they in their blindness fancy they can carry out (Micah iv. 12; cp. Is. li. 17–23). Then follows a prediction of the sudden and unexpected victory of Zion (cp. Is. lvi. 5, 6 with Micah iv. 12, 13 and v. 18). Zion would be victorious, though brought into great extremities—the Deliverer would come at last (Micah iv. 13—v. 5). Later on in the prophecy, the ruin of Israel, then actually impending, is spoken of (Micah v. 10–15). And it is worthy of note that if Isaiah does not forget to allude to the oppression of the Assyrian (in lii. 4), the thoughts of Isaiah's contemporary also recur to that Assyrian foe, as an enemy which would only be completely vanquished by the Messiah (Micah v. 5, 6).

The fact is that in both the first and second portions of Isaiah, and in Micah, the same apocalyptic "dreams" are to be found. Visions of mercy and judgment strangely commingle,—visions which come and go, and again reappear, but by no means always in chronological order.

This argument is, of course, based on the text of the Prophet Micah as handed down to us; not on that Prophet's writings as revised by critics. We are aware that critics would erase from the page of Micah the clause that speaks of the Babylonish Captivity, on the ground of its want of harmony with the immediate context. We cannot coincide with that opinion. We look with suspicion on the plan of revising old texts with the view of bringing them into harmony with modern critical conjectures, and thus unduly tampering with documentary evidence. There is too great a tendency to treat the Books of the Prophets as heaps of broken fragments, thrown to a great extent promiscuously together, out of which the critic has to select according to fancy those "remains" which appear to him to be genuine. Such is the position taken up by no less a critic than Giesebrecht in his *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik* (cp. p. 86). One may confidently predict that criticism will return at no distant time to safer and surer principles.

2. Another independent line of argument which, it is affirmed, leads also to a conclusion fatal to the Isaianic authorship of this portion, is drawn from its literary style. It ought, however, to be clearly understood that the critics of to-day do not affirm that the Hebrew of the second portion of Isaiah belongs necessarily to a later period. From a purely linguistic point of view, it may now safely be affirmed that the Hebrew of both portions as we have it belongs substantially to one and the same era. The difference in literary style between the first and the second portions is, however, undeniable, and that difference can be well understood by students of the Bible who may be acquainted only with English. Isaiah's style exhibits certain marked peculiarities. He makes use of allusions and illustrations found in no other O. T. writer. It can be shown that a number of these occur in the first part of the book, and are conspicuously absent from the second, in which portion "new images and phrases are found instead." A list of these phenomena will be found in Driver's *Introduction*. Some of them may be fairly accounted for by the change of both subject and standpoint; but the force of the argument of course lies in its cumulative character.

We admit the fact of the existence of such phenomena, but question the conclusions drawn therefrom. In the earlier portion of his life, Isaiah had to denounce prevalent sins, especially that of idolatry, and to predict coming judgment. The Prophet was then one of the foremost counsellors of the state. He spoke of "the judge standing at the door," of the execu-

tors of God's wrath as having already begun their fatal work. Denunciation was the staple theme then of his discourses. Terse, sharp, and compact sentences were well fitted to such a mission. Force and power had to be called into play. But, on the hypothesis of the Isaianic composition of the second part, the circumstances were completely altered when the Prophet in his old age penned those predictions. He was no longer a leader of the people. Though in or about Jerusalem, he had retired from public life, to some spiritual "Patmos," where he brooded over the future, and on the mount of vision dreamed apocalyptic dreams and jotted down those musings. Transported in thought to the distant future, he sat down "in spirit" among the exiles of Israel, and, the storm having already spent its violence, consoles them with bright hopes of the future. It was quite natural for the Prophet then to speak of Jahveh's majesty in opposition to the vain gods of the heathen. Like Paul in the shipwreck, he reminds the people of the future of Jahveh's faithfulness to His ancient covenant, which was not forgotten notwithstanding that He had "hid for a moment His face" from His people. The theme of the Prophet at that time was of the days of restoration which he had previously predicted, but which were now to be set forth as close at hand. In such descriptions a "warm and impassioned rhetoric," a "flowing style," "pathos" in all its depth and winsomeness, were what was essentially required.

3. It is further argued, that "the theological ideas" presented in the second part of the Book, "in so far as they are not of that fundamental kind common to the Prophets generally," when compared with those of the former portion are "much larger and fuller;" and further, that those truths are not merely "affirmed," but are "made the subject of reflexion and argument" (Driver). But such phenomena are not opposed to the traditional hypothesis. If a nation, which it was foreseen would be driven into captivity because of aggravated offences, was at last to be raised from the position of slaves to that of free men, would it not be necessary to dilate somewhat fully on the absolute vanity of the gods of their conquerors, and on the might, majesty, and infinity of the Most High? It was not the Divine plan when rescuing His people from captivity "a second time" to do so by a display of miraculous power. The comparatively brief period during which the nation was in captivity in Babylon, compared with the centuries of Egyptian bondage, and the comparative liberty enjoyed under that second period of serfdom, may have rendered external miracles unnecessary in the day of "glorious Return." But if the Most High was to work by stirring "the hearts of His faithful people," it was necessary that some Prophet, in anticipation of that day of liberty, should draw out from the admitted principles of revelation the lessons likely to awaken, elevate, comfort, and console the exiles of Israel at the great foreseen crisis. It mattered not for that special purpose whether the work were performed by an Isaiah of Jerusalem or an Isaiah of Babylon. But we object to inventing a new prophet, of whose existence history and tradition are alike silent, and to dub the new creature of critical invention by the name of "the great Unknown," or even by that of "Isaiah of Babylon."

If Isaiah could project himself, as it were, into the future, and under Divine inspiration lay up store for the coming days of spiritual dearth, there is little difficulty to be found in the fact that the picture of the Messianic King, so often presented before, should be let to drop out of sight; and that he should be led on to paint for those in servitude that masterpiece of "the suffering Servant," wounded for offences not His own, Who was to "make intercession for the transgressors." The second part of Isaiah moves unquestionably "in a different region of thought;" but this phenomenon, often dwelt upon as if it were a discovery of modern times, has at all times been more or less observed, and is quite consistent with the hypothesis that Isaiah was the author also of the second part.

Certain characteristics common to both portions have induced critics who have abandoned the idea of Isaiah's authorship to maintain that the writer of the second portion was one of the later scholars of Isaiah. The following list, which might considerably be added to, is given by Bredenkamp: — "The commencement of ch. xl. sounds almost like a continuation of the close of the first part (xxxv. 3 sq.). The close of both portions presents a judgment upon Edom (cp. ch. xxxiv. with ch. lxiii.). Two sentences, almost word for word, are found in both parts: cp. lxv. 25 with xi. 9, and lv. 11 with xxxv. 10. Many thoughts peculiar to Isaiah found in the first portion recur in the second, and expressions such as the Holy One of Israel (קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל), King (מֶלֶךְ), used of God; the figure anadiplosis (cp. vii. 9, xviii. 2, 7, xxi. 11, xxviii. 10, 13, xxix. 1, xl. 1, xli. 24, xliii. 11, 25, xlviii. 11, &c.) are met with in both parts." The second portion does not present the appearance of being one continuous prophecy, although the prophecies which it contains run mainly on one grand theme. Those prophecies are most certainly not *vaticinia post eventum*. For no one who had witnessed the scenes of the Return, as narrated in the pages of Ezra and Nehemiah, could have indulged in the gorgeous ideal pictures of the second part of Isaiah. And although we admit that glosses pointing out fulfilments are occasionally to be found in the text, and on such a principle would explain the mention of Cyrus by name, we cannot regard the second portion as non-Isaianic.

The difficulties which beset the theory that the name of a prophet of the very foremost rank (like the author of these chapters) could have entirely vanished from the memory of the people who were awakened and aroused to action by his songs are much more serious than those which attend on the traditional view.

The second part of Isaiah falls into three divisions: — (1) chs. xl.–xlviii. treat of the Return, the mission of "the Servant of Jahveh" in general, the mission of Cyrus in particular, Babylon's downfall, and the folly of idolatry. (2) chs. xlix.–lv., the Servant and His mission in more detail, with Israel's weakness and sin. To this are added several chapters (lvi.–lix.) loosely connected together. (3) chs.

lx.–lxvi. describe the Zion of the future, its light and glory—the inner and the outer restoration and purification.

(1) The mission of comfort—ch. xl. Contrast the ideas with those in Lam. i. 2, 9, 16, 17, 21, &c. Jahveh returns to His people; hence days of mourning are at an end. A way is made for Him in the wilderness. Valleys are exalted, mountains levelled, crooked paths made straight. The glory of the Lord is revealed, and all flesh together behold it. A voice cries: Israel's foes are mortal, while Jahveh's word stands fast. His promises are irrevocable. His messengers on the mountains proclaim to Jerusalem and her sister cities, "Behold thy God." The arm of the Mighty has wrought salvation. Israel is brought back as the reward of victory. Jahveh leads them along gently, as a shepherd does sheep, not to be overdriven (Gen. xxxiii. 13). He is wise and strong, though the idols to which men liken Him are very vanity. He gives strength to the faint, and to those that wait on Him.

Ch. xli. 1–7 depicts a judgment scene. Jahveh commands silence. The nations are summoned to reply. Who stirred up Cyrus, the conqueror from the East? Who prepared him for his work and led him on to victory? The answer is: "I Jahveh, the first and the last, I am He." The terrified nations made "new gods" (cp. Judg. v. 8), but Cyrus' course of conquest and victory was arrested by no such devices.

While the nations are alarmed, Israel is comforted. Israel, Jahveh's servant (*v.* 8), is not forgotten. His Redeemer remembers the "worm Jacob;" and, while nations are trodden like straw (cp. xxv. 10), Zion is "a sharp threshing instrument, which shall thresh the mountains and beat them small" (*v.* 15; cp. Micah iv. 11–13). Israel is apparently victorious on a battle-field, but the scene is rapidly transformed: caravans of exiles, poor and needy, traverse a wilderness, seeking water but finding none, when suddenly springs burst forth, and along their path plants and trees appear with grateful shade. Israel once more recognises that it is Jahveh Who is leading them through the wilderness.

But the judgment scene reappears (xli. 21 sq.). The nations and their gods are summoned: "Jahveh judgeth among the gods" (Ps. lxxxii. 2; cp. Ps. xcv. 3, xcvi. 4, 5, xcvii. 6–9). But those "things of nothing" cannot speak. Their work is nought, they cannot show that they are gods (*v.* 23). Jahveh as Judge answers (*vv.* 25–29): "I have raised up one from the north, and he is come." Cyrus is represented (*v.* 25) as already present. His victories were foreknown and predicted by Jahveh, Who is the first that gives to Zion (so Dillmann) a "behold, behold them (*i.e.* thy children, xlix. 18; lx. 4), and to Jerusalem one that brings good tidings" (see xl. 9). Of all the gods of the nations not one can utter a word.

"The Servant of Jahveh" (spoken of in xli. 8, 9) now appears on the scene (xlii. 1 sq.). The same appellation is applied to Israel (xli. 8, 9; xlii. 19; xliv. 1, 2, 21; xlv. 4; xlviii. 20), but the Personal Servant is a distinct character. Israel and "the Servant" are the two witnesses (xliii. 10) adduced to give evidence. Verses 1–7 reveal "the Servant" as distinct from the nation. His mission concerned Israel and the nations. Israel was, indeed, chosen as Jahveh's servant, to be a blessing to all the nations. But Israel failed to perform that mission, fainted, and was weary (xl. 27 sq.). The personal "Servant" would not fail nor be discouraged until His work was done (xlii. 4). Israel longed to destroy her adversaries (Num. xxiv. 8); this Servant would bless them altogether (xlii. 1–3, 6, 7), for He teaches the Gentiles religion and restores Israel (cp. xlix. 6). Such are the points referred to, and "the far-reaching prevision of the prophet deserves notice" (Driver). The Servant is called, upheld and kept by Jahveh "to be a covenant of the people" (*v.* 6). Jahveh will not give His glory to another, nor His praise unto graven images (*v.* 8).

"The former things" (xlii. 9) are the Divine prophecies fulfilled in former days, and not predictions concerning Cyrus' early victories. God's prophecies were fulfilled in the past, and the fresh predictions now uttered would be accomplished in their season (Bredenkamp). Cp. xliii. 12, 13, 18, 19.

The "new song" in xlii. 10–12 reminds one of xxiv. 14–16. Verses 13–17 depict Jahveh going forth as "the mighty man" (כַּגִּבּוֹר) to execute vengeance. Before Him mountains are laid waste, all herbage withers, rivers become islands, pools are dried up, that He may bring the blind by a way they know not, and lead back His people. The expression "I will not forsake thee" (*v.* 16) is a quotation from Josh. i. 6. A comparison is mentally drawn between the deliverance out of Egypt and that from Babylon (cp. xi. 11 sq.). The pictures presented in *vv.* 22–25 recall incidents of the days of the Judges.

The description of the blindness and perverseness of Israel in the character of Jahveh's servant harmonises with its context. The "deaf" and "blind" servant of *vv.* 19, 20 is not Messiah, but the nation which had promised obedience at Sinai, and is consequently described as "he who is at peace with Me" (R. V. Cp. xxvii. 5). The part. pual, מְשֻׁלָּם (*v.* 19, found there only), is explained by Ewald, Cheyne, &c., as synonymous with *Moslem, surrendered* (to God's service). But the verb, as Dillmann notes, occurs in that meaning only in Arab. and Aram.; and in those languages only in hiphil. Hence the translation of the R. V. ("he that is at peace with Me") is better, and is that of Gesenius, Delitzsch, and Dillmann. The Personal Servant of Jahveh opens blind eyes, but the nation is blind; the nation is hid in prison houses (*v.* 22), but the Servant leads prisoners out of captivity. He is the Deliverer, Israel the delivered. The "practical incompetence" of Israel to perform such duties necessitated His mission.

But however blind and weak Israel is, although punished (*vv.* 24, 25) for her offences, Divine mercy begins with her. Ch. xliii. describes Jahveh leading forth His people. According to the Divine plan, the Persian must set them free, even though Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba (Meroe in Ethiopia) be granted as Cyrus' reward (cp. Ezek. xxix. 20). The blind must see, the deaf

hear (*v.* 8). Another judgment session is pictured (*vv.* 8–13). Nations and peoples assemble. They are called on to produce their witnesses of similar fulfilments, "that they may be justified" by the witnesses listening to the statements and affirming their truth. No witnesses can be adduced. Jahveh's two witnesses, Israel and His Servant, are again produced, that by comparison of prophecy and accomplishment men may acknowledge that Jahveh is "the same" (אֲנִי הוּא, "I am He"), present "yesterday" in prophecy, "to-day" (מִיּוֹם, xliii. 13) in redemption, "for ever" working for His people. Heb. xiii. 8 seems an imitation of this passage.

The march from Babylon to Jerusalem is again (xl. 14–21) described in words which recall Israel's ancient history. The transformation scenes, before depicted in ch. xxxv., xli. 17–20, reappear. The closing verses (22–28) are not a polemic against the sacrificial ritual, but prove that the neglect of God's outward worship shows that the redemption granted is an act of grace. The absence of all reference to the fact that sacrifices could not be offered to Jahveh in Babylon is in favour of the Isaianic authorship.

Ch. xliv. shows that notwithstanding Israel's sin the Unchangeable did not forget His chosen. Blessings were in store for them. Water would be poured upon the thirsty, streams upon the dry ground, language which is explained of a pouring out of the Spirit of God. Hence Israel's young men (cp. Ps. cx. 3) range themselves on the side of Jahveh (*v.* 5). Israel need not fear. Her King and Redeemer promises prosperity, and Israel is witness that there is no god beside Him (*vv.* 6–8). Idols are nothing; they cannot aid their votaries. The folly of idolatry is again dwelt on, more fully than in xl. 18 sq., or in xli. 5–7. God's forgiving grace is set forth in magnificent language in *vv.* 21–23, and the chapter closes with the Divine commission given to Cyrus as Jahveh's Shepherd to lead home His flock. Cyrus is here first mentioned by name (*vv.* 24–28).

While we admit the possibility of the revelation to the Prophet of the name of Cyrus, an examination of the passages in which it occurs favours the view that not only the name Cyrus but some of the details in those prophecies are later insertions belonging to a time when text and comments were interwoven together. The "calling by name" spoken of in xlv. 3, 4, means more than a prediction of the name of the conqueror, as the use of that expression in reference both to Israel and the Personal Servant might suffice to prove (cp. xliii. 1; xlix. 1).

The commission to Cyrus is given in xlv. 1–8. To the title of honour, "my shepherd," is there added מְשִׁיחוֹ (xlv. 1), "his anointed." This is the only place in Isaiah where Messiah occurs, and the only passage where a heathen king is called by that term. Cyrus was probably a monotheist, although for political reasons represented in his cylinder as a worshipper of Bel, Nebo, and Merodach, the gods of Babylon. In the light of recent discovery it is questionable whether the older interpreters were correct in expounding xliv. 27 of the literal drying up of the Euphrates (cp. the figurative use of that expression in Zech. x. 11), or whether xlvi. 1, 2 can be regarded as predicting literally the carrying of the gods of Babylon into captivity.

The expression "though thou hast not known Me," repeated twice for emphasis (xlv. 4, 5), ought to have warned commentators against supposing that Cyrus was a worshipper of Jahveh. His employment of the sacred Name in the proclamation (set forth Ezra i. 2 sq.), if an exact copy of Cyrus' edict be there given, was but another case of political expediency. The expressions used in *v.* 7, interpreted in the light of Lam. iii. 38 and Amos iii. 6, contain no reference to the Persian theological dualism.

Verse 8 is a short hymn of great beauty. *Vv.* 9–17 condemn those who murmur against the Divine method of Israel's redemption by the instrumentality of a heathen monarch (see Dillmann's Commentary). It is absurd for a potsherd to dictate to the potter how to perform his work. The simile is common to both parts of Isaiah (xxix. 16, lxiv. 7), and occurs in Jer. xviii. 6, xix. 1 sq., Rom. ix. 20 sq. Jahveh chose His own instrument, and through Cyrus He accomplished Israel's deliverance.

Cyrus did not, however, himself rebuild Jerusalem or the Temple. Bald literal exposition would ruin all Hebrew prophecy. The statements respecting the Sabeans (*v.* 14) also cannot be understood literally. The Sabeans, as representatives of the Gentiles, are described as voluntarily becoming Israel's slaves by adopting her religion, and thus recognising that there is no other God and that Israel is His people. So correctly Hitzig, Delitzsch, Cheyne, and Dillmann.

The references to the history of creation in Genesis in xlv. 18–20 are noteworthy. If creation began with chaos (תֹּהוּ, *v.* 18) earth was not left in that condition or in darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ, Gen. i. 2). Jahveh's creative word said not to "the seed of Jacob . . . seek Me in a waste (תֹּהוּ)." Creation and redemption reveal a God Who speaks and it is done, Who commands and it stands fast. Israel's redemption is eternal, "an everlasting salvation" (*v.* 17), and consequently, as Cheyne observes, is "spiritual as well as temporal." Hence the salvation that comes from the Jews, and is designed for "all the ends of the earth" (*v.* 22), is applied by St. Paul (Rom. xiv. 9–12) to the eternal kingdom of the Lord's Christ. The Pauline comparison of creation and redemption (2 Cor. iv. 5, 6) is perhaps borrowed from Isaiah.

Idolatry has, indeed, reduced earth to chaos and darkness, for there can be no deliverance so long as men "pray to a god that cannot save" (xlv. 20), to idols which can be carried on the backs of beasts of burden (xlvi. 1), and go themselves into captivity (see before on xlvi. 1). Idolaters carry their idols, but Jahveh carries His people (*vv.* 3 *sq.*). He can carry, aye He can deliver them. Cp. Num. xi. 12; Deut. i. 31, xxxii. 11; Hos. xi. 3.

The folly of idolaters is depicted again in *vv.* 6, 7. These remarks are closely connected with the subject treated of. Idolatry is condemned not so dissimilarly in i. 29–31; ii. 18–21; xvii. 7–11; xxi. 9; xxx. 22; xxxi. 6, 7. The play upon words in xlvi. 1, the expression "house of Jacob and all the remnant of the house of Israel," the irony that pervades the

whole passage—all these are indicative of Isaiah's pen. To him the land of the Persian conqueror was "a far country" (*v.* 11, cp. xiii. 5). A post-exilian prophet would hardly thus have expressed himself. The use of יָצַר to indicate the Divine purpose, and its combination with the other verbs in that verse, are Isaianic touches (cp., with Delitzsch, xxii. 11; xxxvii. 26). It would have been strange if the text had not been interlarded with post-exilian comments—comments so frequently repeated for the consolation of the exiles that they were regarded at last as part of the original. Cyrus is forcibly described as a ravenous bird or vulture from the east descending upon the Babylonian carcase, though it may be fanciful to see any reference here to the standard of Cyrus, the golden spread eagle on the lofty spear (Xenoph. *Cyropaed.* vii. cap. i. 4).

The song (ch. xlvii.) on the downfall of Babylon is particularly fine. The proud daughter of the Chaldeans is commanded by Jahveh to descend from her throne, and take the place of the meanest slave. Stripped of her veil and train, she is compelled to grind the meal, to bare her legs, to wade through waters, and to endure dishonour. Verse 4 is no doubt a later insertion from "a marginal note" (Cheyne), for the speaker throughout ch. xlvii. is Jahveh. The song is Isaianic; *v.* 4, and probably *v.* 6, later insertions. Verse 5 may be compared with xiii. 19; and *v.* 14 recalls v. 24 and other passages. Verse 8 is quoted by Zephaniah ii. 15—not the only quotation which that Prophet makes from Isaiah. No enchantments can avert the Divine judgment; not even the world-wide commerce of Babylon can rescue her from her doom (*vv.* 12–15).

Ch. xlviii. is a comment on the previous prophecies. The phraseology is Isaianic, worked over by a later hand, prophetic text and prophetic comment being so intermixed that they cannot be separated. Verse 1 does not distinguish between Israel and Judah, but claims for Judah the title and inheritance of Israel. Such expressions need not indicate a pre-exilian author. The idea of "the ten lost tribes" is purely mythical. All Israelites after the Exile were termed "Jews," and one-fourth of the first returning exiles were not members of the two tribes (see my *Bampton Lectures*, p. 278 sq.). The expression "holy city" (Dan. ix. 24; Neh. xi. 1) occurs in *v.* 2, lii. 1, and in plur. in lxiv. 10 (cp. Zech. ii. 16). The "former things" (*v.* 3) need not be limited to the prophecies concerning the Assyrian invasion (Klost., Bredenkamp). The "new things" (*v.* 6) refer to the deliverance through Cyrus. Idolatry was rife enough among Israel in Babylon (*v.* 5; cp. Ezek. xx. 30 sq.). The accomplishment of the "former things" should lead Israel to trust in the "new things" promised (*v.* 6). According to *v.* 7, the fulfilment had already begun. Hence the use of בָּרָא. Israel did not hear or know of such things before; it did not comprehend the meaning of the events then transpiring. The nation was still unfaithful. Captivity had not purified it. God melted the nation in that furnace, "*but not for silver*" produced thereby. Ewald and Dillmann regard בכסף (*v.* 10) as the בְּ *pretii*; Delitzsch, Cheyne, and R. V., less suitably, as בְּ *essentiae* ("*not as silver*"). See i. 22, 25, and cp. Jer. vi. 29, 30. The restoration was an act of grace performed for the glory of God, and not for the merit of Israel.

The hand of the post-exilian enlarger is seen in the exhortations *vv.* 12–22. But the thoughts and verbiage are still mainly Isaianic. The expression concerning Cyrus, "Jahveh hath loved him" (*v.* 14), is striking. Cyrus would execute Jahveh's purposes upon Babylon, and the arm of the Almighty judgment would descend on the Chaldeans. We can touch but lightly on much that is remarkable. Dillmann is right in maintaining that, notwithstanding *v.* 16 b, Jahveh is throughout the speaker. If Jahveh rained down brimstone and fire out of heaven from Jahveh (Gen. xix. 24), why should not Jahveh be represented as sending Jahveh and His Spirit on a mission of mercy to teach and to redeem His people? Prophetic poetry often expresses profound theology. The path of peace is that of obedience (*v.* 18), and "there is no peace, saith Jahveh, unto the wicked."

(2) In the second portion, chs. xlix.–lix., the names of Babylon, Israel's oppressor, and that of Cyrus, her Gentile deliverer, completely vanish. A greater than Cyrus and a grander mission are there depicted. The Servant of Jahveh is described as a polished shaft from the Divine quiver, called, like Jeremiah (i. 5), from the womb to be a prophet to the isles and peoples; his mouth is a sharp sword (*vv.* 1, 2) to slay the wicked (cp. xi. 4). The coming Prophet is distinguished from Israel (*vv.* 6, 8, 9), and yet addressed as "My servant Israel" (*v.* 3). That appellation, though unique, presents no difficulty. Why should not Messiah be called by the name of Israel as well as by that of Adam or of David? The title Servant of Jahveh is bestowed alike on prophet and people; and the name Israel may well be given to one described in this prophecy as having "power with God and prevailing" (Gen. xxxii. 28).

The Servant is the Restorer of Israel (xlix. 5). But that is not large enough for His powers. He is to be the Light of the Gentiles, the Saviour of the world (*v.* 6). Despised by man, abhorred by Israel, a servant of rulers, kings and princes yet fall down before Him (*v.* 7). Described (xlii. 4) as never failing nor discouraged, He complains (xlix. 4) that His labour is in vain. The "crying" is heard and answered (*v.* 8), for the Servant's work cannot be unsuccessful. Notice how early those dark shadows appear which envelope the Servant in ch. liii. The delineation is throughout a strange blending of humiliation and glory.

The Servant was given "as a covenant to the people" (xlix. 8). This is repeated from xlii. 6. The Restoration of Israel is described (*vv.* 9–12) in language like that of ch. xxxv. The multitude of rescued Israelites gathered from all quarters (as in xi. 10–16) is exhibited to Zion's astonishment, who imagined that the Lord had forgotten her. Here also is a strange blending of opposites. The nations carry back in their bosoms or on their shoulders the sons and daughters of Israel (*vv.* 22, 23); but the captives are also spoken of (*vv.* 24–26) as torn by the arm of the Mighty One of Israel from the grasp of their foes.

Jahveh had not cast off His people. The

temporary divorce was Israel's act (l. 1, 2). Though when called back Israel did not hearken, the Unchangeable was still omnipotent to save (*vv.* 3, 4). The Servant is re-introduced again (in *vv.* 4, 5). He speaks and explains His actions. Divine inspiration was imparted to Him, not only in night visions, but in daily open intercourse with Jahveh. Bitter were His sorrows, disgraceful His treatment by men (*vv.* 6, 7). Undismayed, however, by sufferings, the Servant knows that Jahveh will help and justify, and therefore boldly defies all His adversaries (*vv.* 7–9). The note of defiance sounded by the Master was caught up by the great disciple (Rom. viii. 31 sq.). Both the *ecclesia pressa* of the Old and New Testament days have similar experiences, and therefore their sorrows and joys may be expressed in the same language. The Servant of *v.* 10 is not, as Cheyne suggests, the writer of the prophecy, but the speaker of *vv.* 4–5. To His speech, however, the writer utters an Amen in the exhortation (*vv.* 10, 11), in which, like the Psalmist (ii. 10–12), he urges to faith and obedience. Those who gird themselves with fire-brands to destroy God's people (Ps. vii. 13) shall be driven into the destruction they deserve.

Ch. li. is addressed to Israel *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. Jahveh, or the Servant as His Representative, is the speaker. *Vv.* 7, 8 are an echo of the Servant's words in l. 9. The analogy of Heb. i. 10 sq. would justify a similar explanation of *vv.* 4–6. In *v.* 5 the phraseology employed in reference to the Servant in xlii. 4 recurs, and in *v.* 16 that found before in xlix. 2, 3. The stories of Eden (*v.* 3), of Abraham and Sarah (*v.* 2), of the Law (*v.* 4), Egypt's overthrow (*v.* 9) and of the passage of the Red Sea (*vv.* 10–15), are all alluded to as reasons for comfort. Heaven and earth pass away (*v.* 6), God's words stand fast (cp. Luke xxi. 33). The ideas of *v.* 11 are a repetition of xxxv. 10. The passage is Isaianic, though portions are like Jeremiah. Cp. *v.* 15 with Jer. xxxi. 35; and the scenes presented in Jer. xxv. 15–18, 27, 28, with *vv.* 17, 21–23. Jeremiah may have quoted from Isaiah.

In lii. 1–12 Zion is aroused by a new cry to awake, for salvation is nigh at hand. The day of liberty has dawned. No compensation will be made to her oppressor for releasing her from bondage. Egypt and Assyria both oppressed her without cause, and so did Babylon. God's Name was blasphemed; that Name would now be honoured. Part of the scene is ideally laid in Palestine. Zion in ruins is the slumbering Jerusalem awakened by watchers on the mountains surrounding her, who announce, "Thy God reigneth." These are not, as Cheyne suggests, "ideal supersensible beings," "angelic remembrancers." It may be well to caution some that Dan. iv. 17 (in Heb. *v.* 14) is not analogous, for "watchers" there is a very different word. A part of the scene is laid in Babylon. The Israelites are bidden to go forth from thence, and carry back "the vessels of Jahveh" to Jerusalem. The Levitical ritual is alluded to in *v.* 11; the march from Babylon being there contrasted with, and compared to, the memorable march out of Egypt (*v.* 12).

With the הנה ישכיל עבדי of lii. 13 a new sub-section commences, which ends with liii. 12. The passage is theologically connected with the preceding, but otherwise marked off from it. The subject is different. The linguistic peculiarities of the piece are so striking that some critics have regarded it as an interpolation. The style is "obscure and awkward" (Delitzsch), notwithstanding that several phrases already used of the Servant reappear. The passage breaks the connexion between lii. 12 and ch. liv. It was probably composed by the Prophet after some vision which he "saw," but which, however, he does not describe but expound. Believers in the N. T. revelation may well imagine that the Prophet himself did not understand its full import (1 Pet. i. 11, 12). The enigma could not be solved until seen in the light of the Cross.

It is impossible to attempt a satisfactory sketch of the exegesis of the passage. We agree with those (1) who view it as a distinct Messianic prophecy. It may, perhaps (as Ewald suggests), contain reminiscences of a martyr scene in the days of Manasseh. The marked individuality of the description has led (2) able commentators to expound it of individual kings or prophets. Of such explanations the only one really worthy of mention is that of R. Saadiah, who considered Jeremiah its subject. Parallel passages in Jeremiah can be adduced which correspond strikingly with its expressions. Grotius upheld this view, and afterwards Bunsen, whose exposition is commended though not entirely endorsed by Rowland Williams (*Essays and Reviews*). (3) The attempt to explain the section of the Hebrew prophets is now abandoned. (4) Equally hopeless is the attempt to interpret it of Israel in general, as the guiltless martyr-nation of the world. The idea is opposed to the view of Israel as the "sinful nation" given in both parts of the Book. (5) Some critics still, however, maintain that the picture drawn is that of the righteous in Israel, the Israel *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. The doctrine of *v.* 6 is, as Cheyne observes, fatal to that theory. (6) The opinion generally held by modern critics is that the ideal and not the actual Israel is here depicted, purified by afflictions and made an instrument of blessing to the world. This ideal Israel, amid all national apostasies or disasters, is regarded as always present before God and contemplated by Him with pleasure. This view is substantially that of Wellhausen, Cheyne, and Dillmann, though with modifications of detail. Bredenkamp remarks well that this picture of a mere abstraction "corresponds well with the meditation of a philosopher, but not with that of a Prophet."

Against the Messianic interpretation it is maintained that Messiah is not mentioned in the second part of Isaiah (lv. 4 is questionable), and that there is no passage which distinctly identifies Messiah with the Servant. It must be remembered, however, that a victorious King and an afflicted sin-bearing Sufferer could not be depicted in one view. The identification of the two *ex hypothesi* was not possible prior to the Resurrection of our Lord. It is further urged that the Servant is represented not as a future individual but as one actually present. That, however, does not hinder the passage from being a prophecy of future days. For both

the sufferings and exaltation are represented as simultaneously present to the prophetic eye. The Prophet saw in the one picture the sufferings borne, the work done, the reward bestowed, the portion assigned, the spoil divided. This does not prove that the Prophet depicted events of his own time. The passage can in no wise represent the state of Israel in the day of the Restoration from Babylon.

Much may be said in favour of each of the views defended by critics. The Messianic interpretation unites all those points together. The Prophet evidently describes what he "saw." Every description of Messiah's sufferings must to some extent describe the sufferings of His nation, or of those individual followers who follow in His steps, as the Messiah does in theirs. The passages from Jeremiah adduced by Bunsen might be utilised in favour of the Isaianic authorship. Although the passage as a whole cannot be explained of the sufferings of the righteous, the Book of Daniel (xii. 3) apparently refers to liii. 11 as illustrating their work. The sporadic references to the Isaianic prophecy of the Servant in the Book of Wisdom (chs. ii. iii. iv. v.) show that the prophecy was then explained of the righteous in Israel. The LXX. translation of the prophecy follows in the same track, and modifies passages accordingly. Such was the natural line of exegesis prior to Christ. The perplexed inquiry of every deep thinker is, however, summed up in the question of the eunuch, who reading the passage with the comment of the LXX. asked, "Of whom speaketh the Prophet this? of himself, or of some other?" (Acts vii. 34). That earnest student saw clearly that the sufferings of an individual, and of an individual only, were pourtrayed upon the sacred page.

All the men of the N. T. expound the passage of Messiah. John the Baptist refers to it in his exclamation recorded in John i. 29; St. Matthew regards it as a prediction of Christ, the healer of disease (Matt. viii. 17). Our Lord alludes to the prophecy on several occasions (Mark ix. 12; Luke xxii. 37; prob. also Luke xxiv. 26). Both St. Paul (Rom. iv. 25) and St. Peter (1 Ep. ii. 21–25) quote it. See also the references in Acts iii. 13, 26 ("His Servant," R. V.), iv. 27; 1 Cor. xv. 3, &c.

The section depicts a stricken leper, disfigured so as to be scarcely human. Hence the Babylonian Talmud gives "the Leprous One" as a name of Messiah (*Sanh.* 98 *b*). But the wisdom of the "stricken" Sufferer followed by His exaltation "startles many nations." The translation "sprinkle," despite its difficulties, has much to commend it. Kings shut their mouths in astonishment at what they see and hear; while penitent Israel mourns its ill-treatment of the Sufferer. Including himself among his people (cp. vi. 5), the Prophet breaks into lamentations (liii. 1–3): "Who among us believed that which we heard" in the prophecies concerning this Righteous One? To whom was the arm of the Lord revealed in His exaltation? "For He grew up before Him (Jahveh) as a (slender) twig." The Servant was under Jahveh's protection in both His humiliation and glory. The statement is not "strangely inconsistent" (Cheyne); although if purely conjectural emendations were admissible, and in such a prophecy they are scarcely so, the emendation suggested by Ewald and Cheyne, "before us," *i.e.* in our streets, is perhaps more natural. The description "as a root out of a dry ground" is peculiarly Isaianic (cp. on the "root" xi. 1, 10, and Rev. v. 5, xxii. 6). The dry ground corresponds to the stump of Jesse's tree. "He hath no form nor comeliness, and when we see Him there is no beauty that we should desire Him." This historic present may be also rendered as a past, for the ill-treatment in *v.* 3 is described as something already past. "He was despised and rejected of men," or rather "deserted of men" (Cheyne), as Job xix. 14 explains the passage. The use of אֲנָשִׁים shows that the reference is to the conduct of the great ones in Israel (Delitzsch). "A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief;" or rather, "a man of pains and familiar with sickness" (Cheyne). The objections of the Jewish controversialists against the Christian interpretation are easily met. Luke vi. 19, viii. 46, with Matt. viii. 17, show that our Lord's exertion of His healing power was not without having an effect on His own bodily frame. Moreover, "familiar with sickness" is part of the picture of the stricken leper from whom men averted their faces (cp. Job xxx. 10, xix. 13–19; Lam. iv. 15). The "mystery" is partly explained in *vv.* 4–6. The Servant's sufferings were vicarious, endured for His people. Wünsche enumerates the twelve distinct assertions contained in the chapter "of the vicarious character of the sufferings of the Servant" (Cheyne). Such language proves the prophecy to depict an individual.

The lamentation of Israel closes with the recognition that the Servant's sufferings were endured for her sake. The Prophet then narrates at length the Servant's sinlessness and the indignities He endured (*vv.* 7–9). "He was oppressed," as if by slave-drivers (נֹגַשׂ); cp. Exod. iii. 7; Job iii. 18), "yet he humbled himself" (Niphal tolerativum; see Delitzsch, Cheyne), "and opened not his mouth" (cp. Ps. xxxviii. 14; xxxix. 9). "As a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea, He opened not His mouth" (R. V.). Jeremiah in xi. 9 seems to refer to this passage. But the conclusion of that verse forbids us to see in him the accomplishment of the prophecy. The Servant's humiliation was voluntary; there was a restraint of "power," a restraint of love (cp. Matt. xxvi. 53). "Through oppression, and through a judgment"—a judicial sentence—"He was taken away," condemned to death; "and as for His generation," or those who lived in His day (cp. Jer. ii. 31), "who among them considered that He was cut off from the land of the living? For the transgression of My people was He stricken!" The Messianic interpretation is quite unaffected whether לָמוֹ in the last clause be viewed as singular or plural. If the translation "who shall declare His generation" be preferred, Ps. xxii. 30 supplies a sufficient commentary. The prophecy is too striking to be regarded only as "a presentiment of the historical Redeemer."

With our present text, *v.* 9 must be rendered, "and one assigned His grave with the wicked

(plural), and with a rich (man) in his deaths (emphatic plural, of violent death), because (or 'although') He had done no violence, neither was any deceit in His mouth." *Rich* is not, indeed, a suitable parallel to *wicked*, while the form of the sentence does not admit of its being explained as containing a contrast. The clause simply connects the two statements, which coincide remarkably with the Gospel history, and ought not to be tampered with by critical conjectures.

The concluding verses unfold the Divine purpose in such sufferings. The Servant is mystically identified with Israel, and therefore can offer Himself as a sin-offering. His vicarious sin-offering (חֲטָאוֹת) expiates their guilt; His trespass-offering (אָשָׁם, *v.* 10) makes satisfaction (see Delitzsch). Cheyne well compares *v.* 10 with the phrase used by our Lord, *τιθέναι τὴν ψυχήν* (John x. 11). Mediaeval Jewish controversialists argued from *v.* 10, that Messiah would have children. The original, however, is "a seed," not "his seed" (cp. Ps. xxii. 30). The closing verses speak of the Servant's exaltation anticipated in lii. 13, 14. רַבִּים, *many*, ought to be uniformly translated throughout. It is anarthous in lii. 14, and liii. 12 at end. It has the article in liii. 11, and in the beginning of *v.* 12; and qualifies "nations" in lii. 15. The Pauline use of *οἱ πολλοὶ* in Rom. vi. 15–19 is the key to its meaning. The Servant's continued intercession (יַפְגִּיעַ, *v.* 12; cp. Jer. xv. 11) is affirmed. Cp. Luke xxiii. 34; Acts v. 31. The Hebrew Prophets were not restrained by modern ideas of literary harmony; and if clauses occur in such a prophecy more suitable to priest than victim, they should be left intact, for the Redeemer is pourtrayed under both characters.

The six chapters which follow (ch. liv.–lix.) are not closely connected. Ch. liv. would suitably follow lii. 12. The ideal or spiritual Zion is addressed throughout. "The Servant of Jahveh" occurs no more, though "servants of Jahveh" are spoken of (*v.* 17; cp. lxv. 13 sq.). "The suffering and glory of the Servant and the servants are similar, but not identical" (Bredenkamp). Wellhausen regards ch. liv. to lvi. 8 "to some extent as a sermon on the text lii. 13—liii. 12;" but this is, as Cheyne observes, in the interests of his theory that the Servant is not an individual. There is nothing in ch. liv. opposed to the Isaianic authorship.

Chapter lv. is complete in itself. It is a discourse designed to stir up faith in coming deliverance. God's purposes are sure, and the exiles shall return (*vv.* 8–13). It may have also a higher meaning. The similarity to ch. xxxv. is in favour of the authorship of Isaiah. Critics differ whether David or Messiah is the subject of *v.* 3. The former is the better view (cp. 2 Sam. vii. 12–16). Ps. lxxxvi. may serve as commentary. The Davidic covenant is, however, only fulfilled in Messiah. By virtue of his religion (Ps. xviii. 43) David was a witness as well as a ruler. Rev. i. 5, iii. 14 refer to this passage, and Hengstenberg has properly called attention to Christ's words before Pilate (John xviii. 37).

Chapter lvi. 1–8 refers to the Israelites in Babylon, where some of them were forcibly made eunuchs. Isaiah's prophecy (ch. xxxix. 7) makes it natural for him to drop some words of comfort for those that would be so cruelly treated. Eunuchs were shut out from the congregation of Israel (Deut. xxiii. 1). But the restrictions of the Mosaic law, both as to eunuchs and foreigners, are represented as abolished for those who keep the Lord's sabbaths. The advent of the day is predicted when Israel's outcasts, with "the nations," would worship in the Temple. The conceptions of the Prophet are identical with those in ii. 2, 3.

Very different in character is lvi. 9—lvii. 21. It seems out of place here. Ewald, with other critics, regard it as decidedly pre-exilian, if not Isaianic. It speaks of Israel's watchmen as dumb dogs. The wild beasts are invited to devour the flock. The righteous perish, and idolatry in its vilest and most cruel form erects its head. Verse 14 seems an interpolation; but lvii. 15–21 is a prophecy of final salvation, probably Isaianic, and inserted here in order that Israel, after contemplating her sin, might yet have hope in God.

Chapter lviii. is a penitential discourse wholly different. Formality in religion, trust in external fasts, combined with neglect of the poor and afflicted, is here denounced. The subject-matter harmonizes with i. 10–20. If the chapter be Isaianic, *v.* 12 must be a later insertion. The need of *θρησκεία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος* (Jas. i. 27) is a doctrine not peculiarly suggestive of a time of exile.

Many critics regard ch. lix. as a continuation of ch. lviii. But this is scarcely possible. The sins described are crimes of violence, murder, and robbery. Ewald long ago maintained the colouring to be pre-exilic. The correspondence with Isaianic portions is very marked. Bredenkamp notes that *v.* 18 re-echoes i. 24 *b*, and *v.* 20 reminds of i. 27. *Vv.* 19, 20 recall xxx. 27, 28, 33. The mention of serpents, bears, doves, &c., and the description of armour are all Isaianic. The section speaks no doubt of judgment, leading to repentance, and *v.* 12 sq. is a penitential confession of sin. But the same mention of mercy and judgment, of the destruction of sinners, and of the salvation of the penitent, is exhibited in i. 27, 28. Verse 20 is regarded as Messianic in Rom. xi. 26, and referred to the Second Advent. A Redeemer (גּוֹאֵל) is to come to Zion, to a repentant people, for, as Cheyne observes, "the Messianic promises to Israel are only meant for a converted and regenerated people."

The last seven chapters of Isaiah (chs. lx.–lxvi.) describe the renovated Jerusalem. As Babylon was commanded to descend from the throne to the dungeon (ch. xlvii.), Zion is bidden to arise from slavery, and behold light and glory streaming in upon her. There is more predicted than the return of Solomonic prosperity (cp. v. 17 with 1 K. x. 21). The vision is of the last things seen in Old Test. light. Zion's walls are rebuilt by the nations who once demolished them in anger. For the nations with their kings, willing or unwilling (*v.* 10), bring back to Jerusalem Israel's exiles, with silver and gold, and sacrifices innumerable. *Vv.* 18–20 describe, however, more than earthly

glory, and the Seer of Patmos has, therefore, employed Isaiah's language in relating his N. T. visions (Rev. xxi. 23–26; xxii. 5). The similitudes of *vv.* 6, 7 are pre-exilian, though some have imagined a reference (in *v.* 8) to the names of the walls of Babylon (cp. Schrader, *KAT*.² on 1 K. vii. 21). The actual appears amid the ideal; for amid strains of peace there are notes of war (see *v.* 12 and cp. Zech. xiv. 17, 18).

The speaker in ch. lxi. is probably the Prophet himself, although the words suit the Servant who is also Prophet; and consequently were suitably quoted as fulfilled in the synagogue of Nazareth (Luke iv. 16–22. Cp. Heb. i. 1 sq.). The statement in reference to the Gentiles in *v.* 5 is in a lower strain than in other places (cp. lxvi. 21). The reference to the old ruins in *v.* 4 is not necessarily post-Babylonian. The Prophet is also speaker in lxii. 1–5, the language of which is Isaianic and highly figurative. The name Hephzibah, mentioned *v.* 4, was that of Hezekiah's queen (2 K. xxi. 1). The "watchers" in *v.* 6 are not Angels (Ewald and Cheyne). It is, as Bredenkamp observes, not ruins which are there spoken of, but the walls of a city actually standing. In the name "Forsaken One" (*v.* 40; cp. *v.* 12) there may lurk a reference to some lost tale concerning Jehoshaphat's mother (1 K. xxi. 42). Note the recurrence in *v.* 11 of the words of xl. 10, and in *v.* 12 of the ideas presented in iv. 3, xxxv. 10.

Ch. lxiii. 1–6 is a fitting parallel to ch. xxxiv. Its Isaianic character is confessed even by some modern critics. A post-exilian author would scarcely express himself thus. There are several of the plays upon words so characteristic of Isaiah. Calvin long ago protested against the idea that these verses were prophetical of Calvary. It is a prophecy of a day of vengeance on Edom and on the nations (*v.* 6). Their downfall must precede Israel's revival. The language and phraseology reappear in Rev. xix. It is probable that lxiii. 7–14 with lxiv. is a post-exilian meditation. *Vv.* 18, 19, with lxiv. 9–12, must have been composed at the close of the Babylonian Captivity. The references in the prayer to Israel's ancient history are most interesting.

Ch. lxv. 1–7 is not, properly speaking, an answer to the prayer of the preceding chapter, though possibly inserted by the editor with that intent. The whole style of thought is pre-exilian. The sins described are those so common in the last days of Israel's commonwealth. Ezekiel speaks of such as then practised in Jerusalem. Judgments are denounced upon the guilty idolaters, though God's "servants" are remembered in mercy, and "the remnant" protected. For the righteous days of blessing are predicted—new heavens and a new earth (*vv.* 17, 18). The scenery of ch. xi. is repeated. No mention is made here of exiles, of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. A fairer vision floats before the Prophet's view, that of a world with the curse removed.

It is not easy to assign a satisfactory date to ch. lxvi., or to summarize it in a few sentences. If composed after the Return, its statements would have been too glaringly opposed to what men's eyes then beheld. It appears to us Isaianic, though probably "worked over" by a later hand. It describes the glories of the Return, and the exclusion of the sinners from the congregation of the holy. The destruction of these ungodly is represented as taking place on earth. But the visions, though connected with the real, are concerned with matters beyond those of earth. Both in describing blessings and judgments there is no fixed line of demarcation between the things seen and those not seen.

Literature.—It is impossible here to give anything like a complete survey of the extensive literature of the Book. Passing over the Patristic commentaries, among the Jewish may be mentioned those of Abarbanel (Lat. transl. 1520), Rashi (Lat. transl. by Breithaupt, 1713), Kimchi (Lat. transl. 1774), Ibn Ezra (transl. into Engl. by Friedländer, 1873–1877). Calvin's *Comm.* is still of value; Vitringa's, 2 vols. fol., 1714, 1720, and 1715, 1722. Bp. Lowth's *Comm.* is antiquated; Gesenius, *Comm.* 1821; Hitzig, 1833; Drechsler, began 1845, compl. 1857; P. Schegg, 2 vols., 1850; Henderson (English), 1857; and still better J. A. Alexander, 2 vols. 1846, and edit. by Eadie, 1865; S. D. Luzzato (Italian), 1855–1866; Ewald's *Propheten*, 1867, 1868, translated into English, and published by Williams & Norgate; A. Knobel, 1861, revised by Diestel, 1872, and re-written as an independent work by Dillmann, 1890. This latter is most important. Nägelsbach's *Comm.* in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1877, contains much that is important; it has been translated into English. Kay wrote in the *Speaker's Comm.*, and T. R. Birks independently. Franz Delitzsch's great *Comm.* has been often revised; the 4th edit. appeared in 1889, and has been transl. and edited in English with a preface by S. R. Driver, 1890, 1891. The ablest English *Comm.* is that of T. K. Cheyne, 2 vols., 5th edit., 1889. Bredenkamp's *Comm.*, short but suggestive, appeared in 1887. The *Comm.* of von Orelli in 1887, transl. into English, and publ. by T. & T. Clark. Myrberg, in Swedish, 1888. Canon Rawlinson has written on Isaiah in the *Pulp. Comm.* Fresh and interesting are the vols. of G. A. Smith, 1889. Important, too, in this matter, is the new translation of the Bible by distinguished scholars (*Die Heilige Schrift des A. T.*, 1890–2), edited by Kautzsch, with critical notes on the dates of each portion.

The student should consult all the various Introductions, especially that of Driver, 1891, 4th edit., 1892; and though brief, that of Cornill, 1891, if its conclusions are far too negative: also Driver's *Isaiah, Life and Times*, 1888; A. H. Sayce, with similar title, 1889; Sir E. Strachey, *Jewish Hist. and Politics*, 2nd edit. 1874; Klosterman's article in Herzog-Plitt; Cornill, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1884. Among the most important monographs are the 2 vols. on Isaiah liii. according to the Jewish Interpreters, Text by A. Neubauer, transl. by Driver and Neubauer, edit. by Pusey, 1876, 1877; Urwick, *The Servant of Jehovah*, 1877; Prof. Forbes of Aberdeen, *On the Servant of the Lord*, in Isaiah xl.–lxvi., 1890; J. Barth, *Beiträge*, 1885, and F. Giesebrecht's *Beiträge*, 1890; H. Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jes.*, 1885; Grätz in *Monatschrift*, 1886, and in

Jewish Quarterly, 1891 (on Is. xxxiv., xxxv.); T. K. Cheyne in same Review, on the *Critical Problems of Second Part*; Löhr on Is. xl.–xlvi., 1878–1880. A. Wünsche, *Leiden des Messias*, 1870, and G. F. Dalman, *Isaiah* liii., 1890, are highly important. C. P. Caspari, *Beiträge*, 1848, and his *Syr. Eph. Krieg*, 1849, are still valuable; Reinke's *Mess. Weissagungen*, von Hofmann's works, and Hengstenberg's *Christology* contain much that is still worth study. [C. H. H. W.]

IS-CAH (יִסְכָּה; Ἰεσχά; *Jesca*), daughter of Haran the brother of Abram, and sister of Milcah and of Lot (Gen. xi. 29). In the Jewish traditions as preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 5), Jerome (*Quaest. in Genesim*), and the Targum Pseudo-jonathan—not to mention later writers—she is identified with SARAI; an identification not now maintained (see Dillmann[5] in loco).

ISCARIOT. [JUDAS ISCARIOT.]

IS'DAEL (Ἰσδαήλ; *Gaddahel*), 1 Esd. v. 33. [GIDDEL, 2.]

ISH-BAH (יִשְׁבָּה = *praising*; A. Ἰεσαβά, B. Μαρέθ; *Iesba*), a man in the line of Judah, commemorated as the "father of Eshtemoa" (1 Ch. iv. 17); but from whom he was immediately descended is, in the very confused state of this part of the genealogy, not to be ascertained. The most plausible conjecture is that he was one of the sons of Mered by his Egyptian wife BITHIAH (see Bertheau, *Chronik*, in loco; accepted by Keil, Oettli, &c.).

ISH-BAK (יִשְׁבָק; A. Ἰεσβάκ, *D.* Ἰεσβούκ, B. Σοβάκ; *Jesboc*), a people of Northern Arabia, whose origin is attributed to the marriage of Abraham with Keturah (קְטוּרָה, "incense"); Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Ch. i. 32. An Assyrian inscription enables us to identify Ishbak. In his first year (859 B.C.) Shalmaneser II. crossed the Orontes in Northern Syria, to operate against Sapalulme, king of the Patinai, amongst whose allies he names Sa(n)gara (Shamgar) of Carchemish, Pichirim of Cilicia, and Bur-anate (perhaps = בַּר־עֲנָת, "son of Anath;" cp. "Shamgar, son of Anath," Judg. v. 6) of the land of Iasbuk[a] (*mât* Ia-as-bu-qa-ai: 3 R. 7, 54). Ishbak probably adjoined Shuah (the Assyrian *Sûhu*), his brother tribe, whose seats lay along the west bank of the Euphrates between the Balich and the Habor, on the confines of Coele-Syria, and near the caravan route from Damascus through Palmyra to the Great River (see Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyriologische Notizen zum alten Testament*, *ZK.* ii. 92). [C. J. B.]

ISHBI-BENO'B (יִשְׁבִּי בְנֹב, *Qeri* = יִשְׁבִּי = *my dwelling is in Nob*; B. Ἰεσβεί, A. Ἰεσβὶ ἐν Νόβ; *Jesbi-benob*), son of Rapha, one of the race of Philistine giants, who attacked David in battle, but was slain by Abishai (2 Sam. xxi. 16, 17). The words יִשְׁבִּי בְנֹב are now, however, usually read not as a man's name, but (= וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בְנֹב) "they dwelt in Gob," and are placed after עִמּוֹ ("with him") in *v.* 15 (cp. Wellhausen and Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco). [F.]

ISH-BO'SHETH (אִישׁ בֹּשֶׁת; Ἰεβοσθέ; *Isboseth*), the youngest of Saul's four sons, and his legitimate successor. His name appears (1 Ch. viii. 33, ix. 39) to have been originally *Esh-baal*, אֶשְׁבַּעַל, "the man' of Baal." Whether this indicates that *Baal* was used as equivalent to *Jehovah*, or that the reverence for Baal still lingered in Israelitish families, is uncertain; but it can hardly be doubted that the name (Ish-bosheth, "the man of *shame*") by which he is commonly known must have been substituted for the original word, with a view of removing the scandalous sound of Baal from the name of an Israelitish king, and superseding it by the contemptuous word (Bosheth = "shame") which was sometimes used as its equivalent in later times (Jer. iii. 24, xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10). A similar process appears in the alteration of Jerubbaal (Judg. viii. 35) into Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. xi. 21); Meri-baal (2 Sam. iv. 4) into Mephibosheth (1 Ch. viii. 34, ix. 40). The last three cases all occur in Saul's family. He was thirty-five years of age at the time of the battle of Gilboa, in which his father and three eldest brothers perished; and therefore, according to the law of Oriental though not of European succession, ascended the throne, as the eldest of the royal family, rather than Mephibosheth, son of his elder brother Jonathan, who was a child of five years old. He was immediately taken under the care of Abner, his powerful kinsman, who brought him to the ancient sanctuary of Mahanaim on the east of the Jordan, beyond the reach of the victorious Philistines (2 Sam. ii. 8). There was a momentary doubt even in those remote tribes whether they should not close with the offer of David to be their king (2 Sam. ii. 7, iii. 17). But this was overruled in favour of Ishbosheth by Abner (2 Sam. iii. 17), who then for five years slowly but effectually restored the dominion of the house of Saul over the Transjordanic territory, the plain of Esdraelon, the central mountains of Ephraim, the frontier tribe of Benjamin, and eventually "over all Israel" (except the tribe of Judah, 2 Sam. iii. 9). Ishbosheth was then "forty years old when he began to reign over Israel, and reigned two years" (2 Sam. iii. 10). This form of expression is used only for the accession of a fully recognised sovereign (cp. in the case of David, 2 Sam. ii. 4 and v. 4).

During these two years he reigned at Mahanaim, though only in name. The wars and negotiations with David were entirely carried on by Abner (2 Sam. ii. 12; iii. 6, 12). At length Ishbosheth accused Abner (whether rightly or wrongly does not appear) of an attempt on his father's concubine, Rizpah; which, according to Oriental usage, amounted to treason (2 Sam. iii. 7: cp. 1 K. ii. 13; 2 Sam. xvi. 21, xx. 3). Abner resented this suspicion in a burst of passion, which vented itself in a

[a] The spelling agrees with the LXX. variants Ἰεσβούκ, Ἰεσβόκ, and indicates that the Hebrew pointing should rather be יִשְׁבֹּק. In the same way the spelling *Hîrôm* (1 K. vii. 40) instead of Hiram is confirmed by the Assyrian *Hirûm* (Hi-ru-um-mu), as well as by the Εἴρωμος of Josephus.

solemn vow to transfer the kingdom from the house of Saul to the house of David. Ishbosheth was too much cowed to answer; and when, shortly afterwards, through Abner's negotiation, David demanded the restoration of his former wife, Michal, he at once tore his sister from her reluctant husband, and committed her to Abner's charge (2 Sam. iii. 14, 15).

The death of Abner deprived the house of Saul of their last remaining support. When Ishbosheth heard of it, "his hands were feeble and all the Israelites were troubled" (2 Sam. iv. 1).

In this extremity of weakness he fell a victim to a revenge, probably, for a crime of his father. The guard of Ishbosheth, as of Saul, was taken from their own royal tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. xii. 29). But amongst the sons of Benjamin were reckoned the descendants of the old Canaanitish inhabitants of Beeroth, one of the cities in league with Gibeon (2 Sam. iv. 2, 3). Two of the Beerothites, Baana and Rechab, in remembrance, it has been conjectured, of Saul's slaughter of their kinsmen the Gibeonites, determined to take advantage of the helplessness of the royal house to destroy the only representative that was left, excepting the child Mephibosheth (2 Sam. iv. 4). They were "chiefs of the marauding troops" which used from time to time to attack the territory of Judah (cp. 2 Sam. iv. 2, iii. 22; where the same word גְּדוּד is used; Vulg. *principes latronum*). [BENJAMIN; GITTAIM.] They knew the habits of the king and court, and acted accordingly. In the stillness of an Eastern noon they entered the palace, as if to carry off the wheat which was piled up near the entrance. The female slave, who, as usual in Eastern houses, kept the door, and was herself sifting the wheat, had, in the heat of the day, fallen asleep at her task (2 Sam. iv. 5, 6, in LXX. and Vulg.). They stole in, and passed into the royal bedchamber, where Ishbosheth was asleep on his couch. They stabbed him in the stomach, cut off his head, made their escape, all that afternoon, all that night, down the valley of the Jordan (Arabah, A. V. "plain;" 2 Sam. iv. 7), and presented the head to David as a welcome present. They met with a stern reception. David rebuked them for the cold-blooded murder of an innocent man, and ordered them to be executed; their hands and feet were cut off, and their bodies suspended over the tank at Hebron. The head of Ishbosheth was carefully buried in the sepulchre of his great kinsman Abner, at the same place (2 Sam. iv. 9–12).* [A. P. S.]

ISH-I (יִשְׁעִי = *my help; Jesi*). **1.** (B. Ἰεσεμιήλ; A. Ἰεσεί.) A man of the descendants of Judah, son of Appaim (1 Ch. ii. 31); one of the great house of Hezron, and therefore a near connexion of the family of Jesse (cp. *vv.* 9–13). The only son here attributed to Ishi is Sheshan.

2. (B. Σεεί; A. Ἐσ.) In a subsequent genealogy of Judah we find another Ishi, with a son Zoheth (1 Ch. iv. 20). There does not appear to be any connexion between the two.

3. (B. Ἰεσειθέν; A. Ἰεσεί.) Four men of the Bene-Ishi, of the tribe of Simeon, are named in 1 Ch. iv. 42 as having headed an expedition of 500 of their brethren, who took Mount Seir from the Amalekites, and made it their own abode.

4. (B. Σεεί; A. Ἰεσεί.) One of the heads of the tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Ch. v. 24).

I-SHI (אִישִׁי; ὁ ἀνήρ μου; *Vir meus*). This word has no connexion whatever with the foregoing. It occurs in Hos. ii. 16, and signifies "my man," "my husband." It is the Israelite term, in opposition to BAALI, the Canaanite term, with the same meaning, though with a significance of its own. See p. 1399, where the nature of the difference between the two appellations is connected with the general teaching.

ISHI'AH, R. V. ISSHIAH (יִשִׁיָּה, *i.e.* Ishiyah = *Jehovah lends*; B. Ελισιά, A. Ἰεσία), the fifth of the five sons of Izrahiah; one of the heads of the tribe of Issachar in the time of David (1 Ch. vii. 3).

The name is identical with that elsewhere given as ISHIJAH, ISSHIAH, JESIAH.

ISHI'JAH, R. V. ISSHIJAH (יִשִׁיָּהוּ; B. Ἰεσσειά, A. Ἰεσσία; *Josue*), a lay Israelite of the Bene-Harim, who had married a foreign wife, and was compelled to relinquish her (Ezra x. 31). In Esdras the name is ASEAS.

This name appears in the A. V. under the various forms of ISHIAH, ISSHIAH, JESIAH.

ISH-MA (יִשְׁמָא = *waste, desert*, Ges.; Ἰεσμάν, B. Ῥαγμά, A. Ἰεσμά; *Jesema*), a name in the genealogy of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 3). The passage is very obscure, and in many cases it is difficult to know whether the names are the names of persons or of places. Ishma and his companions appear to be closely connected with Bethlehem (see *v.* 4).

ISH'MAEL (יִשְׁמָעֵאל = *God heareth*; Ἰσμαήλ; *Ismael*; cp. Gen. xvi. 11), the son of Abraham by Hagar, his concubine, the Egyptian; born, according to P, when Abraham was fourscore and six years old (Gen. xvi. 15, 16). Ishmael was the first-born of his father: of whom (ch. xv.) we read that he was then childless, and there is no apparent interval for the birth of any other child; nor does the teaching of the narrative, besides the precise enumeration of the sons of Abraham as the father of the faithful, admit of the supposition. The saying of Sarah, also, when she gave him Hagar, supports the inference that until then he was without children. When we are told that Abraham "again took a wife" (xxv. 1, J), viz. Keturah, no note of time is added; but it appears to be implied that it was after the death of Sarah. The conception of Ishmael led to the flight of Hagar [HAGAR]; and it was during her wandering in the wilderness that the Angel of the Lord commanded her to return to her mistress, and gave her the promises, "I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude" (Gen. xvi. 10, R); "Behold, thou art

* In Dryden's *Absalom and Ahithophel*, "foolish Ishbosheth" is ingeniously taken to represent Richard Cromwell.

with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren" (xvi. 11, 12, J). The well Lahai-roï is said to have got its name from Hagar's vision, as though the name Beer lahai roï meant "Well of the Living One that seeth me," or "Well of living after seeing (God)." It is not, however, necessary to regard such suggestions as more than illustrative plays on similar-sounding words. It has been conjectured that Lahai-roï really means "Jawbone of the antelope"; *roï* being perhaps an obsolete term akin to the Arabic *'arwiyya* (cp. Reh, roe): see Judg. xv. 17 sqq.; Wellhausen, *HI.* p. 326.

Ishmael was born in Abraham's house, when he dwelt "by the oaks (or terebinths) of Mamre" (xiii. 18; xviii. 1, J); and was circumcised at the age of thirteen (xvii. 25, P). With the institution of the covenant, God renewed His promise respecting Ishmael. In answer to Abraham's entreaty, when he cried, "Oh that Ishmael might live before Thee!" God assured him of the birth of Isaac, and said, "As for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes (or emirs, tribal chiefs) shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation" (xvii. 18, 20. The whole chapter belongs to P). Before this time, Abraham seems to have regarded his first-born child as the heir of the promise, his belief in which was counted unto him for righteousness (xv. 6, J); and although that faith shone yet more brightly after his passing weakness when Isaac was first promised, his love for Ishmael is recorded in the narrative of Sarah's expulsion of the latter: "And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight because of his son" (xxi. 11, E).

Ishmael does not again appear in the narrative until the weaning of Isaac. The latter was born, according to P, when Abraham was a hundred years old (xxi. 5); and as the weaning, according to Eastern usage, would take place when the child was between two and three years old, Ishmael must be supposed to have been then between fifteen and sixteen years of age. This necessary inference from the chronological data of P does not, however, agree very well with the statement of E (xxi. 14), which according to the LXX. should be read as follows: "And Abraham rose early in the morning, and took bread and a skin of water, and gave them to Hagar; and the boy he set upon her shoulder, and sent her away." The present Hebrew text is obviously faulty, and appears to be due to some transcriber who felt the difficulty of putting a lad of sixteen upon his mother's shoulder. But the subsequent statement that "she threw the boy under one of the shrubs" (*v.* 15), seems to imply that she was carrying him; and the language of *v.* 20 hardly allows us to suppose that Ishmael was already a young man. When the difference of sources is recognised, such discrepancies of statement cease to embarrass us [ISAAC].

At the "great feast" made in celebration of the weaning, Sarah had seen Ishmael "laughing" (A. V. "mocking"; R. V. marg. "playing").[a] Thereupon, she urged Abraham to cast out him and his mother. The patriarch, comforted by God's renewed promise that of Ishmael He would make a nation, sent them both away, and they departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. Here the water being spent in the bottle, Hagar cast her son under one of the desert shrubs, and went away a little distance, "for she said, Let me not see the death of the child," and wept. "And God heard the voice of the lad, and the Angel of the Lord called to Hagar out of heaven," renewed the promise already thrice given, "I will make him a great nation," and "opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water." Thus miraculously saved from perishing by thirst, "God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness; and became an archer." It is doubtful whether the wanderers halted by the well, or at once continued their way to the "wilderness of Paran," where, we are told in the next verse to that just quoted, he dwelt, and where "his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt" (Gen. xxi. 9–21, E). This wife of Ishmael is not elsewhere mentioned; she was, we must infer, an Egyptian; and this second infusion of Hamitic blood into the progenitors of the Arab nation, Ishmael's sons, is a fact that has been generally overlooked. No record is made of any other wife of Ishmael, and failing such record, the Egyptian would seem to have been the mother of his twelve sons, and one daughter (cp. the twelve sons and one daughter assigned to Israel also). This daughter, however, is called the "sister of Nebajoth" (Gen. xxviii. 9); a limitation of the parentage of the brother and sister which probably points to a different mother for Ishmael's other sons.[b] It must not be forgotten that terms denoting various degrees of blood-relationship are used in these narratives to express the local and political relations of kindred tribes and their subdivisions. In O. T. language, the founder of a town, or the eponymous chief of the tribe that was settled there, is called the "father" of the place; and the outlying dependencies are called its "daughters." A newer or otherwise inferior clan or tribe in a confederacy is regarded as sprung from the common ancestor through a foreign wife or a "concubine." The old Arab writers use a similar terminology.

Of the later life of Ishmael nothing is related in the older sections of Genesis (J, E). According to P, he was present with Isaac at the burial of Abraham (Gen. xxv. 9); and Esau contracted an alliance with him when he "took unto the wives which he had Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebajoth, to be his wife;" and this did Esau because the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac and Rebekah, and Jacob in obedience to

[a] St. Paul appears to follow Jewish tradition or exegesis, when he speaks of Ishmael as "persecuting" Isaac (Gal. iv. 29). Sarah's motive was perhaps a mother's jealousy.

[b] According to Rabbinical tradition, Ishmael put away his wife and took a second; and the Arabs, probably borrowing from the above, assert that he twice married; the first wife being an Amalekite, by whom he had no issue; and the second, a Joktanite, of the tribe of Jurhum (*Mir-át 'az-Zamán*, MS., quoting a tradition of Muhammad Ibn-Is-hák.)

their wishes had gone to Laban to obtain of his daughters a wife (xxviii. 6–9, P). The death of Ishmael is recorded in a previous chapter, after the enumeration of his sons, as having taken place at the age of a hundred and thirty-seven years (xxv. 17, P).

It remains for us to consider, 1, the place of Ishmael's dwelling; and, 2, the names of his children, with their settlements, and the nation sprung from them.

1. From the narrative of his expulsion, we learn that Ishmael first went into the wilderness of Beersheba, and thence, but at what interval of time is uncertain, removed to that of Paran. His continuance in these or the neighbouring places seems to be proved by his having been present at the burial of Abraham—for it must be remembered that in the East sepulture follows death after a few hours' space—and by Esau's marrying his daughter at a time when he (Esau) dwelt at Beersheba: the tenor of the narrative of both these events favouring the inference that Ishmael settled not far from the neighbourhood of Abraham and Isaac. There are, however, other passages which must be taken into account. It is prophesied of him (xvi. 12, J) that "he shall dwell in face of all his brethren" (*i.e.* near them, but independent of them. *Hart vor ihnen*, Dillmann; others, as Tuch and Delitzsch, *östlich von*, "eastward of." Cp. also xxv. 18, which, however, is hopelessly obscure, and probably corrupt). He was the first Abrahamic settler in the east country. In xxv. 6 (R) it is said, "But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country." The "east country" perhaps was restricted in early times to the wildernesses of Beersheba and Paran, and it afterwards seems to have included those districts (though neither supposition necessarily follows from the above passage); or, Ishmael removed to that east country, northwards, without being distant from his father and his brethren; each case being agreeable with Gen. xxv. 6. The appellation of the "east country" became afterwards applied to the whole desert extending from the frontier of Palestine east to the Euphrates, and south probably to the borders of Egypt and the Arabian peninsula (cp. Dillmann, ad loc. cit., who says that Arabia in general, including Arabia Deserta and the Syrian desert, is intended). This question is discussed in art. BENE-KEDEM; and it is interwoven, though obscurely, with the next subject, that of the names and settlements of the sons of Ishmael. See also KETURAH, &c.; for the "brethren" of Ishmael, in whose presence he dwelt, included the sons of Keturah.

2. The sons of Ishmael were, Nebajoth his first-born, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedemah (Gen. xxv. 13–15, P), and he had a daughter named Mahalath (xxviii. 9, P), the sister of Nebajoth, before mentioned.[c] The sons are enumerated with the statement that "these are their names, in their villages, and in their encampments; twelve emirs according to their kindreds" (or tribal communities, אֻמּוֹת; originally perhaps, *motherhoods*), xxv. 16, P. The sons of Ishmael here appear as partly settled in open country places, and partly living in temporary camping-grounds like the Bedawis at the present day. "They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before (*i.e.* east of) Egypt, as thou goest unto Assyria" (xxv. 18) [but see the remark on this passage, above]; and it is certain, in accordance with this statement of their limits [see HAVILAH, SHUR], that they stretched in very early times across the desert to the N.W. coast of the Persian Gulf, peopled the north and west of the Arabian peninsula, and eventually formed the chief element of the Arab nation. Their language, which is generally acknowledged to have been the Arabic commonly so called, has been adopted with insignificant exceptions throughout Arabia. It has been said that the Bible requires the whole of that nation to be sprung from Ishmael, and the fact of a large admixture of Joktanite and even Cushite peoples in the south and south-east has been regarded as a suggestion of scepticism. Yet not only does the Bible contain no warrant for the assumption that all Arabs are Ishmaelites; but the characteristics of the Ishmaelites, strongly marked in all the more northern tribes of Arabia, and perfectly according with the oracle (Gen. xvi. 12), "he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him," become weaker in the south, and can scarcely be predicated of all the peoples of Joktanite and other descent. Some of the benē Ishmael, indeed, became settled, and attained to a certain degree of civilisation [DUMAH, NEBAJOTH, TEMA]. The true Ishmaelites, however, and even tribes of very mixed race, have always been, for the most part, thoroughly "wild men," living by warlike forays and plunder; dreaded by their neighbours; dwelling in tents, with hardly any household chattels, but rich in flocks and herds, migratory, and recognising no law but the authority of the chiefs of their tribes. Even the religion of Muhammad is held in light esteem by many of the more remote tribes, among whom the ancient usages of their people obtain in almost their old simplicity, besides idolatrous practices altogether repugnant to Muhammadanism as they are to the faith of the patriarchs; practices which may be ascribed to the influence of the Canaanites, of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, with whom, by intermarriages, commerce, and war, the tribes of Ishmael must have had long and intimate relations.

The term ISHMAELITE (יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי) occurs on several occasions: Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, xxxix. 1; Judg. viii. 24; Ps. lxxxiii. 6. From the context of the first two instances, it seems to have been a comprehensive name for the Abrahamic

[c] In Gen. xxxvi. 3, the Redactor speaks of *Bāsĕmath* the daughter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebajoth, as a wife of Esau (cp. also *vv.* 10, 17). In xxvi. 34, P had written "*Bāsĕmath*, the daughter of Elon the Hittite." As Dillmann observes, the divergences presented by these passages are to be traced to differences of tradition or of theory, rather than to be explained away by the assumption that Esau had five wives, or that their names were changed, or that they had double names, or that the names have been corrupted by copyists.

peoples of the east country, the Bene-Kedem, or the northern Arabs generally, so that the Midianites might be included under it. In the third instance the name is applied in its strict sense to the Ishmaelites. It is also applied to Jether, the father of Amasa by David's sister Abigail (1 Ch. ii. 17.) [ITHRA; JETHER.] Cp. also 1 Ch. xxviii. 30.

The notions of the Arabs respecting Ishmael (إسماعيل) are partly derived from the Bible, partly from the Jewish Rabbis, and partly from native traditions. The origin of many of these traditions is obscure, but a great number may be ascribed to the fact of Muhammad's having for political reasons claimed Ishmael for his ancestor, and striven to make out an impossible pedigree; while both he and his followers have, as a consequence of accepting this assumed descent, sought to exalt that ancestor. Another reason may be safely found in Ishmael's acknowledged headship of the naturalised Arabs, and this cause existed from the very period of his settlement. [ARABIA.] Yet the rivalry of the Joktanite kingdom of Southern Arabia, and its intercourse with classical and medieval Europe, the wandering and unsettled habits of the Ishmaelites, their having no literature, and as far as we know only a meagre oral tradition, all contributed, till the importance it acquired with the promulgation of Al-Islām, to render our knowledge of the Ishmaelitic portion of the people of Arabia, before Muhammad, lamentably defective. That they maintained, and still maintain, a patriarchal and primitive form of life is known to us. Their religion, at least in the period immediately preceding Muhammad, was in Central Arabia chiefly the grossest fetishism, probably learnt from aboriginal inhabitants of the land; southwards it diverged to the cosmic worship of the Joktanite Himyarites (though these were far from being exempt from fetishism), and northwards (so at least in ancient times) to an approach to that true faith which Ishmael may be supposed to have carried with him, and which his descendants thus gradually lost [see Wellhausen, *Encyc. Brit.* xvi. 546 sq.]. This last point is curiously illustrated by the numbers who, in Arabia, became either Jews (Caraites) or Christians (though of a very corrupt form of Christianity), and by the movement in search of the faith of the patriarchs which had been put forward, not long before the birth of Muhammad, by men not satisfied with Judaism or the corrupt form of Christianity with which alone they were acquainted. This movement first aroused Muhammad, and was afterwards the main cause of his success.

The Arabs believe that Ishmael was the first-born of Abraham, and the majority of their doctors (but the point is in dispute) assert that this son, and not Isaac, was offered by Abraham in sacrifice.[d] The scene of this sacrifice is Mount 'Arafāt, near Mecca, the last holy place visited by pilgrims, it being necessary to the completion of pilgrimage to be present at a sermon delivered there on the 9th of the Muhammadan month Dhu-l-Haǵǵah, in commemoration of the offering, and to sacrifice a victim on the following evening after sunset, in the valley of Mina. The sacrifice last mentioned is observed throughout the Muslim world, and the day on which it is made is called "The Great Festival" (Mr. Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* ch. iii.). Ishmael, say the Arabs, dwelt with his mother at Mecca, and both are buried in the place called the Hiǵr, on the north-west (termed by the Arabs the north) side of the Caaba, and enclosed by a curved wall called the Hatīm. Ishmael was visited at Mecca by Abraham, and they together rebuilt the temple, which had been destroyed by a flood. At Mecca, Ishmael married a daughter of Mudād or Al-Mudād, chief of the Joktanite tribe G'urhum [ALMODAD; ARABIA], and had thirteen children (*Mir-āt 'az-Zamān* MS.); which agrees with the Biblical number, if we include the daughter.

Muhammad's descent from Ishmael is totally lost, for an unknown number of generations before 'Adnān, of the twenty-first generation before the prophet: from him downwards the latter's descent is, if we may believe the genealogists, fairly proved. But we have evidence far more trustworthy than that of the genealogists; for while most of the natives of Arabia are unable to trace up their *pedigrees*, it is scarcely possible to find one who is ignorant of his *race*, seeing that his very life often depends upon it. The law of blood-revenge necessitates his knowing the names of his ancestors for four generations, but no more; and this law, obtaining from time immemorial, has made any confusion of race almost impossible. This law, it should be remembered, is not a law of Muhammad, but an old pagan law that he endeavoured to suppress, but could not. In casting doubt on the prophet's pedigree, we must add that this cannot affect the proofs of the chief element of the Arab nation being Ishmaelite (and so too the tribe of Quraish, of which was Muhammad). Although partly mixed with Joktanites, they are more mixed with Keturites and other races; the characteristics of the Joktanites, as before remarked, are widely different from those of the Ishmaelites; and whatever theories may be adduced to the contrary, we believe that the Arabs, from physical characteristics, language, the concurrence of native traditions (*before* Muhammadanism made them untrustworthy), and the testimony of the Bible, are mainly and essentially Ishmaelite.

[E. S. P.] [C. J. B.]

2. One of the sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul through Merib-baal, or Mephibosheth (1 Ch. viii. 38, ix. 44). See the genealogy, under SAUL.

3. (B. omits; *Ismahel.*) A man of Judah, whose son or descendant ZEBADIAH was ruler (נָגִיד) of the house of Judah in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xix. 11).

4. Another man of Judah, son of Jehohanan; one of the "captains (שָׂרֵי) of hundreds" who assisted Jehoiada in restoring Jonah to the throne (2 Ch. xxiii. 1).

5. (B. Σαμαήλ, ℵ. -αιήλ, A. Ἰσμαήλ.) A priest of the Bene-Pashur, forced by Ezra to relinquish his foreign wife (Ezra x. 22). [ISMAEL, 2.]

6. The son of Nethaniah; a perfect marvel

[d] With this, and some other exceptions, the Muslims have adopted the chief facts of the history of Ishmael recorded in the Bible.

of craft and villainy, whose treachery forms one of the chief episodes of the history of the period immediately succeeding the first fall of Jerusalem. His exploits are related in Jer. xl. 7–xli. 15, with a short summary in 2 K. xxv. 23–25, and they read almost like a page from the annals of the Indian mutiny.

His full description is "Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal"[e] of Judah (Jer. xli. 1; 2 K. xxv. 25). Whether by this is intended that he was actually a son of Zedekiah, or one of the later kings, or, more generally, that he had royal blood in his veins—perhaps a descendant of ELISHAMA, the son of David (2 Sam. v. 16)—we cannot tell. During the siege of the city he had, like many others of his countrymen (Jer. xl. 11), fled across the Jordan, where he found a refuge at the court of Baalis, the then king of the Bene-Ammon (Jos. *Ant.* x. 9, § 2). Ammonite women were sometimes found in the harems of the kings of Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 1), and Ishmael may have been thus related to the Ammonite court on his mother's side. At any rate he was instigated by Baalis to the designs which he accomplished but too successfully (Jer. xl. 14; *Ant.* x. 9, § 3). Several bodies of Jews appear to have been lying under arms in the plains on the S.E. of the Jordan,[f] during the last days of Jerusalem, watching the progress of affairs in Western Palestine, commanded by "princes" (שָׂרִים; R. V. "captains"), the chief of whom were Ishmael and two brothers, Johanan and Jonathan, sons of Kareah. Immediately after the departure of the Chaldean army these men moved across the Jordan to pay their respects to GEDALIAH, whom the king of Babylon had left as superintendent (פְּקִיד) of the province. Gedaliah had taken up his residence at MIZPAH, a few miles north of Jerusalem, on the main road, where Jeremiah the prophet resided with him (xl. 6). The house would appear to have been isolated from the rest of the town. We can discern a high enclosed courtyard and a deep well within its precincts. The well was certainly (Jer. xli. 9; cp. 1 K. xv. 22), and the whole residence was probably, a relic of the military works of Asa king of Judah.

Ishmael made no secret of his intention to kill the superintendent, and usurp his position. Of this Gedaliah was warned in express terms by Johanan and his companions; and Johanan, in a secret interview, foreseeing how irreparable a misfortune Gedaliah's death would be at this juncture (Jer. xl. 15), offered to remove the danger by killing Ishmael. This, however, Gedaliah, a man evidently of a high and unsuspecting nature, would not hear of (xl. 16. See the amplification in Jos. *Ant.* x. 9, § 3). They all accordingly took leave. Thirty days after (*Ant.* x. 9, § 4), in the seventh month (xli. 1), on the third day of the month—so says the tradition—Ishmael again appeared at Mizpah, this time accompanied by ten men, who were, according to the Hebrew text, "princes (R.V. "chief officers") of the king" (רַבֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ), though this is omitted by the LXX. and by Josephus. Gedaliah entertained them at a feast (xli. 1). According to the statement of Josephus, this was a very lavish entertainment, and Gedaliah became much intoxicated. It must have been a private one, for before its close Ishmael and his followers had murdered Gedaliah and all his attendants with such secrecy that no alarm was given outside the room. The same night he killed all Gedaliah's establishment, including some Chaldean soldiers who were there. Jeremiah appears fortunately to have been absent, and, incredible as it seems, so well had Ishmael taken his precautions that for two days the massacre remained perfectly unknown to the people of the town. On the second day Ishmael perceived from his elevated position a large party coming southward along the main road from Shechem and Samaria. He went out to meet them. They proved to be eighty devotees, who with rent clothes, and with shaven beards, mutilated bodies, and other marks of heathen devotion, and weeping[g] as they went, were bringing frankincense and oblations to the ruins of the Temple. At his invitation they turned aside to the residence of the superintendent. And here Ishmael put into practice the same stratagem which on a larger scale was employed by Muhammad Ali in the massacre of the Mamelukes at Cairo in 1806. As the unsuspecting pilgrims passed into the courtyard[h] he closed the entrances behind them, and there he and his band butchered the whole number: ten only escaped by the offer of heavy ransom for their lives. The seventy corpses were then thrown into the well which, as at Cawnpore, was within the precincts of the house, and which was completely filled with the bodies. It was the same thing that had been done by Jehu—a man in some respects a prototype of Ishmael—with the bodies of the forty-two relatives of Ahaziah (2 K. x. 14). This done he descended to the town, surprised and carried off the daughters of king Zedekiah, who had been sent there by Nebuchadnezzar for safety, with their eunuchs and their Chaldean guard (xli. 10,

[e] זרע המלוכה. Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Ch. xxviii. 7) interprets this expression as meaning "of the seed of Molech." He gives the same meaning to the words "the king's son" applied to Maaseiah in the above passage. The question is an interesting one, and has been revived by Geiger (*Urschrift*, &c. p. 307), who extends it to other passages and persons. [MOLECH.] Jerome (as above) further says—perhaps on the strength of a tradition—that Ishmael was the son of an Egyptian slave, Gera: as a reason why the "seed royal" should bear the meaning he gives it. This the writer has not hitherto succeeded in elucidating.

[f] So perhaps, taking it with the express statement of xl. 11, we may interpret the words "the forces which were in the field" (Jer. xl. 7, 13), where the term rendered "the field" (בַּיְשֵׁרָה) is one used to denote the pasture-grounds of Moab—the modern *Belka*—oftener than any other district (see Gen. xxxvi. 35; Num. xxi. 20; Ruth i. 1, and *passim*; 1 Ch. viii. 8; and Stanley's *S. & P.* App. § 15). The persistent use of the word in the semi-Moabite Book of Ruth is alone enough to fix its meaning.

[g] This is the LXX. version of the matter—αὐτοὶ ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἔκλαιον. The statement of the Hebrew text and A. V. that Ishmael wept is unintelligible.

[h] The Hebrew has הָעִיר—"the city" (A. V. v. 7). This has been read by Josephus חָצֵר—"courtyard." The alteration carries its genuineness in its face. The same change has been made by the Masorets (*Qeri*) in 2 K. xx. 4.

16), and all the people of the town, and made off with his prisoners to the country of the Ammonites. Which road he took is not quite clear; the Hebrew text and LXX. say by Gibeon, —that is, north; but Josephus, by Hebron, round the southern end of the Dead Sea. The news of the massacre had by this time got abroad, and Ishmael was quickly pursued by Johanan and his companions. Whether north or south, they soon tracked him and his unwieldy booty, and found them reposing by some copious waters (מַיִם רַבִּים). He was attacked, two of his bravoes slain, the whole of the prey recovered, and Ishmael himself, with the remaining eight of his people, escaped to the Ammonites, and thenceforward passes into the obscurity from which it would have been well if he had never emerged.

Johanan's foreboding was fulfilled. The result of this tragedy was an immediate panic. The small remnants of the Jewish commonwealth—the captains of the forces, the king's daughters, the two prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, and all the men, women, and children—at once took flight into Egypt (Jer. xli. 17; xliii. 5–7); and all hopes of a settlement were for the time at an end. The remembrance of the calamity was perpetuated by a fast—the fast of the seventh month (Zech. vii. 5; viii. 19), which is to this day strictly kept by the Jews on the third of Tishri (see Reland, *Antiq.* iv. 10; Kimchi on Zech. vii. 5). The part taken by Baalis in this transaction apparently brought upon his nation the denunciations both of Jeremiah (xlix. 1–6) and the more distant Ezekiel (xxv. 1–7), but we have no record how these predictions were accomplished. [G.] [W.]

ISHMA'IAH (יִשְׁמַעְיָהוּ, *i.e.* Ishmayahu, = *Jehovah hears*; Σαμαΐας; *Jesmaias*), son of Obadiah: the ruler of the tribe of Zebulun in the time of king David (1 Ch. xxvii. 19).

ISH'MEËLITE AND ISH'MEËLITES, R.V. ISH'MAELITE AND ISH'MAELITES יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי and יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים respectively; LXX. Ἰσμαηλείτης, -ται [usually]; *Ismahelithes, Ismaëlitae*); the form—in agreement with the vowels of the Hebrew—in which the descendants of Ishmael are given in a few places in the A.V.: the former in 1 Ch. ii. 17; the latter in Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, xxxix. 1.

ISH'MERAI (יִשְׁמַרְי, if = ישמריה = *whom Jehovah keeps*; B. Σαμαρεί, A. Ἰεσαμαρί; *Jesamari*), a Benjamite; one of the family of Elpaal, and named as a chief man in the tribe (1 Ch. viii. 18).

ISH-OD (אִישְׁהוֹד, *i.e.* Ish-hod = *man of renown*; B. Ἰσαδέκ, A. Σούδ; *virum decorum*), one of the tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan, son of Hammoleketh, *i.e.* the Queen, and, from his near connexion with Gilead, evidently an important person (1 Ch. vii. 18).

ISH-PAN (יִשְׁפָּן; B. Ἰσφάν, A. Ἐσφάν; *Jespham*), a Benjamite, one of the family of Shashak; named as a chief man in his tribe (1 Ch. viii. 22).

ISH-TOB (אִישׁ־טוֹב; B. Ειστωβ, ... Ἰστώβ, Jos. Ἴστωβος; *Istob*), apparently one of the small kingdoms or states which formed part of the general country of Aram, named with Zobah, Rehob, and Maacah (2 Sam. x. 6, 8), and probably situated east of *Jebel Haurân*. [ARAM.] In the parallel account of 1 Ch. xix. Ishtob is omitted. By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, § 1) the name is given as that of a king. But though in the ancient Versions the name is given as one word, it is probable that it should be rendered, as in R. V., "the men of TOB," a district mentioned also in connexion with Ammon in the records of Jephthah, and again perhaps, under the shape of TOBIE or TUBIENI, in the history of the Maccabees. [G.] [W.]

ISHU'AH, R. V. ISH'VAH (יִשְׁוָה = *peaceful* [M.V.11]; A. Ἰεσσαί, *D.* Ἰεσουά; *Jesua*), the second son of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17). In the genealogies of Asher in 1 Ch. vii. 30 (B. Ἰσουά, A. Ἰεσουά) the name, though identical in the original, is in the A. V. given as ISUAH (R. V. Ishvah). In the lists of Num. xxvi., however, Ishuah is entirely omitted.

ISH'UAI, R. V. ISH'VI (יִשְׁוִי = *peaceful*; B. Ἰσουί, A. Ἰεσουί; *Jessui*), the third son of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 30), founder of a family bearing his name (Num. xxvi. 44; A. V. "Jesuites," R. V. "Ishvites"). His descendants, however, are not mentioned in the genealogy in Chronicles. His name is elsewhere given in the A. V. as ISUI, JESUI, and (another person) ISHUI.

ISH'UI, R. V. ISH'VI (יִשְׁוִי = *peaceful*; B. Ἰεσσιούλ, A. Ἰσουεί, Joseph. Ἰεσοῦς; *Jessui*), the second son of Saul by his wife Ahinoam (1 Sam. xiv. 49, cp. *v.* 50): his place in the family was between Jonathan and Melchishua. In the list of Saul's genealogy in 1 Ch. viii. and ix., however, the name of Ishui is entirely omitted; and in the sad narrative of the battle of Gilboa his place is occupied by Abinadab (1 Sam. xxxi. 2). We can only conclude that he died young.

The same name is elsewhere given in the A. V. as ISUI and ISHUAI. [G.] [W.]

ISLE (אִי; more frequently in the plural, אִיִּים: νῆσος). The radical sense of the Hebrew word seems to be land places, as opposed to water, and in this sense it occurs in Is. xlii. 15. Hence it means secondarily any maritime district, whether belonging to a continent or to an island: thus it is used of the shore of the Mediterranean (Is. xx. 6 [R. V. "coastland"], xxiii. 2, 6 [R. V. marg. *coastland*]), and of the coasts of Elishah (Ezek. xxvii. 7), *i.e.* of Greece and Asia Minor. In this sense it is more particularly restricted to the shores of the Mediterranean, sometimes in the fuller expression "islands of the sea" (Is. xi. 11), or "isles of the Gentiles" (Gen. x. 5; cp. Zeph. ii. 11), and sometimes simply as "isles" (Ps. lxxii. 10; Ezek. xxvi. 15, 18, xxvii. 3, 35, xxxix. 6; Dan. xi. 18): an exception to this, however, occurs in Ezek. xxvii. 15, where the shores of the Persian Gulf are intended. Occasionally the word is specifically used of an island, as of Caphtor or Crete (Jer. xlvii. 4), and Chittim or Cyprus (Ezek. xxvii. 6; Jer. ii. 10), or of islands

as opposed to the mainland (Esth. x. 1). But more generally it is applied to any region separated from Palestine by water, as fully described in Jer. xxv. 22, "the isles which are beyond the sea," which were hence regarded as the most remote regions of the earth (Is. xxiv. 15, xlii. 10, lix. 18; compare the expression in Is. lxvi. 19, "the isles afar off") and also as large and numerous (Is. xl. 15; Ps. xcvii. 1): the word is more particularly used by the Prophets (see J. D. Michaelis, *Spicilegium*, i. 131–142). In many of the above passages the R. V. uses the term "coastlands," either in the margin or in the text. [W. L. B.]

ISMACHI'AH (יִסְמַכְיָהוּ, *i.e.* Ismac-yahu = *whom Jehovah supports*; B. Σαμαχειά, A. -χια; *Jesmachias*), a Levite who was one of the overseers (פְּקִידִים) of offerings, during the revival under king Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxxi. 13).

IS'MAEL. **1.** (Ἰσμαήλ; *Ismaël*.) Judith ii. 23. Another form for the name ISHMAEL, son of Abraham.

2. (Ἰσμαήλος; *Hismaenis*.) 1 Esd. ix. 22. [ISHMAEL, 5.]

ISMAI'AH, R. V. ISHMAI'AH (יִשְׁמַעְיָה = *Jehovah hears*; BA. Σαμαΐας, ℵ. Σαμεάς; *Samaias*), a Gibeonite, one of the chiefs of those warriors who relinquished the cause of Saul, the head of their tribe, and joined themselves to David, when he was at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 4). He is described as "a hero (*Gibbor*) among the thirty and over the thirty"—*i.e.* David's body-guard: but his name does not appear in the lists of the guard in 2 Sam. xxiii. and 1 Ch. xi. Possibly he was killed in some encounter before David reached the throne.

IS-PAH, R. V. ISH-PAH (יִשְׁפָּה [see MV.[11]]; B. Σαφάν, A. Ἐσφάχ; *Jespha*), a Benjamite, of the family of Beriah; one of the heads of his tribe (1 Ch. viii. 16).

ISRAEL (יִשְׂרָאֵל; Ἰσραήλ; *Israel*). In times strictly historical, the collective or national designation of the brother tribes who came out of Egypt (Hos. ii. 15, xi. 1, xii. 9, 13), and whose eponymous ancestor was Jacob-Israel, after whom they called themselves *Bĕnē Yisrā'ēl*, "the sons of Israel," or simply Israel (cp. Gen. xxxiv. 7; xlviii. 20; xlix. 7). According to an exquisitely beautiful and profoundly significant tradition, preserved in the older stratum of Genesis (Gen. xxxii. 25–32, J), and cited with one or two important variations by the early prophet Hosea (Hos. xii. 3, 4), Jacob, "the wandering Aramean" (אַרַמִּי אֹבֵד) of the Deuteronomist (Deut. xxvi. 5), received this name of Israel after his mysterious conflict at Penuel or Peniel, upon the borders of the Holy Land [JACOB]. Since in the monarchical period the northern and larger group of Israelitish tribes was designated Israel, in distinction from the kingdom of Judah, it might be conjectured that Israel was, in fact, an ancient name of middle and northern Palestine; but as no trace of this has been found in Egyptian records, nor in the oldest cuneiform documents that refer at all to the country [HEBREW],[a] we seem obliged to conclude that Israel was not a name indigenous to Canaan, but really peculiar to the confederacy of tribes that emerged from the Sinaitic peninsula, and gradually effected its conquest.

The etymological meaning of this name, so glorious in the records of revelation, is not easy to determine. According to the analogy of similar proper names, it might be *El striveth* or *doeth battle* ("Es streitet Gott," Nestle, *Israel. Eigennamen*, p. 60 sq.); cp. Jerubbaal (*i.e.* יְרֻבַּעַל, "Baal contendeth"). If we prefer to regard the first element as a verbal noun (like Izhar or *Yiṣhār*, Isaac or *Yiṣchāq*), we may render *El's warrior* or *Soldier of God* ("pugnator, miles Dei," Gesen. *Thes.* 1338 b; "Gotteskämpfer," Kautzsch; so Ewald, *H. I.* i. 344). This would suit very well with the implications of the fragmentary reference, Gen. xlviii. 22 (E), where Jacob speaks of having wrested Shechem from the Amorites with sword and bow; and some such reason as this may perhaps have been assigned for the name in the original form of the passage, Gen. xxxv. 10 (P). On the other hand, *El striveth* or *is a warrior* is in perfect harmony with such expressions as "Jahvah is a Man of War" (Ex. xv. 3; cp. Hos. xii. 6); "The God of the hosts of Israel" (1 Sam. xvii. 45); and the frequent *Jahvāh Ṣĕbā'ōth* (i.e. *Jahvāh 'ĕlōhē Ṣĕbā'ōth*), "The Lord (God) of Hosts." But it can hardly be said that the interpretation put upon the name both by the Jahvist (Gen. xxxii. 29) and by the Prophet Hosea (Hos. xii. 4: יִשַּׂר אֶת־אֱלֹהִים, "he strove with Elohim") is grammatically impossible (cp. Ewald, *Lehrb.* § 282).[b] That Israel was the name of the undivided nation in the time of the first kings (Saul, David, Solomon) hardly requires proof (see 2 Sam. i. 24, xxiii. 3). After the division of the kingdom, the northern monarchy came to be known as Israel and the House of Israel (cp. the Assyrian designation of it, "House of Omri"); while the Davidic kingdom of the south was called Judah or the House of Judah (Hos. i. 4, 6, iv. 15, v. 5, 12; Amos ii. 4, 6, v. 1, vii. 11, 17; but cp. iii. 1, ix. 7). Naturally, however, where the contrast was necessary, the same restriction of the title Israel was observed even in the previous time (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xi. 2; 2 Sam. i. 12, ii. 4, xx. 1). Indeed the partial isolation of Judah may be traced back through the period of the Judges to the beginnings of the conquest of the land west of the Jordan. Judah

[a] The earliest occurrence of the name Israel in Assyrian records is the mention of Ahab of Israel (*Aḫabbu mât Sir'ilai* or *Sir'ilâa*) by Shalmaneser (*circ.* 854 B.C.), if Schrader's transcription be accepted as correct. In the same century the northern kingdom is called Israel by Mesha king of Moab, who names both Omri and Ahab in his famous inscription.

[b] The strange explanation, "the man that *sees God*," which St. Jerome says was in vogue in his day, may be accounted for by a confusion of the roots *sūr*, "to strive" (שׂוּר; Hor. xii. 5), and *šūr*, "to see" (שׁוּר; Num. xxiv. 17), which in the unpointed text are exactly alike. In his own view, he combines the sense of שָׂרַר, "to be a prince" (Judg. ix. 22; but also "to strive," Hos. xii. 5), with that of יָשַׁר, "to strive," though he renders the name "Prince with God" (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.*)—a curious instance of exegetical vacillation.

was the first to part company with the other tribes, and to win possession of that hill-country which was to be his permanent territory (Judg. i. 3, 19). Neither he, nor "his brother Simeon" who had shared in the enterprise, is named in the Song of Deborah (Judg. v.). Wellhausen accordingly thinks that this "secession" of Judah, Simeon, (and Levi) from the remaining tribes was the origin of the division of the nation into Israel and Judah (*H. I.* p. 441). But the primal unity, however loose, was never forgotten; and Isaiah could speak of "the two houses of Israel" (Is. viii. 14), and could call Judah "the remnant of Israel" (Is. x. 20).

The latest historian, whose compilation is dismembered in the Canon into the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, sometimes calls the Judean state Israel, even when referring to the pre-exilic period (2 Ch. xi. 3, xii. 1, xv. 17, xix. 8, xxi. 2, 4, xxiii. 2; Ezra ii. 2, iii. 1, ix. 1; but cp. 2 Ch. xxx. 1, 5, 10; Ezra x. 7, 9). The Chronicler has also a peculiar use of the term "Israel," to denote the lay folk as distinct from the priestly orders (1 Ch. ix. 2; Ezra vi. 16, ix. 1; Neh. xi. 3). In the Maccabean age, the old name, so rich in inspiring memories, was naturally revived (1 Macc. i. 11, 20, 30 sq., ii. 70, iii. 35, iv. 11, 30 sq.); and the coins of the Hasmonean princes bore the legend "shekel of Israel." Israel, in truth, never ceased to be the name to which the highest associations of religious and patriotic feeling clung inseparably; hence the psalms of every age almost without exception (Ps. lxxvi. 1) speak of Israel, not of Judah.[c] The later prophetic use of the term Israel (*e.g.* Is. xlix. 3) prepared the way for St. Paul's distinction between "Israel after the flesh" and the true spiritual Israel (cp. John i. 47). [C. J. B.]

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF.[a] 1. The prophet Ahijah of Shiloh, who was commissioned in the latter days of Solomon to announce the division of the kingdom, left one tribe (Judah) to the House of David, and assigned ten to Jeroboam (1 K. xi. 31, 35). These were probably Joseph (= Ephraim and Manasseh), Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, Gad, and Reuben; Levi being intentionally omitted. Eventually, the greater part of Benjamin, and probably the whole of Simeon and Dan, were included as if by common consent in the kingdom of Judah. With respect to the conquests of David, Moab appears to have been attached to the kingdom of Israel (2 K. iii. 4); so much of Syria as remained subject to Solomon (see 1 K. xi. 24) would probably be claimed by his successor in the northern kingdom; and Ammon, though connected with Rehoboam as his mother's native land (2 Ch. xii. 13), and though afterwards tributary to Judah (2 Ch. xxvii. 5), was at one time allied (2 Ch. xx. 1), we know not how closely, or how early, with Moab. The sea-coast between Accho and Japho remained in the possession of Israel.

2. The population of the kingdom is not expressly stated; and in drawing any inference from the numbers of fighting-men, we must bear in mind that the numbers in the Heb. text of the O. T. are strongly suspected to have been subjected to extensive, perhaps systematic, corruption. Forty years before the disruption the census taken by direction of David gave 800,000 according to 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, or 1,100,000 according to 1 Ch. xxi. 5, as the number of fighting-men in Israel. Jeroboam, B.C. 938, brought into the field an army of 800,000 men (2 Ch. xiii. 3). The small number of the army of Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 7) is to be attributed to his compact with Hazael; for in the next reign Israel could spare a mercenary host ten times as numerous for the wars of Amaziah (2 Ch. xxv. 6). If in B.C. 957 there were actually under arms 800,000 men of "twenty years old and above" (Num. i. 3; 2 Ch. xxv. 5) in Israel, the whole population may perhaps have amounted to at least three millions and a half. Later observers have echoed the disappointment with which Jerome from his cell at Bethlehem contemplated the small extent of this celebrated country (*Ep.* 129, *ad Dardan.* § 4). The area of Palestine proper, from Dan to Beersheba, was —west of the Jordan—6,000 square miles, or about the size of the Principality of Wales; east of the Jordan the habitable district was about 4,000 square miles. At the time of the disruption the area claimed for Israel would have been about 7,500 square miles, not including Syria (cp. Conder, *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 204; and for remarks on the density of the population, pp. 271–3, 281).

3. SHECHEM was the first capital of the new kingdom (1 K. xii. 25), venerable for its traditions, and beautiful in its situation. Subsequently Tirzah, whose loveliness had fixed the wandering gaze of Solomon (Cant. vi. 4), became the royal residence, if not the capital, of Jeroboam (1 K. xiv. 17) and of his successors (xv. 33; xvi. 8, 17, 23). Samaria, uniting in itself the qualities of beauty and fertility, and a commanding position, was chosen by Omri (1 K. xvi. 24), and remained the capital of the kingdom until it had given the last proof of its strength by sustaining for three years the onset of the hosts of Assyria. Jezreel was probably only a royal residence of some of the Israelitish kings. It may have been in awe of the ancient holiness of Shiloh, that Jeroboam forbore to pollute the secluded site of the Tabernacle with the golden calves. He chose for the religious capitals of his kingdom Dan, the old home of northern schism, and Bethel,[b] a Benjamite city not far from Shiloh, and marked out by history and situation as the rival of Jerusalem.

4. The disaffection of Ephraim and the northern tribes having grown in secret under the prosperous but burdensome reign of Solomon, broke out at the critical moment of that great monarch's death. It was just then that Ephraim, the centre of the movement, found in Jeroboam an instrument prepared to give expression to

[c] So far as they belong to the period of the Judean monarchy, this may, perhaps, be partly explained by the fact that the house of David never formally surrendered its claim to rule the entire nation.

[a] The political aspect of the periods included in this article is presented by Wellhausen (summarily) in "Israel" (*Encycl. Brit.*[9]), by Stade (more in detail) in his *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, and by Edersheim, *Bible History*. The student will further turn to Edersheim for a careful presentment of the religious aspect.

[b] On these seven places see Stanley's *S. & P.*, chs. iv. v. and xi.

the rivalry of centuries, with sufficient ability and application to rise him to high station, with the stain of treason on his name, and with the bitter recollections of an exile in his mind. Judah and Joseph were rivals from the time that they occupied the two prominent places, and received the amplest promises in the blessing of the dying patriarch (Gen. xlix. 8, 22). When the twelve tribes issued from Egypt, only Judah and Joseph could each muster above 70,000 warriors. In the desert and in the conquest, Caleb and Joshua, the representatives of the two tribes, stand out side by side eminent among the leaders of the people. The blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 13) and the divine selection of Joshua inaugurated the greater prominence of Joseph for the next three centuries. Othniel, the successor of Joshua, was from Judah: the last, Samuel, was born among the Ephraimites. Within that period Ephraim supplied at Shiloh (Judg. xxi. 19) a resting-place for the Ark, the centre of divine worship; and a rendezvous or capital at Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 1; Judg. ix. 2) for the whole people. Ephraim arrogantly claimed (Judg. viii. 1, xii. 1) the exclusive right of taking the lead against invaders. Royal authority was offered to one dweller in Ephraim (viii. 22), and actually exercised for three years by another (ix. 22). After a silent, perhaps sullen, acquiescence in the transfer of Samuel's authority with additional dignity to a Benjamite, they resisted for seven years (2 Sam. ii. 9–11) its passing into the hands of the popular Jewish leader, and yielded reluctantly to the conviction that the sceptre which seemed almost within their grasp was reserved at last for Judah. Even in David's reign their jealousy did not always slumber (2 Sam. xix. 43); and though Solomon's alliance and intercourse with Tyre must have tended to increase the loyalty of the northern tribes, they took the first opportunity to emancipate themselves from the rule of his son. Doubtless the length of Solomon's reign, and the clouds that gathered round the close of it (1 K. xi. 14–25), and possibly his increasing despotism (Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 395), tended to diminish the general popularity of the house of David; and the idolatry of the king alienated the affection of religious Israelites. But none of these was the immediate cause of the disruption. No aspiration after greater liberty, political privileges, or aggrandizement at the expense of other powers, no spirit of commercial enterprise, no breaking forth of pent-up energy seems to have instigated the movement. Ephraim proudly longed for independence, without considering whether or at what cost he could maintain it. Shechem was built as a capital, and Tirzah as a residence, for an Ephraimite king, by the people who murmured under the burden imposed upon them by the royal state of Solomon. Ephraim felt no patriotic pride in a national splendour of which Judah was the centre. The dwelling-place of God when fixed in Jerusalem ceased to be so honourable to him as of old. It was ancient jealousy rather than recent provocation, the opportune death of Solomon rather than unwillingness to incur taxation, the opportune return of a persecuted Ephraimite rather than any commanding genius for rule which Jeroboam possessed, that finally broke up the brotherhood of the children of Jacob. It was an outburst of human feeling so soon as that divine influence which restrained the spirit of disunion was withdrawn in consequence of the idolatry of Solomon, so soon as that stern prophetic Voice which had called Saul to the throne under a protest, and David to the throne in repentance, was heard in anger summoning Jeroboam to divide the kingdom.

5. The kingdom of Israel developed no new power. It was but a portion of David's kingdom deprived of many elements of strength. Its frontier was as open and as widely extended as before; but it wanted a capital for the seat of organised power. Its territory was as fertile and as tempting to the spoiler, but its people were less united and patriotic. A corrupt religion poisoned the source of national life. When less reverence attended on a new and unconsecrated king, and less respect was felt for an aristocracy reduced by the retirement of the Levites, the army which David found hard to control rose up unchecked in the exercise of its wilful strength; and thus eight houses, each ushered in by a revolution, occupied the throne in quick succession. Tyre ceased to be an ally when the alliance was no longer profitable to the merchant-city. Moab and Ammon yielded tribute only while under compulsion. A powerful neighbour, Damascus, sat armed at the gate of Israel; and, beyond Damascus, might be discerned the rising strength of the first great monarchy of the world.

These causes tended to increase the misfortunes and to accelerate the early end of the kingdom of Israel. It lasted 216 years, from B.C. 938 to B.C. 722, about two-thirds of the duration of its more compact neighbour Judah.

But it may be doubted whether the division into two kingdoms greatly shortened the independent existence of the Hebrew race, or interfered with the purposes which, it is thought, may be traced in the establishment of David's monarchy. If among those purposes were the preservation of the true religion in the world, and the preparation of an agency adapted for the diffusion of Christianity in due season, then it must be observed—first, that as a bulwark providentially raised against the corrupting influence of idolatrous Tyre and Damascus, Israel kept back that contagion from Judah, and partly exhausted it before its arrival in the south; next, that the purity of Divine worship was not destroyed by the excision of those tribes which were remote from the influence of the Temple, and by the concentration of priests and religious Israelites within the southern kingdom; and lastly, that to the worshippers at Jerusalem the early decline and fall of Israel was a solemn and impressive spectacle of judgment,—the working out of the great problem of God's toleration of idolatry. This prepared the heart of Judah for the revivals under Hezekiah and Josiah, softened them into repentance during the Captivity, and strengthened them for their absolute renunciation of idolatry, when after seventy years they returned to Palestine, to teach the world that there is a spiritual bond more efficacious than the occupancy of a certain soil for keeping up national existence, and to become the channel through which God's greatest gift was conveyed to mankind. [CAPTIVITY.]

6. The detailed history of the kingdom of Israel will be found under the names of its nineteen kings. [See also EPHRAIM.] A summary view may be taken in four periods:—

(*a.*) B.C. 938–888. Jeroboam had not sufficient force of character in himself to make a lasting impression on his people. A king, but not a founder of a dynasty, he aimed at nothing beyond securing his present elevation. Without any ambition to share in the commerce of Tyre, or to compete with the growing power of Damascus, or even to complete the humiliation of the helpless monarch whom he had deprived of half a kingdom, Jeroboam acted entirely on a defensive policy. He attempted to give his subjects a centre which they wanted for their political allegiance, in Shechem or in Tirzah. He sought to change merely so much of their ritual as was inconsistent with his authority over them. But as soon as the golden calves were set up, the priests and Levites and many religious Israelites (2 Ch. xi. 16) left their country, and the disastrous emigration was not effectually checked even by the attempt of Baasha to build a fortress (2 Ch. xvi. 6) at Ramah. A new priesthood was introduced (1 K. xii. 31) absolutely dependent on the king (Amos vii. 13), not forming as under the Mosaic law a landed aristocracy, not respected by the people, and unable either to withstand the oppression or to strengthen the weakness of a king. A priesthood created and a ritual devised for secular purposes had no hold whatever on the conscience of the people. To meet their spiritual cravings a succession of prophets was raised up, great in their poverty, their purity, their austerity, their self-dependence, their moral influence, but imperfectly organised,—a rod to correct and check the civil government, not, as they might have been under happier circumstances, a staff to support it. The army soon learned its power to dictate to the isolated monarch and disunited people. Baasha in the midst of the army at Gibbethon slew the son and successor of Jeroboam; Zimri, a captain of chariots, slew the son and successor of Baasha; Omri, the captain of the host, was chosen to punish Zimri; and after a civil war of four years he prevailed over Tibni, the choice of half the people.

(*b.*) B.C. 888–843. For forty-five years Israel was governed by the house of Omri, the second founder of the kingdom. That sagacious king pitched on the strong hill of Samaria as the site of his capital. Damascus, which in the days of Baasha had proved itself more than a match for Israel, now again assumed a threatening attitude. Edom and Moab showed a tendency to independence, or even aggression. Hence the princes of Omri's house cultivated an alliance with the contemporary kings of Judah, which was cemented by the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah, and marked by the community of names among the royal children. Ahab's Tyrian alliance strengthened him with the counsels of the masculine mind of Jezebel, but brought him no farther support. The subsequent rejection of the God of Abraham, under the disguise of abandoning Jeroboam's unlawful symbolism, and adopting Baal as the god of a luxurious court and subservient populace, led to a reaction in the nation, to the moral triumph of the prophets in the person of Elijah, and to the extinction of the house of Ahab in obedience to the bidding of Elisha.

(*c.*) B.C. 843–743. Unparalleled triumphs, but deeper humiliation, awaited the kingdom of Israel under the dynasty of Jehu. The worship of Baal was abolished by one blow; but, so long as the kingdom lasted, the people never rose superior to the debasing form of religion established by Jeroboam. Hazael, the successor of the two Benhadads, the ablest king of Damascus, reduced Jehoahaz to the condition of a vassal, and triumphed for a time over both the disunited Hebrew kingdoms. Almost the first sign of the restoration of their strength was a war between them; and Jehoash, the grandson of Jehu, entered Jerusalem as the conqueror of Amaziah. Jehoash also turned the tide of war against the Syrians; and Jeroboam II., the most powerful of all the kings of Israel, captured Damascus, and recovered the whole ancient frontier from Hamath to the Dead Sea. In the midst of this long and seemingly glorious reign the prophet Amos uttered his warnings. The short-lived greatness expired with the last king of Jehu's line.

(*d.*) B.C. 743–722. Military violence, it would seem, broke off the hereditary succession after the obscure and probably convulsed reign of Zachariah. An unsuccessful usurper, Shallum, was followed by the cruel Menahem, who, being unable to make head against the first attack of Assyria under Pul (Tiglath-pileser II.), became the agent of that monarch for the oppressive taxation of his subjects. Yet his power at home was sufficient to insure for his son and successor Pekahiah a ten years' reign, cut short by a bold usurper, Pekah. Abandoning the northern and Transjordanic regions to the encroaching power of Assyria under Tiglath-pileser, he was very near subjugating Judah, with the help of Damascus, now the coequal ally of Israel. But Assyria interposing summarily put an end to the independence of Damascus, and perhaps was the indirect cause of the assassination of the baffled Pekah. The irresolute Hoshea, the next and last usurper, became tributary to his invader, Shalmaneser IV., betrayed the Assyrian to the rival monarchy of Egypt, and was punished by the loss of his liberty, and by the capture by Sargon, after a three years' siege, of his strong capital, Samaria. Some gleanings of the ten tribes yet remained in the land after so many years of religious decline, moral debasement, national degradation, anarchy, bloodshed, and deportation. Even these were gathered up by the conqueror and carried to Assyria, never again, as a distinct people, to occupy their portion of that goodly and pleasant land which their forefathers won under Joshua from the heathen. [W. L. B.] [F.]

7. The following table gives the chronology of the periods as now generally accepted (see Riehm's *HWB.*, s. n. "Zeitrechnung"). The chronology of Ussher, &c. will be found in the 1st ed. of this work, and in Edersheim's *Bible History*, vol. v. end.

DIVISION OF THE KINGDOMS, B.C. 938.

Israel.	*Judah.*
938–917 Jeroboam I.	938–922 Rehoboam.
917,916 Nadab.	921–919 Abijah.

Israel.	*Judah.*
916–893 Baasha.	918–878 Asa.
893, 892 Elah.	
892 Zimri.	
892–888 Tibni.	
888–877 Omri.	
877–856 Ahab.	877–853 Jehoshaphat.
856, 855 Ahaziah.	
855–844 Joram.	852–845 Jehoram.
	844 Ahaziah.
843–816 Jehu.	843–838 Athaliah.
815–799 Jehoahaz.	837–798 Jehoash.
798–783 Jehoash.	797–769 Amaziah.
783–743 Jeroboam II.	780–739 Uzziah.
743 Zachariah, Shallum,	
742–738 Menahem.	750–735 Jotham.
738, 737 Pekahiah.	
736–731 Pekah.	735–715 Ahaz.
730–722 Hoshea.	
722 Fall of Samaria.	[F.]

ISRAELITE (יִשְׂרְאֵלִי; B. Ἰσραηλείτης; *de Jesraëli*). In 2 Sam. xvii. 25, Ithra is called "the Israelite" (R. V. and LXX. B.). The true reading is "the Ishmaelite" (cp. LXX. A. and 1 Ch. ii. 17). "Israelite" is also the A. V. rendering of אִישׁ יִשְׂרְאֵל (R. V. "man of Israel") in Num. xxv. 14, and of Ἰσραηλείτης in John i. 47, Rom. xi. 1. "Israelites" is the translation of יִשְׂרָאֵל, used collectively in many passages (*e.g.* Ex. ix. 7; Josh. iii. 17; 1 Sam. ii. 14; 2 Sam. iv. 1; 2 K. iii. 24; 1 Ch. ix. 2);—of Ἰσραήλ in Bar. iii. 4; 1 Macc. i. 43, &c.;—of *vlol* Ἰσρ. in Judith vi. 14; 1 Macc. vii. 23;—and of Ἰσραηλεῖται in Rom. ix. 4; 2 Cor. xi. 22. [F.]

ISRAELITISH (יִשְׂרְאֵלִית, B. Ἰσραηλεῖτις; *Israelitis*). The designation of a woman whose son was stoned for blasphemy (Lev. xxiv. 10).

IS'SACHAR (יִשָּׂשכָר, *i.e.* Isascar—such is the invariable spelling of the name in the Hebrew, the Samaritan Codex and Version, the Targums of Onkelos and Pseudojonathan, but the Masorets have pointed it so as to supersede the second S, יִשָּׂשׂכָר, Issa[s]car: Ἰσσάχαρ; Rec. Text of N. T. Ἰσασχάρ, but Cod. C. Ἰσαχάρ; Joseph. Ἰσσάχαρις: *Isachar*), the ninth son of Jacob and the fifth of Leah; the first born to Leah after the interval which occurred in the births of her children (Gen. xxx. 17; cp. xxix. 35). As is the case with each of the sons, the name is recorded as bestowed on account of a circumstance connected with the birth. But, as may be also noticed in more than one of the others, two explanations seem to be combined in the narrative, which even then is not in exact accordance with the requirements of the name. "God hath given me my hire (שְׂכָרִי, *sācār*) . . . and she called his name Issáchar," is the record; but in *v.* 18 that "hire" is for the surrender of her maid to her husband—while in *vv.* 14–17 it is for the discovery and bestowal of the mandrakes. Besides, as indicated above, the name in its original form—Isascar—rebels against this interpretation, an interpretation which to be consistent requires the form subsequently imposed on the word, Is-sachar.[a] The allusion is not again brought forward as it is with Dan, Asher, &c., in the blessings of Jacob and Moses. In the former only it is perhaps allowable to discern a faint echo of the sound of "Issachar" in the word *shicmo*—"shoulder" (Gen. xlix. 15).

Of Issachar the individual we know nothing. In Genesis he is not mentioned after his birth, and the few verses in Chronicles devoted to the tribe contain merely a brief list of its chief men and heroes in the reign of David (1 Ch. vii. 1–5).

At the descent into Egypt four sons are ascribed to him, who founded the four chief families of the tribe (Gen. xlvi. 13; Num. xxvi. 23, 25; 1 Ch. vii. 1). Issachar's place during the journey to Canaan was on the east of the Tabernacle with his brothers Judah and Zebulun (Num. ii. 5), the group moving foremost in the march (x. 15), and having a common standard which, according to the Rabbinical tradition, was of the three colours of sardine, topaz, and carbuncle, inscribed with the names of the three tribes, and bearing the figure of a lion's whelp (see Targum Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 3). At this time the captain of the tribe was Nethaneel ben-Zuar (Num. i. 8, ii. 5, vii. 18, x. 15). He was succeeded by Igal ben-Joseph, who went as representative of his tribe among the spies (xiii. 7), and he again by Paltiel ben-Azzan, who assisted Joshua in apportioning the land of Canaan (xxxiv. 26). Issachar was one of the six tribes who were to stand on Mount Gerizim during the ceremony of blessing and cursing (Deut. xxvii. 12). He was still in company with Judah, Zebulun being opposite on Ebal. The number of the fighting men of Issachar when taken in the census at Sinai was 54,400. During the journey they seem to have steadily increased, and after the mortality at Peor they amounted to 64,300, being inferior to none but Judah and Dan—to the latter by 100 souls only. The numbers given in 1 Ch. vii. 2, 4, 5, probably the census of Joab, amount in all to 145,600.

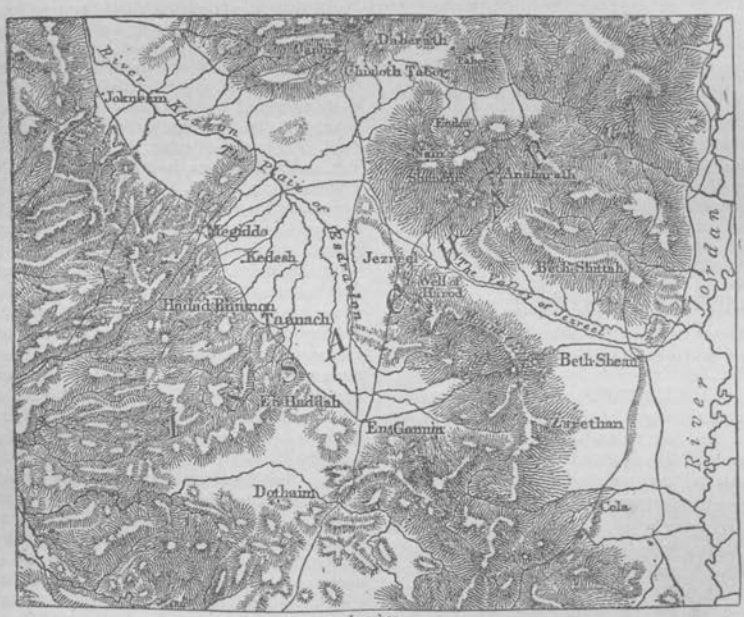
The Promised Land once reached, the connexion between Issachar and Judah seems to have closed, to be renewed only on two brief occasions, which will be noticed in their turn. The intimate relation with Zebulun was, however, maintained. The two brother-tribes had their portions close together, and more than once they are mentioned in company. The allotment of Issachar lay above that of Manasseh. The specification of its boundaries and contents is contained in Josh. xix. 17–23. But to the towns there named must be added Daberath, given in the catalogue of Levitical cities (xxi. 28: Jarmuth here is possibly the Remeth of xix. 21), and five others—Beth-shean, Ibleam, En-dor, Taanach, and Megiddo. These last, though the property of Manasseh, remained within the limits of Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27),

[a] The words occur again almost identically in 2 Ch. xv. 7 and Jer. xxxi. 16: יֵשׁ שָׂכָר = "there is a reward for," A. V. "shall be rewarded."

An expansion of the story of the mandrakes, with curious details, will be found in the *Testamentum Isachar*, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* pp. 620–23. They were ultimately deposited "in the house of the Lord," whatever that expression may mean.

and they assist us materially in determining his boundary. In the words of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22), "it extended in length from Carmel to the Jordan, in breadth to Mount Tabor." In fact it consisted of the plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel, and probably that of Dothan also. The south boundary we can trace by En-gannim, the modern *Jenin*, at the foot of the heights which form the southern enclosure to the Plain; and then further westward by Taanach and Megiddo, the authentic fragments of which still stand on the same heights as they trend away to the hump of Carmel. On the north the territory ceased with the plain, which is there bounded by Tabor, the outpost of the hills of Zebulun. East of Tabor the hill-country continued so as to screen the tribe from the Sea of Galilee, but a wide and gently sloping valley on the S.E. led to Bethshean and the upper part of the Jordan valley. West of Tabor again, a little to the south, is Chesulloth, the modern *Iksâl*, close to the traditional "Mount of Precipitation;" and hence the boundary probably ran in a slanting course till it joined Mount Carmel, where the Kishon (Josh. xix. 20) worked its way below the eastern bluff of that mountain—and thus completed the triangle at its western apex. Nazareth lies among the hills, a few miles north of the so-called Mount of Precipitation, and therefore escaped being in Issachar. Almost in the centre of the territory stood Jezreel, on a low swell, attended on the one hand by the eminence of Mount Gilboa, on the other by that now called *ed-Duhy*, or "little Hermon," the latter having Shunem, Nain, and Endor on its slopes,—names which recall some of the most interesting and important events in the history of Israel.

This territory was, as it still is, among the richest land in Palestine. Westward was the



Issachar.

famous plain which derived its name, the "seed-plot of God"—such is the signification of Jezreel—from its fertility, and the very weeds of which at this day testify to its enormous powers of production (Stanley, *S. & P.*, p. 348). [ESDRAELON; JEZREEL.] On the north is Tabor, which even under the burning sun of that climate retains the glades and dells of an English wood (*ib.* p. 350). On the east, behind Jezreel, is the opening which conducts to the plain of Jordan—to that Bethshean which was proverbially among the Rabbis the gate of Paradise for its fruitfulness. It is this aspect of the territory of Issachar which appears to be alluded to in the Blessing of Jacob. The image of the "strong-boned he-ass" (חֲמֹר גָּרֶם)—the large animal used for burdens and field-work, not the lighter and swifter she-ass for riding—"couching down between the two hedge-rows"[b] (R. V. "sheepfolds"), chewing the cud of stolid ease and quiet—is very applicable, not only to the tendencies and habits, but to the very size and air of a rural agrarian people, while the sequel of the verse is no less suggestive of the certain result of such tendencies when unrelieved by any higher aspirations: "He saw a resting-place that was good and the land that it was pleasant; and he bowed his shoulder to bear and became a servant under task

[b] The word here rendered "hedge-rows" is one which only occurs in Judg. v. 16. The sense there is evidently similar to that in this passage. But as to what that sense is all the authorities differ. See Gesenius, Ben Zev, &c. The rendering given seems to be nearer the real force than any. In each case R. V. renders "sheepfolds."

work[c]" (R. V.)—the task-work imposed on him by the various marauding tribes who were attracted to his territory by the richness of the crops. The Blessing of Moses completes the picture. He is not only "in tents"—in nomad or semi-nomad life—but "rejoicing" in them; and it is perhaps not straining a point to observe that he has by this time begun to lose his individuality. He and Zebulun are mentioned together as having part possession in the holy mountain of Tabor, which was on the frontier line of each (Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19). We pass from this to the time of Deborah: the chief struggle in the great victory over Sisera took place on the territory of Issachar, "by Taanach at the waters of Megiddo" (Judg. v. 19); but the allusion to the tribe in the song of triumph is of the most cursory nature, not consistent with its having taken any prominent part in the action.

One among the Judges of Israel was from Issachar—TOLA (Judg. x. 1); but beyond the length of his sway we have only the fact recorded that he resided out of the limits of his own tribe—at Shamir in Mount Ephraim. By Josephus he is omitted entirely (see *Ant.* v. 7, § 6). The census of the tribe taken in the reign of David has already been alluded to. It is contained in 1 Ch. vii. 1–5, and an expression occurs in it which testifies to the nomadic tendencies above noticed. Out of the whole number of the tribe no less than 36,000 were marauding mercenary troops—"bands" (גְּדוּדִים) —a term applied to no other tribe in this enumeration, though elsewhere to Gad, and uniformly to the irregular bodies of the Bedawi nations round Israel.[d] This was probably at the close of David's reign. Thirty years before, when two hundred of the head men of the tribe had gone to Hebron to assist in making David king over the entire realm, different qualifications are noted in them—they "had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do . . . and all their brethren were at their commandment." What this "understanding of the times" was we have no clue. By the later Jewish interpreters it is explained as skill in ascertaining the periods of the sun and moon, the intercalation of months, and dates of solemn feasts, and the interpretation of the signs of the heavens (Targum ad loc.; Jerome, *Quaest. Heb.*). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 2, § 2) gives it as "knowing the things that were to happen;" and he adds that the armed men who came with these leaders were 20,000. One of the wise men of Issachar, according to an old Jewish tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb.* on 2 Ch. xvii. 16), was Amasiah, son of Zichri, who with 200,000 men offered himself to Jehovah in the service of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 16): but this is very questionable, as the movement appears to have been confined to Judah and Benjamin. The ruler of the tribe at this time was Omri, of the great family of Michael (1 Ch. xxvii. 18; cp. vii. 3). May he not have been the forefather of the king of Israel of the same name—the founder of the "house of Omri" and of the "house of Ahab," the builder of Samaria, possibly on the same hill of Shamir on which the Issacharite judge, Tola, had formerly held his court? But whether this was so or not, at any rate one dynasty of the Israelite kings was Issacharite. BAASHA, the son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar, a member of the army with which Nadab and all Israel were besieging Gibbethon, apparently not of any standing in the tribe (cp. 1 K. xvi. 2), slew the king, and himself mounted the throne (1 K. xv. 27, &c.). He was evidently a fierce and warlike man (xvi. 29; 1 Ch. xvi. 1), and an idolater like Jeroboam. The Issacharite dynasty lasted during the twenty-four years of his reign and the two of his son Elah. At the end of that time it was wrested from Elah by the same means that his father had acquired it, and Zimri, the new king, commenced his reign by a massacre of the whole kindred and connexions of Baasha—he left him "not even so much as a dog" (xvi. 11). ELISHA, being from Abel-meholah, may be said to have been of Issachar.

One more notice of Issachar remains to be added to the meagre information already collected. It is fortunately a favourable one. There may be no truth in the tradition just quoted that the tribe was in any way connected with the reforms of Jehoshaphat, but we are fortunately certain that, distant as Jezreel was from Jerusalem, they took part in the Passover with which Hezekiah sanctified the opening of his reign. On that memorable occasion a multitude of the people from the northern tribes, and amongst them from Issachar, although so long estranged from the worship of Jehovah as to have forgotten how to make the necessary purifications, yet by the enlightened wisdom of Hezekiah were allowed to keep the Feast; and they did keep it seven days with great gladness —with such tumultuous joy as had not been known since the time of Solomon, when the whole land was one. Nor did they separate till the occasion had been signalised by an immense destruction of idolatrous altars and symbols, "in Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim and Manasseh," up to the very confines of Issachar's own land—and then "all the children of Israel returned every man to his possession into their own cities" (2 Ch. xxxi. 1). It is a satisfactory farewell to take of the tribe. A few years later Sargon king of Assyria had taken Samaria after three years' siege, and with the rest of Israel had carried Issachar away to his distant dominions. There we must be content to leave them until, with the rest of their brethren of all the tribes of the children of Israel (Dan only excepted), the twelve thousand of the tribe of Issachar shall be sealed in their foreheads (Rev. vii. 7).

2. A Korhite Levite, one of the doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") of the house of Jehovah, seventh son of OBED-EDOM (1 Ch. xxvi. 5).

[G.] [W.]

[c] לְמַס עֹבֵד. By the LXX. rendered ἀνὴρ γεωργός. Cp. their similar rendering of עֲבֹדָה (A. V. "servants" and "husbandry") in Gen. xxvi. 14.

[d] The word "bands," which is commonly employed in the A. V. to render *Gedoodim*, as above, is unfortunately used in 1 Ch. xii. 23 for a very different term, by which the orderly assembly of the fighting men of the tribes is denoted when they visited Hebron to make David king. This term is רָאשֵׁי = "heads." We may almost suspect a mere misprint, especially as the Vulgate has *principes*.

ISSHI'AH (יִשִּׁיָּה=*whom Jehovah leads*). **1.** (B. omits, A. 'Ιεσίας; *Jesias*.) A descendant of Moses by his younger son Eliezer; the head of the numerous family of Rehabiah, in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiv. 21; cp. xxiii. 17, xxvi. 25). His name is elsewhere given as JESHAIAH.

2. (B. 'Ισιά, A. 'Ασία; *Jesia*.) A Levite of the house of Kohath and family of Uzziel; named in the list of the tribe in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiv. 25).

ISSUE RUNNING (זוֹב). The texts Lev. xv. 2, 3, xxii. 4; Num. v. 2 (and 2 Sam. iii. 29, where the malady is invoked as a curse), are probably to be interpreted of gonorrhoea. In Lev. xv. 3 a distinction is introduced, which merely means that the cessation of the actual flux does not constitute ceremonial cleanness, but that the patient must bide the legal time, seven days (*v.* 13), and perform the prescribed purifications and sacrifice (*v.* 14). See, however, Surenhusius's preface to the treatise *Zabim* of the Mishna, where another interpretation is given. As regards the specific varieties of this malady, it is generally asserted that its most severe form (*gon. virulenta*) is modern, having first appeared in the 15th century. Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, ii. 200) states that he observed that this disorder was prevalent in Persia, but that its effects were far less severe than in Western climates. If this be true, it would go some way to explain the alleged absence of the *gon. virul.* from ancient nosology, which found its field of observation in the East, Greece, &c.; and to confirm the supposition that the milder form only was the subject of Mosaic legislation: cp. Num. xxv. 1, 9; Josh. xxii. 17, where at any rate some persistent malady is intended. But, beyond this, it is probable that diseases may appear, run their course, and disappear, and, for want of an accurate observation of their symptoms, leave no trace behind them. The "bed," "seat," &c. (Lev. xv. 5, 6, &c.), are not supposed by that law to have been contagious, but the defilement is extended to them merely to give greater prominence to the ceremonial strictness with which the case was ruled. In the woman's "issue" (*v.* 19) the ordinary menstruation seems alone intended, supposed prolonged (*v.* 25) to a morbid extent. The scriptural handling of the subject not dealing, as in the case of leprosy, in symptoms, it seems gratuitous to detail them here: those who desire such knowledge will find them in any compendium of therapeutics (see *Biblisch-Talmudische Medicin*, iii., B, *e*). The reff. are Joseph. *de B. J.* v. 5, 6, vi. 9, 3; Mishna, *Zabim*. ii. 2, *Chelim*. i. 3, 8; Maimon. *ad Zabim*. ii. 2: whence we learn that persons thus affected might not ascend the Temple mount, nor share in any religious celebrations, nor even enter Jerusalem. See also Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, iv. 282. [H. H.]

ISTALCU'RUS. In 1 Esd. viii. 40, the "son of Istalcurus" (A. 'Ισταλκούρος, B. 'Ισταρκάλκος) is substituted for "and Zabbud" of the corresponding list in Ezra (viii. 14). The *Qeri* has Ziccur instead of Zabbud, and of this there is perhaps some trace in Istalcurus.

ISH'UAH, R. V. ISHVAH (יִשְׁוָה, *peaceful*; B. 'Ιεσουά, A. 'Ιεσουέ; *Jesua*), second son of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 30). Elsewhere in the A. V. his name, though the same in Hebrew, appears as ISHUAH.

ISH'UI, R. V. ISHVI (יִשְׁוִי; BA. 'Ιεούλ; *Jesui*), third son of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17); founder of a family called after him, though in the A. V. appearing as THE JESUITES (Num. xxvi. 44; R. V. "Ishvites"). Elsewhere the name also appears as ISHUAI.

ITALIAN BAND (Acts x. 1). [ARMY.]

ITALY ('Ιταλία; *Italia*). This word is used in the N. T. in the usual sense of the period, *i.e.* in its true geographical sense, as denoting the whole natural peninsula between the Alps and the Straits of Messina. For the progress of the history of the word, first as applied to the extreme south of the peninsula, then as extended northwards to the right bank of the Po, see the *Dict. of Gk. & Rom. Geogr.*[2] s. n. From the time of the close of the Republic it was employed as we employ it now. In the N. T. it occurs three, or indeed, more correctly speaking, four times. In Acts x. 1, the Italian cohort at Caesarea (ἡ σπεῖρα ἡ καλουμένη 'Ιταλική, A. V. "Italian band"), consisting, as it doubtless did, of men recruited in Italy, illustrates the military relations of the imperial peninsula with the provinces. [ARMY.] In Acts xviii. 2, where we are told of the expulsion of Aquila and Priscilla with their compatriots "from Italy," we are reminded of the large Jewish population which many authorities show that it contained. Acts xxvii. 1, where the beginning of St. Paul's voyage "to Italy" is mentioned, and the whole subsequent narrative, illustrate the trade which subsisted between the peninsula and other parts of the Mediterranean. And the words in Heb. xiii. 24, "They of Italy (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ιταλίας) salute you," whatever they may prove for or against this being the region in which the letter was written, are interesting as a specimen of the progress of Christianity in the West.

[J. S. H.] [W.]

I-THAI (אִיתַי; B. Αἰρεύ, א. Αἰθεί, A. 'Ηθού; *Ethai*), a Benjamite, son of Ribai of Gibeah, one of the heroes of David's guard (1 Ch. xi. 31). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 the name is given as ITTAI. Kennicott decides that the form Ithai is the original (*Dissertation*, ad loc.).

I-THAMAR (אִיתָמָר; 'Ιθαμάρ; *Ithamar*), the youngest son of Aaron (Ex. vi. 23). After the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. x. 1), Eleazar and Ithamar, having been admonished to show no mark of sorrow for their brothers' loss, were appointed to succeed to their places in the priestly office, as they had left no children (Ex. xxviii. 1, 40, 43; Num. iii. 3, 4; 1 Ch. xxiv. 2). In the distribution of services belonging to the Tabernacle and its transport on the march of the Israelites, the Gershonites had charge of the curtains and hangings, and the Merarites of the pillars, cords, and boards, and both of these departments were placed under the superin-

tendence of Ithamar (Ex. xxviii. 21; Num. iv. 21–33). These services were continued under the Temple system, so far as was consistent with its stationary character, but, instead of being appropriated to families, they were divided by lot; the first lot being taken by the family of Eleazar, whose descendants were more numerous than those of Ithamar (1 Ch. xxiv. 4, 6). The high-priesthood passed into the family of Ithamar in the person of Eli, but for what reason we are not informed. It reverted into its original line in the person of Zadok, in consequence of Abiathar's participation in the rebellion of Adonijah. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy delivered to Samuel against Eli (1 Sam. ii. 31–35; 1 K. ii. 26, 27, 35; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, § 3).

A descendant of Ithamar, by name Daniel, is mentioned as returning from captivity in the time of Artaxerxes (Ezra viii. 2). [H. W. P.]

I-THI-EL (אִיתִיאֵל, ? = אִתִּי אֵל = *God is with me;* BA. Αἰθιήλ, N. Σεθιήλ; *Etheel*). **1.** A Benjamite, son of Jesaiah (Neh. xi. 7).

2. (LXX. omits; Vulg. translates, *cum quo est Deus.*) One of two persons—Ithiel and Ucal—to whom Agur ben-Jakeh delivered his discourse (Prov. xxx. 1). [UCAL.]

ITH-MAH (יִתְמָה, (?) = *orphanhood;* BN. Ἐθεμά, A. Ἰεθεμά; *Jethma*), a Moabite, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the enlarged list of Chronicles (1 Ch. xi. 46). Possibly he attached himself to David when David visited the king of Moab at Mizpeh with his father and mother.

ITH-NAN (יִתְנָן); in both MSS. of the LXX. the name is corrupted by being attached to that next it: B. Ἀσοριωνάν, A. Ἰθναζίφ: *Jethnam*), one of the towns in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 23), named with Kedesh and Telem (cp. 1 Sam. xv. 4), and therefore probably on the borders of the desert, if not actually in the desert itself. No trace of its existence has yet been discovered; nor does it appear to have been known to Jerome. [G.] [W.]

ITH-RA (יִתְרְא, ? = *abundance:* in Sam. B. Ἰοθέρ, A. Ἰοθόρ, in Ch. *vice versâ;* Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10, § 1, Ἰεθάρσος: *Jetra*), an Israelite (2 Sam. xvii. 25) or Ishmaelite (1 Ch. ii. 17, "Jether the Ishmeelite"); the father of Amasa by Abigail, David's sister. He was thus brother-in-law to David and uncle to Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, the three "sons of Zeruiah." There is no absolute means of settling which of these—Israelite or Ishmaelite—is correct: but there can be little doubt that the latter is so (so A. in 2 Sam.); the fact of the admixture of Ishmaelite blood in David's family being a fit subject for notice in the genealogies, whereas Ithra's being an Israelite would call for no remark. [JETHER.] Another Ishmaelite is mentioned among David's subjects in 1 Ch. xxvii. 30. [G.] [W.]

ITH-RAN (יִתְרָן). **1.** A. Ἰεθράν, B. Γεθράμ (1 Ch. i. 41); *Jethram, Jethran.* Ithran ben Dishon ben Seir was a clan or sub-tribe of the Horites or Troglodyte aborigines of the hill-country of Seir, whom the Edomites dispossessed (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21, 26; Deut. ii. 12).

2. Β Θερά, A. Ἰέθερ; *Jethran.* Ithran (or Jether) ben Zophah ben Helem (or Hotham?) ben Heber ben Beriah ben Asher; a chief and house or clan of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 37, 38. The list in this chapter, *vv.* 30–39, was once probably continuous). The corruptions of some of the names can be explained; *e.g.* Hotham for Helem is due to a copyist's eye having wandered to *ahotham,* "their sister," *v.* 30 or *v.* 32 (see the notes *ad loc.* in Bp. Ellicott's *O. T. Commentary*).

The names Jethro (see Ex. iv. 18) and Ithra (2 Sam. xvii. 25; cp. 1 K. ii. 5) as well as Ithran (cp. 1 Ch. vii. 38) are only variations of Jether. [C. J. B.]

ITH-RE-AM (יִתְרְעָם = *residue of the people:* in 2 Sam. B. Ἰεθεραάμ, A. Ἐιεθεραάμ; in 1 Ch. B. Ἰθαράμ, A. Ἰεθράμ; Joseph. Γεθραάμης: *Jethraam*), a son of David, born to him in Hebron, and distinctly specified as the sixth, and as the child of "Eglah, David's wife" (2 Sam. iii. 5; 1 Ch. iii. 3). In the ancient Jewish traditions Eglah is said to have been Michal, and to have died in giving birth to Ithream.

ITH'RITE, THE (הַיִּתְרִי: in 2 Sam. B. Αἰθειραῖος, A. ὁ Ἐθραῖος, in 1 Ch. B. Ἡθηρεί, N. Ἰθ-, A. Ἰεθερί: *Jethrites, Jethraeus*), the native of a place, or descendant of a man, called Iether (according to the Hebrew mode of forming derivatives); the designation of two of the members of David's guard, Ira and Gareb (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Ch. xi. 40). The Ithrite (A. V. "Ithrites;" BA. Αἰθαλείμ; *Jethrei*) is mentioned in 1 Ch. ii. 53 as among the "families of Kirjath-jearim;" but this does not give us much clue to the derivation of the term, except that it fixes it as belonging to Judah. The two Ithrite heroes of David's guard may have come from JATTIR, in the mountains of Judah, one of the places which were the "haunt" of David and his men in their freebooting wanderings, and where he had "friends" (1 Sam. xxx. 27; cp. *v.* 31). Ira has been supposed to be identical with "Ira the Jairite," David's priest (2 Sam. xx. 26)—the Syriac Version reading "from Jatir" in that place. But nothing more than conjecture can be arrived at on the point (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel,* in loco).

ITTAH-KA'ZIN, R. V. ETH-KAZIN (עִתָּה קָצִין: B. ἐπὶ πόλιν Κατασέμ; A. . . . . Καείμ: *Thacasin*), one of the landmarks of the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 13), named next to Gath-hepher. Like that place (A. V. "Gittah-hepher"), the name is probably Eth-kazin (as in R. V.), with the Hebrew particle of motion (*ah*) added—*i.e.* "to Eth-kazin." Taken as Hebrew, the name may bear the interpretation *time of a judge* (Ges. *Thes.* p. 1083 *b.* See Dillmann[2] in loco). It has not been identified. [G.] [W.]

ITTAI (אִתַּי). **1.** (Ἐθί, and so Josephus; B. Σεθθεί, A. Ἐθθεί: *Ethai.*) "ITTAI THE GITTITE," *i.e.* the native of Gath, a Philistine in the army of king David. He appears only

during the revolution of Absalom. We first discern him on the morning of David's flight, while the king was standing under the olive-tree below the city, watching the army and the people defile past him. [See DAVID, p. 730.] Last in the procession came the 600 heroes who had formed David's band during his wanderings in Judah, and had been with him at Gath (2 Sam. xv. 18; cp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, xxvii. 2, xxx. 9, 10; and see Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, § 2). Amongst these, apparently commanding them, was Ittai the Gittite (*v.* 19). He caught the eye of the king, who at once addressed him and besought him as "a stranger and an exile," and as one who had but very recently joined his service, not to attach himself to a doubtful cause, but to return "with his brethren" and abide with the king[a] (*vv.* 19, 20). But Ittai is firm; he is the king's slave (עֶבֶד, A. V. "servant"), and wherever his master goes he will go. Accordingly he is allowed by David to proceed, and he passes over the Kedron before the king (xv. 22, LXX. See Driver in loco), with all his men, and "all the little ones that were with him." These "little ones" (כָּל־הַטָּף, "all the children") must have been the families of the band, their "households" (1 Sam. xxvii. 3). They accompanied them during their wanderings in Judah, often in great risk (1 Sam. xxx. 6), and they were not likely to leave them behind in this fresh commencement of their wandering life.

When the army was numbered and organised by David at Mahanaim, Ittai again appears, now in command of a third part of the force, and (for the time at least) enjoying equal rank with Joab and Abishai (2 Sam. xviii. 2, 5, 12). But here, on the eve of the great battle, we take leave of this valiant and faithful stranger; his conduct in the fight and his subsequent fate are alike unknown to us. Nor is he mentioned in the lists of David's captains and of the heroes of his body-guard (see 2 Sam. xxiii.; 1 Ch. xi.), lists which are possibly of a date previous to Ittai's arrival in Jerusalem.

An interesting tradition is related by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.* on 1 Ch. xx. 2). "David took the crown off the head of the image of Milcom (A. V. 'their king'). But by the Law it was forbidden to any Israelite to touch either gold or silver of an idol. Wherefore they say that Ittai the Gittite, who had come to David from the Philistines, was the man who snatched the crown from the head of Milcom; for it was lawful for a Hebrew to take it from the hand of a man, though not from the head of the idol." The main difficulty to the reception of this legend lies in the fact that if Ittai was engaged in the Ammonite war, which happened several years before Absalom's revolt, the expression of David (2 Sam. xv. 20), "thou camest but yesterday," loses its force. However, these words may be merely a strong metaphor, implying that he was not a native of Israel.

From the expression "thy brethren" (xv. 20) we may infer that there were other Philistines besides Ittai in the six hundred; but this is uncertain. Ittai was not exclusively a Philistine name, nor does "Gittite"—as in the case of Obed-edom, who was a Levite—necessarily imply Philistine parentage. Still David's words, "stranger and exile," seem to show that he was not an Israelite.

2. (B. Ἐσθαεί, A. Ἀλάφ; *Ithai.*) Son of Ribai, from Gibeah of Benjamin; one of the thirty heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 29). In the parallel list of 1 Ch. xi. the name is given as ITHAI. [G.] [W.]

[a] The meaning of this is doubtful. "The king" may be Absalom, or it may be Ittai's former king, Achish. By the LXX. the words are omitted.

ITURAE'A (Ἰτουραία), a district on the north-eastern border of Palestine (Strabo, xvi. 2, § 18; Pliny, v. 19), which, with Trachonitis, belonged to the tetrarchy of Philip (Luke iii. 1). The Ituraeans were descended from JETUR (יְטוּר), a son of Ishmael, who gave his name, like the rest of his brethren, to the little province he colonised (Gen. xxv. 15, 16; cp. 1 Ch. i. 31). They therefore belonged to the Arab race; and Strabo couples them with the Arabians, whilst Dion Cassius calls them Arabs. After the Israelites had settled in Canaan, a war broke out between the tribes east of Jordan and the Hagarites (or Ishmaelites), Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab. The latter were conquered, and the children of Manasseh "dwelt in the land: they increased from Bashan unto Baal-Hermon and Senir, and unto Mount Hermon" (1 Ch. v. 19–23). Jetur is not again mentioned in the Bible; but during the Asmonaean period, according to Josephus, the Ituraeans were conquered by Aristobulus I. (B.C. 105), who took part of their territory, and compelled them to fly or to be circumcised (*Ant.* xiii. 11, § 3). The mountain district was in the hands of Ptolemaeus, ruler of Chalcis, who combined with other petty princes in raids that rendered the whole country, from Byblus and Berytus to Damascus, unsafe (Strabo, xvi. 2, §§ 10, 18, 20; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 7, § 4). When Pompey came into Syria, Ituraea was ceded to the Romans (Appian, *Mithr.* 106), but Ptolemaeus was allowed, on payment of 1,000 talents, to retain his position as a vassal chief (*Ant.* xiv. 3, § 2). Ptolemaeus was succeeded by his son Lysanias, who was killed by M. Antonius at the instigation of Cleopatra, to whom the province, called by Dion Cassius (xlix. 32) "Ituraean Arabia," was given (*Ant.* xv. 4, § 1; Appian, *B. C.* v. 7). At a later date Ituraea passed into the hands of a certain Zenodorus, who, to increase his income, made common cause with the robbers. Augustus, consequently, took (B.C. 23) Auranitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis away from him and gave them to Herod (*Ant.* xv. 10, § 1); and on the death of Zenodorus, three years later, added those of his possessions which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee, and contained Ulatha and Paneas (*Ant.* xv. 10, § 3). It is omitted by Josephus from the list of districts received by Philip on his father's death, unless it be included under the term Paneas (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 6, § 3). According to Dion Cassius (lix. 12), it was given by Caligula to a certain Soemus, after that emperor had granted the greater portion of the tetrarchy of Philip to Agrippa (*Ant.* xviii. 6, § 10; xix. 8, § 2). Finally, under Claudius, it became part of the province of Syria (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23; Dion Cass. *l. c.*).

Ituraea was a mountainous country with numerous large caverns (Strabo, *l. c.*); and its inhabitants, a bold robber race, were daring plunderers and skilful archers (Cicero, *Phil.* ii. 44; Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 448; Lucan, vii. 230, 514). Apuleius (*Flor.* i. 6) calls them *frugum pauperes Ityraei;* and their modern representatives appear to be the Druses. The boundaries of Ituraea cannot be defined with precision; but the district apparently lay between the Upper Jordan and Damascus, and included the southern slopes of Anti-Libanus.

In this position, S.W. of Damascus, is the modern province of *Jeidûr* (جيدور), which corresponds to the Hebrew Jetur (יְטוּר). Wetzstein (*Reisebericht*, p. 90 sq.) identifies Ituraea with *Jebel Drûz* in the Hauran; Riehm (*HWB.* s. v.) considers Libanus and Anti-Libanus to have been the special possession of the Ituraeans; and Reland (*Pal.* p. 106) and Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* s. v. *Ituraea*) suppose that it was included in Auranitis. Jedûr is table-land with an undulating surface, and has little conical and cup-shaped hills at intervals. The southern section of it has a rich soil, well watered by numerous springs and streams from Hermon. The greater part of the northern section is wild and rugged. The rock is all basalt, and the formation similar to that of the Lejah. [ARGOB.] There are about twenty inhabited villages (Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 286; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 272: see also Münter, *de Reb. Itur.* Havre, 1824; Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* s. v.; Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geog.* p. 169). [J. L. P.] [W.]

I'VAH (IV'VAH) or **A'VA (AV'VA)** (עִוָּה or עַוָּא; Aβὰ or Aïá; *Ava*). Ivah is mentioned twice (2 K. xviii. 34 and xix. 13; cp. also Is. xxxvii. 13), both times in connexion with Hena and Sepharvaim. Ava is mentioned once (2 K. xvii. 24), in connexion with Babylon and Cuthah, as one of the places from which the Assyrian king Sargon transplanted the inhabitants to Samaria. Ivah and Ava have generally been regarded as one and the same place, and have been identified with the modern Hit (the Ἶς of Herodotus), with the Ahava (אַהָוָה) of Ezra viii. 15, &c. These identifications, however, are very doubtful, for it cannot be regarded as certain whether the city lay, like Arpad and Hamath, in Syria, or, like Cuthah, in Babylonia. Its position, however, is probably limited to one or other of these two districts.

Notwithstanding the likeness of the forms Ava and Ivah, it is not impossible that two distinct places are really meant, and to this possibility colour is given by the fact that the LXX. puts Aba for Ivah, and Aïa for Ava. The inhabitants of the latter place (*Awwim*, עַוִּים, Gr. Εὐαῖοι) are mentioned (2 K. xvii. 31) as having been transplanted to Samaria, whither they took the worship of their two principal gods, Nibcnaz and Tartak. [T. G. P.]

IVORY (שֵׁן, *shēn*, in all passages except 1 K. x. 22, and 2 Ch. ix. 21, where שֶׁנְהַבִּים, *shenhabbîm*, is so rendered). The word *shēn* literally signifies the "tooth" of any animal, and hence more especially denotes the substance of the projecting tusks of elephants. There is no sufficient reason for believing the ancients to have been ignorant of the fact that ivory is a tusk and not a horn. Critics are now generally agreed that הַבִּים is identical with the Sanskrit *ibhas*, "an elephant," a name preserved with scarcely any change in the Cingalese of Ceylon and the modern vernacular of Malabar; identified conjecturally by Sir H. Rawlinson with *habba*, which occurs in Assyrian inscriptions, and which he interprets as meaning "elephant." But the Assyrian term is *al-ab*, and "ivory" is *shin al-ab*, "tooth of elephant" (see Schrader, *KAT.* on 1 K. x. 22). Keil (on 1 K. x. 22) derives the Hebrew from the Coptic *eboy*. The name in 1 K. x. 22 shows that the Israelites as early as the time of Solomon were aware of the fact that ivory was a tusk, not a horn. It is true that at a much later date, Ezekiel speaks of קַרְנוֹת שֵׁן (xxvii. 15), but the term "horn" is merely applied to the shape of the tusk, not to its growth, and the expression is literally "horns of tooth." The classical writers from the earliest times seem to have been aware of the true character of ivory. Pliny, *e.g.*, speaking (viii. 4) of ivory says, "Quae Juba cornua appellat, Herodotus tanto antiquior, et consuetudo melius, dentes." It was suggested in Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (s. v.) that the original reading may have been שֵׁן הָבְנִים, "ivory, ebony" (cp. Ezek. xxvii. 15), but Gesenius afterwards stated his preference for the present text, "Magis hoc placet, quam quod olim suspicabar" (*Lexicon*, p. 1026). Hitzig (*Isaiah*, p. 643), without any authority, renders the word "nubischen Zahn." The Targum Jonathan on 1 K. x. 22 has שֵׁן דְּפִיל, "elephant's tusk," while the Peshitto gives simply "elephants." In the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan, Gen. l. 1 is translated, "and Joseph placed his father upon a bier of שִׁנְדְפִין" (*shindāphīn*), which is conjectured to be a valuable species of wood, but for which Buxtorf, with great probability, suggests as another reading שֵׁן דְּפִיל, "ivory."

The Assyrians appear to have carried on a great traffic in ivory. Their early conquests in India had made them familiar with it, and (according to one rendering of the passage) their artists supplied the luxurious Tyrians with carvings in ivory from the isles of Chittim (Ezek. xxvii. 6). On the obelisk in the British Museum the captives or tribute-bearers are represented as carrying tusks. Among the merchandise of Babylon, enumerated in Rev. xviii. 12, are included "all manner vessels of ivory." The skilled workmen of Hiram, king of Tyre, fashioned the great ivory throne of Solomon, and overlaid it with pure gold (1 K. x. 18; 2 Ch. ix. 17). The ivory thus employed was supplied by the caravans of Dedan, a tribe of merchant traffickers, settled somewhere in the deserts of Mesopotamia (Is. xxi. 13; Ezek. xxvii. 15), or was brought with apes and peacocks by the navy of Tharshish (1 K. x. 22). The Egyptians at a very early period made use of this material in decoration. The cover of a small ivory box in the Egyptian Collection at the Louvre is "inscribed with the praenomen

Nefar-ka-re, or Neper-cheres, adopted by a dynasty found in the upper line of the tablet of Abydos, and attributed by M. Bunsen to the fifth . . . In the time of Thothmes III. ivory was imported in considerable quantities into Egypt, either 'in boats laden with ivory and ebony' from Ethiopia, or else in tusks and cups from the Ruten-nu. . . . The celebrated car at Florence has its linch-pins tipped with ivory" (Birch, in *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit.* iii. 2nd series). The specimens of Egyptian ivory work, which are found in the principal museums of Europe, are, most of them, in the opinion of Dr. Birch, of a date anterior to the Persian invasion, and some even as old as the 18th dynasty.

The ivory used by the Egyptians was principally brought from Ethiopia (Herod. iii. 114), though their elephants were originally from Asia. The Ethiopians, according to Diodorus Siculus (i. 55), brought to Sesostris "ebony and gold, and the teeth of elephants." Among the tribute paid by them to the Persian kings were "twenty large tusks of ivory" (Herod. iii. 97). In the Periplus of the Red Sea (c. 4), attributed to Arrian, Coloe (*Callai*) is said to be "the chief mart for ivory." It was thence carried down to Adouli (*Zulla*, or *Thulla*), a port on the Red Sea, about three days' journey from Coloe, together with the hides of hippopotami, tortoise-shell, apes, and slaves (Plin. vi. 34). The elephants and rhinoceroses, from which it was obtained, were killed further up the country, and few were taken near the sea, or in the neighbourhood of Adouli. At Ptolemais Theron was found a little ivory like that of Adouli (*Peripl.* c. 3). Ptolemy Philadelphus made this port the depôt of the elephant trade (Plin. vi. 34). According to Pliny (viii. 10), ivory was so plentiful on the borders of Ethiopia that the natives made door-posts of it, and even fences and stalls for their cattle. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 16) mentions Rhapta as another station of the ivory trade, but the ivory brought down to this port is said to have been of an inferior quality, and "for the most part found in the woods, damaged by rain, or collected from animals drowned by the overflow of the rivers at the equinoxes" (Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* art. *Rhapta*). The Egyptian merchants traded for ivory and onyx stones to Barygaza, the port to which was carried down the commerce of Western India from Ozene (*Peripl.* c. 49).

In the early ages of Greece ivory was frequently employed for purposes of ornament. The trappings of horses were studded with it (Hom. *Il.* v. 584): it was used for the handles of keys (*Od.* xxi. 7), and for the bosses of shields (Hes. *Sc. Herc.* 141, 142). An interesting allusion to the use of ivory is found in Ps. xlv. 8, "ivory palaces," which probably mean boxes or cases veneered with ivory, an art in which the Phoenicians excelled, and in which boxes the robes of the wealthy were stored, along with perfumes, myrrh, aloes, and cassia. The "ivory house" of Ahab (1 K. xxii. 39) was probably a palace, the walls of which were panelled with ivory, like the palace of Menelaus described by Homer (*Odys.* iv. 73; cp. Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 583, ἐλεφαντοδέτοι δόμοι. In this fashion Ahab was followed by his luxurious nobles. Cp. Amos iii. 15). Beds inlaid or veneered with ivory were in use among the Hebrews (Amos vi. 4. I have seen a chamber in a wealthy house, both in Damascus and Tarablûs, panelled with alternate veneers of ebony and ivory to the height of 3 or 4 feet from the floor. Such doubtless was the ivory palace of Ahab: cp. Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 200), as also among the Egyptians (cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 111). The practice of inlaying and veneering wood with ivory and tortoise-shell is described by Pliny (xvi. 84). The great ivory throne of Solomon, the work of the Tyrian craftsmen, has been already mentioned (cp. Rev. xx. 11); but it is difficult to determine whether the "tower of ivory" of Cant. vii. 4 is merely a figure of speech, or whether it had its original among the things that were. By the luxurious Phoenicians ivory was employed to ornament the boxwood rowing benches (or "hatches" according to some) of their galleys (Ezek. xxvii. 6). Many specimens of Assyrian carving in ivory have been found in the excavations at Nimroud, and among the rest some tablets "richly inlaid with blue and opaque glass, lapis-lazuli, &c." (Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 334; cp. Cant. v. 14). Part of an ivory staff, apparently a sceptre, and several entire elephants' tusks, were discovered by Sir H. Layard in the last stage of decay, and it was with extreme difficulty that these interesting relics could be restored (*Nin. & Bab.* p. 195). [W. A. W.] [H. B. T.]

IVY (κισσός; *hedera*), the common *Hedera helix*, of which the ancient Greeks and Romans describe two or three kinds, which appear to be only varieties. Mention of this plant is made only in 2 Macc. vi. 7, where it is said that the Jews were compelled, when the feast of Bacchus was kept, to go in procession carrying ivy to this deity, to whom it is well known this plant was sacred. Ivy, however, though not mentioned by name, has a peculiar interest to the Christian, as forming the "corruptible crown" (1 Cor. ix. 25) for which the competitors at the great Isthmian games contended, and which St. Paul so beautifully contrasts with the "incorruptible crown" which shall hereafter encircle the brows of those who run worthily the race of this mortal life. In the Isthmian contests the victor's garland was either *ivy* or *pine*. Ivy can scarcely be included among the plants of Palestine, as it only occurs in Lebanon, and not further south. Its range extends over the whole of Southern and Central Europe, the lower ranges of the Himalayas, North China, and Japan. [H. B. T.]

IZ'EHAR. The form in which the name Ishar is given in the A. V. of Num. iii. 19 only. In *v.* 27 the family of the same person is given as Izeharites. The Hebrew word is the same as IZHAR.

IZEHARITES. [IZHARITES.]

IZ-HAR (spelt by A. V. Izehar in Num. iii. 19, 27; in Heb. always יִצְהָר = *oil*; LXX. var. Ἰσσαάρ and Ἰσαάρ; *Jesaar*, *Isaar*), son of Kohath, grandson of Levi, uncle of Aaron and Moses, and father of Korah (Ex. vi. 18, 21; Num. iii. 19, xvi. 1; 1 Ch. vi. 2, 18). But in 1 Ch. vi. 22 (see in Swete the var. readings of

the LXX.) *Amminadab* is substituted for *Izhar*, as the son of Kohath and father of Korah, in the line of Samuel. This, however, must be an accidental error of the scribe, as in *v.* 38, where the same genealogy is repeated, Izhar appears again in his right place (see Burrington's *Genealogies of the O. T.*). Izhar was the head of the family of the IZHARITES or IZEHARITES (Num. iii. 27; 1 Ch. xxvi. 23, 29), one of the four families of the Kohathites. [A. C. H.]

IZHARITES (הַיִּצְהָרִי), a family of Kohathite Levites, descended from Izhar, the son of Kohath (Num. iii. 27; B. ὁ Σαριείς, B^{ab}. Ἰσσαριείς). In the reign of David, Shelomith was the chief of the family (1 Ch. xxiv. 22; B. Ἰσσαρεί, A. Ἰσσααρί), and with his brethren had charge of the treasure dedicated to the use of the Temple (1 Ch. xxvi. 23 [B. Ἰσσάαρ, A. -ί], 29 [B. Ἰσσαρεί, A. Ἰκααρί]).

IZRAHI'AH (יִזְרַחְיָה = *Jehovah will cause to spring forth*; B. Ζαρειά, A. Ἰεζρία; *Izrahia*), a man of Issachar, one of the Bene-Uzzi, and father of four, or five—which, is not clear—of the principal men in the tribe (1 Ch. vii. 3).

IZ'RAHITE, THE (הַיִּזְרִי, *i.e.* "the Izrach" = אֶזְרָחִי [Tregelles]; B. ὁ Ἐσραείς, A. Ἰεζράελ; *Jezerites*), the designation of Shamhuth, the captain of the fifth monthly course as appointed by David (1 Ch. xxvii. 8). The Hebrew name is probably equivalent to הַזַּרְחִי (*v.* 13), *i.e.* the interpretation put on it in the A. V. Its real force is Zerahite, or one of the great Judaic family of Zerah—the Zarhites.

IZ'RI (הַיִּצְרִי, *i.e.* "the Itsrite;" B. Ἰεσδρεί, A. -ρά; *Isari*), a Levite, leader of the fourth course or ward in the service of the House of God (1 Ch. xxv. 11). In *v.* 3 he is called ZERI.

J

JA'AKAN (יַעֲקָן; BA. Ἰακείμ; *Jacan*), the forefather of the Bene-Jaakan, round whose wells the children of Israel encamped after they left Mosera, and from which they went on to Hor-Hagidgad (Deut. x. 6). Jaakan was son of Ezer, the son of Seir the Horite (1 Ch. i. 42; B. om., A. Ἰωακάν). The name is here given in the A. V. as JAKAN, though without any reason for the change. In Gen. xxxvi. 27 it is in the abbreviated form of AKAN. The site of the wells has not been identified. Some suggestions will be seen under BENE-JAAKAN. [G.] [W.]

JAAKO'BAH (יַעֲקֹבָה; B. Ἰωκαβά, A. Ἰακαβά; *Jacoba*), one of the princes (נְשִׂיאִים) of the families of Simeon (1 Ch. iv. 36). Excepting the termination, the name is identical with that of JACOB.

JA'ALA (יַעְלָא = *wild she-goat*; B. Ἰελήλ, Aא. Ἰεαήλ; *Jahala*). Bene-Jaala were among the descendants of "Solomon's slaves" who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 58). The name also occurs as

JA'ALAH (יַעְלָה; B. Ἰεηλά, A. Ἰελά; *Jala*), Ezra ii. 56; and in Esdras as JEELI.

JA'ALAM (יַעְלָם; AD. Ἰεγλάμ; *Ihelon, Ihelom*), a "son" of Esau by his wife AHOLIBAMAH (Gen. xxxvi. 5, 14, 18; cp. 1 Ch. i. 35), and an Edomite phylarch (A. V. "duke") or chief of a thousand (a subdivision of the tribe; cp. Micah v. 2). From Gen. xxxvi. 2 (reading with Michaelis and most modern critics "Horite" for "Hivite"; cp. *vv.* 20, 24, 25), it would appear that Jaalam was a clan of mixed Horite and Edomite origin. [C. J. B.]

JA'ANAI (יַעְנַי, for יַעְנָיָה = *Jehovah answers*; B. Ἰανείν, A. Ἰαναί; *Janai*), a chief man in the tribe of Gad (1 Ch. v. 12). The LXX. have connected the following name, Shaphat, to Jaanai, and rendered it Ἰανεὶν ὁ γραμματεύς.

JA'ARE-O'REGIM (יַעְרֵי אֹרְגִים; BA. Ἀριωργείμ; *Saltus polymitarius*), according to the present text of 2 Sam. xxi. 19, a Bethlehemite, and the father of Elhanan who slew Goliath (the words "the brother of" are added in the A. V.). In the parallel passage, 1 Ch. xx. 5, besides other differences, Jair is found instead of Jaare, and Oregim is omitted. Oregim is not elsewhere found as a proper name, nor is it a common word; and occurring as it does without doubt at the end of the verse (A. V. "weavers"), in a sentence exactly parallel to that in 1 Sam. xvii. 7, it is not probable that it should also occur in the middle of the same (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel* in loco). The conclusion of Kennicott (*Dissertation*, p. 80) appears a just one—that in the latter place it has been interpolated from the former, and that Jair or Jaor is the correct reading instead of Jaare. [ELHANAN, p. 899.] Still the agreement of the ancient Versions with the present Hebrew text affords a certain corroboration to that text, and should not be overlooked. [JAIR.]

The Peshitto, followed by the Arabic, substitutes for Jaare-Oregim the name "Malaph the weaver," to the meaning of which we have no clue. The Targum on the other hand, doubtless anxious to avoid any apparent contradiction of the narrative in 1 Sam. xvii., substitutes David for Elhanan, Jesse for Jaare, and is led by the word Oregim to relate or possibly to invent a statement as to Jesse's calling—"And David son of Jesse, weaver of the veils of the house of the sanctuary, who was of Bethlehem, slew Goliath the Gittite." By Jerome Jaare is translated by *saltus*, and Oregim by *polymitarius* (cp. *Quaest. Hebr.* on both passages). In Josephus's account (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 2) the Israelite champion is said to have been "Nephan the kinsman of David" (Νεφάνος ὁ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ); the word kinsman perhaps referring to the Jewish tradition of the identity of Jair and Jesse, or simply arising from the mention of Bethlehem.

In the received Hebrew text Jaare is written with a small or suspended R, showing that in the opinion of the Masorets that letter is uncertain. [G.] [F.]

JA'ASAU, R. V. JAASU (יַעְשָׂו, but the *Qeri* has יַעֲשִׂי, *i.e.* Jaasai = *Jehovah works*

[MV.[11]]; and so the Vulg. *Jasi*), one of the Bene-Bani who had married a foreign wife, and had to put her away (Ezra x. 37). In the parallel list of 1 Esdras the name is not recognisable. The LXX. supplied different vowels,—*καὶ ἐποίησαν*=וַיַּעֲשׂוּ.

JA-ASI'EL (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל = *God works*; B. Ἀσιήρ, A. Ἀσιήλ; *Jasiel*), son of the great Abner, ruler (נָגִיד) or "prince" (שַׂר) of his tribe of Benjamin, in the time of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 21).

JA-A-ZANI'AH (יַאֲזַנְיָהוּ and יַאֲזַנְיָה = *Jehovah hears*). 1. YAAZAN-YAHU (A. Ἰεζονίας, B. Ὀζονίας; *Jezonias*), one of the "captains of the forces" who accompanied Johanan ben-Kareah to pay his respects to Gedaliah at Mizpah after the fall of Jerusalem (2 K. xxv. 23), and who appears afterwards to have assisted in recovering Ishmael's prey from his clutches (cp. Jer. xli. 11). After that he probably went to Egypt with the rest (Jer. xliii. 4, 5). He is described as the "son of the (not 'a') Maachathite." In the narrative of Jeremiah the name is slightly changed to JEZANIAH.

2. YAAZAN-YAHU (Ἰεχονίας, A. Ἰεζονίας; *Jezonias*), son of Shaphan: leader of the band of seventy of the elders of Israel, who were seen by Ezekiel worshipping before the idols on the wall of the court of the House of Jehovah (Ezek. viii. 11). It is possible that he is identical with

3. YAAZAN-YAH (Ἰεχονίας; *Jezonias*), son of Azur; one of the "princes" (שָׂרִים) of the people against whom Ezekiel was directed to prophesy (Ezek. xi. 1).

4. YAAZAN-YAH (Ἰεχονίας; *Jezonias*), a Rechabite, son of Jeremiah. He appears to have been the sheikh of the tribe at the time of Jeremiah's interview with them (Jer. xxxv. 3). [JEHONADAB.] [G.] [F.]

JA'AZER and **JA'ZER**=*helper*, Ges. The form of this name is much varied both in the A. V. and the Hebrew, though the one does not follow the other. In Num. xxxii. it is twice given Jazer, and once (*v.* 35) Jaazer (R. V. Jazer), the Hebrew being in all three cases יַעְזֵר. In Num. xxi. 32 it is Jaazer (R. V. Jazer); but in Josh., in 2 Sam. xxiv., Isaiah, and Jeremiah, Jazer: the Hebrew in all these is יַעְזֹר. In Chronicles it is also Jazer; but here the Hebrew is in the extended form of יַעְזִיר, a form which the Samar. Codex also presents in Num. xxxii. The LXX. have Ἰαζήρ, but once, 2 Sam. xxiv. 5, Ἐλιέζερ, A. Ἐλιάζηρ—including the affixed Heb. particle; and, in 1 Ch. vi. 81, B. Γαζέρ; xxvi. 31, B. Ῥιαζήρ, A. Ἰαζήρ; Joseph. Ἰαζωρός; Ptolem. Γάζωρος: Vulg. *Jazer, Jaser, Jezer*. A town on the east of Jordan, in or near to Gilead (Num. xxxii. 1, 3; 1 Ch. xxvi. 31). We first hear of it as being in the possession of the Amorites, and as taken by Israel after Heshbon, and on their way from thence to Bashan (Num. xxi. 32).[a] It was rebuilt subsequently by the children of Gad (xxxii. 35), and was on or near their frontier and a prominent place in their territory (Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5). It was allotted to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 39; 1 Ch. vi. 81), but in the time of David it would appear to have been occupied by Hebronites, *i.e.* descendants of Kohath (1 Ch. xxvi. 31). It seems to have given its name to a district of dependent or "daughter" towns (Num. xxi. 32, A. V. "villages;" 1 Macc. v. 8), the "land of Jazer" (Num. xxxii. 1). In the "burdens" proclaimed over Moab by Isaiah and Jeremiah, Jazer is mentioned so as to imply that there were vineyards there, and that the cultivation of the vine had extended thither from SIBMAH (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). In the latter passage, as the text at present stands, mention is made of the "Sea of Jazer" (יַם יַעְזֵר). This may have been some pool (Delitzsch[4] on Is. *l. c.*) or lake of water, or possibly is an ancient corruption of the text, the LXX. having a different reading —*πόλις* Ἰ. (see Gesenius, *Jesaia*, p. 550; Dillmann[5] in loco). Jazer was taken and burnt by Judas Maccabaeus after he had defeated the Ammonites under Timotheus (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 1).

Jazer was known to Eusebius and Jerome, and its position is laid down with minuteness in the *Onomasticon* as 10 (or 8, *s. voc.* Ἄζωρ) Roman miles west of Philadelphia (*'Ammân*) and 15 from Heshbon, and as the source of a river which falls into the Jordan (*OS.*[2] p. 267, 98; p. 235, 25). The Jazer of Eusebius is either the extensive ruin *Kh. Sâr*, westward of *'Ammân*, or *Kh. es-Sireh*, immediately west of the perennial spring *'Ain es-Sir*, the head of the stream in *W. es-Sir*, which answers to the *ποταμὸς μέγιστος* of Eusebius (*PEF. Mem. East. Pal.* p. 153). Seetzen, who first noticed these places in 1806 (*Reisen*, 1854, i. 397–8) calls them *Szar* and *Szîr* (صير); cp. Burckhardt (*Syr.* p. 364). Merrill (*E. of Jordan*, p. 405) mentions "two ponds or little lakes" near Jazer (*Sâr*). Conder (*PEF. Mem. East. Pal.* p. 91) proposes to identify Jazer with *Beit Zer'ah*, about 2½ m. N.E. of Heshbon, but this seems too near that place to meet the requirements of Num. xxi. 24–32, and to be called "J. of Gilead" (1 Ch. xxvi. 32). Burckhardt (p. 355) suggests *'Ain Hazeir*, a fine spring S. of *es-Salt*, the water of which runs to *Wâdy Sh'aib*. In the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Jazer is identified with Machaerus (Neubauer, *Géog. du Tal.* p. 28). [G.] [W.]

JA-AZI'AH (יַעְזִיָהוּ, *i.e.* Ya'aziyahu=*Jehovah comforts*; A. Ὀζία, B. Ὀζειά; *Oziau*), apparently a third son, or a descendant, of Merari the Levite, and the founder of an independent house in that family (1 Ch. xxiv. 26, 27); neither he nor his descendants are mentioned elsewhere (cp. the lists in xxiii. 21–23; Ex. vi. 19, &c.). The word Beno (בְּנוֹ), which follows Jaaziah, should probably be translated "his son" (cp. the LXX.), *i.e.* the son of Merari.

JA-AZI'EL (יַעֲזִיאֵל = *God comforts*; B. Ὀζιήλ, A. Ἰηούλ; *Jaziel*), one of the Levites of the second order who were appointed by David to perform the musical service before the Ark (1 Ch. xv. 18). If AZIEL in *v.* 20 is a contracted form of the same name—and there is

[a] In Num. xxi. 24, where the present Hebrew text has עַז (A. V. "strong"), the LXX. have Ἰαζήρ.

no reason to doubt it (cp. Jesharelah and Asharelah, 1 Ch. xxv. 2, 14)—his business was to "sound the psaltery on Alamoth."

JA'BAL (יָבָל=*a leader* [MV.[11]]; A. Ἰωβήλ, E. -ηδ; *Jabel*), son of Lamech and Adah, brother of Jubal, father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle (Gen. iv. 20). Abel before him had kept sheep, but Jabal, as remarked by Bochart, is to be regarded as having commenced the pastoral life in its nomad or more extended sense, not simply feeding sheep about a settled home, in a farm as we might say, but leading flocks and various herds about from pasture to pasture, encamping patriarchically among them (Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, lib. ii. c. 34, vol. i. pp. 517, 518, ed. Rosenmüller, 1793). Other etymologies and deductions may be seen in Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] in loco.

[W. L. B.] [C. H.]

JAB'BOK (יַבֹּק, a play upon "the wrestling" [cp. MV.[11]]; Ἰαβώχ; *Juboc, Jeboc*), a stream which intersects the hill-country of Gilead (cp. Josh. xii. 2 and 5), and falls into the Jordan about 21 miles N. of the Dead Sea. There is some difficulty in interpreting two or three passages of Scripture in which the Jabbok is spoken of as "the border of the children of Ammon." The following facts may perhaps throw some light upon them:—The Ammonites at one time possessed the whole country between the rivers Arnon and Jabbok, from the Jordan on the west to the wilderness on the east. They were driven out of it by Sihon king of the Amorites; and he was in turn expelled by the Israelites. Yet long subsequent to these events, the country was popularly called "the land of the Ammonites," and was even claimed by them (Judg. xi. 13–22). For this reason the Jabbok is still called "the border of the children of Ammon" in Deut. iii. 16 and Josh. xii. 2. Again, when the Ammonites were driven out by Sihon from their ancient territory, they took possession of the eastern plain, and of a considerable section of the eastern defiles of Gilead, around the sources and upper branches of the Jabbok. Rabbath-Ammon, their capital city (2 Sam. xi.), stood within the mountains of Gilead, and on the banks of a tributary to the Jabbok. This explains the statement in Num. xxi. 24—"Israel possessed his (Sihon's) land from Arnon unto Jabbok, unto the children of Ammon (עַד־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן), for the border of the children of Ammon was strong"—the border among the defiles of the upper Jabbok was strong. This also illustrates Deut. ii. 37, "Only to the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not near; all the side of the river Jabbok (כָּל־יְדֵ נַחַל יַבֹּק), and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever the Lord our God forbad us" (R. V.).

It was on the north bank of the Jabbok that Jacob, after a night of wrestling with God, received the name Israel (Gen. xxxii. 22); and this river afterwards became, towards its western part, the boundary between the kingdoms of Sihon and Og (Josh. xii. 2, 5). Eusebius rightly places it between Gerasa and Philadelphia (*OS*.[2] p. 266, 78); and at the present day it separates the province of *Belka* from *Jebel 'Ajlûn*. Its modern name is *Wâdy Zerka*. It rises in the plateau east of Gilead, and receives many tributaries from both north and south in the eastern declivities of the mountain-range—one of these comes from Gerasa, another from Rabbath-Ammon (*'Ammân*). The stream from *'Ain 'Ammân*, which is well stocked with fish, disappears, in autumn, about 1½ m. below the town. It reappears at *'Ain Ghazal*, and, after flowing 5 m., again sinks below the ground. It is only at *'Ain ez-Zerka*, near *Kal'at ez-Zerka*, that it becomes perennial, and it is there a broad, rapid and clear stream, running through a deep valley to the Jordan. Throughout the lower part of its course it is fringed with thickets of cane and oleander, and the banks above are clothed with oak-forests. In the Jordan Valley it is a broad stream, but fordable (*PEF. Mem. E. Pal.* p. 5; Robinson, *Phys. Geog.*, p. 161; Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, p. 269 sq.). The "ford" of Jabbok was probably close to the spot at which the river issues from the hills, where there is now a ford.

[J. L. P.] [W.]

JA'BESH (יָבֵשׁ=*dry*: B. Ἰαβείς, A. Ἀβείς [v. 10], Ἰαβείς; Joseph. Ἰαβήσος: *Jabes*). **1.** Father of SHALLUM, the fifteenth king of Israel (2 K. xv. 10, 13, 14).

2. B. Ἰαβείς; A. in 1 Sam. Ειαβείς, in 1 Ch. Ἰαβείς. The short form of the name JABESH-GILEAD (1 Sam. xi. 1, 3, 5, 9, 10; xxxi. 12, 13; and 1 Ch. x. 12).

JA'BESH-GIL'EAD (יָבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד, also יָבִישׁ, 1 Sam. xi. 1, 9, &c. = *dry*, from יָבֵשׁ, "to be dry;" Judg. xxi. 8–14, 1 Sam. xi. 1, 2 Sam. xxi. 12, [BA. Ἰαβείς] Γαλαάδ; 1 Sam. xi. 9, [B. Ἰαβείς, A. Ειαβείς] Γαλαάδ; 1 Sam. xxxi. 11, 2 Sam. ii. 4, 5, [B. Ἰαβείς, A. Ειαβείς] τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος [B. -δει-]; 1 Ch. x. 11, Γαλαάδ; Joseph. Ἰάβισος: *Jabes Galaad*), or Jabesh in the territory of Gilead [GILEAD]. It is first mentioned in connexion with the cruel vengeance taken upon its inhabitants for not coming up to Mizpeh on the occasion of the fierce war between the children of Israel and the tribe of Benjamin. Every male of the city was put to the sword, and all virgins—to the number of 400—seized to be given in marriage to the 600 men of Benjamin that remained (Judg. xxi. 8–14). Nevertheless the city survived the loss of its males; and being attacked subsequently by Nahash the Ammonite, gave Saul an opportunity of displaying his prowess in its defence, and silencing all objections made by the children of Belial to his sovereignty (1 Sam. xi. 1–10). Neither were his exertions on behalf of this city unrequited; for when he and his three sons were slain by the Philistines in Mount Gilboa, the men of Jabesh-Gilead came by night and took down their corpses from the walls of Bethshan, where they had been exposed as trophies; then burnt the bodies, and buried the bones under a tree near the city—observing a strict funeral fast for seven days (1 Sam. xxxi. 11–13; 1 Ch. x. 11, 12). David does not forget to bless them for this act of piety towards his old master and his more than brother (2 Sam. ii. 4, 5); though he afterwards had their remains translated to the ancestral sepulchre in the tribe of Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 12–14). The site of the city is not defined in

the O. T.; and Josephus only mentions that it was the chief town of the Gileadites, and noted in his day for the courage and strength of its people (*Ant.* vi. 5, § 1; 14, § 8). Eusebius, however (*OS.*[2] p. 242, 97; p. 269, 81), places it beyond Jordan, 6 miles from Pella on the mountain-road to Gerasa; where its name is probably preserved in the *Wâdy el-Yâbis*, which, flowing from the east, enters the Jordan below Bethshan or Scythopolis. According to Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 319), the ruin *ed-Deir*, on the S. side of the Wâdy, still marks its site (Tristram, *Bib. Places*, p. 327; Riehm, *HWB.* s. v.). Merrill (*American PES.* 4th stat. p. 81) suggests *Miryamin*, about 5 miles from Pella on the road to Gerasa. [E. S. Ff.] [W.]

JA'BEZ. 1. (יַעְבֵּץ, of same meaning as יְעָצֵב [cp. 2]; B. Γαμές, A. Γαβής; *Jabes*). Apparently a place at which the families of the scribes (סֹפְרִים) resided, who belonged to the families of the Kenites (1 Ch. ii. 55). It occurs among the descendants of Salma, who was of Judah, and closely connected with Bethlehem (*v.* 51), possibly the father of Boaz; and also —though how is not clear—with Joab. The Targum states some curious particulars, which, however, do not much elucidate the difficulty, and which are probably a mixture of trustworthy tradition and of mere invention based on philological grounds. Rechab is there identified with Rechabiah the son of Eliezer, Moses' younger son (1 Ch. xxvi. 25), and Jabez with Othniel the Kenizzite, who bore the name of Jabez "because he founded by his counsel (עיצה) a school (תרביצא) of disciples called Tirathites, Shimeathites, and Sucathites." See also the quotations from Talmud, *Temurah*, in Buxtorf's *Lex.* col. 966, where a similar derivation is given.

2. (B. Ἰγαβής; A. Ἰαγβής, Γαβής.) The name occurs again in the genealogies of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 9, 10), in a passage of remarkable and almost Talmudic detail inserted in a genealogy again connected with Bethlehem (*v.* 4). Here a different force is attached to the name. It is made to refer to the sorrow (עֵצֶב, *'ōtzeb*) with which his mother bore him, and also to his prayer that evil may not grieve (עֻצָּבִי) him. Jabez was "more honourable than his brethren," though who they were is not ascertainable. It is very doubtful whether any connexion exists between this genealogy and that in ii. 50–55. Several names appear in both—Hur, Ephratah, Bethlehem, Zareathites (in A. V. iv. 2, inaccurately, "Zorathites"), Joab, Caleb; and there is much similarity between others, as Rechab and Rechah, Eshton and Eshtaulites; but any positive connexion seems undemonstrable. The Targum repeats its identification of Jabez and Othniel. [G.] [W.]

JA'BIN (יָבִין = *intelligent*; B. Ἰαβείς, F. Ἰαβείν; *Jabin*). 1. King of Hazor, a royal city in the north of Palestine, near the waters of Merom, who organised a confederacy of the northern princes against the Israelites (Josh. xi. 1–3). He assembled an army, which the Scripture narrative merely compares to the sands for multitude (*v.* 4), but which Josephus reckons at 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 20,000 chariots. Joshua, encouraged by God, surprised this vast army of allied forces "by the waters of Merom" (*v.* 7; near Kedesh, according to Josephus), utterly routed them, cut the hoof-sinews of their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire at a place which from that circumstance may have derived its name of MISREPHOTH-MAIM (Hervey, *Genealogies of our Lord*, p. 228). [MISREPHOTH-MAIM.] It is probable that in consequence of this battle the confederate kings, and Jabin among them, were reduced to vassalage, for we find immediately afterwards that Jabin is safe in his capital. But during the ensuing wars (which occupied some time, Josh. xi. 18), Joshua "turned back," and, perhaps on some fresh rebellion of Jabin, inflicted on him a signal and summary vengeance, making Hazor an exception to the general rule of not burning the conquered cities of Canaan (xi. 1–14; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, § 18; Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 328).

2. (B. Ἰαβείν, A. Ἰαμείν; *Jabin.*) A king of Hazor, whose general Sisera was defeated by Barak, whose army is described in much the same terms as that of his predecessor (Judg. iv. 3, 13), and who suffered precisely the same fate. The similarity between the two narratives (Josh. xi.; Judg. iv. v.) is great, and an attentive comparison of them with Josephus (who curiously omits the name of Jabin altogether in his mention of Joshua's victory, although his account is full of details) supplies further points of resemblance. [BARAK; DEBORAH.] It is indeed by no means impossible that in the course of 150 years Hazor should have risen from its ashes, and even re-assumed its pre-eminence under sovereigns who still bore the old dynastic name (cp. Keil on Judg. *l. c.*). But entirely independent considerations show that the period between Joshua and Barak could not have been 150 years, and indeed tend to prove that those two chiefs were contemporaries (Hervey, *Geneal.* p. 228); and we are therefore led to regard the two accounts of the destruction of Hazor and Jabin as really applying to the same monarch, and the same event. There is no ground whatever to throw doubts on the *historical veracity* of the earlier narrative, as is done by Hasse (p. 129), Maurer (*ad loc.*), Studer (*on Judges*, p. 90), De Wette (*Einl.* p. 231), and by Rosenmüller (*Schol. Jos.* xi. 11); but when the chronological arguments are taken into consideration, we do not (in spite of the difficulties which still remain) consider Hävernick successful in removing the improbabilities which beset the common supposition that this Jabin lived long after the one which Joshua defeated. On the whole subject see Bertheau[a] *on Judges*, p. 82. Budde (*Die BB. Richter u. Samuel*, p. 105) rejects the narrative as unhistorical. [F. W. F.]

JAB'NE-EL (יַבְנְאֵל = *God builds*). The name of two towns in Palestine.

1. (In O. T. B. Λεμνά, A. Ἰαβνήλ; in Apocr. Ἰαμνεία: *Jebneel, Jabnia, Jamnia.*) One of the points on the northern boundary of Judah, not quite at the sea, though near it[a] (Josh. xv. 11). There is no sign, however, of its ever having been occupied by Judah. Jose-

[a] In Josh. xv. 46, after the words "from Ekron," the LXX. adds Ἰεμναί, Jabneh, instead of "even unto the sea;" probably reading יַבְנֶה for the present word יִפְוֶה.

phus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22) attributes it to the Danites. There was a constant struggle going on between that tribe and the Philistines for the possession of all the places in the lowland plain [DAN], and it is not surprising that the next time we meet with Jabneel it should be in the hands of the latter (2 Ch. xxvi. 6). Uzziah dispossessed them of it, and demolished its fortifications. Here it is in the shorter form of JABNEH. In Judith ii. 28, the people of JEMNAAN (BA. Ἰεμνδαν, ℵ*. Ἀμμᾶ), doubtless Jamnia, are represented as trembling at the approach of Holofernes. In its Greek garb, IAMNIA, it is frequently mentioned in the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 15, v. 58, x. 69, xv. 40), in whose time it was again a strong place. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, § 6), Gorgias was governor of it; but the text of the Maccabees (2 Macc. xii. 32) has Idumaea. At this time there was a harbour on the coast, to which, and the vessels lying there, Judas set fire, and the conflagration was seen at Jerusalem, a distance of about 28 miles (2 Macc. xii. 8, 9, 40). The harbour is also mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.* v. 13), who in consequence speaks of the town as double—*duae Jamnes* (see the quotations in Reland, p. 823); and by Ptolemy (v. 16). Like Ascalon and Gaza, the harbour bore the title of Majumas, perhaps a Coptic word, meaning the "place on the sea" (Reland, p. 590, &c.; Raumer, pp. 174 n., 184 n.; Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, pp. 27, 29). It is now known as *Minet Rûbîn* (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 268). Jamnia was taken by Simon Maccabaeus (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7; *B. J.* i. 2, § 2), and was apparently one of the "strongholds" that he fortified (*Ant.* xiii. 5, § 10). In B.C. 63 Pompey took it away from the Jews and handed it over to its own inhabitants (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4); and a few years later, having apparently suffered during the war, it was restored and repeopled by order of Gabinius (*B. J.* i. 8, § 4). Augustus gave it to Herod, who left it by will to his sister Salome (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1); and she in turn bequeathed it to Livia, the wife of Augustus (*Ant.* xviii. 2, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 9, § 1). Jamnia was one of the towns occupied by Vespasian, as a preliminary to the siege of Jerusalem (*B. J.* iv. 3, § 2; 8, § 1). At this time it was one of the most populous places of Judaea (Strabo, xvi. 2, § 28; Philo, *de Legat. ad Cajum*; Reland, p. 823), and contained a Jewish school of great fame, whose learned doctors are often mentioned in the Talmud (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 141 sq.; Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, vol. iv.; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 73 sq.). The great Sanhedrin was also held here. In this holy city, according to an early Jewish tradition, was buried the great Gamaliel; or, according to Sepp (*Jer. u. das h. Land*, ii. 594), his grandson, the younger Gamaliel. His tomb was visited by Parchi in the 14th cent. (Zunz, in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 439, 440; also p. 98). In the time of Eusebius, however, it had dwindled to a small place, πολίχνη, merely requiring casual mention (*OS.*[2] p. 268, 35). Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 164, 27) gives the name as *Iamnel*. One of its Bishops took part in the Council of Nicaea; and in the 6th cent., under Justinian, it was still the seat of a Christian Bishop (Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.* lib. ii. 730). Under the Crusaders, who supposed the site to be Gath, it bore the corrupted name of Ibelin, and gave a title to a line of Counts, one of whom, Jean d'Ibelin, about 1250, restored to efficiency the famous code of the "Assises de Jérusalem" (Gibbon, ch. 58, *ad fin.*; also the citations in Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 185).

According to Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 11, § 5), Titus marched from Ascalon to Jamnia, and thence to Joppa. Jamnia was MP. 20 from Ascalon, and MP. 12 from Diospolis (*Itin. Ant.*); or MP. 10 from Azotus, and MP. 12 from Joppa (*Tab. Peut.*). It is now *Yebna*, or more accurately *Ibna* (يبنا), a village about 2 miles from the sea on a slight eminence just south of the *Nahr Rûbîn*. It is about 12 miles south of *Jaffa*, 18 from Ascalon, 9 from *Esdûd* (Azotus), and 10¼ from *Ludd* (Diospolis). The village stands in a conspicuous position on a hill; and there are some interesting remains of a church and other buildings erected by the Crusaders and Saracens (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 414, 441; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 55 sq.).

2. (B. Ἰεφθαμαί, A. Ἰαβνήλ; *Jebnaël.*) One of the landmarks on the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33, only). It is named next after Adami-Nekeb, and had apparently Lakkum between it and the "outgoings" of the boundary at the Jordan. But little or no clue can be got from the passage to its situation. Possibly it is the same place which, as Ἰαμνεία (*Vita*, § 37) and Ἰαμνίθ (*B. J.* ii. 20, § 6), is mentioned by Josephus among the villages in Upper Galilee, which, though strong in themselves (περιρρώδεις οὔσας), were fortified by him in anticipation of the arrival of the Romans. The other villages named by him in the same connexion are Meroth, Achabare, or the rock of the Achabari, and Seph. It appears to have belonged to Zenodorus, and later to the Tetrarchy of Philip (*B. J.* ii. 6, § 3: cp. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 3; xvii. 11, § 4); and is placed by Riehm (s. v.) near Lake *Hûleh*. The later name of Jabneel was *Kefr Yamah*,[b] the "village by the sea" (Tal. Jer. *Megilla*, 70 *a*), a village which Schwarz (p. 144) places on the southern shore of the Sea of Galilee, and Neubauer (*Géog. du Talmud*, p. 225) identifies with *Kefr Yamah*, between Mount Tabor and the Lake. This last place is evidently the *Yemma*, which Guérin (*Galilée*, i. 268) and Conder (*PEF. Mem.* i. 365) identify with the *Kefr Yamah* of the Talmud; but it lies beyond the limits of Upper Galilee, and is not a naturally strong position, such as the Jamnia of Josephus appears to have occupied. [G.] [W.]

JAB-NEH (יַבְנֶה; B. Ἀβεννήρ, A. Ἰαβείς; *Jabnia*), 2 Ch. xxvi. 6. [JABNEEL.]

JA-CHAN (יָעְכָן; T.[?] Ἰωαχάν, B. Χιμά, A. Ἰαχάν; *Jachan*), one of seven chief men of the tribe of Gad (1 Ch. v. 13).

JA'CHIN (יָכִין = [*God*] *establishes*. Cp. the יכנשלם of the Phoenician inscriptions [MV.[11]]: in Gen. B. Ἰαχείμ, A*vid Ἀχείμ, *D.* Ἰαχείν; in Ex. B. Ἰαχείν, A. Ἰαχείλ: *Jachin*). **1.** Fourth son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15); founder of the family of the JACHINITES (Num. xxvi. 12). [JARIB.]

[b] Can the name in the Vat. LXX. (given above) be a corruption of this? It can hardly be corrupted from Jamnia or Jabneel.

2. Head of the 21st course of priests in the time of David (1 Ch. ix. 10 [BA. Ἰαχείν], xxiv. 17 [B. Γαμούλ, A. Ἰαχείν]). A priest of this name returned from Babylon (Neh. xi. 10). Alcimus (Ἀλκιμος, 1 Macc. vii. 5), to whom Josephus gives an alternative name, Jacimus (Ἰάκιμος, *Ant.* xii. 9, § 7), high-priest in the Maccabean period, may possibly have been in Hebrew Jachin, though the Greek more properly suggests Jakim.

Ἀχείμ, ACHIM (Matt. i. 14), seems also to be the same name. [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JA'CHINITES, THE (הַיָּכִינִי; B. Ἰαχινεί, A. ὁ Ἰαχεινί; *familia Jachinitarum*), the family founded by JACHIN, son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

JACINTH (ὑάκινθος, *hyacinthus*; of jacinth, ὑακίνθινος, *hyacinthinus*), a precious stone in the Apocalypse, where there are mentioned breastplates "of fire, of jacinth, and of brimstone" (ix. 17, it being usually considered that colours or appearances rather than actual substances are here referred to); while a jacinth constitutes the eleventh foundation of the New Jerusalem (xxi. 20). The word does not occur in the A. V. of the Old Testament, but in the LXX. it stands for תְּכֵלֶת (A. V. *blue*), a colour in textile work, at Ex. xxv. 4, xxvi. 1, 31, 36, and many other places. We find also ὑακίνθινος in Ex. xxvi. 14 and ὑάκινθος in Ezek. xvi. 10, to mention no other passages, representing the תַּחַשׁ; in A. V. *badger's skin*; R. V. *seal's skin*. By ὑάκινθος the Rabbins translate שְׁבוֹ (Ex. xxviii. 19, A. V. *agate*) the eighth breastplate stone (H. Emanuel, *ubi infra*, p. 43). About the commencement of the Christian era, Philo-Judaeus, apparently referring to the stone, twice speaks of the hyacinth as being compared to, or as being the symbol of, air (ἀήρ), this being dark by nature (μέλας φύσει. *De Congressu*, and *De Mose* lib. iii., *Op.* ed. Mangey, 1742, i. 536, l. 16; ii. 148, l. 40). Pliny, about the period of St. John, describes the hyacinth as allied to the amethyst, but much differing from it in having the violet diluted (*N. H.* xxxvii. § 122, Sillig). Solinus speaks of the hyacinth as blue (*nitore caerulo*), and as highly prized when faultless, but as very subject to imperfection, being for the most part either diluted with violet, or clouded, or melting to a watery paleness; ill adapted for engraving, owing to its hardness, but yielding to the diamond (*adamante*. *Polyhistor.*, cap. 30, § 32, ed. 1794). Epiphanius in the fourth century (*De XII. Gemmis*, sec. vii. in *Patrol. Gr.* xliii. p. 293) says that hyacinths are of different sorts, the most excellent being purplish (ὑποπορφυρίζων), and he conjectures that the obscure stone called *ligure* in the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxxviii. 19) refers to the hyacinth, a view concurred in by E. F. C. Rosenmüller (*Mineralogy and Botany of the Bible*, p. 35). Late in the same century Heliodorus (*Aethiopica*, lib. ii. c. 30, l. 41, in *Erotici Scriptores*, 1856) likens the colour of the hyacinth to that of the seashore under a lofty cliff tinging all below with purple. Isidore of Seville in the seventh century (*Etymol.* lib. xvi. c. 9, § 3, in *Pat. Lat.* lxxxii. 574) writes that the hyacinth, so called after the flower of that name, is found in Ethiopia, having a blue colour (*caeruleum colorem*), very hard to be engraved, but cut by a diamond (*adamante*).

These various accounts represent the prevailing colour of the ancient jacinth as inclining to purple; but since Solinus has represented that tint as a fault and the normal colour blue, the hardness also exceptional, some have been led to identify the stone with the modern sapphire (C. W. King, *Precious Stones*, pp. 194, 195, 1865). The ancient jacinth and the ancient sapphire, however, could not have been identical, since both occur in the foundations of the New Jerusalem.

Modern jacinth is described by Rosenmüller (*ubi supr.*) as orange-yellow-red; by E. W. Streeter (*Precious Stones*, p. 199, 1877) as orange-red; by Augusto Castellani (*Gems*, tr. by Mrs. Brogden, p. 115, 1871) as fine reddish yellow; by Madame Barrera (*Gems and Jewels*, p. 193, 1860) as of the garnet family, and having when perfect a beautiful orange tint, with a shade of scarlet; by H. Emanuel (*Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 43, 1867) as possessing, in the most valued specimens, the glowing hue of a burning coal. The jacinths at South Kensington are placed within the family of Zircon (oxygen, zirconium, silicon—$Zr\,Si\,O_4$); and of the nine specimens (the largest being nearly the size of a shilling) one might be compared to sherry wine and the rest to port. By A. L. Millin de Grandmaison our stone is described as of a golden red, resembling dark amber, different from the one known by the ancients as hyacinth, which was akin to the amethyst and of a light violet tint (*De l'Archéologie des Pierres Gravées*, p. 123, ed. 1826). Augusto Castellani considers that the hyacinth of the ancients was not our jacinth, but a corundum, which is crystallized aluminum coloured by an oxide.

The evidence of ancient texts and the opinions of modern experts seem to point to the following conclusion, broadly stated, that the jacinth of the apostolic period was crystallized aluminum, blue in the finest kind, turning to purple in the inferior. Modern jacinth is crystallized zircon and silicon, orange in the most valued specimens, dark pink in the commoner. [C. H.]

JACKAL. R. V. marginal rendering for שׁוּעָל. [Fox.]

JACOB (יַעֲקֹב, seldom יַעֲקוֹב; Ἰακώβ; *Jacob*). The people whom we best know as Israel or the Children of Israel (benē Israel) are often styled and addressed as Jacob, or the Sons of Jacob, or the Seed of Jacob, by their own Psalmists and Prophets. The name Jacob is, in fact, freely used in the O. T. as a poetical and rhetorical equivalent of Israel (*e.g.* Num. xxiii. 7, 10, 21; xxiv. 5, 17). The precise original meaning of these national designations is difficult to determine. The Biblical allusions are more in the nature of *lusus verborum* than scientific etymologies. Consequently different implications are seen in both names by different writers, and even by the same writer in different parts of his work (Gen. xxv. 26, xxvii. 36; Hos. xii. 4). An ancient trace of Jacob, as a Palestinian local name, is preserved in the inscriptions

of the great Egyptian sovereign, Thothmes III. (1503–1449 B.C. Mahler, *Zeitsch. Ag. Spr.* xxvii. 2, 97 sqq.). In the three lists of captured towns, sculptured on the pylons of the temple at Karnak, the 102nd name is I-á-q-b á-e-l (Mariette, *Karnak*); that is, probably, יעקב־אל, Jacob-el.

But although יעקב־אל, Jacob-el, may be the true Canaanite original of the Egyptian Iáqeb-áel, it cannot mean "Jacob the god" (Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 51), but "El is (or does)" —whatever is signified by the root עקב, *'aqab*. It is a tenable and highly probable opinion that the name Jacob is a familiar abbreviation which has displaced an original Jacob-el; just as Nathan in common use represented Nathan-el or El-nathan, and Hanan El-hanan or Hanan-el. And a *local* name Jacob-el would be quite parallel to Jiphthah-el, as compared with Jephthah (יפתח־אל, *Josh.* xix. 14, 27. Cp. פתחיה). As a personal designation, Jacob(el) would then belong to the large class of what are called theophoric names. The names עקביה, 'Akabiah (*Aboth*, iii. 1), and 'Aqabi-ya'wa (עקביהוה ?), recently found in a Babylonian contract (*PSBA.* Nov. 1892), confirm this view. Such a fact, however, affords no basis for the opinion that the Jacob of Genesis is only an old Canaanitish god who has been metamorphosed or euhemerized into the father of the benē Israel. The suggestion is at once disposed of by the consideration that in this case יעקב is predicative, just as יוֹסֵף (Joseph) is in the fuller יוֹסִפְיָה (Josiphiah). The same objection is fatal to Goldziher's identification of Jacob as "the Follower" (that is, as he explains, the Night who *follows* on the Day), because the root عقب (עקב) means "to follow." It is EL (not Night) who "follows," if Jacob = Jacob-el; and EL is "God" in old Hebrew use (*e.g.* Gen. xxxv. 1, E.), even if, according to the apocryphal Sanchoniathon and his creator Philo Byblius, it was a proper name in Phoenician, corresponding to the Greek Kronos.

The Arabic root عقب, *'aqaba*, does, however, suggest what may be the true original sense of the name Jacob. For this verb, which is strictly a denominative from عَقِب, *'aqib*, "heel," meaning "to strike a man's heel," and then "to follow at his heels," has also the senses of retribution and requital (iii., iv.). A vestige of this meaning of the root is preserved in the Heb. עֵקֶב, *'ēqeb*, "reward" (Ps. xix. 11.). It seems possible, therefore, that Jacob (or Jacob-el) as a personal name originally meant "El rewardeth"; a perhaps likelier view than that which saw in the patriarch's name an anticipation of his crafty conduct. On the other hand, craft and cunning by which he outwits his foes would hardly have seemed to primitive men an improper attribute of the Deity (cp. Job v. 13; Ps. xviii. 24, 26); so that, after all, this may be the original import of the name Jacob[a] (cp. Ewald, *Hist.* i. 346. So Reuss). If Jacob is he who *follows* at the heels of his foe, or who *waylays* and overcomes him by fraud (*nachfolgt, nachspürt, nachstellt, belistet*)—ideas expressed by the root *'aqab* (Knobel, Dillmann)—the name may preserve a reminiscence of the old desert life of Israel. It may perhaps be due to the sinister meaning associated by tradition with the name of Jacob, that it does not reappear as a personal name throughout the O. T.[b] That, however, may rather be a consequence of the fact that, in the popular mind and speech, Jacob commonly denoted the nation. Like many other venerable names of antiquity, its use was revived in the later age of Judaism. [For the N. T. period, see JAMES.]

In the Book of Genesis (our only source, apart from incidental allusions in the Prophets and Psalmists; for nothing which Rabbinical fancy has added to the primary traditions is of the slightest worth) Jacob is the proper father of the Israelitish nation, in contrast with Abraham, who is the common ancestor of Arabian and Aramean stocks as well as of Israel, and with Isaac, the father of the brother-peoples Israel and Edom. Like Abraham and Isaac, Jacob is a peace-loving nomadic chief, "dwelling in tents" (Gen. xxv. 2; xlvii. 3 sqq.), and moving his camp from one pasturage to another, as need required; but sometimes sowing grain and reaping the crop (Gen. xxxvii. 7), as the wandering Bedawi tribes occasionally do at the present day. The story of his life appears, roughly speaking, to be the result of a combination of two principal narratives, which originated in different periods, and are distinguished by striking differences of language and thought, of style and scope [GENESIS]. The more ancient source told how when Isaac was dwelling by the well Beer-lahai-roi (in the neighbourhood of Beersheba), his childless wife became fruitful in consequence of his prayer to Jahvah. Even before birth the twin fathers of Israel and Edom struggled together in the womb; and when the mother went in to inquire of Jahvah, she received in response an oracular foreshadowing of the history of the rival peoples (Gen. xxv. 23):—

> "Two nations are in thy womb,
> And two peoples from thy bowels forth will part!
> And people shall be stronger than people,
> And elder shall serve younger."

In due time she bears the twin brethren, the first "*red*," or ruddy (1 Sam. xvi. 12, xvii. 42; אַדְמֹנִי, *'admōnī*, with an allusion to the name אֱדוֹם, *'Ĕdōm*), "all of him like a *hairy* mantle" (Zech. xiii. 4; שֵׂעָר, *sē'ār*, "hair," with an allu-

[a] If Jacob-el means "El rewardeth," it is like Meshelemiah, "Jah recompenseth," to which Shallum appears to be related as עקוב, 'Akkūb, to Jacob. Gesenius compared the Samaritan ⱑⱄⱆ (עגב) with Hebrew עקב, "reward." This pronunciation recalls Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch's interesting suggestion that the well-known clan or tribal name Egibi, which occurs so often in Babylonian business documents of the 6th cent. B.C., is cognate with the Hebrew Jacob. An exact transcription of Jacob is seen in Iqub (I-qu-bu) son of Nabû-nāṣir; the name of a witness in a tablet dated in the 18th year of Darius (in the writer's possession). Egibi (Egibu), on the other hand, formally corresponds to the Arabic proper name العاقب, al-'Āqib, cited by Goldziher.

[b] Jacobah, A. V. Jaakobah, occurs as the name of a Simeonite chief (1 Ch. iv. 36).

sion to the name שֵׂעִיר, *Sē'ir*, Seïr), whence he was called Esau (עֵשָׂו: cp. أعثى, "hairy;" عثى, "hair;" عشوة, "long hair"); the other was born "with his hand clutching Esau's *heel*" (עָקֵב, *'āqēb*, "heel"), whence his name of Jacob (יַעֲקֹב, *Ya'aqōb*; as if, Heel-grasper).

The story passes from infancy to manhood with the brief statement that "the boys grew up, and Esau became a cunning hunter, a man of the field, but Jacob a perfect (gentle or quiet) man, a dweller in tents." It is added that Isaac loved Esau, for venison was to his taste, but the mother preferred Jacob. It is clear from the context that the term "perfect" (תָּם) is not used in any high ethical sense, but chiefly connotes the peace-loving temper of the gentle shepherd. It may perhaps include the idea of piety and assiduous worship, which is throughout a feature of Jacob, but does not exclude his equally characteristic love of gain, and the false wiles by which he overreaches his brother, his father, and his father-in-law. This side of him is immediately illustrated by the incident of his purchase of the rights of the first-born. Esau comes in from the field, ready to die with hunger; but Jacob will give him none of his red lentile pottage, till he has sworn to part with the birthright (Gen. xxv. 11 b, 18, 21–26 a, 27–34). It is instructive to note Esau's cry, "Prithee let me swallow some of that red, red fare!" and the comment, "Therefore was he called Edom," or the Red. If the reading "red" be original in *v.* 25, this is another reason for the name, and that from the pen of the same writer. A discrepancy which did not trouble him need not trouble us; not even when we remember that mountainous Edom is distinguished by its red or ruddy cliffs [EDOM]. We are next told of the trickery by which Jacob contrived to rob Esau of the Blessing (xxvii.). Here the actual difference in the physical characteristics of the lands of Israel and Edom is well brought out in Isaac's contrasted utterances over his two sons. On the one hand, "the land flowing with milk and honey," the fruitful fields and rich pastures and sunny vine-covered slopes: "See, the smell of my son is like the smell of a field which Jahvah hath blessed. And God give thee of the dew of heaven and of the fat lands of the earth, and plenty of corn and new wine!" On the other, the arid cliffs and rocky defiles of Idumea, and the life of the robber-chief: "Lo, far from the fat lands of the earth shall thy dwelling be, and far from the dew of heaven above! And by thy sword shalt thou live" (cp. Mal. i. 2, 3; Obad. *v.* 3). So also the historical fortunes of each people are again foreshadowed; and the progress of the story is marked by the somewhat fuller detail with which this is done (cp. xxv. 23). To Jacob it is said: "Let peoples serve thee, and kindreds bow down to thee! Become a master unto thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee! Thy cursers be each accurst, and thy blessers blest!" The conquest of Edom by David is plainly meant, just as the final success of Edomitish rebellion is intimated in the words to Esau: "And thy brother thou shalt serve; and it shall befal, what time thou strainest hard (?), thou wilt burst his yoke from off thy neck" (xxvii. 40; cp. 2 Sam. viii. 13, 14; cp. 1 K. xi. 22, 25, LXX.).

In the course of the story, the writer returns to the name Jacob as expressing in brief the character of the younger brother. "And he (Esau) said, Is not he rightly named Jacob, in that he hath *Jacob'd* (outwitted) me now twice?" Before, Jacob grasped his brother's heel; now his name has a moral rather than a physical reference.

It seems unnecessary to follow in detail the inimitable narrative which occupies the entire latter half of the Book of Genesis, and which is imprinted indelibly upon the memory of every reader. It may be more useful to ask how far it can be regarded as historical in the modern sense of the word, even though we may not find ourselves able to give any very decided answer to that question. Some critics, as we saw, are disposed to seek the foundation of the whole in a myth which has been mistaken for history. But the story of Jacob is no simple self-consistent mythus of the primitive age. Many traditions of the past relating to local sanctuaries, famous monuments and memorials, sacred trees and wells, are here blended with fragments of ancient popular poetry and true reminiscences of Hebrew history into an exquisite literary unity. To analyse and interpret this narrative is a difficult task, for which an adequate knowledge of Semitic archaeology and philology is one indispensable qualification.

It is clear that even if Jacob were the name of an old deity of the Canaanites, that fact alone would not suffice to resolve the Jacob of Genesis into a purely mythical personage. In antiquity the names of gods were often borne by real men and women. Whether any mythical elements from the common stock of Semitic folk-lore have been received into the popular traditions about the prime fathers of Israel is another question. That vestiges of primitive mythology are traceable in isolated passages of the O. T., is not to be denied (cp. Is. xiv. 9, 13, xix. 1, xxiv. 21 sqq., xxvii. 1; Job xxvi. 12, 13; above all, Gen. ii. 4 b–iii. 24; vi. 1–4, &c.). And it is well known that a halo of legend often surrounds and obscures important historical characters, even of what may be called the modern period. Yet the critics who have done most to revolutionize current conceptions of early Hebrew history have not denied outright the possibility of Jacob's individual existence.[a] But it is now pretty generally recognised by professional students of Hebrew and Oriental antiquity that the Biblical accounts of the patriarchs have "an ethnological at least quite as much as a personal significance." No one who has consulted such works as the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, or indeed any of the Arabic historiographers, can fail to appreciate the fact, even if owing to the surviving romance of childhood he has missed the abundant indications of it which present themselves in the too familiar texts of Scripture. The practical difficulty in all such ambiguous relations is to

[a] Kuenen, *Hist. of Israel*, i. 113; Ewald, *Hist.* i. 342; Robertson Smith, *Encycl. Brit.*, art. JACOB.

separate the personal from the ethnic or tribal history. It is a difficulty due mainly to the natural difference between Eastern and Western modes of thought and speech; and is by no means to be got rid of summarily, by the popular but groundless assumption of the identity of things that are essentially dissimilar. On the other hand, bearing in mind the usual character of Oriental histories, we may be inclined to think that some of the objections raised by critics against the patriarchal traditions are exaggerated. A closer scrutiny of the stories about Jacob, for instance, will perhaps hardly bear out the assertion that he is represented as "not inferior to the prophets of the 8th century B.C. in pureness of religious insight and inward spiritual piety." This may be the ordinary conception of Jacob. Unhistorical religion has read a good deal besides this into the Biblical narratives. But Jacob's piety, his prayers and faith in a[d] protecting Deity, his dreams, his vows, his setting up *maṣṣēbōth* or sacred stones and pouring oil on them, are religious phenomena which were doubtless as common in the 18th as in the 8th century before our era. Parallel facts might easily be adduced from contemporary monuments of Egypt and Babylon. We see nothing anachronistic, and much that is perfectly compatible with the ideas and customs of his supposed period, in the older history of Jacob. The superior cunning by which he overreaches all his kin, his marriage with two sisters at the same time (prohibited by the law of Lev. xviii. 18), his sustained disregard of veracity (xxvii. 19 sqq., xxx. 33, 37 sqq., xxxi. 8, 10–12), are certainly no proofs of "pureness of religious insight and inward spiritual piety." The writer whose words we have quoted finds another strong objection in "the familiar intercourse of the Deity with the patriarchs." But here, again, what has rather struck us in the traditional history of Jacob has been the general absence of what Dr. Kuenen's words imply. No doubt, Jacob receives Divine guidance in warnings and promises. But if it be asked in what way, we shall probably not greatly err if we answer by the means known from the later histories, by dreams and priestly oracles and lots.[d] This is surely presupposed, even when it is not expressly stated, as it is in the case of the important vision at Bethel (xxviii. 10–22). In both J and E that theophany is represented as occurring in sleep; and even in classical times and countries sleeping in the sanctuary was a recognised method of communion with the Unseen.

It is true that "among most of the nations of antiquity we find the belief that many centuries ago the inhabitants of heaven have associated with dwellers upon earth;" and that "we are not in the habit of accepting as history the legends and myths which afford evidence of that belief" (Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* i. 109). But the classical stories are only superficially parallel to the Israelite traditions in their existing form; and any earlier more decidedly mythical form is a matter of pure conjecture. Leaving on one side the accounts of Abraham, let us take the story of the mysterious conflict of Jacob at Penuel (Gen. xxxii. 24–33), to which Kuenen refers.

If the theophany of Beth-el was a dream, may not a dream lie at the basis of this famous episode also? It is in a dream that "the Angel of Elohim" speaks to Jacob, bidding him return to Canaan (xxxi. 11 sqq.); and it is "in the visions of night" that Elohim bids him go down into Egypt (xlvi. 2). It seems a fair inference that, on other occasions also when Jacob is brought into contact with the Unseen, the writer means us to understand the medium of the dream. The fact is evident from the mode in which the vision at Bethel is referred to (xxxv. 1, 7). When we read that "Elohim said to Jacob, Arise, go up to Bethel, and dwell there; and make there an altar to *the God (El) who appeared unto thee*, when thou fleddest before thy brother Esau"; we see at once that the italicized words, which, apart from the fuller account of xxviii. 11, 12, would inevitably suggest a literal and sensible apparition, indicate, when taken in connexion with that passage, the proper interpretation of similar statements elsewhere. As for the opening statement "Elohim said to Jacob," this may simply be understood of an impulse of conscience (cp. xxviii. 20 sqq.). The patriarch is conceived as his own priest and prophet. Otherwise it would be perfectly agreeable to ancient thought and language to understand the mediation of a priestly oracle.

It is, indeed, a striking fact that the older narrative of Jacob's life contains so little of the marvellous. Any one who will look through the sections attributed to JE, can verify this for himself.[e] *It is nowhere said, nor perhaps implied, that Elohim or Jahvah appeared to Jacob except in dreams.* Even the wrestling at Penuel occurs in the night, which suggests the same intention.[f] It is easy and perhaps natural to exaggerate the general impression of the supernatural made upon ourselves by the story of Jacob. The restraint in this matter noticeable in the older history (JE) ought to be taken into account in any critical estimate of its credibility.

But, this much premised, it stands to reason and common sense that we must make all allowances for literary form and for the individual freedom of writers dealing with a thing so variable as tradition, when we come to consider the details of the story. Here again we are met by verbal assonances which certainly do not suggest a literal record of objective facts. The wrestling (וַיֵּאָבֵק, way-yē'āḇēḳ, *v.* 24; בְּהֵאָבְקוֹ, bĕhē'āḇĕḳō, *v.* 25) occurs by the Jabbok (יַבֹּק, Yabbōḳ, *v.* 22); and it is thus hinted that the name of the watercourse means "Wrestler," or "Wrestling." The name Israel is connected with Jacob's victory, as though it meant "He

[d] So, *e.g.*, Rebekah "went to inquire of Jahvah," Gen. xxv. 22.

[e] In Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, or Kautzsch and Socin's *Die Genesis*.

[f] This is also the most natural explanation of the brief notice, xxxii. 1, 2 (E). The name of Mahanaïm, which doubtless like Bethel was an ancient sanctuary, is referred to Jacob's vision of Angels, and his exclamation, "This is Elohim's camp!" But allusion to this name (Two camps) is again made in a different sense (*vv.* 7, 10. Jacob was still at Mahanaïm, *v.* 14).

hath striven with El," whereas "El striveth" would be more in accordance with the analogy of such formations (cp. Seraiah, "Jah hath striven"; Jerubbaal, "Baal contendeth"; and Ex. xv. 3, Ps. xxiv. 8).[s] And as Ewald suggests, the incident of the spraining of Jacob's hip may be a trace of "some ancient notion of this patriarch as *Limping*, connected with the idea of his *craftiness* and *crookedness*," taking Jacob to mean "the Crafty;" a common association of ideas in folk-lore. The local name Penuel further illustrates the use that the Hebrew spirit could make of materials lying ready to its hand. Like Bethel, Mizpah, and Mahanaim, Penuel (Judg. viii. 8) was probably an ancient holy place, which was thus adopted, as it were, by Israelite religion. The name is not peculiar to the land of Israel. A Phoenician promontory was also called "El's Face" or "Presence" (פְּנֵי־אֵל, *θεοῦ πρόσωπον*, Strabo, xvi. 2, 6, 16, cited by Ewald); and "Presence of the lord [Baal]" (פְּנֵי־בַעַל) was a title of the goddess Ashtoreth. But how different the associations of the name in the Biblical story! As in the second account of Creation, elements furnished by ancient Semitic conceptions are moralised and spiritualised in a manner peculiar to the religion of Israel; so here, if Ewald is right, old materials have been worked up into an unique parable of the loftiest spiritual experience. The religious significance of the episode—the meaning it had for a prophet of the 8th cent. B.C.—is brought out clearly though briefly by Hosea (xii. 3, 4):

> "In the womb he *held his* brother's *heel* (*'āqāb*),
> And in his manhood he *strove* (*sārāh; Yisrā'ēl*) with Elohim:
> Yea, he strove against an Angel, and prevailed:
> He wept and made supplication unto him.
> At Bethel He did find him,
> And there He spake with him."

Thus in the prophet's estimation the wrestling with Elohim was a wrestling of prayer, in which the agony of fear and remorse was overcome by the final triumph of faith. Weeping and supplication, indeed, are incidents hardly congruous with the idea of a merely physical struggle. This addition is further important, in that it seems to prove either that other and fuller versions of the episode existed in Hosea's time, or that he felt at liberty to modify the relation of Genesis for his own purposes. Whatever may be our opinion of the matter, upon a calm survey of the entire patriarchal history, from Gen. xii. onwards, we can hardly fail to be struck by the fact that while visions in broad daylight, theophanies in the strictest sense, seem to be connected with the name of Abraham, nothing of the sort is told of Isaac; and that in spite of the far greater length and richness of detail that distinguish the traditions about Jacob, only a single isolated story can in his case be claimed as a record of an objectively supernatural experience: while, finally, in the life of Joseph the atmosphere of mystery is almost wholly withdrawn, fading like the glories of sunrise into the light of common day.

It is clear that the original tradition does not treat Jacob's successful wiles with Esau and Isaac and Laban as morally reprehensible. It rather recounts them with the same undisguised admiration that an Arab story-teller of to-day might evince in similar narratives. Nor is any hint of disapproval of his polygamous marriages to be detected by the closest scrutiny of any one of the old writers whose hands are discernible in the composition of Genesis. How indeed could we expect it, in face of the immemorial usage of the East? Polygamy, however, has consequences in family life, which must have some representation in every picture that is true to nature; and these may easily be discerned in the story of Jacob. Throughout his family history, indeed, we may perhaps be permitted to see an unavowed purpose of showing how the patriarch's spiritual nature was purified by sorrowful experience, largely due to the reappearance in his sons of those very faults which darkened his own character in earlier life. His old deceits, practised even upon a blind and bedridden father, come home to him in the treachery of Simeon and Levi (Gen. xxxiv.), in the conspiracy against Joseph and the deceit of the bloody coat (ch. xxxvii.). In later times Jewish faith unquestionably drew these and other moral and religious lessons from the life-story of Jacob. His long servitude in Paddan-Aram, for instance, was regarded as a heaven-sent discipline (Judith viii. 26). But the grand lesson of the whole seems to be enunciated in the words of Joseph: "So now it was not you that sent me hither, but Elohim" (xlv. 8); "As for you, ye meant evil against me, but Elohim meant it for good" (l. 20). The Divine purpose of grace cannot be thwarted; human opposition only furthers it (cp. Riehm, *HWB.*, s. v. Jacob).

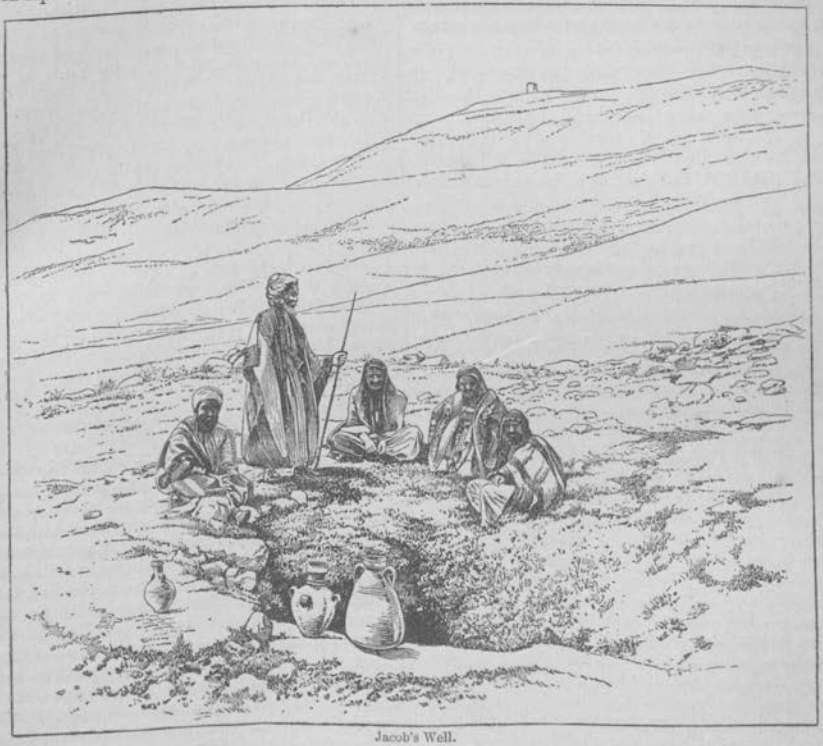
True, therefore, as it is that the character of Jacob mirrors the historical character of the Israelite people, and that the great events of his life reflect the historical relations of that people with neighbouring and kindred nations; we need not hesitate to use the composite history of the eponymous father of Jacob-Israel in the manner indicated by St. Paul, "for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness" (2 Tim. iii. 16); in short, for all purposes of religious edification. The idyllic beauty, the majestic simplicity, the broad faithfulness to antique humanity, everywhere evident in this wonderful blend of manifold traditions, but, above all, the diviner meanings with which they have been imbued under the influence of the holy spirit of Hebrew religion, are things which criticism cannot touch, and which no sober critic desires to touch. [C. J. B.]

JACOB'S WELL (*πηγὴ τοῦ Ἰακώβ*), the scene of Christ's discourse with the Samaritan woman (John iv. 1–42), was made by the patriarch Jacob (*v.* 12). It was very deep (*v.* 11); near the road from Judaea, through Samaria, to Galilee (*vv.* 3, 4); outside of a city called Sychar; and near the plot of ground in which Joseph was buried (*v.* 5: cp. Gen. xlviii. 22; Josh. xxiv. 32). There is every reason to believe that *Bîr Y'akûb*, "Jacob's well," near *Nâblus*, is the place mentioned. It lies at the N.E. foot of Gerizim, near the road, through the hills, from Judaea to Galilee, and there is nowhere else a deep well at which Jesus could

[s] In ch. xxxv. 10, the Levitical source (P) connects the name with another occasion.

have rested when He sent His disciples into the city to buy food (*vv.* 6, 9). The surroundings are in perfect harmony with the words of Christ. To the E. and S. the eye rests on the fertile plain of *el-Mukhnah*,—once the pasture-ground of Jacob (Gen. xxxiii. 18; cp. xxxvii. 12), and, when Jesus looked upon it, covered with waving corn ripe for the sickle (*v.* 35). Northward rises the imposing mass of Mount Ebal, with the village of *'Askar*, possibly SYCHAR, at its base, and opposite to it towers Mount Gerizim with the ruins of the Samaritan temple (*vv.* 20, 21) on its summit. The traditional tomb of Joseph lies in the plain a short distance to the north, and Shechem, though hidden from view by a swell of the ground, is only 1½ miles distant to the north-west.

In April 1866 a descent of the well was made by Major Anderson, R.E., who found it to be 75 feet deep, and 7 feet 6 inches in diameter. It was then dry, but on the stones at the bottom lay an unbroken earthenware pitcher, which must have fallen when there was some depth of water. The upper portion of the well is sunk through the soil of the valley and is neatly lined with masonry, the lower through compact beds of limestone. Above the mouth of the well is a vaulted chamber, and around it are the ruins of the churches which once covered it (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 174 sq.). In 1697 the depth according to Maundrell (*E. T.* p. 435) was 105 ft., and there were 15 ft. of water. There can be little doubt that, although the water does not now always rise above the rubbish that has accumulated in it, the well, if cleared out, would possess an unfailing supply.



Jacob's Well.

In 1881, what appears to have been the original stone over the mouth of the well was uncovered (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1881, p. 212).

The tradition respecting Jacob's Well, in which Christians, Jews, Samaritans, and Muslims agree, goes back at least to the time of Eusebius in the early part of the 4th century (*OS.*² p. 286, 26, *s. v.* Συχάρ; *Itin. Hierosol.*). Neither of these writers mentions a church, but Jerome makes Paula visit a church "erected round the well" (*Ep. S. Paul.* xvi.; cp. *OS.*² p. 185, 31). This church is mentioned, A.D. 570, by Antoninus Martyr (vi.), who states that the well was in front of the altar, and that many sick were healed there. It is described, A.D. 670, by Arculfus as cruciform, and the well was then in the centre of the church and said to be 40 *orgyiae*, or about 240 ft. deep (ii. 19). The well and church are mentioned, A.D. 754, by Willibald (*Hod.*); but Saewulf, A.D. 1102, and Abbot Daniel, A.D. 1106, only mention the well, the water of which, the latter says, was "very cold and pleasant to the taste" (p. lxxii.). The church would thus appear to have been destroyed prior to the Crusades, but, according to an anonymous writer, *circa* A.D. 1130, it must have been rebuilt early in the 12th century (De Vogüé, *Eg. de T. S. App.* pp. 424, 425), and Idrîsî, A.D. 1154, alludes to it as "a fine church" (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, pp. 511, 512). This later church was probably destroyed after the battle of Hattîn, A.D. 1187, as subsequent pilgrims only mention ruins. The altar, however, appears to

have been in existence as late as the 17th century (Quaresmius, ii. 800).

It may appear strange that Jacob should have made a well at *this* spot when there was such an abundant supply of water close at hand in the valley of Shechem; but such a course would not be out of keeping with the custom of nomads. It is characteristic of the prudence and forethought of the Patriarch that, having obtained a parcel of ground at the entrance to the vale, he should have secured, by dint of great toil, a perennial supply of water at a time when the adjacent springs were in the hands of unfriendly, if not openly hostile, neighbours. The action of the woman in going at mid-day to obtain cold fresh water from a deep well is quite natural, and there is no reason to suppose with Furrer (Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* s. v.) that Christ's discourse is framed in an ideal picture not drawn with strict accuracy of detail. Cp. Robinson, iii. 107 sq.; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 376 sq.; Sepp, ii. 55–57; Riehm, *s. v.* [W.]

JACU'BUS (B. Ἰαρσούβοος, A. Ἰάκουβος; *Accubus*), 1 Esd. ix. 48. [AKKUB, 4.]

JA'DA (יָדָע = [*God*] *hath known*; B. Ἰαδᾶε, and at *v.* 32, B. Ἰδουδά, A. Ἰεδδαέ), son of Onam, and brother of Shammai, in the genealogy of the sons of Jerahmeel by his wife Atarah (1 Ch. ii. 28, 32). This genealogy is very corrupt in the LXX., especially in the Vatican Codex. [A. C. H.]

JA'DAU (יַדַּוּ, but the *Qeri* has יַדַּי, *i.e.* Yaddai; B. Δαά, A. Ἰαδεί; *Jeddu*), one of the Bene-Nebo who had taken a foreign wife, and was compelled by Ezra to relinquish her (Ezra x. 43).

JAD'DUA (יַדּוּעַ = *known*; B. Ἰαδού, ℵ. Ἰδούα; *Jeddoa*). **1.** Son and successor in the high-priesthood of Jonathan or Johanan. He is the last of the high-priests mentioned in the O. T., and probably altogether the latest name in the Canon (Neh. xii. 11, 22), at least if 1 Ch. iii. 22–24 is admitted to be corrupt (see Hervey, *Geneal. of our Lord*, pp. 101, 107). His name marks distinctly the time when the latest additions were made to the Book of Nehemiah and the Canon of Scripture, and *perhaps* affords a clue to the age of Malachi the Prophet. All that we learn concerning him in Scripture is the fact of his being the son of Jonathan, and high-priest. We gather also pretty certainly that he was priest in the reign of the last Persian king Darius, and that he was still high-priest after the Persian dynasty was overthrown, *i.e.* in the reign of Alexander the Great. For the expression "Darius *the Persian*" (Neh. xii. 22) must have been used after the accession of the Grecian dynasty; and had another high-priest succeeded, his name would most likely have been mentioned. Thus far then the Book of Nehemiah bears out the truth of Josephus's history, which makes Jaddua high-priest when Alexander invaded Judaea (*Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 4, 5). But the story of his interview with Alexander [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 1366] does not on that account deserve credit, nor the story of the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim during Jaddua's pontificate, at the instigation of Sanballat (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 2, 4), both of which, as well as the accompanying circumstances, are probably derived from some apocryphal book of Alexandrian growth, since lost, in which chronology and history gave way to romance and Jewish vanity. Josephus seems to place the death of Jaddua after that of Alexander (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 7). Eusebius assigns 20 years to Jaddua's pontificate (*Chronicon*, lib. ii., sub ann. Abrah. 1678, 1698, in *Patrol. Gr.* xix. 487, 491); upon which point may further be consulted Selden, *De Successione in Pontificatum Ebraeorum*, lib. i. cap. vi., *Works*, ii. pt. i. 112, ed. 1726; Prideaux, *Connexion*, i. 540, 541, ed. 1838; Hervey, *Geneal. of our Lord*, p. 323. [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

2. (B. om., ℵ$^{c.a}$ Ἰεδδούα, A. Ἰεδδούκ; *Jeddua*), one of the chiefs of the people, *i.e.* of the laymen, who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 21).

JA'DON (יָדוֹן = *judge*; LXX. om.; *Jadon*), a man who, in company with the Gibeonites and the men of Mizpah, assisted to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 7). His title, "the Meronothite" (cp. 1 Ch. xxvii. 30), and the mention of Gibeonites, would seem to point to a place Meronoth, and that in the neighbourhood of Gibeon; but no such place has yet been traced.

Jadon (Ἰαδών) is the name attributed by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 8, § 5) to the man of God from Judah who withstood Jeroboam at the altar at Bethel—probably intending IDDO the seer. By Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Ch. ix. 29, in *Pat. Lat.* xxiii. 1390) that seer, who is also identified with the man of God from Judah, is named *Jaddo*.

JA'EL (יָעֵל; Hex. Syr. *Anael*; Ἰαήλ; Joseph. Ἰάλη; *Jahel*), the wife of Heber the Kenite. Heber was the chief of a nomadic Arab clan, who had separated from the rest of his tribe, and had pitched his tent under the oak, which had in consequence received the name (R. V.) of "oak in Zaanaim" (A. V. "plain of Zaanaim," Judg. iv. 11), in the neighbourhood of Kedesh-Naphtali. [HEBER; KENITES.] The tribe of Heber had secured the quiet enjoyment of their pastures by adopting a neutral position in a troublous period. Their descent from Jethro secured them the favourable regard of the Israelites, and they were sufficiently important to conclude a formal peace with Jabin king of Hazor.

In the headlong rout which followed the defeat of the Canaanites by Barak, Sisera, abandoning his chariot the more easily to avoid notice (cp. Hom. *Il.* v. 20), fled unattended, and in an opposite direction from that taken by his army, to the tent of the Kenite chieftainess. "The tent of Jael" is expressly mentioned, either because the harem of Heber was in a separate tent (Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.* iii. 22), or because the Kenite himself was absent at the time. In the sacred seclusion of this almost inviolable sanctuary, Sisera might well have felt himself absolutely secure from the incursions of the enemy (Calmet, *Fragm.* xxv.); and although he intended to take refuge among the Kenites, he would not have ventured so

openly to violate all idea of Oriental propriety by entering a woman's apartments (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* s. v. Haram), had he not received Jael's express, earnest, and respectful entreaty to do so. He accepted the invitation, and she flung the tent-rug[a] (B. ἐπιβολαῖον; A. δερρίς) over him as he lay wearily on the floor. When thirst prevented sleep, and he asked for water, she brought him buttermilk in her choicest vessel, thus ratifying with the semblance of officious zeal the sacred bond of Eastern hospitality. Wine would have been less suitable to quench his thirst, and may possibly have been eschewed by Heber's clan (Jer. xxxv. 2). Buttermilk, according to the quotations in Harmer, is still a favourite Arab beverage (*lebbân*), and that this is the drink intended we infer from Judg. v. 25, as well as from the direct statement of Josephus (γάλα διεφθορὸς ἤδη, *Ant.* v. 5, § 4), although there is no reason to suppose with Josephus and the Rabbis (D. Kimchi, Jarchi, &c.) that Jael purposely used it because of its soporific qualities (Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 473). But anxiety still prevented Sisera from composing himself to rest, until he had exacted a promise from his protectress that she would faithfully preserve the secret of his concealment; till at last, with a feeling of perfect security, the weary and unfortunate general resigned himself to the deep sleep of misery and fatigue. Then it was that Jael took in her left hand one of the great wooden[b] pins (A. V. "nail") which fastened down the cords of the tent (Ex. xxvii. 19; Is. xxii. 23, liv. 2), and in her right hand the mallet (A. V. "a hammer") used to drive it into the ground, and, creeping up to her sleeping and confiding guest, with one terrible blow dashed it through Sisera's temples deep into the earth (cp. Judith xiii. 2, 7, 8). With one spasm of fruitless agony, with one contortion of sudden pain, "at her feet he bowed, he fell; where he bowed, there he fell down dead" (Judg. v. 27). In the A. MS. of the LXX. is found the gloss, "He was convulsed (ἀπεσκάρισεν) between her knees, and fainted, and died." She then waited to meet the pursuing Barak, and led him into her tent that she might in his presence claim the glory of the deed!

Many have supposed that by this act she fulfilled the saying of Deborah, that God would sell Sisera into the hand of a woman (Judg. iv. 9; Joseph. v. 5, § 4); and hence they have asserted that Jael was actuated by some Divine and hidden influence. But the Bible gives no hint of such an inspiration, and it is at least equally probable that Deborah merely intended to intimate the share of the honour which would be assigned by posterity to her own exertions. [If further we eliminate the supposition that Jael's act was "not the murder of a sleeping man, but the use of a daring stratagem" (W. R. Smith,[1] *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, p. 132), that act will appear murder in all its naked atrocity.—F.] A fugitive had asked and received *dakheel* (or protection) at her hands,—he was miserable, defeated, weary,—he was an ally of her husband,—he was her invited and honoured guest,—he was in the sanctuary of the harem,—above all, he was confiding, defenceless, and asleep;—yet she broke her pledged faith, violated her solemn hospitality, and murdered a trustful and unprotected slumberer. Surely we require the clearest and most positive statement that Jael was instigated to such a murder by Divine suggestion.

But it may be asked, "Has not the deed of Jael been praised by an inspired authority?" "Blessed above women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be; blessed shall she be above women in the tent" (Judg. v. 24). Without stopping to ask when and where Deborah claims for herself any infallibility, or whether, in the passionate moment of patriotic triumph, she was likely to pause in such wild times to scrutinise the moral bearings of an act which had been so splendid a benefit to herself and her people, we may question whether any *moral* commendation is *directly* intended. What Deborah stated was a *fact*, viz. that the wives of the nomad Arabs would undoubtedly regard Jael as a public benefactress, and praise her as a popular heroine. If in the mind of Deborah the passionate exultation for natural deliverance overpowered all finer considerations, her words are exactly analogous to the terrible verses of Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9: "O daughter of Babylon, happy shall be he that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." If, in the 19th century after Christ, there were many who could give to Charlotte Corday the title of "the Angel of assassination," it is not strange that a thousand years before Christ Jael would find many to extenuate and even to praise her crime. The providence of God sometimes permits the instrumentality of crime in carrying out the Divine purposes, though the moral responsibility of the crime rests (as we see in the case of Jehu) upon its perpetrator. At the same time we must not judge the rude impassioned Bedouin chieftainess by the moral standard of Christianity, or even of later Judaism. She must not be classed with women actuated by a wild thirst for vengeance, like Criemhild in the *Niebelungenlied*, or even with Aretophila, whom Plutarch so emphatically praises; but rather with a woman like Judith, actuated by an overpowering patriotic impulse.[c]

The suggestion of Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 608 *b*), Hollmann, and others, that the Jael alluded to in Judg. v. 6 is not the wife of Heber, but some unknown Israelitish judge, appears to us extremely unlikely, especially as the name Jael must almost certainly be the name of a woman (Prov. v. 19, A. V. "roe"; cp. Tabitha, Dorcas)—"a fit name for a Bedouin's wife, especially for one whose family had come from the rocks of Engedi, the spring of the wild-goat or chamois." At the same time it must be admitted that the phrase "in the days of Jael" is one which we should hardly have expected. [F. W. F.]

[a] "Mantle" is here inaccurate, as is the Vulg. *pallio* and Luther's *Mantel*. The word is הַשְּׂמִיכָה—with the definite article. It is not found elsewhere, and it is uncertain what the *Semicah* was; but the Syriac ܣܡܝܟܐ suggests something to lie upon. The שׂ is for ס, according to Jewish tradition.

[b] πάσσαλος, LXX.; but, according to Josephus, σιδήρεον ἦλον.

[c] See Mozley,[2] *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*, Lecture VIII., "The Connexion of Jael's act with the Morality of her Age."—[F.]

JA'GUR (יָגוּר = *lodging place*; B. om., A Ἰαγούρ; *Jagur*), a town of Judah, one of those furthest to the south, on the frontier of Edom (Josh. xv. 21). Kabzeel, one of its companions in the list, recurs subsequently; but Jagur is not again met with, nor has the name been encountered in the imperfect explorations of that dreary region. The Jagur, mentioned in the Talmud (Neubauer, p. 69) as one of the boundaries of the territory of Ashkelon, must have been farther to the N.W. [G.] [W.]

JAH (יָהּ; Κύριος; *Dominus*). See JEHOVAH. An abbreviated form of "Jehovah," or rather Jahveh or Jahvah, used only in poetry. It occurs frequently in the Hebrew of the later Psalms, especially in the liturgical phrase *Hallĕlū-Jāh*, "Praise ye Jah!" (*Yah*); but with a single exception (Ps. lxviii. 4) is rendered LORD in the A. V. The identity of Jah and Jehovah is strongly marked in two passages of Isaiah (xii. 2, xxvi. 4), the force of which is greatly weakened by the English rendering "the LORD." The former of these should be translated "for my strength and song is JAH JEHOVAH" (cp. Ex. xv. 2); and the latter, "Trust ye in Jehovah for ever, for in JAH JEHOVAH is the rock of ages." "Praise ye the LORD," or Hallelujah, should be in all cases "praise ye Jah." In Ps. lxxxix. 8 [9] Jah stands in parallelism with "Jehovah the God of hosts" in a passage which is wrongly translated in the A. V. It should be "O Jehovah, God of hosts, who like Thee is strong, O Jah!" Cp. R. V.

[W. A. W.] [C. J. B.]

JA'HATH (יַחַת; see MV.[11]). **1.** (B. Ἰέεθ; A. Ἰεθ; *Jahath.*) Son of Libni, the son of Gershom, the son of Levi (1 Ch. vi. 20, A. V.). He was ancestor to Asaph (*v.* 43).

2. (BA. Ἰεθ; *Leheth*). Head of a later house in the family of Gershom, being the eldest son of Shimei, the son of Laadan. The house of Jahath existed in David's time (1 Ch. xxiii. 10, 11). [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

3. (B. Ἰεθ, A. corrupt [see Swete]; *Jahath.*) A man in the genealogy of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 2), son of Reaiah ben-Shobal. His sons were Ahumai and Lahad, the families of the Zorathites. If Reaiah and Haroeh are identical, Jahath was a descendant of Caleb ben-Hur. [HAROEH.]

4. (BA. Ἰνδθ.) A Levite, son of Shelomoth, the representative of the Kohathite family of IZHAR in the reign of David (1 Ch. xxiv. 22).

5. (B. Ἰέ; A. Ἰεθ.) A Merarite Levite in the reign of Josiah, one of the overseers of the repairs to the Temple (2 Ch. xxxiv. 12).

JA'HAZ, also **JAHA'ZA, JAHA'ZAH**, and **JAH'ZAH**. Under these four forms are given in the A. V. the name of a place which in the Hebrew appears as יָהַץ and יָהְצָה, the ה being in some cases—as Num. and Deut.—the particle of motion, but elsewhere an integral addition to the name. It has been uniformly so taken by the LXX., who have Ἰασσά, and twice Ἰασά. JAHAZ is found in Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20; Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 34. In the two latter only is it יָהַץ, without the final ה. In Judg. xi. 20, A. reads Ἰσραήλ. The Samaritan Cod. has יחצה; Vulg. *Jasa.*

At Jahaz the decisive battle was fought between the children of Israel and Sihon king of the Amorites, which ended in the overthrow of the latter and in the occupation by Israel of the whole pastoral country included between the Arnon and the Jabbok, the *Belka* of the modern Arabs (Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20). It was in the allotment of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18), though not mentioned in the catalogue of Num. xxxii.; and it was given with its suburbs to the Merarite Levites (1 Ch. vi. 78; and Josh. xxi. 36, though here omitted in the ordinary Hebrew text).

Jahazah occurs in the denunciations of Jeremiah and Isaiah on the inhabitants of the "plain country," *i.e.* the Mishor, the modern *Belka* (Jer. xlviii. 21, 34; Is. xv. 4); and the fact that at this period it was in the hands of Moab agrees with the inscription on "the Moabite stone," in which king Mesha states that he took it from the king of Israel (*Records of the Past*, N. S., ii. 202).

From the terms of the narrative in Num. xxi. it would appear that Jahaz was situated N. of the Arnon (*v.* 11); in the vicinity of Pisgah (*v.* 20); and on or near "the king's highway" (*v.* 22) by which the Israelites were advancing upon Palestine,—that is, the road from Dibongad, through Almon-diblathaim, to the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo (Num. xxxiii. 45–47). The narrative in Deut. ii. also places Jahaz N. of the Arnon; in *v.* 24 the Israelites are directed to pass over the valley of Arnon, and begin to possess the land of Sihon and contend with him in battle (cp. *v.* 31); and messengers were not sent to ask Sihon's permission for their passage through his territory until they reached the wilderness (*midbar*) of Kedemoth (*v.* 26), a town of Reuben mentioned in the same group with Jahaz (Josh. xiii. 18). The sequence of events seems clear. The Israelites after crossing the Arnon, *W. Mojib*, camped at Dibon, *Dhibân*, and thence marched directly upon Heshbon by the road through Medeba, *Mâdeba*, which must always have been an important thoroughfare, and later, during the Roman period, became one of the great lines of communication from north to south. At Jahaz, between Kedemoth and Heshbon, and not very far from the latter place and Elealeh, *el-'Âl* (Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 34), they met and defeated the army which Sihon had assembled for the defence of his capital. In agreement with this view is the statement of Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 267, 94) that Jahaz (Ἰεσσά) was existing in his day between Medeba and Ἀηβοῦς, or, adopting the reading suggested by Reland (p. 825), Ἐσβοῦς, Heshbon. The site has not been recovered, but it was possibly at *el-Jereineh*, or *Kefeir Abu Sarbût* (*PEF. Mem. E. Pal.* pp. 110, 134, and map). Riehm (*HWB.* s. v.) places it between Medeba and Dibon; Schwarz (*H. L.* p. 180) has suggested *Jazaza*, a village S.W. of *Dhibân*; Tristram (*Bib. Places*, p. 355) and Palmer (*Desert of Exodus*, map), *Muhatel el-Haj*, on the S. side of the Arnon; Merrill, *Ziza*, 10 miles S.E. of *Hesbân*; and Conder, *Rujm Makhsiyeh*, 9 miles N.E. of the same place (*PEF. Mem. E. Pal.* p. 279, note. See also Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 267, 271). [G.] [W.]

JA-HA'ZA, R. V. JAHAZ (יַהְצָה, *i.e.* Yahtzah; B. Βασάν, A. Ἰασσά; *Jassa*), Josh. xiii. 18. [JAHAZ.]

JA-HA'ZAH, R. V. JAHAZ (יַהְצָה; in Jer. Ῥεφάς, in both MSS.; *Jaser, Jasa*), Josh. xxi. 36 (though omitted in the Rec. Hebrew Text, and not recognisable in the LXX.), Jer. xlviii. 21 (R. V. JAHZAH). [JAHAZ.]

JA-HA-ZI'AH (יַחְזִיָה = *Jehovah seeth*; A. Ἰαζίας, B. Λαζειά, אי. -as; *Jaasia*), son of Tikvah, apparently a priest; commemorated as one of the four who originally sided with Ezra in the matter of the foreign wives (Ezra x. 15). In Esdras the name becomes EZECHIAS.

JA-HA-ZI'-EL (יַחְזִיאֵל = *whom God strengthens*). **1.** (A. Ἰεζιήλ, B. Ἰεζήλ; *Jeheziel.*) One of the heroes of Benjamin who deserted the cause of Saul and joined David when he was at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 4).

2. (A. Ὀζιήλ, B. Ὀζειήλ; *Jaziel.*) A priest in the reign of David, whose office it was, in conjunction with Benaiah, to blow the trumpet at the ministrations before the Ark, when David had brought it to Jerusalem (1 Ch. xvi. 6). [HIGH-PRIEST.]

3. (A. Ἰαζιήλ, B. Ὀζιήλ, Ἰασή; *Jahaziel.*) A Kohathite Levite, third son of Hebron. His house is mentioned in the enumeration of the Levites in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 23). [A. C. H.] [W.]

4. (A. Ὀζιήλ, B. Ὀζειήλ; *Jahaziel.*) Son of Zechariah, a Levite of the Bene-Asaph, who was inspired by the Spirit of Jehovah to animate Jehoshaphat and the army of Judah in a moment of great danger; namely, when they were anticipating the invasion of an enormous horde of Moabites, Ammonites, Mehunims, and other barbarians (2 Ch. xx. 14). Ps. lxxxiii. is entitled a Psalm of Asaph; and this, coupled with the mention of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and others, in hostility to Israel, has led some to connect it with the above event. [GEBAL.] But, however desirable, this is very uncertain.

5. (LXX. omits; *Ezechiel.*) The "son of Jahaziel" was the chief of the Bene-Shecaniah who returned from Babylon with Ezra, according to the present state of the Hebrew text (Ezra viii. 5). But according to the LXX. of, and the parallel passage in, 1 Esd. (viii. 32), a name has escaped from the text, and it should read, "of the Bene-Zathoe (probably ZATTU), Shecaniah son of Jahaziel" (for the Septuagintal variations, see Swete). In the latter place the name appears as JEZELUS.

JAH-DAI (יַהְדַּי, ? = יְהוֹדִיָה, *whom Jehovah leads*; B. Ἰησοῦ, A. Ἰαδαί; *Jahoddai*), a man who appears to be thrust abruptly into the genealogy of Caleb, as the father of six sons (1 Ch. ii. 47). Various suggestions regarding the name have been made: as that Gazez, the name preceding, should be Jahdai; that Jahdai was a concubine of Caleb, &c.: but these are mere groundless suppositions (see Burrington, i. 216; Bertheau, ad loc.).

JAH-DI'-EL (יַחְדִּיאֵל = *whom God makes joyful*; B. Ἐλειήλ, A. Ἐλιήλ; *Jediel*), one of the heroes who were heads of the half-tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Ch. v. 24).

JAH'DO (יַחְדּוֹ: A. Ἰεδδαί, as if the name had originally been יַחְדַּי; cp. JAASAU, JADAU; B. Ἰουρεί: *Jeddo*), a Gadite named in the genealogies of his tribe (1 Ch. v. 14) as the son of Buz and father of Jeshishai.

JAH-LE-EL (יַחְלְאֵל = *hope in God*; in Gen. A. Ἀλοήλ, *D.* Ἐήλ; in Num. B. Ἀλλήλ; *Jahelel, Jahel*), the third of three sons of Zebulun (Gen. xlvi. 14; Num. xxvi. 26, LXX. *v.* 22), founder of the family of JAHLEELITES. Nothing is heard of him or of his descendants.

JAH-LE-E'LITES, THE (הַיַּחְלְאֵלִי; B. Ἀλληλεί; *Jalelitae*). A branch of the tribe of Zebulun, descendants of Jahleel (Num. xxvi. 26, LXX. *v.* 22).

JAH-MAI (יַחְמַי, ? = יַחְמִיָה, *whom Jehovah guards*; B. Ἐλιεάν, A. Ἰεμοῦ; *Jemai*), a man of Issachar, one of the heads of the house of Tola (1 Ch. vii. 2).

JAH-ZAH (יַהְצָה; A. Ἰασά; *Jassa*), 1 Ch. vi. 78. [JAHAZ.]

JAH-ZE-EL (יַחְצְאֵל = *God apportions*; Ἀσιήλ; *Jasiel*), the first of the four sons of Naphtali (Gen. xlvi. 24), founder of the family of THE JAHZEELITES (הַיַּחְצְאֵלִי, Num. xxvi. 48). His name is once again mentioned (1 Ch. vii. 13; B. Σαήλ, AF. Ἀσιήλ) in the slightly different form of JAHZIEL.

JAH-ZE-E'LITES, THE (הַיַּחְצְאֵלִי; B. ὁ Σαηλί, AF. ὁ Ἀσιηλί; *Jesielitae*). A branch of the Naphtalites, descended from Jahzeel (Num. xxvi. 48).

JAH-ZE'RAH (יַחְזְרָה; B. Ἰεδρειάς, A. Ἰεζριάς; *Jezras*), a priest, of the house of Immer; ancestor of Maasiai (read Maaziah), one of the courses which returned (1 Ch. ix. 12). [JEHOIARIB.] In Neh. xi. 13 he is called אֲחַזַי, AHASAI, and all the other names are much varied. [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JAH-ZI'-EL (יַחְצִיאֵל = *God beholds*; A. Ἰασιήλ, B. Ἰεσιήλ; *Jasiel*), the form in which the name of the first of Naphtali's sons, elsewhere given JAHZEEL, appears in 1 Ch. vii. 13 only.

JA'IR (יָאִיר = *whom Jehovah enlightens*; B. Ἰαείρ, A. Ἰαείρ, -ήρ, -ῖρ; *Jaïr*). **1.** A man who on his father's side was descended from Judah, and on his mother's from Manasseh. His father was Segub, son of Hezron the son of Pharez, by his third wife, the daughter of the great Machir, a man so great that his name is sometimes used as equivalent to that of Manasseh (1 Ch. ii. 21, 22). Thus on both sides he was a member of the most powerful family of each tribe. By Moses he is called the "son of Manasseh" (Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14), and according to the Chronicles (1 Ch. ii. 23) he was one of the "sons of Machir the father of

Gilead." This designation from his mother rather than his father, perhaps arose from his having settled in the tribe of Manasseh, east of Jordan. During the conquest he performed one of the chief feats recorded. He took the whole of the tract of ARGOB (Deut. iii. 14), the naturally inaccessible Trachonitis, the modern *Lejah;* and in addition possessed himself of some nomad villages in Gilead, which he called after his own name, HAVVOTH-JAIR (R. V. Num. xxxii. 41; 1 Ch. ii. 23).[a] None of his descendants are mentioned with certainty; but it is perhaps allowable to consider IRA THE JAIRITE as one of them. Possibly another was

2. (BA. Ἰαείρ.) JAIR THE GILEADITE, who judged Israel for two and twenty years (Judg. x. 3–5). He had thirty sons who rode thirty asses (עֲיָרִים) and possessed thirty "cities" (עָרִים) in the land of Gilead, which, like those of their namesake, were called Havvoth-Jair. Possibly the original twenty-three formed part of these. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 7, § 6) gives the name of Jair as Ἰαείρης; he declares him to have been of the tribe of Manasseh, and his burial-place, CAMON, to have been in Gilead. [HAVOTH-JAIR.]

3. (B. Ἰαείρος, A. Ἰαιρός.) A Benjamite, son of Kish and father of Mordecai (Esth. ii. 5). In the Apocrypha his name is given as JAIRUS.

4. (יָעִיר), a totally different name from the preceding; B. Ἰαείρ, A. Ἀδείρ; *Saltus.*) The father of Elhanan, one of the heroes of David's army, who killed Lachmi the brother of Goliath (1 Ch. xx. 5). In the original Hebrew text (*Kethîb*) the name is Jaor (יָעוֹר). In the parallel narrative of Samuel (2 Sam. xxi. 19) Jaare-Oregim is substituted for Jair. The arguments for each will be found under ELHANAN and JAARE-OREGIM.

In the N. Test., as in the Apocrypha, we encounter Jair under the Greek form of JAIRUS.

[G.] [W.]

JAIRITE, THE (הַיָּאִרִי; B. Ἰαειρί, A. ὁ Ἰαειρεί; *Jairites*). IRA the Jairite was a priest (כֹּהֵן, A. V. "chief ruler") to David (2 Sam. xx. 26). If "priest" is to be taken here in its sacerdotal sense, Ira must have been a descendant of Aaron, in whose line however no Jair is mentioned. But this is not imperative [see PRIEST], and he may therefore have sprung from the great Jair of Manasseh, or some lesser person of the name.

JAIRUS. **1.** (Ἰάειρος), a ruler of a synagogue, probably in some town near the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. He was the father of the maiden whom Jesus restored to life (Matt. ix. 18; Mark. v. 22; Luke viii. 41). The name is probably the Grecised form of the Hebrew JAIR. [JAIR, 3.] [W. T. B.]

JA'KAN (יַעְקָן; B. Ἰωνάν, A. Οὐκάμ; *Jacan*), son of Ezer the Horite (1 Ch. i. 42). The name is identical with that more commonly expressed in the A. V. as JAAKAN. And see AKAN.

JA'KEH (יָקֶה, and in some MSS. יָקֵא, which is followed by a MS. of the Targum in the Cambridge Univ. Libr., and was evidently the reading of the Vulgate, where the whole clause is rendered symbolically—"Verba Congregantis filii *Vomentis*"). The A. V. and R. V. of Prov. xxx. 1, following the authority of the Targum and Syriac, have represented this as the proper name of the father of Agur, whose sayings are collected in Prov. xxx., and such is the natural interpretation. But beyond this we have no clue to the existence of either Agur or Jakeh. See under AGUR.

JA'KIM (יָקִים = [*God*] *establishes;* B. Ἰακείμ, A. Ἐλιακείμ; *Jacim*). **1.** Head of the 12th course of priests in the reign of David (1 Ch. xxiv. 12). [JEHOIARIB; JACHIN (2).]

2. (Ἰακείμ.) A Benjamite, one of the Bene-Shimhi (1 Ch. viii. 19). [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JA'LON (יָלוֹן, ? = *a lodger;* B. Ἀμών, A. Ἰαλάν; *Jalon*), one of the sons of Ezrah (*Heb.*); a person named in the genealogies of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 17).

JAM'BRES. [JANNES and JAMBRES.]

JAM'BRI. Shortly after the death of Judas Maccabaeus (B.C. 161), "the children of Jambri" are said to have made a predatory attack on a detachment of the Maccabaean forces and to have suffered reprisals (1 Macc. ix. 36–41). The name does not occur elsewhere, and the variety of readings is considerable: B. Ἰαμβρί; A. Ἰαμβρεῖν; alii, Ἀμβροί, Ἀμβρί; Syr. *Ambrei.* Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 1, § 2) reads οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες, and it seems almost certain that the true reading is Ἀμρί (-εί), a form which occurs elsewhere (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13, § 5, Ἀμαρῖνος; 1 Ch. xxvii. 18, Heb. עַמְרִי, B. Ἀμβρεί, A. Ἀμαρί; Vulg. *Amri;* 1 Ch. ix. 4, Ἀμρεί).

It has been conjectured (Drusius, Michaelis, Grimm, 1 Macc. ix. 36) that the original text was בְּנֵי אֱמֹרִי, "the sons of the Amorites," and that the reference is to a family of the Amorites who had in early times occupied the town Medeba (*v.* 36) on the borders of Reuben (Num. xxi. 30, 31). [B. F. W.] [C. H.]

JAMES (Ἰάκωβος; *Jacobus*),[a] the name of two or more persons mentioned in the N. T.

[a] This verse would seem not to refer to the original conquest of these villages by Jair, as the A. V. represents, but rather to their recapture. The accurate rendering is as in R. V., "And Geshur and Aram took the towns of Jair from them, with Kenath and the villages thereof, even threescore cities" (see also Bertheau, *Chronik*, p. 16).

[a] The name itself will perhaps repay a few moments' consideration. As borne by the Apostles and their contemporaries in the N. T., it was of course JACOB, and it is somewhat remarkable that in them it reappears for the first time since the patriarch himself. In the unchangeable East St. James is still St. Jacob—*Mar Yakoob;* but no sooner had the name left the shores of Palestine than it underwent a series of curious and interesting changes probably unparalleled in any other case. To the Greeks it became Ἰάκωβος, with the accent on the first syllable; to the Latins, *Jacobus*, doubtless similarly accented, since in Italian it is *Iácomo* or *Giácomo.* In Spain it assumed two forms, apparently of different origins:—*Iago*—in modern Spanish *Diego*, Portuguese *Tiago*—and *Xayme* or *Jayme*, pronounced *Hayme*, with a strong initial guttural. In France it became *Jacques;* but another form was *Jame*, which

1. JAMES THE SON OF ZEBEDEE. This is the only one of the Apostles of whose life and death we can write with certainty. The little that we know of him we have on the authority of Scripture. All else that is reported is idle legend, with the possible exception of one tale, handed down by Clement of Alexandria to Eusebius, and by Eusebius to us. With this single exception the line of demarcation is drawn clear and sharp. There is no fear of confounding the St. James of the New Testament with the hero of Compostella.

Of St. James's early life we know nothing. We first hear of him A.D. 27, when he was called to be our Lord's disciple; and he disappears from view A.D. 44, when he suffered martyrdom at the hands of Herod Agrippa I. We proceed to thread together the several pieces of information which the inspired writers have given us respecting him during these seventeen years.

I. *His history.*—In the spring or summer of the year 27, Zebedee,[b] a fisherman, but possessed at least of competence (Mark i. 20), was out on the Sea of Galilee, with his two sons, James and John, and some boatmen, whom either he had hired for the occasion, or who more probably were his usual attendants. He was engaged in his customary occupation of fishing, and near him was another boat belonging to Simon and Andrew, with whom he and his sons were in partnership (Luke v. 7, 10). Finding themselves unsuccessful, the occupants of both boats came ashore, and began to wash their nets. At this time the new Teacher, who had now been ministering about six months, and with whom Simon and Andrew, and in all probability John, were already well acquainted (John i. 35–41), appeared upon the beach. He requested leave of Simon and Andrew to address the crowds that flocked around Him from their boat, which was lying at a convenient distance from the shore. The discourse being completed, and the crowds dispersing, JESUS desired Simon to put out into the deeper water, and to try another cast for fish. Though reluctant, Simon did as he was desired, through the awe which he already entertained for One Who, he thought, might possibly be the promised Messiah (John i. 41, 42), and whom even now he addressed as "Rabbi" (ἐπιστάτα, Luke v. 5, the word used by this Evangelist for Ῥαββί). Astonished at the success of his draught, he beckoned to his partners in the other boat to come and help him and his brother in landing the fish caught. The amazement communicated itself to the sons of Zebedee, and flashed conviction on the souls of all the four fishermen. They had doubted and mused before; now they believed. At His call they left all, and became, once and for ever, His disciples, hereafter to catch men.

This is the call of St. James to the discipleship. It will be seen that we have regarded the events narrated by St. Matthew and St. Mark (Matt. iv. 18–22; Mark i. 16–20) as identical with those related by St. Luke (Luke v. 1–11), in accordance with the opinion of Hammond, John Lightfoot, Maldonatus, Lardner, Trench, Wordsworth, Mansel, &c.; not as distinct from them, as supposed by Alford, Greswell, Carr, &c.

For a full year we lose sight of St. James. He is then, in the spring of 28, called to the apostleship with his eleven brethren (Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 14; Luke vi. 13; Acts i. 13). In the list of the Apostles given us by St. Mark, and in the Book of Acts, his name occurs second, next to that of Simon Peter; in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke it comes third, after SS. Peter and Andrew. It is clear that in these lists the names are not placed at random. In all four, the names of SS. Peter, Andrew, James, and John are placed first; and it is plain that these four Apostles were at the head of the twelve throughout. Thus we see that SS. Peter, James, and John alone were admitted to the miracle of the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mark v. 37; Luke viii. 51). The same three Apostles alone were permitted to be present at the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2; Luke ix. 28). The same three alone were allowed to witness the Agony (Matt. xxvi. 37; Mark xiv. 33). And it was SS. Peter, James, John, and Andrew who asked our Lord for an explanation of His dark sayings with regard to the end of the world and His second coming (Mark xiii. 3). It is worthy of notice that in all these places, with one exception (Luke ix. 28), the name of St. James is put before that of St. John, and that St. John is twice described as "the brother of James" (Mark v. 37; Matt. xvii. 1). This would appear to imply that James, either from age or character, took a higher position than his brother. On the last occasion on which St. James is mentioned (Acts xii. 2) we find this position reversed. That the prominence of these three Apostles was founded on personal character (as out of every twelve persons there must be two or three to take the lead), and that it was not an office held by them "quos Dominus, ordinis servandi causâ, caeteris praeposuit," as King James I. has said (*Praefat. Monitoria* [p. 53] to *Apol. pro Jur. Fid.* ed. 1609), can scarcely be doubted (cp. Eusebius, ii. 14).

It would seem to have been at the time of the appointment of the Twelve Apostles that the name of Boanerges [BOANERGES] was given to the sons of Zebedee, as to the reasons for which several Greek patristic opinions will be found cited in Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. βοντή. It might, however, like Simon's name of Peter, have been conferred before, and formally confirmed on their appointment as Apostles. This

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appears in the metrical life of St. Thomas à Becket by Garnier (A.D. 1170–74), quoted in Robertson's *Becket*, p. 139, note. From this last the transition to our James is easy. When it first appeared in English, or through what channel, the writer has not been able to trace. Possibly it came from Scotland, where the name was a favourite one. It exists in Wycliffe's Bible (1381). In Russia, and in Germany and the countries more immediately related thereto, the name has retained its original form, and accordingly there alone there would seem to be no distinction between Jacob and James; which was the case even in mediaeval Latin, where Jacob and Jacobus were always discriminated. Its modern dress, however, sits very lightly on the name; and we see in "Jacobite" and "*Jacobin*" how ready it is to throw it off, and, like a true Oriental, reveal its original form.—[G.]

[b] An ecclesiastical tradition, of uncertain date, places the residence of Zebedee and the birth of St. James at Japhia, now *Yafa*, near Nazareth. Hence that village is commonly known to the members of the Latin Church in that district as *San Giacomo*. [JAPHIA.]

name plainly was not bestowed upon them because "divina illorum praedicatio magnum quendam et illustrem sonitum per terrarum orbem datura erat" (Victor of Antioch on Mark iii. 17 in La Bigne, *Biblioth. Patr.*, Paris 1609, t. viii. 825 C.), nor ὡς μεγαλοκήρυκας καὶ θεολογικωτάτους (Theophylact on Mark iii. 17, in *Pat. Gr.* cxxiii. 523 D), but it was, like the name given to Simon, at once descriptive and prophetic. The "Rock-man" had a natural strength, which was described by his title, and he was to have a Divine strength, predicted by the same title. In the same way the "Sons of Thunder" had a burning and impetuous spirit, which twice exhibits itself in its unchastened form (Luke ix. 54; Mark x. 37; Jerom. *c. Pelag.* ii. 15, *Pat. Lat.* xxiii. 551 B), and which, when moulded by the Spirit of God, taking different shapes, led St. James to be the first apostolic martyr, and St. John to become in an especial manner the Apostle of Love.

The first occasion on which this natural character manifested itself in St. James and his brother was at the commencement of our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem in the year 30. He was passing through Samaria; and now courting rather than avoiding publicity, He "sent messengers before His face" into a certain village, "to make ready for Him" (Luke ix. 52). The Samaritans, with their old jealousy strong upon them, refused to receive Him, because He was going to Jerusalem instead of to Gerizim; and in exasperation James and John asked their Master that they might, after the example of Elijah, call down fire to consume them. "But He turned and rebuked them"[c] (Luke ix. 55).

At the end of the same journey a similar spirit appears again. As they went up to Jerusalem our Lord declared to His Apostles the circumstances of His coming Passion, and at the same time strengthened them by the promise that they should sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. These words seem to have made a great impression upon Salome, and she may have thought her two sons quite as fit as the sons of Jonas to be the chief ministers of their Lord in the mysterious kingdom which He was about to assume. She approached therefore, and besought, perhaps with a special reference in her mind to St. Peter and St. Andrew, that her two sons might sit on the right hand and on the left in His kingdom, *i.e.* according to a Jewish *form* of expression[d] (Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 11, § 9), that they might be next to the King in honour (Matt. xx. 20). The two brothers joined with her in the prayer (Mark x. 35). The Lord passed by their petition with a mild reproof, showing that the request had not arisen from an evil heart, but from a spirit which aimed too high. He told them that they should drink His cup and be baptized with His baptism of suffering, but turned their minds away at once from the thought of future pre-eminence: in His kingdom none of His Apostles were to be lords over the rest. The indignation felt by the ten would show that they regarded the petition of the two brothers as an attempt at infringing on their privileges as much as on those of SS. Peter and Andrew.

From the time of the Agony in the Garden, A.D. 30, to the time of his martyrdom, A.D. 44, we know nothing of St. James, except that after the Ascension he persevered in prayer with the other Apostles, and the women, and the Lord's brethren (Acts i. 13). In the year 44 Herod Agrippa I., son of Aristobulus, was ruler of all the dominions which after the death of his grandfather, Herod the Great, had been divided between Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, and Lysanias. He had received from Caligula, Trachonitis in the year 37, Galilee and Persea in the year 40. On the accession of Claudius, in the year 41, he received from him Idumaea, Samaria, and Judaea. This sovereign was at once a supple statesman and a stern Jew (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, § 7, xix. 5–8): a king with not a few grand and kingly qualities, at the same time eaten up with Jewish pride—the type of a lay Pharisee. "He was very ambitious to oblige the people with donations," and "he was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country, keeping himself entirely pure, and not allowing one day to pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice" (*Ant.* xix. 7, § 3). Policy and inclination would alike lead such a monarch "to vex certain of the Church" (Acts xii. 1); and accordingly, when the Passover of the year 44 had brought multitudes to Jerusalem, he "killed James the brother of John with the sword" (Acts xii. 2). This is all that we know for certain of his death.[e] We may notice respecting it, that he perished not by stoning, but by the sword. The Jewish law laid down that if seducers to strange worship were few, they should be stoned; if many, that they should be beheaded. Either therefore Herod intended that James's death should be the beginning of a sanguinary persecution, or he merely followed the Roman custom of putting to death from preference (see Dr. John Lightfoot in loco).

The death of so prominent a champion left a huge gap in the ranks of the infant society,

[c] The words "even as Elias did," in *v.* 54, are omitted by the Sinaitic and the Vatican MSS., and are rejected by Tischendorf and Tregelles and the R. V. Whether they are to stand or no, the reference by the Apostles to the example of Elijah is undoubted. The words of the rebuke as given in the A. V., "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of" (*v.* 55), are not found in the Sinaitic, the Vatican, the Alexandrine codices, or in the Codex Ephraemi, but they are in the Codex Bezae. The remaining words, "For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them" (*v.* 56), have not the authority of the Sinaitic, the Vatican, the Alexandrine, the Ephraemi, or the Bezae. Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and the R. V. omit the whole of the rebuke; Griesbach and Meyer the last clause of it.

[d] The same form is common throughout the East. See Lane's *Arab. Nights*, iii. 212, &c.

[e] The great Armenian convent at Jerusalem on the so-called Mount Zion is dedicated to "St. James the son of Zebedee." The church of the convent, or rather a small chapel on its north-east side, occupies the traditional site of his martyrdom. This, however, can hardly be the actual site (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 558). Its most interesting possession is the chair of the Apostle, a venerable relic, the age of which is perhaps traceable as far back as the fourth century (Williams, p. 560) But as it would seem that it is believed to have belonged to "the first Bishop of Jerusalem," it is doubtful to which of the two Jameses the tradition would attach it.

which was filled partly by St. James, the brother of our Lord, who steps forth into greater prominence in Jerusalem, and partly by St. Paul, who had now been seven years a convert, and who shortly afterwards set out on his first apostolic journey.

II. *Chronological recapitulation.* — In the spring or summer of the year 27 St. James was called to be a disciple of Christ. In the spring of 28 he was appointed one of the Twelve Apostles, and at that time probably received, with his brother, the title of Boanerges. In the autumn of the same year he was admitted to the miraculous raising of Jairus's daughter. In the spring of the year 29 he witnessed the Transfiguration. Very early in the year 30 he asked his Lord to let him call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritan village. About three months later in the same year, just before the final arrival in Jerusalem, he and his brother made their ambitious request through their mother Salome. On the night before the Crucifixion he was present at the Agony in the Garden. On the day of the Ascension he is mentioned as persevering with the rest of the Apostles and disciples in prayer at Jerusalem. Shortly before the day of the Passover, in the year 44, he was put to death. Thus during fourteen out of the seventeen years that elapsed between his call and his death we do not even catch a glimpse of him.

III. *Traditions respecting him.*—Clement of Alexandria, in the seventh book of the *Hypotyposeis*, relates, concerning St. James's martyrdom, that the prosecutor was so moved by witnessing his bold confession that he declared himself a Christian on the spot: accused and accuser were therefore hurried off together, and on the road the latter begged St. James to grant him forgiveness; after a moment's hesitation, the Apostle kissed him, saying, "Peace be to thee!" and they were beheaded together. This tradition is preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 9). There is no internal evidence against it, and the external evidence is sufficient to make it credible, for Clement flourished as early as A.D. 195, and he states expressly that the account was given him by those who went before him.

Epiphanius, without giving or probably having any authority for or against his statement, reports that St. James died unmarried (S. Epiph. *adv. Haer.* ii. 4, p. 491, Paris, 1622), and that, like his namesake, he lived the life of a Nazarite (*ibid.* iii. 2, 13, p. 1045).

The legends which connect St. James with Spain are of two classes, independent of each other and springing from different sources. The first represent him as preaching in the Peninsula during his lifetime; the second tell of the conveyance of his body after his death to Iria Flavia, and its subsequent discovery, loss, and rediscovery. The first mention of his preaching in Spain is found in a treatise attributed to Isidore, Bishop of Seville, A.D. 600–636. This legend found its way into the Roman Breviary in the following form:—"Afterwards he travelled through Spain, and, after preaching the Gospel there, returned to Jerusalem." Baronius, knowing that St. James did not make and could not have made any such visit to Spain, induced Clement VIII., in 1602, to change the reading of the Breviary into: "That he afterwards went to Spain, and there made some converts to the faith, is a tradition of the Church of that province," which in 1608 took the form of: "That he afterwards went to Spain, and made some converts to the faith, is said to be believed among the Spaniards." But on the protest of the Spanish Church this was altered in 1625 to: "Afterwards he went to Spain, and there made some converts to Christ, of whom seven were subsequently ordained Bishops by the Blessed Peter, and were the first to be sent to Spain; then he returned to Jerusalem." This reading, which makes a compromise between Spanish dignity and Roman claims, holds its place in the Breviary at present, together with a statement that "his body was afterwards translated to Compostella, where it is worshipped by vast crowds." The second class of legends, relating to the miraculous translation of his body to Spain, originated with Theodomir, bishop of Iria, in the year 772, and they were confirmed by Pope Leo III. about A.D. 800 in an epistle, in which he says that, after the martyrdom of the Apostle, his disciples took his body to Joppa, where they found a ship waiting for them, in which they placed the body, and sailed to Iria; there they disembarked and proceeded to Liberum Donum (Libredun, afterwards Compostella), destroyed an idol's temple and buried St. James's body in a crypt, his two companions, Theodore and Athanasius, being afterwards buried with him. These three bodies Theodomir found in 772, guided by "a brilliant star which seemed nailed to the sky above the crypt, pointing with its flashing ray to the spot where the sacred remains were buried" (*Apostolic Letters of Leo XIII.*, 1880). Over them Alfonso the Chaste built a church, which was transformed into a cathedral by Diego Galmirez in 1112. The cathedral was ravaged and destroyed by the Moors and by the heretical English, but in 1879 Archbishop Paya y Rico discovered a stone chest full of bones, so broken that there was not a single entire bone (*Recuerdos*). Out of these pieces were formed three skeletons, and on Nov. 1, 1880, Pope Leo XIII. formally and solemnly declared, as a matter of certain knowledge and a thing that no one might controvert, that these were the skeletons of St. James, Theodore, and Athanasius. See the Roman Breviary (*in Fest. S. Jac. Ap.*); the fourth book of the Apostolical History written by Abdias, the (pseudo) first bishop of Babylon (Abdiae, *Babyloniae primi Episcopi ab Apostolis constituti, de historia certaminis Apostolici, Libri decem*, Paris, 1566); Isidore, *De vitâ et obitu SS. utriusque Test.* No. LXXIII. (Hagonoae, 1529); Pope Callixtus II.'s Four Sermons on St. James the Apostle (*Bibl. Patr. Magn.* xv. p. 324); Mariana, *De adventu Jacobi Apostoli Majoris in Hispaniam* (Col. Agripp. 1609); Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum ad Jul.* 25, p. 325 (Antwerp, 1589); Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum*, 25 Jul. vi. § iv. p. 12, ed. 1868; Estius, *Comm. in Act. Ap.* c. xii.; *Annot. in difficiliora loca S. Script.* (Col. Agripp. 1622); Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, tom. i. p. 899 (Brussels, 1706); Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* (Regensburg, 1862); Menendez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodosos Españoles*, vol. i. p. 47 (Madrid, 1880); Fita, *Recuerdos de un viaje a Santiago de Galicia*

(Madrid, 1880); Fereiro, *Monumentos Antiguos de la Iglesia Compostellana* (Madrid, 1883). The *Apostolic Letters of Pope Leo XIII.* will be found in the *Boletin* of the Royal Academy of History of Madrid, tom. vi. Feb. 1885; and in English in the *Foreign Church Chronicle* (London, 1885). As there is no shadow of foundation for any of the legends here referred to, we pass them by without further notice. Baronius shows himself ashamed of them; Estius gives them up as hopeless; Tillemont and Gams reject them with as much contempt as their position will allow them to show; and Döllinger, in a lecture at Munich in 1884, says, "That the Apostle James the Great came to Spain to preach the faith contradicts equally the Bible and history.... That his body was landed from Palestine on the coast of Galicia, and is there preserved, after having circumnavigated Spain, is a somewhat later invented fable." On the other hand, Popes Leo III. and XIII. have pronounced *ex cathedra* in their favour.

2. JAMES OF ALPHAEUS. Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13.

3. JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD (Gal. i. 19); and also of Joses,[r] Simon, Jude, and some sisters (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3).

4. JAMES OF MARY (Luke xxiv. 10); son of Mary and brother of Joses (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40). Also called THE LITTLE (Mark xv. 40).

5. JAMES, of whom Jude is brother. Jude 1.

6. JAMES, of whom Jude is brother or son. Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13.

7. JAMES (1 Cor. xv. 7), shown by the context to be a Church officer at Jerusalem. Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9, 12.

8. JAMES THE SERVANT OF GOD AND OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST. James i. 1.

Are these distinct personages, or are they the same person differently designated?

We reserve the question of the authorship of the Epistle for the present.

St. Paul identifies for us the Church officer at Jerusalem with the brother of the Lord; that is, No. 7 with No. 3 (see Gal. ii. 9 and 12 compared with i. 19).

If we may translate Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, Judas *the brother*, rather than *the son* of James, we may conclude that 5 and 6 are identical. And that we may so translate it, is proved, if proof were needed, by Winer (*Grammar of the Idioms of the N. T.*, translated by Agnew and Ebbeke, New York, 1850, § lxvi.), by Hänlein (*Handb. der Einl. in die Schriften des Neuen Test.*, Erlangen, 1809), and by Arnaud (*Recherches Critiques sur l'Épitre de Jude*, Strasbourg, 1851).

We may identify the James of whom Jude was brother with the Lord's brother; that is, Nos. 5 and 6 with No. 3, because we know that James the Lord's brother had a brother named Jude.

We may identify James the son of Mary with the Lord's brother; that is, No. 4 with No. 3, because James the son of Mary had a brother named Joses, and so also had James the Lord's brother.

Thus there remain two only, James the son of Alphaeus (No. 2), and James the brother of the Lord (No. 3). Can we, or can we not, identify them? This requires a longer consideration.

I. The Evangelists tell us—(1) that James called the Little and Joses were the sons of Mary (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40), which Mary was the wife of Clopas (John xix. 25); and St. John seems to tell us (but here his words are not free from ambiguity)[s] that she was the sister of the Blessed Virgin. The Evangelists tell us—(2) that there were two brothers, James and Joses, who with two other brothers, Jude and Simon, and some sisters, lived at Nazareth with the Virgin Mary (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3). They tell us (3) that there were two brothers, James and Jude, who were Apostles. It would certainly be natural to think that we have here but one family of four brothers and three or more sisters, the children of Clopas and Mary, nephews and nieces of the Virgin Mary. There are difficulties, however, in the way of this conclusion. For (1) the four brethren in Matt. xiii. 55 are described as the brothers (ἀδελφοί) of JESUS, not as His cousins; (2) they are found living as at their home with the Virgin Mary, which seems unnatural if she were their aunt, their mother being, as we know, still alive; (3) James the Apostle is described as the son not of Clopas, but of Alphaeus; (4)

[r] The reading Joseph may be disregarded. In Matt. xiii. 55, the Vatican Codex and the Codex Ephraemi read Ἰωσήφ; the Codex Bezae with seven other uncial MSS. read Ἰωάννης. In the Codex Sinaiticus Ἰωάννης was apparently first written, and this was changed into Ἰωσὴφ by the first corrector. In Matt. xxvii. 56, Ἰωσὴφ is found in Codex Bezae and the Codex Regius Parisiensis, and the Sinaitic MS. has Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσὴφ for Ἰωσῆ μήτηρ. In Mark vi. 3, which is the parallel passage with Matt. xiii. 55, the Sinaitic and two cursive MSS. read Ἰωσήφ. In Mark xv. 40, which is the parallel passage with Matt. xxvii. 56, all the MSS. read Ἰωσῆτος or Ἰωσῆ. It is evident that a scribe would be more likely to write the commoner name Ἰωσὴφ in error than the rarer Ἰωσῆς. There is almost as much authority for Ἰωάννης as for Ἰωσήφ.

[s] In John xix. 25, we read, "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene." Probably it would not have been doubted that three women are here designated—1, the mother of our Lord; 2, her sister, Mary wife of Clopas; 3, Mary Magdalene—had it not been for the difficulty of two sisters being thus represented as bearing the same name of Mary. To obviate this difficulty, it has been suggested that four persons are intended—1, the mother of our Lord; 2, her sister; 3, Mary wife of Clopas; 4, Mary Magdalene; and the sister of St. Mary the Virgin is identified by some with Salome (see Kitto, Lange, Wieseler, Davidson, Meyer, Westcott, Plummer). But first it is not certain that the names of St. Mary the Virgin and of Mary the wife of Clopas were the same, the former being not universally indeed but most generally represented by the word Mariám, the latter by María, where the difference in sound would be as great as that between our Marianne and Mary, and greater than that between *Marion* and *Mary* (which might well be the name of two sisters); secondly, the improbability of two sisters, called perhaps after Miriam, bearing the same name, is far less than has been supposed [see MARY OF CLEOPHAS]; and thirdly, Mary of Clopas and St. Mary may have been sisters, as being the wives of two brothers, Clopas and Joseph having been brothers according to the statement of Hegesippus, whose testimony Bishop Lightfoot "sees no reason for doubting," as he was a younger contemporary, "and is likely to have been well informed" (Dissertation appended to *Epist. ad Galat.*).

the "brethren of the Lord" (who are plainly James, Joses, Jude, and Simon) appear to be excluded from the Apostolic band by their declared unbelief in his Messiahship (John vii. 3–5) and by being formally distinguished from the disciples by the Gospel-writers (Matt. xii. 48; Mark iii. 33; John ii. 12; Acts i. 14); (5) James and Jude are not designated as the Lord's brethren in the lists of the Apostles; (6) Mary is designated as mother of James and Joses, whereas she would have been called mother of James and Jude, had James and Jude been Apostles, and Joses not an Apostle (Matt. xxvii. 46).

These are the six chief objections which may be made to the hypothesis of there being but one family of brethren named James, Joses, Jude, and Simon. The following answers may be given:—

Objection 1.—"They are called *brethren*." It is a sound rule of criticism that words are to be understood in their most simple and literal acceptation; but there is a limit to this rule. When greater difficulties are caused by adhering to the literal meaning of a word than by interpreting it more liberally, it is the part of the critic to interpret more liberally rather than to cling to the ordinary and literal meaning of a word. Now it is clearly not *necessary* to understand ἀδελφοί as "brothers" in the nearest sense of brotherhood. It need not mean more than relative (cp. LXX. Gen. xiii. 8, xiv. 14, xx. 12, xxix. 12, xxxi. 23; Lev. xxv. 48; Deut. ii. 8; Job xix. 13, xlii. 11; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 5, § 47; Isocr. *Paneg.* 20; Plat. *Phaed.* 57, *Crit.* 16; see also Cic. *ad Att.* 15; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 38; Quint. Curt. vi. 10, § 34; comp. Suicer and Schleusner *in voc.*). But perhaps the circumstances of the case would lead us to translate it brethren? On the contrary, such a translation appears to produce very grave difficulties. For, first, it introduces two sets of first-cousins, two of them bearing the name of James, two of them that of Joses, without anything to show which are the sons of Clopas and Mary, and which are their cousins; and secondly, it drives us to take our choice between three doubtful and improbable hypotheses as to the parentage of this second James and Joses. There are three such hypotheses:—(*a.*) The Eastern hypothesis, that they were the children of Joseph by a former wife. This notion originated, according to Origen (on Matt. xiii. 55, *Comment. in Matt.* t. x. § 17, *Op.* t. iii. p. 463, in *Pat. Gr.* xiii. 876 C), who adopts it, in the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*. Through Origen, and through Epiphanius, who agreed with him (*Adv. Haer.* lib. i. t. iii. p. 115, *Haer.* xxviii. § 7, *Pat. Gr.* xli. 385), the notion was handed on to the later Greek Church. (*b.*) The Helvidian hypothesis, put forward at first by Bonosus, Helvidius, and Jovinian, and revived by Strauss and Herder in Germany, and by Davidson and Alford in England, that James, Joses, Jude, Simon, and the three sisters, were children of Joseph and Mary. This notion is opposed, whether rightly or wrongly, to the general sentiment of the Christian body in all ages of the Church; like the other two hypotheses, it creates two sets of cousins with the same name: it seems to be scarcely compatible with our Lord's recommending His mother to the care of St. John at His own death (see Jerome, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 10); for if, as has been suggested, though with great improbability, her sons might at that time have been unbelievers (Blom, *Disp. Theol.* p. 67, Lugd. Bat.; Neander, *Planting*, &c., iv. 1; Davidson, *Introd. to N. T.* iii. 306, Lond. 1851), JESUS would have known that that unbelief was only to continue for a few days. The argument derived from the expression "first-born son," πρωτότοκος υἱός, in Luke ii. 7, is not now often urged, nor does the ἕως οὗ ἔτεκε of Matt. i. 25 necessarily imply the birth of after children (see Pearson, *On the Creed*, i. 304, ii. 220). (*c.*) The Levirate hypothesis may be passed by. It was a mere attempt made in the eleventh century to reconcile the Greek and Latin traditions by supposing that Joseph and Clopas being brothers, Joseph raised up seed to his dead brother (Theoph. *in Matt.* xiii. 56; *Op.* tom. i. p. 71, *Pat. Gr.* cxxiii. 293 A).

Objection 2.—"The four brothers and their sisters are always found living and moving about with the Virgin Mary." If they were the children of Clopas, the Virgin Mary was their aunt by blood or marriage. Her own husband would appear to have died at some time between A.D. 8 and A.D. 26. Nor have we any reason for believing Clopas to have been alive during our Lord's ministry. (We need not pause here to prove that the Cleophas of Luke xxiv. is an entirely different person and name from Clopas.) What difficulty is there in supposing that the two widowed sisters should have lived together, the more so as one of them had but one son, and he was often taken from her by his ministerial duties? And would it not be most natural that two families of first cousins thus living together should be popularly looked upon as one family, and spoken of as brothers and sisters instead of cousins? The same thing occurs commonly in our country villages.

Objection 3.—"James the Apostle is said to be the son of Alphaeus, not of Clopas." But Alphaeus and Clopas are the same name rendered into the Greek language in two different but ordinary and recognised ways, from the Aramaic חַלְפַּאי or כְּלוֹפָא. (See Mill, *Accounts of Our Lord's Brethren vindicated*, &c., p. 236, who compares the two forms Clovis and Aloysius.)

Objection 4.—Dean Alford considers John vii. 5, compared with vi. 67–70, to decide that none of the brothers of the Lord were of the number of the Twelve (*Proleg. to Ep. of James*, G. T. iv. 88, and *comm. in loc.*). Dr. Plummer takes the same view (*Camb. Gk. Test.* 1882). If this verse, as Alford states, makes "the crowning difficulty" to the hypothesis of the identity of James the son of Alphaeus, the Apostle, with James the brother of the Lord, the difficulties are not too formidable to be overcome. Many of the disciples having left JESUS, St. Peter bursts out in the name of the Twelve with a warm expression of faith and love (vi. 67–70); and after that—very likely (see Greswell's *Harmony*) fully six months afterwards — the Evangelist states that "neither did His brethren believe on Him" (vii. 5). Does it follow from hence that all His brethren disbelieved? Let us compare other passages in Scripture. St.

Matthew and St. Mark state that the thieves railed on our Lord upon the cross. Are we therefore to disbelieve St. Luke, who says that one of the thieves was penitent, and did not rail? (Luke xxiii. 39, 40.) St. Luke and St. John say that the soldiers offered vinegar. Are we to believe that all did so? or, as St. Matthew and St. Mark tell us, that only one did it? (Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 29; Mark xv. 36; Matt. xxvii. 48.) St. Matthew tells us that "His disciples" had indignation when Mary poured the ointment on the Lord's head. Are we to suppose this true of all? or of Judas Iscariot, and perhaps some others, according to John xii. 4 and Mark xiv. 4? It is not at all necessary to suppose that St. John is here speaking of all the brethren. If Joses, Simon, and the three sisters disbelieved, it would be quite sufficient ground for the statement of the Evangelist. The same may be said of Matt. xii. 47, Mark iii. 32, where it is reported to Him that His mother and His brethren, designated by St. Mark (iii. 21) as *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, were standing without. Nor does it necessarily follow that the disbelief of the brethren was of such a nature that St. James and St. Jude, Apostles though they were, and vouched for half a year before by the warm-tempered St. Peter, could have had no share in it. "The phrase need not mean more," says Dr. Westcott, "than that they did not sacrifice to absolute trust in Him all the fancies and prejudices which they cherished as to Messiah's office" (*Speaker's Commentary*, 1880). With regard to John ii. 12, Acts i. 14, we may say that "His brethren" are no more excluded from the disciples in the first passage, and from the Apostles in the second, by being mentioned parallel with them, than St. Peter is excluded from the Apostolic band by the expression "the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (1 Cor. ix. 5).

Objection 5.—"If the title of brethren of the Lord had belonged to SS. James and Jude, they would have been designated by it in the list of the Apostles." The omission of a title is so slight a ground for an argument that we may pass this by.

Objection 6.—That Mary the wife of Clopas should be designated by the title of Mary "the mother of James and Joses," to the exclusion of St. Jude, if SS. James and Jude were Apostles, appears to Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to N. T.*, iii. 495) and to Dean Alford (*Prol. to Ep. of James*, G. T., iv. 90) extremely improbable. There is no improbability in it, if Joses was, as would seem likely, an elder brother of St. Jude, and next in order to St. James.[h]

II. We have hitherto argued that the hypothesis which most naturally accounts for the facts of Holy Scripture is that of the identity of St. James the Little, the Apostle, with St. James the Lord's brother. We have also argued that the six main objections to this view are not valid, inasmuch as they may either be altogether met, or at best throw us back on other hypotheses which create greater difficulties than that under consideration. We proceed to point out some further confirmations of our original hypothesis.

1. It would be unnatural that St. Luke, in a list of twelve persons, in which the name of James twice occurred, with its distinguishing patronymic, should describe one of the last persons on his list as brother to "James," without any further designation to distinguish him, unless he meant the James whom he had just before named. The James whom he had just before named is the son of Alphaeus; the person designated by his relationship to him is Jude. We have reason therefore for regarding Jude as the brother of the son of Alphaeus; on other grounds (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3) we have reason for regarding him as the brother of the Lord: therefore we have reason for regarding the son of Alphaeus as the brother of the Lord.

2. It would be unnatural that St. Luke, after having recognised only two Jameses throughout his Gospel and down to the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and having in that chapter narrated the death of one of them (James the son of Zebedee), should go on in the same and following chapters to speak of "James," meaning thereby not the other James, with whom alone his readers are acquainted, but a different James not yet mentioned by him.

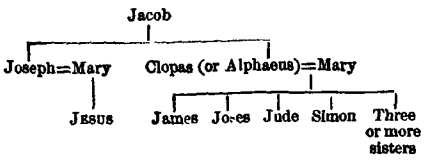
3. St. James is represented throughout the Acts as exercising great authority among, or even over, Apostles (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18); and in St. Paul's Epistles he is placed before even Cephas and John, and declared to be a pillar of the Church with them (Gal. ii. 9–12). It is more likely that an Apostle would hold such a position, than one who had not been a believer till after the Resurrection.

4. St. Paul says (Gal. i. 19), "Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother" (*Ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*). This passage seems to assert distinctly that James the Lord's brother was an Apostle—and if so, he was identical with the son of Alphaeus—but it cannot be taken as an incontrovertible statement to that effect, for it is *possible* that *ἀποστόλων* may be used in the looser sense (Meyer), though this is not agreeable with the line of defence which St. Paul is here maintaining, viz. that he had received his commission from God, and not from the Twelve (see Thorndike, i. p. 5, Oxf. 1844). And again, *εἰ μὴ may* qualify the whole sentence, and not only the word *ἀποστόλων* (Mayerdorff, *Hist. krit. Einleit. in die Petrin. Schr.* p. 52, Hamb. 1833; Neander, Michaelis, Winer, Alford, Davidson). Still this is not often, if ever, the case, when *εἰ μὴ* follows *ἕτερον* (Schneckenburger, *Adnot. ad Epist. Jac. perpet.* p. 144, Stuttg. 1832: see also Winer, *Grammatik*, 5th ed., p. 647, and Meyer, *comm. ad loc.*); and if St. Paul had not intended to include St. James among the Apostles, we should rather have expected the singular *ἀπόστολον* than the plural *τῶν ἀποστόλων* (Arnaud, *Recherches*, &c.). The more natural interpretation of the verse would be that which includes James among the Twelve, identifying him with the son of Alphaeus; but, as we have said, such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. Compare, however, this verse with Acts ix. 27, and the probability is increased by several degrees. St. Luke there asserts that St. Barnabas brought

[h] [The opposite view that St. James was the real brother of our Lord is maintained by Dr. Farrar in the art. BROTHER, p. 461, and with great learning by Mr. Mayor in the Introduction to his ed. of the *Ep. of St. James*, Lond. 1892.—THE EDITORS.]

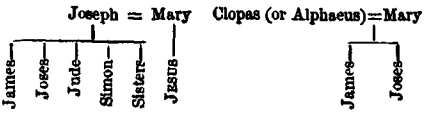
Paul *to the Apostles*, πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους. St. Paul, as we have seen, asserts that during that visit to Jerusalem he saw St. Peter, and none other of the Apostles, save St. James the Lord's brother. SS. Peter and James, then, were the two Apostles to whom St. Barnabas brought St. Paul. Of course, it *may* be said here also that ἀπόστολοι is used in its lax sense; but it appears to be a more natural conclusion that James the Lord's brother was one of the Twelve Apostles, being identical with James the son of Alphaeus, or James the Little.

III. We must now turn from Scripture to the early testimony of uninspired writers. Here we find four hypotheses—the Hegesippian, the Apocryphal, the Hieronymian, the Helvidian. 1. The Hegesippian, so called after Hegesippus, a Hebrew Christian born about A.D. 100, represents Joseph and Clopas (or Alphaeus) as brothers. Joseph's wife, St. Mary, and Clopas' wife, Mary, were therefore sisters-in-law. James, Joses, Jude, and Simon were the children of Clopas and Mary, nephews and nieces of Joseph, and first cousins of our Lord. Hegesippus states in direct terms that Symeon or Simon, the second Bishop of Jerusalem, was the cousin (ἀνέψιος) of the Lord because son of Clopas, who was His uncle (θεῖον), and he speaks of Jude not as the brother but as the so-called brother of our Lord (τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ: Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 20, 32, iv. 22). The genealogy according to this hypothesis would be as follows:—



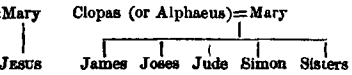
On this hypothesis James the brother of our Lord and James the son of Alphaeus are the same person, being the first cousin of Jesus on the paternal side.

2. The Apocryphal or Origenistic or Epiphanian hypothesis, called Epiphanian by Bishop Lightfoot from its having been warmly advocated by Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, in the year 367, but better called Apocryphal because originating with the Apocryphal Gospels,[1] or Origenistic because transported from them into the Church by Origen A.D. 250. This represents James, Joses, Jude, Simon, and the sisters to be the children of Joseph by a former wife, and to be called brethren of the Lord in the same way that Joseph was called His father. The genealogy on this hypothesis is—



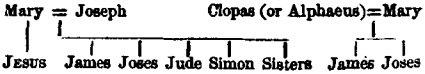
Epiphanius adds to this genealogical tree by recognising Joseph and Clopas as brothers, sons of Jacob, son of Panther. On this hypothesis, James the brother of our Lord and James the son of Alphaeus were different persons, not related to one another, so far as we are informed by the Apocryphal Gospels, but according to Epiphanius cousins, one of them being the son, the other the nephew, of Joseph.

3. The Hieronymian hypothesis, so called because warmly advocated by St. Jerome, A.D. 382. This represents James, Joses, Jude, Simon, and their sisters to be the children of Mary the sister of St. Mary, and therefore nephews and nieces of St. Mary and first cousins of our Lord on the maternal side. The genealogy on this hypothesis is—



On this hypothesis James the brother of the Lord and James the son of Alphaeus are the same person, being the first cousins of Jesus on the mother's side.

4. The Helvidian hypothesis, so called from Helvidius, who advocated it in a book published about A.D. 380. This represents James, Joses, Jude, Simon, and their sisters to be the children of Joseph and Mary, younger brothers and sisters of Jesus. The genealogy on this hypothesis is—



On this hypothesis, James was real brother to Jesus, and James the son of Alphaeus was no relation to him, so far as we know.

We have to consider with regard to these hypotheses: 1. Which of them is beset with fewest objections and solves most difficulties. 2. What authority they each stand on. We have already argued that the hypothesis which makes James to be the first cousin of our Lord (whether paternal or maternal matters not for the present) is freer from objections than that which makes him His brother, whether as the child of Joseph by a former marriage, or as the child of Joseph and Mary. We have now to consider the authority which can be claimed for each of the four hypotheses.

The Helvidian hypothesis is first found in Tertullian, if it is found there. Tertullian's words are ambiguous (*de Carne Christi*, 7, 23; *de Monogam.* 8; *adv. Marc.* iv. 19); but as Jerome does not repudiate Helvidius' statement that Tertullian entertained his view, merely saying that he was not a Churchman (*adv. Helvid.* 17), it is to be supposed that Helvidius was justified in claiming him. Next it was maintained by the Antidicomarianites in Arabia about A.D. 375 (Epiphan. *Haeres.* 78, 79). Thirdly, it was urged for controversial reasons by Bonosus in Macedonia, and by Helvidius and Jovinian in Italy about the year 380.

The Hieronymian hypothesis rests on the authority of Jerome,[J] who wrote at once against

[1] Hence said by Jerome to be founded on the "deliramenta apocryphorum."

[J] It has been usual to attribute this hypothesis to Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, as its originator, in virtue of a MS. in the Bodleian Library supposed to have been written by him, and quoted by Grabe and Routh as his. But Bishop Lightfoot has shown that this MS. can only claim a Pseudo ofthe elev enth century for its author.

Helvidius and the Apocryphal hypothesis about the year 382; of Augustine, A.D. 354-430, (*contr. Faust.* xxii. 35); of Chrysostom, A.D. 347-407 (*in Gal.* i. 19); and of Theodoret, A.D. 386-458. The weight of the authority of such great names as Augustine and Chrysostom is sought to be lightened by a supposition that they accepted Jerome's view; they may have accepted it, but in that case they must have considered themselves right in doing so, after an examination of the question into which they would have been led by the perusal of his treatise. Theodoret not only adopts the Hieronymian theory, but in set terms rejects the other. The Western Church in general accepted Jerome's view.

The Apocryphal, Origenistic, or Epiphanian hypothesis originated with the Apocryphal Gospels of the second and third centuries—the Gospel of Peter, the Protevangelium, and the rest—all of which show a desire of exhibiting Joseph as an old man at the time of his marriage, lest a doubt or a slur should be thrown on St. Mary's virginity. These Apocryphal statements were taken over and planted within the Church's borders at the end of the third century by Origen. "Some persons," he says, "on the ground of a tradition in the Gospel according to Peter, as it is entitled, or the Book of James (*i.e.* the Protevangelium), say that the brothers of Jesus were Joseph's sons by a former wife, to whom he was married before Mary. Those who held this view wish to preserve the honour of Mary in virginity throughout . . . And I think it reasonable that as JESUS was the first-fruit of purity and chastity among men, so Mary was among women; for it is not seemly to ascribe the first-fruit of virginity to any other woman but her" (*in Matt.* xiii. 55, Lightfoot's translation). Thus we see that a statement up to this time confined to those early heretics whose chief object it was to magnify St. Mary, was adopted by Origen, not on the ground of its according with the Church tradition or with Scripture, but because it was "seemly" to ascribe perpetual virginity to St. Mary, and this appeared to be the way to do it. After Origen we find the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vi. 12) and Victorinus the Philosopher (*in Gal.* i. 19, *apud* Maii *Script. Vet. nov. coll.* Romae, 1828) distinguishing between the brother of the Lord and the Apostle. Hilary of Poitiers accepts the Apocryphal view, A.D. 368 (*Comm. in Matt.* i. 1). So apparently does Ambrosiaster, about the year 375. Gregory Nyssen at the end of the fourth century follows in the same track, and tries to account for the second pair of Jameses and Joseses (the sons of Mary of Clopas) by identifying their mother Mary with St. Mary, called their mother because she was their stepmother (*Op.* tom. ii. p. 844, Paris, 1618). Epiphanius' treatise was written against the Antidicomarianites about the year 375. It is for the most part a bald reproduction of the Apocryphal legends, to which he makes some additions from "the traditions of the Jews," and combines with both of these the Church tradition, derived no doubt from Hegesippus, that Clopas and Joseph were brothers, children of Jacob, whom he represents (again from Apocryphal sources) as the son of Panther. He further states in one place that the names of the sisters were Mary and Anna, and in another that they were Mary and Salome. St. Ambrose, A.D. 392, doubtfully accedes to the Epiphanian view (*de Inst. Virg.*; *Op.* tom. ii. p. 260, ed. Din.), which is also supported by Cyril of Alexandria at the beginning of the fifth century (*Glaph. in Gen.* vii.), and became the generally accepted view of the Oriental Church.

The Hegesippian hypothesis rests on the authority of Hegesippus, and Hegesippus' evidence on this point is such as to outweigh that of all those that have been quoted. In date he is the earliest witness, having probably been a younger contemporary of the sons of Clopas, being born about the year 100; his means of information were infinitely superior to those of others, as he was a Palestinian converted Jew; he had no purpose to serve, like the writers of the Apocryphal Gospels, who are the authors of the Origenistic or Epiphanian hypothesis; and his statement contains within it only one difficulty, namely, that two women should be called by St. John sisters because they were the wives of two brothers. This difficulty, if it be one, is as nothing compared with the difficulty on one side of two sisters bearing the same or nearly the same name, which the Hieronymian hypothesis requires, and, on the other side, of there being two pairs of Jameses and Joseses, which the Apocryphal and the Helvidian hypotheses alike make necessary.[k] Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 200, has been claimed as a supporter of the Epiphanian view, but he is quoted by Eusebius as saying that "there are two Jameses, one the Just who was thrown down from the pinnacle and beaten to death by a fuller's pole, and another who was beheaded" (*Hypotyposeis*, vii. *apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1). The word used for "are" in th at sentence is not merely the copula, but it is γεγόνασι. The writer therefore must have held that there were only two Jameses in all, and in that case the son of Alphaeus and the brother of the Lord must have been identical. It is possible that the passage may be a comment of Eusebius on Clement rather than Clement's own, and this was the opinion of Bishop Pearson (*Lect.* iv. *in Acta Apost.*, Minor Theol. Works, p. 150, Oxf. 1844), though Bishop Lightfoot is doubtful on the point. Whoever wrote it—that is, either Clement or Eusebius—must be regarded as a supporter of one or other of the two theories which identify the two Jameses. It must be allowed that after Hegesippus himself, the Hegesippian view is not found in its developed form. But this is what might not unreasonably have been expected. For with Hegesippus' generation the memory of the relationship between Joseph and Clopas perished, nor were Hegesippus' writings sufficiently well known to keep it alive.

[k] Hegesippus is sometimes represented as inconsistent with himself, or as not identifying Clopas and Alphaeus, because he uses the expression "The Church was committed, *in conjunction with the Apostles* (μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων), to the charge of the Lord's brother James." Here, it is argued, he distinguishes James the brother of the Lord from the Apostle, and therefore he could not have regarded him as the son of Alphaeus, who is acknowledged to be an Apostle. This, however, is not so; for, as Bishop Lightfoot admits, "from this passage no inference can be safely drawn; for, supposing the term 'Apostles' to be here restricted to the Twelve, the expression μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων may distinguish St. James not *from* but *among* the Apostles, as in Acts v. 29, 'Peter and the Apostles.'" (*Dissertation.*)

Room was thus made for the other theories, each of which may be regarded as the product of ingenious minds seeking to account for the statement of Scripture after the clue supplied by Hegesippus was lost. We rank them in the following order in respect to the degree of probability attaching to them:—1. The Hegesippian. 2. The Hieronymian. 3. The Helvidian. 4. The Apocryphal.

English theological writers have been divided almost equally into those that hold, and those that deny, the identity of the son of Alphaeus and the brother of our Lord, with, however, a preference on the whole for the first hypothesis. See, for example, Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* vii. 4, 2, Oxf. 1836; Cosin, *Notes*, Works, v. p. 198, Oxf. 1855; Lardner, vi. 495, Lond. 1788; Pearson, Minor Works, i. 350, Oxf. 1844, and *On the Creed*, i. 308, ii. 224, Oxf. 1833; Thorndike, Works, i. 5, Oxf. 1844; Horne, *Introd. to H. S.* iv. 427, Lond. 1834; Wordsworth, *Greek Test.* Lond. 1868; Scott, in the *Speaker's Commentary, N. T.* iv. 112, Lond. 1881; Punchard, in Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary*, iii. 352—who are in favour of the identity. On the same side are the elder Lightfoot, Witsius, Lampe, Baumgarten, Semler, Gabler, Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, Guericke, Schneckenburger, Meier, Steiger, Hengstenberg, Gieseler, Theile, Lange. On the other hand, Hammond (*On Schism*, p. 231, Oxf. 1839), Jeremy Taylor (*Episcopacy Asserted*, § 13, Works, v. p. 50, Lond. 1849), Nelson (*Fasts and Festivals*, p. 191, Lond. 1805), Bishop Thos. Wilson (*Notes on St. James*, Works, vi. p. 673, Oxf. 1859), Cave (*Life of St. James*), Bishop Lightfoot (*Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 252, Lond. 1884), are in favour of their being distinct persons, with Vossius, Basnage, Valesius, Grotius, and Olshausen. The Helvidian theory is held by Dr. Davidson (*Intr. N. T.* vol. iii.) and by Dean Alford (*Greek Test.* iv. 87), with Herder, Bleek, Blom, Schaff, Mayer, Wieseler, Laurent.

The chief treatises on the subject are Blom's *De τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς et ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς τοῦ Κυρίου*, Leyden, 1839; Dr. Philip Schaff's *Das Verhältniss des Jakobus Bruders des Herrn zu Jakobus Alphäi*, Berlin, 1842, with which however must be compared the same author's *Hist. of the Apost. Ch.* vol. ii. p. 35, Edinb. 1854, modifying his previous view; Wieseler, *Studien u. Kritiken: Ueber die Brüder des Herrn*, 1842, p. 71; Dr. Mill's *Accounts of our Lord's brethren vindicated*, Cambridge, 1843; Alford, as above referred to; Lange's article in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Stuttgart, 1856; Schneckenburger's *Annotatio ad Epist Jac. perpetua*, Stuttgart, 1832; Arnaud's *Recherches Critiques sur l'Épitre de Jude*, Strasbourg, 1851; Bishop Lightfoot's *Dissertation on the Brethren of the Lord* appended to the *Epistle to the Galatians*, Lond. 1884.

Had we not identified James the son of Alphaeus with the brother of the Lord, we should have but little to write of him. When we had said that his name appears twice in the catalogue of the Twelve Apostles, our history of him would be complete. In like manner the early history of the Lord's brother would be confined to the fact that he lived and moved from place to place with his brothers and sisters, and with the Virgin Mary.

JAMES THE LITTLE, THE SON OF ALPHAEUS, THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.—Of James' father חַלְפַּאי, rendered by St. Matthew and St. Mark *Alphaeus* (Ἁλφαῖος), and by St. John *Clopas* (Κλωπᾶς), we know only (1) that, according to the testimony of Hegesippus (who was likely to be fully informed) and of Epiphanius (who probably retained the ancient tradition on the point and reproduced it, though giving no support to the theory that he was advocating), he was the brother of Joseph and son of Jacob; (2) that he married a Mary, who was either sister by blood to the Virgin Mary, or was regarded as her sister because the two women had married two brothers; (3) that he had by her four sons and three or more daughters. He appears to have died before the commencement of our Lord's ministry, and after his death it would seem that his wife and St. Mary, a widow like herself, and in poor circumstances, lived together in one house, generally at Nazareth (Matt. xiii. 55), but sometimes also at Capernaum (John ii. 12) and Jerusalem (Acts i. 14). It is probable that these cousins (or, as they were usually called, brothers and sisters) of the Lord were older than Himself; as on one occasion we find them, with His mother, indignantly declaring that He was beside Himself, and going out to "lay hold on Him" and compel Him to moderate His zeal in preaching, at least sufficiently "to eat bread" (Mark iii. 20, 21, 31). This looks like the conduct of elders towards one younger than themselves.

Of St. James individually we know nothing till the spring of the year 28, when we find him, together with his younger brother St. Jude, called to the Apostolate. It has been noticed that in all the four lists of the Apostles St. James holds the same place, heading perhaps the third class, consisting of himself, Jude, Simon, and Iscariot; as St. Philip heads the second class, consisting of himself, Bartholomew, Thomas, and Matthew; and Simon Peter the first, consisting of himself, Andrew, James, and John (Alford, *in Matt.* x. 2). The fact of St. Jude being described by reference to St. James (Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου: that is, "James' St. Jude") shows the name and reputation which St. James had, either at the time of the calling of the Apostles or at the time when St. Luke wrote.

It is not likely (though far from impossible) that SS. James and Jude took part with their brothers and sisters and the Virgin Mary, in trying "to lay hold on" JESUS in the autumn of the same year (Mark iii. 21); and it is likely that it is of the other brothers and sisters, without these two, that St. John says, "Neither did His brethren believe on Him" (John vii. 5), in the autumn of A.D. 29; but the unbelief here attributed to the brethren was not of such a nature as to make it impossible for Apostles to have participated in it. "They ventured to advise and urge when Faith would have been content to wait" (Westcott).

We hear no more of St. James till after the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. At some time in the forty days that intervened between the Resurrection and the Ascension the Lord ap-

[1] The author of the article on the "Brethren of our Lord" takes a different view from the one given above (see note [b], p. 1514).

peared to him. This is not related by the Evangelists, but it is mentioned by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7); and there never has been any doubt that it was to this St. James rather than to the son of Zebedee that the manifestation was vouchsafed. We may conjecture that it was for the purpose of strengthening him for the high position which he was soon to assume in Jerusalem, and of giving him the instructions on "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3) which were necessary for his guidance, that the Lord thus showed Himself to James.[m] We cannot fix the date of this appearance. It was probably only a few days before the Ascension; after which we find SS. James, Jude, and the rest of the Apostles, together with the Virgin Mary, St. Simon, and St. Joses, in Jerusalem, awaiting in faith and prayer the outpouring of the Pentecostal gift.

Again we lose sight of St. James for ten years, and when he appears once more it is in a far higher position than any that he has yet held. In the year 37 occurred the conversion of Saul. Three years after his conversion he paid his first visit to Jerusalem, but the Christians recollected what they had suffered at his hands, and feared to have anything to do with him. St. Barnabas, at this time of far higher reputation than himself, took him by the hand, and introduced him to St. Peter and St. James (Acts ix. 27; Gal. i. 18, 19), and by their authority he was admitted into the society of the Christians, and allowed to associate freely with them during the fifteen days of his stay. Here we find St. James on a level with St. Peter, and with him deciding on the admission of St. Paul into fellowship with the Church at Jerusalem; and from henceforth we always find him equal, or in his own department superior, to the very chiefest Apostles, SS. Peter, John, and Paul. For by this time he had been appointed (at what exact date we know not) to preside over the infant Church in its most important centre, in a position equivalent to that of Bishop. This pre-eminence is evident throughout the after history of the Apostles, whether we read it in the Acts, in the Epistles, or in ecclesiastical writers. Thus in the year 44, when Peter is released from prison, he desires that information of his escape may be given to "James, and to the brethren" (Acts xii. 17). In the year 49 he presides at the Apostolic Council, and delivers the judgment of the Assembly, with the expression διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω (Acts xv. 13, 19; see St. Chrys. *in loc.*). In the same year (or perhaps in the year 51, on his fourth visit to Jerusalem) St. Paul recognises James as one of the pillars of the Church, together with Cephas and John (Gal. ii. 9), and places his name before them both. Shortly afterwards it is "certain who came from James," that is, from the mother-Church of Jerusalem, designated by the name of its Bishop, who lead St. Peter into tergiversation at Antioch. And in the year 57 St. Paul pays a formal visit to St. James in the presence of all his presbyters, after having been previously welcomed with joy the day before by the brethren in an unofficial manner (Acts xxi. 18).

Entirely accordant with these notices of Scripture is the universal testimony of Christian antiquity to the high office held by St. James in the Church of Jerusalem. That he was formally appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord Himself, as reported by Epiphanius (*Haeres.* lxxviii.), Chrysostom (*Hom.* xi. *in* 1 *Cor.* vii.), Proclus of Constantinople (*de Trad. Div. Liturg.*), and Photius (*Ep.* 157), is not certain. Eusebius follows this account in a passage of his history, but says elsewhere that he was appointed by the Apostles (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23). Clement of Alexandria is the first author who speaks of his episcopate (*Hypotyposeis*, Bk. vi. *ap.* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1), and he alludes to it as a thing of which the chief Apostles, SS. Peter, James, and John, might well have been ambitious. The same Clement reports that the Lord, after His Resurrection, delivered the gift of knowledge to St. James the Just, to St. John, and to St. Peter, who delivered it to the rest of the Apostles,[n] and they to the Seventy. This at least shows the estimation in which St. James was held. The author to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of the life and death of St. James is Hegesippus. His narrative gives us such an insight into the position of St. James in the Church of Jerusalem that it is best to let him relate it in his own words:—

Tradition respecting James, as given by Hegesippus.—"With the Apostles, James the brother of the Lord succeeds to the charge of the Church—that James who has been called Just from the time of the Lord to our own days, for there were many of the name of James. He was holy from his mother's womb; he drank not wine or strong drink, nor did he eat animal food; a razor came not upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil; he did not use the bath. He alone might go into the holy place; for he wore no woollen clothes, but linen. And alone he used to go into the Temple, and there he was commonly found upon his knees, praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew dry and thin [generally translated *hard*] like a camel's, from his constantly bending them in prayer, and entreating forgiveness for the people. On account therefore of his exceeding righteousness he was called 'Just' and 'Oblias,' which means in Greek 'the bulwark of the people,' and 'righteousness,' as the prophets declare of him. Some of the seven sects then that I have mentioned enquired of him, 'What is the door of Jesus?' And he said that this man was the Saviour, wherefore some believed that Jesus is the Christ. Now the forementioned sects did not believe in the Resurrection, nor in the coming of One Who shall recompense every man according to his works; but all who became

[m] The Gospel according to the Hebrews says that the cause of this appearance was that "James had sworn not to eat bread from the time that he had drunk the Lord's cup (or that the Lord had drunk the cup) till he saw Him risen from the dead," and therefore Jesus "took bread and blessed it and gave it to James the Just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man has risen from the dead" (Jerome, *de Vir. Illust.*). If the reading *Domini* be right, we may notice that the writer of this Gospel, which Lightfoot describes as "one of the earliest and most respectable of the apocryphal narratives," supposed James to have been present at the Last Supper, which indicates, though it does not prove, a belief that he was one of the Apostles.

[n] This expression implies that Clement of Alexandria regarded James the Just as one of the Apostles, and therefore identical with the son of Alphaeus.

believers believed through James. When many therefore of the rulers believed, there was a disturbance among the Jews, and Scribes, and Pharisees, saying, 'There is a risk that the whole people will expect Jesus to be the Christ.' They came together therefore to James, and said, 'We pray thee, stop the people, for they have gone astray after Jesus as though He were the Christ. We pray thee to persuade all that come to the Passover concerning Jesus: for we all give heed to thee, for we and all the people testify to thee that thou art just, and acceptest not the person of man. Persuade the people therefore not to go astray about Jesus, for the whole people and all of us give heed to thee. Stand therefore on the gable of the Temple, that thou mayest be visible, and that thy words may be heard by all the people; for all the tribes and even the Gentiles are come together for the Passover.' Therefore the forementioned Scribes and Pharisees placed James upon the gable of the Temple, and cried out to him, and said, 'O Just one, to whom we ought all to give heed, seeing that the people are going astray after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the door of Jesus?' And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why ask ye me about Jesus the Son of Man? He sits in heaven on the right hand of great power, and will come on the clouds of heaven.' And many were convinced and gave glory on the testimony of James, crying, Hosannah to the Son of David! Whereupon the same Scribes and Pharisees said to each other, 'We have done ill in bringing forward such a witness to Jesus; but let us go up, and throw him down, that they may be terrified, and not believe on him.' And they cried out, saying, 'Oh! oh! even the Just is gone astray.' And they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just man, for he is displeasing to us; therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their deeds.' They went up, therefore, and threw down the Just one, and said to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned round, and knelt down, and cried, 'I beseech thee, Lord God Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And whilst they were stoning him, one of the priests, of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites to whom Jeremiah the prophet bears testimony, cried out and said, 'Stop! What are you about? The Just one is praying for you!' Then one of them, who was a fuller, took the club with which he pressed the clothes, and brought it down on the head of the Just one. And so he bore his witness. And they buried him on the spot by the Temple, and the column still remains by the Temple. This man was a true witness to Jews and Greeks that JESUS is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian commenced the siege" (Euseb. ii. 23, and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* p. 208, Oxf. 1846).

For the difficulties which occur in this extract, reference may be made to Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae* (vol. i. p. 228), and to Stanley's *Apostolical Age* (p. 319, Oxf. 1847). It represents St. James to us in his life and in his death more vividly than any modern words could picture him. We see him, a married man perhaps (1 Cor. ix. 5), but a rigid and ascetic follower after righteousness, keeping the Nazarite rule, like Anna the prophetess (Luke ii. 37), serving the Lord in the Temple "with fastings and prayers night and day," regarded by the Jews themselves as one who had attained to the sanctity of the priesthood, though not of the priestly family or tribe, and as the very type of what a righteous or just man ought to be. If any man could have converted the Jews as a nation to Christianity, it would have been St. James.

Josephus' narrative of his death is apparently somewhat different. He says that in the interval between the death of Festus and the coming of Albinus, Ananus the high-priest assembled the Sanhedrin, and "brought before it James the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, and, having charged them with breaking the laws, delivered them over to be stoned." But if we are to reconcile this statement with that of Hegesippus, we must suppose that they were not actually stoned on this occasion. The historian adds that the better part of the citizens disliked what was done, and complained of Ananus to Agrippa and Albinus, whereupon Albinus threatened to punish him for having assembled the Sanhedrin without his consent, and Agrippa deprived him of the high-priesthood (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 1). The words "brother of him who is called Christ," are judged by Le Clerc, Lardner, &c., to be spurious.

Epiphanius gives the same account that Hegesippus does in somewhat different words, having evidently copied it for the most part from him. He adds a few particulars which are probably mere assertions or conclusions of his own (*Haeres.* xxix. 4, and lxxviii. 13). Considering St. James to have been the son of Joseph by a former wife, he calculates that he must have been 96 years old at the time of his death; and adds, on the authority, as he says, of Eusebius, Clement, and others, that he wore the πέταλον on his forehead, in which he perhaps confounds him with St. John (Polycr. *apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 24. But see Valesius' note on Eusebius *l. c.*, and Cotta, *de lam. pont. App. Joan. Jac. et Marci*, Tub. 1755).

Gregory of Tours reports that he was buried, not where he fell, but on the Mount of Olives,[o] in a tomb in which he had already buried Zacharias and Simeon (*De glor. Mart.* i. 27). Eusebius tells us that his chair was preserved down to his time; on which see Heinichen's Excursus (*Exc.* xi. *ad* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 19, vol. iv. p. 957, ed. Burton).

[o] The monument—part excavation, part edifice—which is now commonly known as the "Tomb of St. James," is on the east side of the so-called Valley of Jehoshaphat, and therefore at a considerable distance from the spot on which the Apostle was killed, which the narrative of Hegesippus would seem to fix as somewhere under the south-east corner of the wall of the *Haram*, or perhaps further down the slope nearer the "Fountain of the Virgin." [EN-ROGEL.] It cannot at any rate be said to stand "by the Temple." The tradition about the monument in question is that St. James took refuge there after the capture of Christ, and remained, eating and drinking nothing, until our Lord appeared to him on the day of His Resurrection (see Quaresmius, *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, 1639, lib. iv. cc. 10, 11, t. ii. 258, quoted in Titus Tobler, *Die Siloahquelle u. der Oelberg*, 1852, p. 299). The legend of his death there seems to be first mentioned by Maundeville (A.D. 1320: see *Early Trav.* p. 176). By the old travellers it is often called the "Church of St. James."

We must add a strange Talmudic legend, which appears to relate to James. It is found in the Midrash *Koheleth*, or Commentary on Ecclesiastes, and also in the Tract *Abodah Zarah* of the Jerusalem Talmud. It is as follows: "R. Eliezer, the son of Dama, was bitten by a serpent; and there came to him Jacob, a man of Capher Secama, to heal him by the name of Jesu the son of Pandera; but R. Ismael suffered him not, saying, 'That is not allowed thee, son of Dama.' He answered, 'Suffer me, and I will produce an authority against thee that it is lawful;' but he could not produce the authority before he expired. And what was the authority?—This: 'Which if a man do, he shall live in them' (Lev. xviii. 5). But it is not said that he shall die in them." The son of Pandera is the name that the Jews have always given to our Lord, when representing Him as a magician. The name of Panther is given in Epiphanius (*Haeres.* lxxviii.) to the grandfather of Joseph, and by John Damascene (*de Fide Orth.* iv. 15) to the grandfather of Joachim, the supposed father of the Virgin Mary. For the identification of James of Secama (a place in Upper Galilee) with James the Just, see Dr. W. H. Mill (*Historic. Criticism of the Gospel*, pp. 225, 360, Camb. ed. 1861). The short passage quoted by Origen and Eusebius as from Josephus, which speaks of the death of James being one of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, is not now found in that author, and seems to be spurious (Orig. *in Matt.* xiii. 55; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23).

It is possible that there may be a reference to James in Heb. xiii. 7 (see Theodoret *in loc.*), which would fix his death at some time previous to the writing of that Epistle. His apprehension by Ananus was probably about the year 62 or 63 (Lardner, Pearson, Mill, Whitby, Le Clerc, Tillemont). There is nothing to fix the date of his martyrdom as narrated by Hegesippus, except that it must have been shortly before the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem. We may conjecture that he was between 70 and 80 years old.[p] [F. M.]

JAMES, GENERAL EPISTLE OF.

I. *Title.*—The Epistles of SS. James, Peter, John, Jude, were known under the name of the Seven Catholic Epistles, by the end of the third century. Eusebius, A.D. 287, speaks of St. James's Epistle as "the first of those that bear the name of Catholic Epistles," and states that those Epistles were seven in number, describing them as "the Seven that are called Catholic" (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23). St. Athanasius in his Catalogue of the Books of the Bible contained in his 39th Festal Letter, written A.D. 365, in like manner speaks of "those that are called the Catholic Epistles of the Apostles, seven in number." Gregory of Nazianzus, A.D. 328, and his contemporary Amphilochius, use a similar expression. Cyril of Jerusalem, who is of about the same date, in giving his Catalogue of the Books of the Bible, writes, "The Seven Catholic Epistles of James, and Peter, and John, and Jude" (*Catech. Lect.* iv. 36). The same list was appended to the Canons of the Council of Laodicea held A.D. 363. Didymus of Alexandria wrote a Commentary on the "Seven Catholic Epistles" about A.D. 350, and Euthalius about a century later. Before the number Seven was fixed as that of the Catholic Epistles, the name Catholic was applied to one or more of them. Origen speaks of "the Catholic Epistle of John," "the Catholic Epistle of Peter," "the Catholic Epistle of Jude;" and his pupil Dionysius, of "the Catholic Epistle of John" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 25).

What was meant by the term Catholic, whether applied to the Seven Epistles or to any one of them, is rightly explained by Leontius of Byzantium towards the end of the sixth century, when he says, "They are called Catholic or General, because they are not written to one nation, as those of St. Paul, but generally to all" (*de Sectis*, ii.). Oecumenius in like manner in the tenth century says: "They are called Catholic as being encyclical, for they are not addressed particularly to one nation or city, but generally (*καθόλου*) to the faithful (*Exp. in septem ullas quae Catholicae dicuntur Epistolas: in Jac.* i. p. 115, Frankf. 1610). The Catholic Epistles follow the Acts in the Alexandrine and Vatican Codices, preceding the Epistles of St. Paul. In the Sinaitic MS. they also follow the Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul being placed before the Acts. The *Apostolical Constitutions* appear to include the Catholic Epistles with the Acts of the Apostles, under the simple name of the Acts (*Const.* ii. 57). They are also joined with the Acts by Philastrius, bishop of Brescia, in the middle of the fourth century, in his treatise on Heresies (*Haer.* lxxxviii.); and in the Karkaphensian Syrian Version, at the conclusion of the Catholic Epistles, come the words "The end of the Acts." This close connexion is probably owing to the general or catholic character of James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1 John, and Jude. The authorship of 2 and 3 John (when it came to be acknowledged) was sufficient to cause those Epistles to be classed with 1 John as Catholic, though in their case the word is used with some inexactness.

Origen's title for St. James's Epistle is *ἡ φερομένη Ἰακώβου ἐπιστόλη* (*Comm. in Joan.*), where there is a question whether *φερομένη* means "ascribed to" (as it probably does), or "current." Eusebius in like manner calls it *ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου ἐπιστόλη* (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25).

II. *Author.*—There are, as we have argued, only two Jameses in the New Testament, James the son of Zebedee and James the son of Alphaeus or Clopas, known as James the Just, and called the brother of the Lord, being his first cousin. The author of the Epistle must be one or other of these two, unless he is an unknown James (Luther); the likelihood of which last hypothesis falls to the ground as soon as the canonical character of the Epistle is admitted. James the son of Zebedee could not have written it, because the date of his death, only seven years after the martyrdom of Stephen, does not give time for the growth of a sufficient number of Jewish Christians, "scattered abroad." External evidence (see Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23; Alford, *Greek Test.* iv. p. 23) and internal

[p] It is almost unnecessary to say that the Jacobite churches of the East—consisting of the Armenians, the Copts, and other Monophysite or Eutychian bodies—do not derive their title from St. James, but from Jacob Baradaeus, who died Bishop of Edessa in 568.

evidence (see Stanley, *Apost. Age*, p. 292) point unmistakably to James the Just as the writer, to whom the care of the Jewish Christians, whether residing at Jerusalem or living scattered among the Gentiles, and only visiting that city from time to time, especially belonged in his character of Bishop of Jerusalem.

Authenticity.—In the third book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, where Eusebius makes his well-known division of the books, or pretended books, of the New Testament into four classes, he places the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, the First Epistle of St. John, the First Epistle of St. Peter, and perhaps the Apocalypse, under the head of ὁμολογούμενα, or "acknowledged" books. In the class of ἀντιλεγόμενα or "controverted" he places the Epistle of St. James, the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude. Amongst the νόθα or "spurious" he enumerates the Acts of St. Paul, the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of St. Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Teachings of the Apostles, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and perhaps the Apocalypse. The αἱρετικὰ or "heretical" books consist of the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and others; the Acts of Andrew, John, and others. The ἀντιλεγόμενα, among which he places the Epistle of St. James, are, he says, γνώριμα ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, whether the expression means that they were acknowledged by, or merely that they were known to, the majority (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25). Elsewhere he says that the Epistle is regarded by some as belonging to the class of νόθα, for this is the meaning of νοθεύεται μέν (see the notes of Valesius and Heinichen); but he bears witness that it was publicly read in most Churches as genuine (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23), and as such accepts it himself. This then was the state of the question in the time of Eusebius: the Epistle was accepted as canonical, and as the writing of St. James, the brother of the Lord, by the majority, but not universally. In the previous century Origen bears the same testimony as Eusebius (tom. iv. p. 306), and probably, like him, himself accepted the Epistle as genuine (tom. iv. p. 535, &c.). Before this date evidence of its acceptance is supplied in the East by the Peshitto Version, made for Syrian Christians at the beginning of the 2nd century; and in the West, Clement of Rome (*Ep. ad Cor.* x.), Hermae Pastor (lib. ii., Mand. xii. 5), and Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* iv. 16, 2) show themselves acquainted with it. On the other hand, it is ignored by the Muratorian Canon and by Tertullian. The antiquity of the Epistle Dr. Salmon judges to be sufficiently established by external evidence, particularly by the use made of it in Hermas; but at the same time he thinks it had a very limited circulation in early times, and in Alexandria or the West was little known (*Introd. to N. T.* pp. 562, 565, ed. 1885). It is acknowledged by almost all the Fathers of the fourth century, *e.g.* Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Amphilochius, Philastrius, Ruffinus, Jerome, Augustine, and Chrysostom. In 397 the Council of Carthage accepted it as canonical, and from that time there has been no further question of its genuineness on the score of external testimony. But at the time of the Reformation the question of its authenticity was again raised, and then upon the ground of internal evidence. Erasmus and Cardinal Cajetan in the Church of Rome, Cyril Lucar in the Greek Church, Luther and the Magdeburg Centuriators among Protestants, all objected to it. Luther pronounced it "a right strawy Epistle," compared with the Gospel and First Epistle of St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the First Epistle of St. Peter, which he called "the capital Books of the New Testament," as being sufficient to instruct a Christian fully in the mysteries of the Faith. Accordingly he places the Epistle to the Hebrews, James, Jude, and the Apocalypse after the other Books of the New Testament in his translation, and declines to regard the Epistle of James as apostolic, though he "admires" it "and holds it as good," and "will forbid no one to place and elevate it as he pleases" (*Werke*, xiv. 104, 150. See Westcott, *The Bible in the Church*, ch. x.). The chief objection on internal grounds is a supposed opposition between St. Paul and St. James on the doctrine of Justification, concerning which we shall presently make some remarks. At present we need only say that it is easy to account for the non-universal reception of the Epistle in the early Church, by the fact that it was meant only for Jewish believers, and was not likely therefore to circulate widely among Gentile Christians, for whose spiritual necessities it was primarily not adapted; and that the objection on internal grounds proves nothing except against the objectors, for it really rests on a mistake.

III. *Date and Place.*—The Epistle was written from Jerusalem, which St. James does not seem to have ever left. There is internal evidence that the writer was one familiar with Palestine and had listened to our Lord's teaching. The time at which he wrote it has been fixed as late as 62, and as early as 44. Those who see in its writer a desire to counteract the effects of a misconstruction of St. Paul's doctrine of Justification by faith, in ii. 14–26 (Wiesinger), and those who see a reference to the immediate destruction of Jerusalem in v. 1 (Macknight), and an allusion to the name Christians in ii. 7 (De Wette), argue in favour of the later date. Bishop Chr. Wordsworth, regarding the Epistle as subsequent to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, is in favour of the year 60. The earlier date is advocated by most recent writers, chiefly on the ground that the Epistle could not have been written by St. James after the Council in Jerusalem, without some allusion to what was there decided, and because the Gentile Christian does not yet appear to be recognised. On these grounds Punchard (Bp. Ellicott's *Commentary on the New Test.*) assigns it to the year 44. It is now generally recognised as being the earliest portion of the N. T. (Mayor, *Ep. of St. James*, p. cxxiv.).

IV. *Persons addressed.*—St. James tells us that his Epistle is addressed to "the Twelve Tribes scattered abroad" (A. V.), "the Twelve Tribes which are of the Dispersion" (R. V.). The Jewish Dispersion or Diaspora plays a most important part in the spread of the Gospel throughout the world. There were four divisions of this Diaspora in the apostolic times—the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Syrian, and the Roman. The Babylonian was far the most

ancient of the four. It owed its existence to the policy of the Assyrian kings (1 Ch. v. 26; 2 K. xvii. 6, xviii. 11) and the Babylonish Captivity (2 K. xxiv. 16; xxv. 11). The Hebrews carried away by the Assyrians and Babylonians were scattered through Media, Persia, and Parthia, in bodies of varying size, and Babylon became at a later date a famous seat of Jewish learning. Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies formed the Egyptian Diaspora by settling Jews in Egypt, whence they spread along the coast to Cyrene and Tripoli. The Syrian Diaspora owed its existence to Seleucus Nicator, who established colonies of Jews in Syria, whence they passed in considerable numbers to Armenia, Asia Minor, and Greece. The Roman Diaspora was of later date than the Epistle of St. James, originating with the conquest of Judaea by Pompey in the year 63. The Jews belonging to the Diaspora, while they were on the one hand "scattered abroad" throughout the length and breadth of the Roman empire, on the other kept up a close connexion with Jerusalem, paying their Temple dues and looking to the High Priest for direction until the fall of the city. Those Jews of the Diaspora that were converted to Christianity would therefore naturally look to the Bishop of Jerusalem as their instructor, and he would feel himself to be their natural guide. It was to them that he addressed this Epistle; not to the unbelieving Jews (Lardner, Macknight, Hug, &c.), but only to believers in Christ, as is proved by i. 1; ii. 1, 7; v. 7. The rich men of v. 1 may be the unbelieving Jews (Stanley, p. 299), but it does not follow that the Epistle was written to them, as it is not unusual for an orator, in denouncing, to use the second person.

V. *Contents and Character.*—The main object of the Epistle is not to teach doctrine, but to improve morality St. James is the moral teacher of the N. T.; not in such sense a moral teacher as not to be at the same time a maintainer and teacher of Christian doctrine, but yet mainly in this Epistle a moral teacher, like the author of the *Teaching of the Apostles*, a generation later. There are two ways of explaining this characteristic of the Epistle. Some commentators and writers see in St. James a man who had not realised the essential principles and peculiarities of Christianity, but was in a transition state, half-Jew and half-Christian. Schneckenburger thinks that Christianity had not penetrated his spiritual life. Neander is of much the same opinion (*Pflanzung und Leitung*, p. 579). And the same notion may perhaps be traced in Dean Stanley and Dean Alford. But there is another and more natural way of accounting for the fact. St. James was writing for a special class of persons, and knew what that class especially needed; and therefore, under the guidance of God's Spirit, he adapted his instructions to their capacities and wants. Those for whom he wrote were, as we have said, the Jewish Christians whether in Jerusalem or abroad. St. James, living in the centre of Judaism, saw what were the chief sins and vices of his countrymen; and, fearing that his flock might share in them, he lifted up his voice to warn them against the contagion from which they not only might, but did in part, suffer. This was his main object; but there is another closely connected with it. As Christians, his readers were exposed to trials which they did not bear with the patience and faith that would have become them. Here then are the two objects of the Epistle—1, to warn against the sins to which as Jews they were most liable; 2, to console and exhort them under the sufferings to which as Christians they were most exposed. The warnings and consolations are mixed together, for the writer does not seem to have set himself down to compose an essay or a letter of which he had previously arranged the heads; but, like one of the old Prophets, to have poured out what was uppermost in his thoughts, or closest to his heart, without waiting to connect his matter, or to throw bridges across from subject to subject. While, in the purity of his Greek and the vigour of his thoughts, we mark a man of education, in the abruptness of his transitions and the unpolished roughness of his style we may trace one of the family of the Davideans, who disarmed Domitian by the simplicity of their minds and by exhibiting their hands hard with toil (Hegesipp. *apud* Euseb. iii. 20).

The Jewish vices against which he warns them are—Formalism, which made the service (*θρησκεία*) of God consist in washings and outward ceremonies, whereas he reminds them (i. 27) that it consists rather in Active Love and Purity (see Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, Aph. 23; note also that the "Active Love" of St. James is analogous in the religious sphere to Bishop Butler's "Benevolence" in morals; and St. James's "Purity" answers to while it transcends Bishop Butler's "Temperance"); Fanaticism, which under the cloak of religious zeal was tearing Jerusalem to pieces (i. 20); Fatalism, which threw its sins on God (i. 13); Meanness, which crouched before the rich (ii. 2); Falsehood, which had made words and oaths playthings (iii. 2–12); Partisanship (iii. 14); Evil-speaking (iv. 11); Boasting (iv. 16); Oppression (v. 4). The great lesson which he teaches them, as Christians, is Patience—Patience in trial (i. 2); Patience in good works (i. 22–25); Patience under provocations (iii. 17); Patience under oppression (v. 7); Patience under persecution (v. 10): and the ground of their Patience is, that the Coming of the Lord draweth nigh, which is to right all wrongs (v. 8).

There are two points in the Epistle which demand a somewhat more lengthened notice. These are (*a*) ii. 14–26, which has been represented as a formal opposition to St. Paul's doctrine of Justification by Faith, and (*b*) v. 14, 15, which is quoted as the authority for the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

(*a*) Justification being an act not of man but of God, both the phrases "Justification by Faith" and "Justification by Works" are inexact. Justification must either be by Grace, or of Reward. Therefore our question is, Did or did not St. James hold Justification by Grace? If he did, there is no contradiction between the Apostles. Now there is not one word in St. James to the effect that a man can *earn* his justification by works; and this would be necessary in order to prove that he held Justification of Reward. Still St. Paul does use the expression "justified by faith" (Rom. v. 1), and St. James the expression "justified by works, not by faith only." And here is an

apparent opposition. But, if we consider the meaning of the two Apostles, we see that there is no contradiction either intended or possible. St. Paul was opposing the Judaizing party, which claimed to earn acceptance by good works, whether the works of the Mosaic Law, or works of piety done by themselves. In opposition to these, St. Paul lays down the great truth that acceptance cannot be earned by man at all, but is the free gift of God to the Christian man, for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ, appropriated by each individual, and made his own by the instrumentality of faith. St. James, on the other hand, was opposing the old Jewish tenet that to be a child of Abraham was all in all; that godliness was not necessary, so that the belief was correct. This presumptuous confidence had transferred itself, with perhaps double force, to the Christianized Jews. They had said, "Lord, Lord," and that was enough, without doing the Father's will. They had recognised the Messiah: what more was wanted? They had *faith*: what more was required of them? It is plain that their "faith" was a totally different thing from the "faith" of St. Paul. St. Paul tells us that what he means by "faith" is a "faith that worketh by love;" but the very characteristic of the "faith" which St. James is attacking, and the very reason why he attacked it, was that it did not work by love, but was a bare assent of the head, not influencing the heart,—a faith such as devils can have, and tremble. St. James tells us that faith which does not influence practice is not sufficient on the part of man for Justification; St. Paul tells us that faith which does influence practice by affecting the heart is sufficient: and the reason why the first will not justify us is, according to St. James, because it lacks that special quality, the addition of which makes it to be the last. See on this subject Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica et Examen Censurae;* Jeremy Taylor's *Sermon* on "*Faith working by Love*," vol. viii. p. 284, Lond. 1850; and, as a corrective of Bull's view, Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, iv. v. vi., Oxf. 1820. Dr. Salmon (*Introd.* p. 575 sq.) has some valuable remarks showing the perfect consistency of St. Paul and St. James in their teaching on Justification.

(*b*) With respect to v. 14, 15, it is enough to say that the ceremony of Extreme Unction and the ceremony described by St. James differ both in their subject and in their object. The subject of Extreme Unction is a sick man who is about to die; and its object is not his cure. The subject of the ceremony described by St. James is a sick man who is not about to die; and its object is his cure, together with the spiritual benefit of absolution. St. James is plainly giving directions with respect to the manner of administering one of those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit with which the Church was endowed only in the Apostolic age and the age immediately succeeding the Apostles.

VI. *Bibliography.*—The following expository works on St. James's Epistle may be mentioned as worthy of notice. The Commentary of Oecumenius in Greek, *Jacobi Apostoli Epistola Catholica*, in *Pat. Gr.* cxix. 455; Thos. Manton, *Practical Commentary on the Epistle of James*, 1651; Dr. George Benson's *Paraphrasis in Epist. S. Jacob.*, ed. by J. D. Michaelis, Halae Magdeburgicae, 1746; D. J. S. Semler's *Paraphrasis Epist. Jac.*, Halae, 1781; S. F. N. Morus, *Praelectiones in Jacobi et Petri Epistolas*, Lipsiae, 1794; Schneckenburger's *Annotatio ad Epist. Jac. perpetua*, Stuttg. 1832; C. G. G. Theile, *Commentaria in Epistolam Jacobi*, Lips. 1833; Davidson's *Introduction to the New Test.* vol. iii. p. 296 sq., Lond. 1851; Alford's *Greek Test.* vol. iv. p. 274, Lond. 1859; Wordsworth's *Greek Test.*, Lond. 1860; *The Speaker's Commentary, N. T.*, iv. p. 105, Lond. 1881; Ellicott's *N. T. Commentary*, iii. p. 351, Lond. (without date); F. Tilney Bassett, *Epistle of St. James, with revised Text and Translation, and Notes Critical and Explanatory*, 1876; Dr. George Salmon, *A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament*, 1885, pp. 558 sqq.

The following spurious works have been attributed to St. James:—1. The *Gospel of James or Protevangelium.* 2. *Historia de Nativitate Mariae.* 3. *De miraculis infantiae Domini nostri*, &c. Of these, the *Protevangelium* is worth a passing notice, not for its contents, which are a mere parody on the early chapters of St. Luke, transferring the events which occurred at our Lord's Birth to the birth of St. Mary His mother, but because it appears to have been known so early in the Church. It is possible that Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 78) and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. viii.) refer to it. Origen speaks of it (*in Matt.* xiii. 55); Gregory Nyssen (*Op.* p. 346, ed. Paris), Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxix.), John Damascene (*Orat.* i. ii. *in Nativ. Mariae*), Photius (*Orat. in Nativ. Mariae*), and others allude to it. The *Protevangelium* and other apocryphal writings are the unsuspected source of many legends and beliefs. Thence came, as we have seen that St. Jerome complains, the hypothesis of James, Joses, Jude, Simon, and their sisters being the children of Joseph by a previous marriage, adopted from them by Origen and Epiphanius. Thence too were borrowed all the miraculous and legendary features of the story of St. Mary, which were admitted into the Church after the Nestorian controversies. The *Protevangelium* was first published in Latin in 1552, in Greek in 1564. The oldest MS. of it now existing is of the 10th century (see J. C. Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, tom. i. pp. 45, 108, 159, 337, Lips. 1832; Salmon's *Introd.* p. 229; Mayor, *Ep. of St. James*, Lond. 1892). [F. M.]

JA'MIN (יָמִין = *right hand?*: B. Ἰαμείν, Ἰαμείμ; A. Ἰαμίν: *Jamin*). **1.** Second son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15; 1 Ch. iv. 24), founder of the family of the Jaminites (Num. xxvi. 12).

2. (B. Ἰαμείν; A. Ἰαβείν.) A man of Judah, of the great house of Hezron; second son of Ram the Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. ii. 27).

3. One of the Levites who under Ezra and Nehemiah read and expounded the Law to the people (Neh. viii. 7). By the LXX. he and most others in this passage are omitted.

JA'MINITES, THE (הַיְמִינִי; B. ὁ Ἰαμινεί, A. Ἰαμινί; *familia Jaminitarum*), the descendants of JAMIN the son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

JAM'LECH (יַמְלֵךְ = *God makes to reign*; B. Ἰεμολόχ, A. Ἀμαλήκ; *Jemlech*), one of the

chief men (נְשִׂיאִים, A. V. "princes") of the tribe of Simeon (1 Ch. iv. 34), probably in the time of Hezekiah (see *v.* 41).

JAM'NIA (Ἰαμνία, Ἰάμνεια; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, § 3, and freq., Ἰάμνεια; *Jamnia*), 1 Macc. iv. 15; v. 58; x. 69; xv. 40. [JABNEEL.]

JAM'NITES, THE (*οἱ ἐν Ἰαμνείᾳ, οἱ Ἰαμνῖται; Jamnitae, qui erant Jamniae, qui apud Jamniam fuerunt*), 2 Macc. xii. 8, 9, 40. [JABNEEL.]

JAN'NA (Ἰαννά, Ἰανναί), son of Joseph, and father of Melchi, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 24). It is perhaps only a variation of Joannes or John. [A. C. H.]

JANNES and JAMBRES (Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς, al. Μαμβρῆς; *Jannes et Mambres*), the Egyptian magicians who withstood Moses at the court of Pharaoh. They are so named by St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 8), though in the early account (Ex. vii. 11) neither their names nor their number are recorded. In the apostolic age Pliny (*H. N.* xxx. 1, § 11) mentions Jannes (the reading adopted in the latest and best editions, *e.g.* Detlefsen's, 1871) thus: "Est et alia factio a Mose et Janne et Lotape ac Judaeis pendens, sed multis milibus annorum post Zoroastrem." About the middle of the 2nd century Apuleius (*Apol.* p. 544, ed. Flor.) places Moses and Jannes among the celebrated magi who lived after Zoroaster. In the period of the Antonines the Pythagorean philosopher Numenius (as quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* ix. 8) in his treatise *De Bono* made mention of Jannes and Jambres as writers on the religion of Egypt and skilled in magic, resisting Moses. In the middle of the 3rd century the opinion of Origen was (*In Matth.* § 117 *fin.*, in *Pat. Gr.* xiii. 1769 C) that St. Paul's information was derived from an apocryphal book (*liber secretus*) entitled *Jannes et Jambres Liber*, of which nothing is now known; though it, or some similar work, was circulating in 494 when Pope Gelasius included among the apocryphal books that were to be rejected one bearing the title *Poenitentia Jamnae et Mambrae* (Gelas. *Epist. et Decret.* in *Pat. Lat.* lix. 163 A; Mansi, *Concil.* viii. 151 B). Theodoret (on 2 Tim. iii. 8, in *Pat. Gr.* lxxxii. 847) considered that St. Paul learnt the two names from Jewish unwritten teaching (*non scripta doctrina*); and this opinion has been adopted by many modern writers. D'Herbelot (in his *Biblioth. Orient.* pp. 648, 649, ed. 1697, art. Moussa ben Amran) mentions a tradition from Arabic sources that the principal magicians called in to oppose Moses were two brothers, Sabour and Gadour, while two others were Giaath and Mosfa, these latter representing, as D'Herbelot conceives, Jannes and Jambres. Some of the older learning of this subject was collected by J. A. Fabricius, in his *Codex Epigraphus Vet. Test.*, 1713 (vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 813), where the apocryphal book *Jannes and Jambres* is dealt with. The Rabbinical branch of the subject will be found discussed in Buxtorf's *Hebrew and Talmudical Lexicon*, Forscher's new edition (1869–75), under the heading יוחנא וממרא, Jochanna et Mamre, p. 481. Several passages in Hebrew are adduced showing various readings of the names. The Targum of Jonathan (Ex. vii. 11) gives the names as יניס ויומבריס, Jannes et Jambres (Janis and Jamberes, J. W. Etheridge's *Version of the Taryums of the Pentateuch*, 1862, i. 461); whereas in the Talmud they are called יוחנא וממרא, Jochanna et Mamre. Buxtorf considers that the first of the two names has been corrupted from an original יוֹחָנָן, Jochanan, whence Johannes. Riehm likewise (*HWB.*, 1884, s. v.) recognises this difference between the Targumistic and Talmudic forms. To the view which would make the two names indicate the "children of Jambri" (1 Macc. ix. 36, 37) he rightly objects the high probability that the reading there ought to be *Ambri*. He has no doubt that both Jambres and Mambres have their root in the hiphil form of the Hebrew מרה, "to rebel"; while as to Jannes he seeks to show that it is a mutilated form of Jochanan (*i. q.* Johannes), with a probable meaning of "seducer." For an illustration of his argument, he points to the name Jannaeus borne by the Jewish king Alexander, B.C. 104. On the other hand, there is thought to be some evidence of an Egyptian origin of these names. Naville, in the eighth Memoir of the *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1891, which is devoted to the recent excavations of Bubastis, mentions (p. 23) his discovery of the name of a king read by him as Ian-Ra. This king he considers to have been one of the Hyksos dynasty, and his conclusion with regard to his identity is that he was the Ἰανιᾶς or Ἀννᾶς, perhaps to be read as Ἰανρᾶς, mentioned in a fragment of Manetho preserved by Josephus. The place in Josephus is *Contr. Apion.* lib. i. c. 14; and in the Paris edition of that author, 1845–7, the reading is Ἰανίας. In the same passage as given by Müller in his *Fragmenta Historicorum Graec.* (Paris, 1848, vol. ii. p. 510) the readings are Ἰαννὰς and Ἰανίας. The resemblance of these names (including the one discovered at Bubastis) to Ἰαννῆς and Ἰαμβρῆς may be thought to afford some probability in assigning to the latter an early Egyptian antiquity. For a discussion of the Egyptian magicians, see MAGIC. [C. H.]

JANO'AH (יָנוֹחַ; B. Ἀνιώχ, A. Ἰανώχ; *Janoe*), a place apparently in the north of Galilee, or the "land of Naphtali"—one of those taken by Tiglath-pileser in his first incursion into Palestine (2 K. xv. 29). No trace of it appears elsewhere. By Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 268, 59; p. 165, 20), and even by Reland (*Pal.* p. 826), it is confounded with Janohah, in the centre of the country. It is now possibly *Yânûh*, a village E. of Tyre (*PEF. Mem.* i. 51). [G.] [W.]

JANO'HAH, R. V. JANOAH (יָנוֹחָה, *i.e.* Yanochah: B. in *v.* 6 Ἰανωκά, but in *v.* 7 Μαχώ; A. Ἰανώ: *Janoë*), a place on the boundary of Ephraim (apparently that between it and Manasseh). It is named between Taanath-Shiloh and Ataroth, the enumeration proceeding from west to east (Josh. xvi. 6, 7). Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 268, 59) places it in Acrabattine, 12 miles east of Neapolis. About 8 miles from *Nâblus*, and about S.E. in direction, 2 miles from *'Akrabeh*, is the village of *Yânûn*, doubtless identical with the ancient Janohah. It seems to have been first visited in modern times by

Van de Velde (ii. 303, May 8, 1852; see also Rob. iii. 297). It is on the edge of a deep valley descending sharply eastward towards the Jordan. The modern village is very small, but there are numerous rock-hewn cisterns and caverns of ancient date. On a rocky hill to the E. is a small building sacred to *Neby Nûn* (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 387; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 6). [G.] [W.]

JA'NUM, R. V. JANIM (יָנוּם, following the *Qeri* of the Masorets, but in the *Kethîb* it is יָנִם, Janim = *slumber*; B. 'Ιεμδειν, A. 'Ιανούμ; *Janum*), a town of Judah in the mountain district, apparently not far from Hebron, and named between Eshean and Beth-tappuah (Josh. xv. 53). It was not known to Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 268, 46; p. 165, 8), nor does it appear to have been yet met with by any modern investigator. Conder has suggested as a possible identification *Beni N'aim*, a large village about 3 miles E. of Hebron (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 303, 304). [G.] [W.]

JA'PHETH (B. 'Ιάφεθ), Judith ii. 25; one of the countries to the borders of which Holofernes marched with his army. It was toward the south, "over against Arabia," and was possibly the district of which Javan was the capital. [JAVAN, 2.] For other identifications, see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco.

JAPHETH (יֶפֶת; 'Ιάφεθ; *Japheth*), one of the three sons of Noah, considered by some to have been the eldest, by others the second, and by others the youngest. The last opinion is based on the fact that in every mention of the three together, the order is Shem, Ham, Japheth (Gen. v. 32, vi. 10, vii. 13, ix. 18, x. 1; 1 Ch. i. 4). The reasons for thinking him the eldest are these. (1) When the posterities of the three sons are enumerated, the line of Japheth is taken up first, that of Ham second, and that of Shem third (Gen. x. 2, 6, 21). But the position of Shem here can be otherwise accounted for; namely, by the fact that in his line stands Abraham, whose descent and posterity it is the historian's ultimate object to relate; which being the case, the inversion of the usual order of the brothers, enabling the history to proceed uninterruptedly, was but natural. (2) In Gen. x. 21, Shem is called "the brother of Japheth the elder" (A.V., supported by the LXX. and other ancient authorities). But this rendering of the Hebrew is disputed, other Versions, including the Vulgate, making it "the elder brother of Japhet," and this is adopted in the text of the R. V., which relegates the A.V. to the margin. (3) In Gen. ix. 24, Ham (though not named) appears the one alluded to as the "younger son" of Noah; but against this it is argued (vid. *Speaker's Comm.* in loc.) that the expression, which is literally "little son," could have pointed to Canaan the grandson. On the whole the reason given for regarding Japheth as the third son seems decidely to outweigh the arguments against it, though the point cannot be considered decided (see Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] on the passages in Genesis). Japheth, like his two brothers, was born about a century before the Flood (Gen. v. 32; vi. 11), as Josephus also says, placing them in the order—Shem, Japheth, Ham (*Ant.* i. 4, § 1).

By far the most interesting question however relating to this patriarch is that arising from the prophetic passage (Gen. ix. 27), "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." The letters for "shall enlarge" and "Japheth," יפת, are the very same, if the vowel-points be disregarded. In the Targum of Onkelos the prophecy is thus explained—"The Lord shall enlarge Japheth, and He [sc. the Lord] shall make His Shekinah to dwell in the tabernacles of Shem, and Kenaan shall be servant unto them." In the Targum of Jonathan the comment is—"The Lord shall beautify the borders of Japhet, and his sons shall be proselyted and dwell in the schools of Shem, and Kenaan shall be a servant unto them" (J. W. Etheridge's Version of the Targums, 1862, i. 54, 185). In Jonathan the "enlargement" appears pretty much confined to the advantage the Japhetan race was to receive from intercourse with Shem, viz. its religious enlightenment, and this interpretation strikingly harmonizes with such prophecies as Gen. xxii. 18 and Is. lx. 3 sq. The sacred writer when concluding the earlier posterities adds an ethnographical summary for each of the brothers, and the ethnography is in the main still recognisable. In the case of Japheth the dispersion was through seven sons,—Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Tiras, which names may be separately consulted, and the summary is: "By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations" (Gen. x. 5). This description is commonly understood to indicate the European and N.W. Asiatic coast lands of the Mediterranean, which are to a large extent insular and peninsular. That was as much as the view of the historian at the time of his writing embraced. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 4, § 6) gives the ethnography of the subject as apprehended by him. Researches of later ages have led ethnologists to regard the Indo-European collection of peoples (including of course their distant oceanic developments of more recent times) as now substantially representing the Japhetan race. A speculation as to how the religious ideas of this great family may be supposed to have been developed from the times of their Noachian progenitor, previous to their enlightenment through direct propagation among them of the knowledge revealed to the line of Shem, may be seen worked out in Alexander William Earl of Crawford's *Creed of Japhet*, 1891. [C. H.]

JAPHI'A (יָפִיעַ = *splendid*; B. Φαγγαί, A. 'Ιαφαγαί; *Japhie*). The boundary of Zebulun ascended from Daberath to Japhia, and thence passed to Gath-hepher (Josh. xix. 12). Daberath is now *Debûrieh*, at the foot of Mount Tabor, and Gath-hepher is probably *el Mesh-hed*, 2¾ miles N. of Nazareth. Japhia is now *Yâfa*,[a] 1¼ miles S.W. of Nazareth. There are few remains of the old town, but a system of domed subterranean chambers, in three storeys, hewn out of the rock,

[a] It should be remarked that *Yâfa*, يافا, is the modern representative of both יָפוֹ, *i.e.* Joppa, and יָפִיעַ, Japhia, two names originally very distinct.

is interesting (Rob. ii. 343–4; *PEF. Mem.* i. 353; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 103; Sepp, *J. und h. L.* ii. 137). Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 269, 69, Ἰάφεθ) identifies it with *Haifa*, Sycaminon (Ἡφά); but this identification, though endorsed by Reland (*Pal.* p. 826), is neither etymologically nor topographically admissible. *Yâfa* is probably also the same as the Ἰαφὰ which was occupied by Josephus during his struggle with the Romans—"a very large village of Lower Galilee, fortified with walls and full of people" (*Vita*, § 45; cp. 37, 52, and *B. J.* ii. 20, § 6), of whom 15,000 were killed and 2,130 taken prisoners by the Romans (*B. J.* iii. 7, § 31); though if *Jefat* be Jotapata, this can hardly be, as the two are about 10 miles apart, and he expressly says that they were neighbours to each other.

A tradition, which first appears in Innominatus iv. (*c.* 1270) and afterwards in Marino Sanuto and in Sir John Maundeville, makes *Yâfa* the birthplace of Zebedee and of the Apostles James and John, his sons. Hence it is called by the Latin monks of Nazareth "San Giacomo" (see Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, ii. 843; and *Early Trav.* p. 186). Maundeville calls it the "Castle of Saffra." So too Von Harff, A.D. 1498: "Saffra, eyn casteel van wylcheme Alpheus und Sebedeus geboren waren" (*Pilgerfahrt*, 195). [G.] [W.]

JAPHI'A (יָפִיעַ = *brilliant*; B. Ἰεφθᾶ, A. Ἰαφιέ; *Japhia*). **1.** King of Lachish at the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites (Josh. x. 3); one of the five "kings of the Amorites" who entered into a confederacy against Joshua, and who were defeated at Bethhoron, and lost their lives at Makkedah. The king of Lachish is mentioned more than once in this narrative (*vv.* 5, 23), but his name occurs only as above.

2. (In 2 Sam. B. Ἰεφιές, A. Ἀφιέ; in 1 Ch. B. Ἰανοῦε, Ἰανουού, A. Ἰαφιέ: *Japhia.*) One of the sons of David, tenth of the fourteen born to him by his wives after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Ch. iii. 7, xiv. 6). In the Hebrew form of this name there are no variations. The Peshitto has Nephia, and, in 1 Ch. iii., Nepheg. In the list given by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 3, § 3) it is not recognisable: it may be Ἡνναφήν, or it may be Ἰεναέ. There do not appear to be any traditions concerning Japhia. The genealogy is given under DAVID, p. 729. [G.] [W.]

JAPH-LET (יִפְלֶט = *whom God delivers*: Ἰαφλήτ; B. Ἰφαμήλ, Ἀφαλήχ, and Ἰαφαλήλ; A. Ἰαφαλήτ: *Jephlat*), a descendant of Asher through Beriah, his youngest son; named as the father of three Bene-Japhlet (1 Ch. vii. 32, 33).

JAPHLE'TI, R. V. JAPHLETITES, THE (הַיִּפְלֶטִי = "the Japhletite;" B. Ἀπταλείμ, A. τοῦ Ἰεφαλθί; *Jephleti*). The "boundary of the Japhletite" is one of the landmarks on the south boundary-line of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 3), west of Beth-horon the lower, and between it and Ataroth. Who "the Japhletite" was who is thus perpetuated we cannot ascertain. Possibly the name preserves the memory of some ancient tribe who at a remote age dwelt on these hills, just as the former presence of other tribes in the neighbourhood may be inferred from the names of Zemaraim, Ophni (the Ophnite), Cephar ha-Ammonai, and others. [BENJAMIN, p. 395, note.] We can hardly suppose any connexion with JAPHLET of the remote Asher (Dillmann[2] in loco); but the name may be compared with that of Palti (Φαλτί) son of Raphu, a Benjamite who was one of the twelve spies (Num. xiii. 9). No trace of the name has yet been discovered in the district. [G.] [W.]

JA'PHO, R. V. JOPPA (יָפוֹ, *beauty*; Ἰόππη; *Joppe*). This word occurs in the A. V. but once, Josh. xix. 46. It is the accurate representation of the Hebrew word which on its other occurrences is rendered by the better known form of JOPPA (2 Ch. ii. 16; Ezra iii. 7; Jon. i. 3). In its modern garb it is *Yâfa* (يافا), which is also the Arabic name of JAPHIA, a very different word in Hebrew. [JOPPA; JOPPE.]

JA'RAH (יַעְרָה, probably a corruption for יְעוּדָה; Ἰαδά; *Jara*), one of the descendants of Saul; son of Micah, and great-grandson of Meribbaal, or Mephibosheth (1 Ch. ix. 42, cp. *v.* 40). In the parallel list of ch. viii. the name is materially altered to JEHOADAH.

JA'REB (יָרֵב: Ἰαρείμ, as if יָרֵם, in both Hos. v. 13 and x. 6;[a] though Theodoret gives Ἰαρείβ in the former passage, and Ἰαρείμ in the latter; and Jerome has *Jarib* for the Greek equivalent of the LXX.), a name occurring twice: as, "When Ephraim saw his sickness and Judah saw his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and sent to king Jareb; yet could he not heal you" (Hos. v. 13); Samaria "shall be carried unto Assyria for a present to king Jareb" (Hos. x. 6). As alternatives for "king Jareb" the A. V. margin gives "the king of Jareb," or "the king that should plead." The R. V. retains the same text, with only one marginal alternative, "a king that should contend;" the translators of both Versions following a correct grammatical instinct in making Jareb a proper name. The Syriac gives ܝܪܘܒ, *yôrôb*, as the name of a country, which is applied by Ephrem Syrus to Egypt, and the renderings of the Vulgate, "avenger" ("ad regem *ultorem*"), which follows Symmachus, as well as those of Aquila (δικαζόμενον) and Theodotion, "judge," are justified by Jerome by a reference to Jerubbaal, the name of Gideon (see the first edition of this work for these and other opinions); but it is best to accept the fact that Hosea calls a contemporaneous monarch of Assyria by the name of Jareb. Such a name has not yet, however, been met with on the monuments of Assyria. Some therefore have identified this monarch with Assurdân (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 439), others with Pul (or Tiglath-pileser II.: cp. Orelli in loco in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*); while Sayce (*Bab. Record*, ii. 18, 127, 145) considers it the original

[a] As an instance of the contrary, see Νεβρὼδ for *Nimrod*.

name of Sargon. The riddle of the name must still be considered unsolved.

Two mystical interpretations, alluded to by Jerome as current among commentators in his time, are remarkable for the singularly opposite conclusions at which they arrived; the one referring the word to the devil, the other to Christ. [W. A. W.] [F.]

JA'RED (יֶרֶד, *i.e.* Jered, as the name is given in A. V. of Ch., but in pause יָרֶד, from which the present form may have been derived, though more probably from the Vulgate: LXX. sometimes Ἰάρεδ, sometimes Ἰάρετ [see Swete in loco]; N. T. Ἰάρεθ [Westcott and Hort]; Joseph. Ἰαρέδης: *Jared*), one of the antediluvian patriarchs, the fifth from Adam; son of Mahalaleel, and father of Enoch (Gen. v. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20; Luke iii. 37). In the lists of Chronicles the name is given in the A. V. JERED.

JARESI'AH, R. V. JAARESHIAH (יַעְרְשִׁיָה = *whom Jehovah nourisheth*; A. Ἰαρασία, B. Ἰασαραιά; *Jersia*), a Benjamite, one of the Bene-Jeroham; a chief man of his tribe, but of whom nothing is recorded (1 Ch. viii. 27).

JAR-HA (יַרְחָע; Ἰωχά; *Jeraa*), the Egyptian servant of Sheshan, about the time of Eli, to whom his master gave his daughter [AHLAI] and heiress in marriage, and who thus became the founder of a chief house of the Jerahmeelites, which continued at least to the time of king Hezekiah, and from which sprang several illustrious persons, such as Zabad in the reign of David, and Azariah in the reign of Joash (1 Ch. ii. 31 sq.). [AZARIAH, 13; ZABAD.] Some, however (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loc.), consider Ahlai the name of a son who died before the daughter was married to Jarha. It may be noticed as an undesigned coincidence that Jarha the Egyptian was living with Sheshan, a Jerahmeelite, and that the Jerahmeelites had their possessions on the side of Judah nearest to Egypt (1 Sam. xxvii. 10: cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, 21; Josh. xv. 21; 1 Ch. iv. 18). [JERAHMEEL; JEHUDIJAH.] The etymology of Jarha's name is quite unknown. [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JA'RIB (יָרִיב = *adhering*; B. Ἰαρείν, A. Ἰαρείβ; *Jarib*). **1.** Named in the list of 1 Ch. iv. 24 only, as a son of Simeon. He occupies the same place as JACHIN in the parallel lists of Gen. xlvi., Ex. vi., and Num. xxvi., and the name is possibly a corruption from that (see Burrington, i. 55).

2. (A. Ἰαρίβ; B. Ἀρέβ.) One of the "chief men" (רָאשִׁים, "heads") who accompanied Ezra on his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezra viii. 16); whether Levite or layman is not clear. In 1 Esdras the name is given as JORIBAS.

3. (A. Ἰαρίβ; B. Ἰαρείμ, א. Ἰωρείμ.) A priest of the house of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, who had married a foreign wife, and was compelled by Ezra to put her away (Ezra x. 18). In 1 Esdras the name is JORIBUS.

4. (Ἰαρίβ, A. Ἰωαρίβ; 1 Macc. xiv. 29.) A contraction or corruption of the name JOARIB, which occurs correctly in ii. 1.

JARI'MOTH (Ἰαριμώθ, B. Ἰαρειμώθ; *Larimoth*), 1 Esd. ix. 28. [JEREMOTH.]

JAR-MUTH (יַרְמוּת = *height*; *Jarimuth*). **1.** B. in Josh. x. and xii. Ἰερεμούθ; A. in Josh. xii. 11, Ἰερμού; in Neh. BA. Ἰρμούθ: *Jerimoth, Jerimuth*). A town in the Shefelah or low country of Judah, named in the same group with Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah (Josh. xv. 35). Its king, PIRAM, was one of the five who conspired to punish Gibeon for having made alliance with Israel (Josh. x. 3, 5), and who were routed at Beth-horon and put to death by Joshua at Makkedah (*v.* 23). In this narrative, and also in the catalogue of the "royal cities" destroyed by Joshua, Jarmuth is named next to Hebron, which, however, was quite in the mountains. In Neh. xi. 29 it is named as having been the residence of some of the children of Judah after the return from the Captivity. Eusebius and Jerome either knew two places of this name, or an error has crept into the text of the *Onomasticon*; for under Ἰαβεῖς, *Jarimuth*, they state it to be near Eshtaol, 4 miles from Eleutheropolis (*OS.*[2] p. 267, 24; p. 164, 16); while under Ἱερμοῦς, *Jermus*, they gave it as 10 miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road going up to Jerusalem, and state that it was then called Ἱερμοχώς, *Jermucha* (*OS.*[2] p. 268, 38; p. 164, 31). It is now *Kh. el-Yarmûk*, a mass of shapeless ruins, with cisterns, about 8 miles N. of *Beit Jibrîn*, Eleutheropolis, and close to *Shuweikeh*, Socoh, and *Zakarîyah*, Azekah. Its distance from Eshtaol is 5½ miles (Robinson, ii. 17; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 128; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 371 sq.; Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, pp. 120, 162–3; Riehm, *HWB.* s. v.).

2. (B. Ῥεμμάθ, A. Ἱερμώθ; *Jaramoth.*) A city of Issachar, alloted with its suburbs to the Gershonite Levites (Josh. xxi. 29). In the specification of the boundaries of Issachar, no mention is made of Jarmuth (see Josh. xix. 17–23), but a REMETH is mentioned there (*v.* 20); and in the duplicate list of Levitical cities (1 Ch. vi. 73) RAMOTH occupies the place of Jarmuth. The two names are modifications of the same root, and might without difficulty be interchanged. This Jarmuth does not appear to have been yet identified. Conder proposes *er-Râmeh*, a village 5½ miles N. of Samaria, near which, at *Neby Hazkîn*, there is a Samaritan tradition that Issachar was buried (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 154–5, 219). Riehm, however, considers an identification with *er-Râmeh* impossible, and that a more probable though doubtful site is *el-Mazâr*, on the summit of Mount Gilboa and not far from Engannim, with which it is named (*HWB.* s. v.). [RAMOTH.] [G.] [W.]

JARO'AH (יָרוֹחַ; B. Ἰδαί, A. Ἀδαΐ; *Jara*), a chief man of the tribe of Gad (1 Ch. v. 14).

JA'SAEL (BA. Ἀσαήλος; *Asabus*), 1 Esd. ix. 30. [SHEAL.]

JA'SHEN (יָשֵׁן; Ἀσάν; *Jasen*). Bene-Jashen—"sons of Jashen"—are named in the catalogue of the heroes of David's guard in 2 Sam. xxiii. 32. In the Hebrew, as accented by the Masorets, the words have no necessary connexion with the names preceding or following them; but in the A. V. they are attached to the latter—"of the sons of Jashen, Jonathan." The passage has every appearance of being imperfect, and accordingly, in the parallel list in

Chronicles, it stands, "the sons of Hashem the Gizonite" (1 Ch. xi. 34). Kennicott has examined it at length (*Dissertation*, pp. 198–203. Cp. Driver, *Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco), and has shown good cause for believing that a name has escaped, and that the genuine text was, "of the Bene-Hashem, Gouni; Jonathan ben-Shamha." In the list given by Jerome in his *Quaestiones Hebraicae*, Jashen and Jonathan are both omitted. [W. A. W.] [F.]

JA'SHER, BOOK OF (סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר), or, as the margin of the A. V. and R. V. gives it, the book of "the upright," is a record alluded to in two passages only of the O. T. (Josh. x. 13 and 2 Sam. i. 18), and the subject of much dispute. The former passage is omitted in the LXX., while in the latter the expression is rendered *βιβλίον τοῦ εὐθοῦς*: the Vulgate has *liber justorum* in both instances. The Peshitto in Joshua has "the book of *praises* or *hymns*," reading הַיְשִׁיר for הַיָּשָׁר, and a similar transposition will account for the rendering of the same Version in Samuel, "the book of *Ashir*." The Targum interprets it "the book of the law," and this is followed by Jarchi, who gives, as the passage alluded to in Joshua, the prophecy of Jacob with regard to the future greatness of Ephraim (Gen. xlviii. 19), which was fulfilled when the sun stood still at Joshua's bidding. Further diversity of opinions proves, if it prove nothing more, that no book was known to have survived which could lay claim to the title of the book of Jasher.

That the book of Jasher was one of the writings which perished in the Captivity was held by R. Levi ben Gershom, and his opinion has been adopted by Junius, Hottinger (*Thes. Phil.* ii. 2, § 2), and other writers (Wolfii *Bibl. Heb.* ii. 223). What the nature of the book may have been can only be inferred from the two passages in which it is mentioned and their context; and, this being the case, there is clearly wide room for conjecture.[a] Lowth (*Praelect.* pp. 306, 307) imagined that the book was a collection of national songs (cp. Ex. xv. 1); and his view of the question, that of the Syriac and Arabic translators, was adopted by Herder. The more general opinion is that it was this and something more, a book containing also deeds of valour recorded of brave Israelites, and put together somewhere about the time of Solomon (see Dillmann[2] on Joshua, *l. c.*, and the authorities named there). Dr. Donaldson, in the preface to his *Jashar*, or *Fragmenta Archetypa Carminum Hebraicorum in Masorethico Veteris Testamenti textu passim tessellata*, advanced a scheme for the restoration of this ancient record, in accordance with his own idea of its scope and contents. The attempt has been universally condemned as a failure needing no refutation.[b]

There are also extant, under the title of "the Book of Jasher," two Rabbinical works (cp. Davidson, *op. cit.*): one a moral treatise, written in A.D. 1394 by R. Shabbatai Carmuz Levita, of which a copy in MS. exists in the Vatican Library; the other, by R. Tham, treats of the laws of the Jews in eighteen chapters, and was printed in Italy in 1544, and at Cracow in 1586. An anonymous work, printed at Venice and Prague in 1625, and said to have made its first appearance at Naples, was believed by some Jews to be the record alluded to in Joshua. It contains the historical narratives of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, with many fabulous additions. R. Jacob translated it into German, and printed his version at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in 1674. It is said in the preface to the first edition to have been discovered at the destruction of Jerusalem, by Sidrus, one of the officers of Titus, who, while searching a house for the purpose of plunder, found in a secret chamber a vessel containing the Books of the Law, the Prophets, and Hagiographa, with many others, which a venerable man was reading. Sidrus took the old man under his protection and built for him a house at Seville, where the books were safely deposited. The book in question is probably the production of a Spanish Jew of the 13th cent. (Abicht, *De libr. Recti*, in *Thes. Nov. Theol. Phil.* i. 525–534). A clumsy forgery in English, which first appeared in 1751 under the title of "the Book of Jasher," deserves notice solely for the unmerited success with which it was palmed off upon the public. It professed to be a translation from the Hebrew into English by Alcuin of Britain, who discovered it in Persia during his pilgrimage. It was reprinted at Bristol in 1827 and again in 1833, in each case accompanied by a fictitious commendatory note by Wiclif. [W. A. W.] [F.]

JASHOBE'AM (יָשְׁבְעָם: B. Ἰεσεβαδά, Σοβοκάμ, Σοβάλ; א. Ἰεσσαιβαδά; A. Ἰσβαάμ, Ἰεσβαάμ, Ἰσβοάμ: *Jesbaam, Jesboam*). It is possibly one and the same follower of David, bearing this name, who is described as a Hachmonite (or *son of Hachmon*, marg.), who slew three hundred, and was first of the mighty men (1 Ch. xi. 11); as a Korhite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 6), and as son of Zabdiel, captain of the first monthly course of soldiers, numbering 24,000 (1 Ch. xxvii. 2). Hachmonite would denote his descent from Hachmon, Korhite his family [JEHIEL, 5]. In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, his name seems to be erroneously transcribed, יָשָׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת (B. Ἰεβόσθε, *i.e.* אִישׁ בשׁת. Cp. Luc. Ἰεσβαδλ, *i.e.* אִישׁ בעל). The original name was probably יִשְׁבַּעַל or א' בעל being altered into בשׁת), the name being otherwise obscured in 1 Ch. xix. xxvii. Cp. Driver, *Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* and the summary of Kennicott's view in the *Speaker's Comm.* on 2 Sam. *l. c.* [W. T. B.] [F.]

JA'SHUB (יָשׁוּב = *he who returns*; in the *Kethîb* of 1 Ch. vii. 1 it is יָשִׁיב, in the Samaritan Cod. of Num. xxvi. יְשׁוּב: Ἰασούβ; B. in 1 Ch. Ἰασσούρ: *Jasub*). **1.** The third son of Issachar, and founder of the family of the Jashubites (Num. xxvi. 24; 1 Ch. vii. 1). In the list of Gen. xlvi. the name is given (possibly in a contracted or erroneous form, Gesen. *Thes.* p. 583) as JOB; but in the Samaritan Codex—followed by the LXX.—Jashub.

2. (B. Ἰασούβ.) One of the sons of Bani, a layman in the time of Ezra who had to put

[a] It is superfluous to repeat these conjectures. Many of them are enumerated in the 1st ed. of this work.

[b] His scheme is briefly but sufficiently described by Dr. Wright in the 1st ed. of this work, and by Dr. Davidson in Kitto's *Cyclop. of Bib. Lit.*[3] s. n.

away his foreign wife (Ezra x. 29). In Esdras the name is JASUBUS.

JASHU'BI-LE'HEM (יָשֻׁבִי לָחֶם, in some copies יָשֻׁבִי לֹ; καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτούς; *et qui reversi sunt in Lahem*), a person or a place named among the descendants of Shelah, the son of Judah by Bath-shua the Canaanitess (1 Ch. iv. 22). The name does not occur again. It is probably a place, and we should infer from its connexion with Maresha and Chozeba—if Chozeba be Chezib or Achzib—that it lay on the western side of the tribe, in or near the Shefelah. The Jewish explanations of this and the following verse are very curious. They may be seen in Jerome's *Quaest. Hebr.* on this passage, and, in a slightly different form, in the Targum on the Chronicles (ed. Wilkins, 29, 30). The mention of Moab gives the key to the whole. Chozeba is Elimelech; Joash and Saraph are Mahlon and Chilion, who "had the dominion in Moab" from marrying the two Moabite damsels: Jashubi-Lehem is Naomi and Ruth, who returned (Jashubi, from שׁוּב, "to return") to bread, or to Beth-*lehem*, after the famine: and the "ancient words" point to the Book of Ruth as the source of the whole. [G.] [W.]

JASHU'BITES, THE (הַיָּשֻׁבִי; Samaritan, היושבי; A. ὁ Ἰασουβί, B. -βει; *familia Jasubitarum*). The family founded by Jashub the son of Issachar (Num. xxvi. 24). [JASHUB, 1.]

JASI'EL (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל = *God creates*; B. Ἐσσιήλ, A. Ἐσσιήλ; *Jasiel*), the last named on the increased list of David's heroes in 1 Ch. xi. 47. He is described as the MESOBAITE. Nothing more is known of him.

JA'SON (Ἰάσων; *Jason*), a common Greek name which was frequently adopted by Hellenizing Jews as the equivalent of *Jesus, Joshua* (Ἰησοῦς; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1),[a] probably with some reference to its supposed connexion with ἰᾶσθαι (*i.e.* the *Healer*). A parallel change occurs in *Alcimus* (Eliakim); while *Nicolaus, Dositheus, Menelaus*, &c., were direct translations of Hebrew names.

1. JASON THE SON OF ELEAZER (cp. Ecclus. l. 27, Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σιρὰχ Ἐλεάζαρ, Cod. A.) was one of the commissioners sent by Judas Maccabaeus to conclude a treaty with the Romans B.C. 161 (1 Macc. viii. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 6).

2. JASON THE FATHER OF ANTIPATER, which last was an envoy to Rome at a later period (1 Macc. xii. 16, xiv. 22), is probably the same person as No. 1.

3. JASON OF CYRENE, a Jewish historian who wrote "in five books" a history of the Jewish war of liberation, which supplied the chief materials for the Second Book of Maccabees. His name and the place of his residence seem to mark Jason as a Hellenistic Jew, and it is probable on internal grounds that his history was written in Greek. This narrative included the wars under Antiochus Eupator, and Jason must therefore have written after B.C. 162; but nothing more is known of him than can be gathered from 2 Macc. ii. 19–23.

4. JASON THE HIGH-PRIEST, the second son of Simon II., and brother of Onias III. He succeeded in obtaining the high-priesthood from Antiochus Epiphanes (*c.* 175 B.C.) to the exclusion of his elder brother (2 Macc. iv. 7–26), and changed his name from Jesus to Jason (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1). He laboured in every way to introduce Greek customs among the people, and that with great success (2 Macc. iv.; Joseph. *l. c.*). In order to give permanence to the changes which he designed, he established a gymnasium at Jerusalem, and even the priests neglected their sacred functions to take part in the games (2 Macc. iv. 9, 14), and at last he went so far as to send a deputation to the Tyrian games in honour of Hercules. [HERCULES.] After three years (*c.* B.C. 172), being in turn supplanted in the king's favour by his own emissary Menelaus [MENELAUS], who obtained the office of high-priest from Antiochus by the offer of a larger bribe, Jason was forced to take refuge among the Ammonites (2 Macc. iv. 26). On a report of the death of Antiochus (*c.* 170 B.C.) he made a violent attempt to recover his power (2 Macc. v. 5–7), but was repulsed, and again fled to the Ammonites. Afterwards he was compelled to retire to Egypt, and thence to Sparta, whither he went in the hope of receiving protection "in virtue of his being connected with them by race" (2 Macc. v. 9; cp. 1 Macc. xii. 7; Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 456), and there "perished in a strange land" (2 Macc. l. c.; cp. Dan. xii. 30 sq.; 1 Macc. i. 12 sq.).

[B. F. W.] [C. H.]

5. JASON THE THESSALONIAN, who entertained Paul and Silas, and was in consequence attacked by the Jewish mob (Acts xvii. 5, 6, 7, 9). He is probably the same as the Jason mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21, as a companion of the Apostle, and one of his kinsmen (συγγενεῖς) or fellow-tribesmen. Jason and the other disciples had to give security (τὸ ἱκανόν), which probably means that they became bound against all further disturbance, and that explains the departure of the Apostles during the night. Chrysostom on the other hand considers that Jason answered for the production of the Apostles; so that, by sending them away, he in fact endangered his own life on their behalf (37th Homily on the Acts, § 2, p. 283, in *Pat. Gr.* lx. 265). [W. A. W.] [C. H.]

JASPER (יָשְׁפֵה; ἴασπις; *iaspis*), a precious stone mentioned in the O. and N. T. In the high-priest's breastplate it stands, under its Hebrew and English names, last of the twelve, third in the fourth row (Ex. xxviii. 20, xxxix. 13), and under both names it adorns the robe of the king of Tyre (Ezek. xxviii. 13).

Plato mentions as among highly-prized stones σάρδια, ἰάσπιδες, σμάραγδοι (*Phaed.* p. 110 *s. f.*); and Theophrastus specifies the σάρδιον, the ἴασπις, the σάπφειρος, as stones engraved for seals and as beautiful to the eye (*de Lapid.*, sect. iv., § 23, p. 343, ed. Wimmer). Before B.C. 285, subsequently to the two last-named writers, the Septuagint Version was begun, in which ἴασπις occurs twice, viz. in the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 18) and in the Tyrian royal robe (Ezek. xxviii. 13). But only in one of these

[a] Jason and Jesus occur together as Jewish names in the history of Aristeas (Hody, *De Text.* p. vii.).

places does it correspond in position with the Hebrew, *Yāshĕpheh* (A. V. *jasper*); namely, in the robe, where it stands sixth. In the breastplate, where it again stands sixth, the corresponding Hebrew is *Yahalom* (A. V. *diamond*); while twelfth, where the Hebrew is *Yāshĕpheh* (A. V. *jasper*), the Greek is *ὀνύχιον*. But it does not follow that the LXX. translated *Yahalom* by *ἴασπις* and *Yāshĕpheh* by *ὀνύχιον*; for the order of the words may have got misplaced.

Its earliest Latin occurrence is, we believe, in Virgil (*Aen.* iv. 261), and here also we find it for the first time described in appearance. Aeneas wears a sword *stellatus iaspide fulvâ*, in which words we see a sparkling gold-coloured gem.

To about the same period belongs an epistle quoted by Macrobius, wherein Augustus addressed Maecenas as Pearl of the Tiber, Emerald of the Cilnii, Iaspis of Potters (Iaspi figulorum), Beryl of Porsena (Macrob. ii. 4, § 12).

In the apostolic and sub-apostolic period this stone is further mentioned and described. In the Apocalypse the Divine Being on the throne was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone (iv. 3). The luminary (*φωστῆρ*) of the New Jerusalem resembled the jasper, a stone most precious (*τιμιώτατος*), clear as crystal (*κρυσταλλίζων*, xxi. 11). The wall of the city was of jasper (*v.* 18), as was also its first foundation (*v.* 19). Josephus in his two accounts of the breastplate (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 5; *B. J.* v. 5, § 7) puts *ἴασπις* in the fifth place, where the Hebrew is *sappir* (A. V. *sapphire*), though it does not follow again that he was translating *sappir* by *ἴασπις*.

Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii., § 115, Sillig), treating of *Gemmae*, says, "viret et saepe translucet iaspis;" but there was much variety of colour, such as emerald-like, bluish grey, air-like, caerulean, purple, turbid, according to where the stone was found, the best kind being purplish, the second best rather rose-coloured, the third somewhat of emerald tint. For magnitude Pliny had seen an iaspis of fifteen (*al. lec.* eleven) *unciae* carved into a breastplated figure of Nero.

Martial said that Stella wore on his finger sardonyxes, emeralds, diamonds, *iaspides* (v. 11, 1). Another was seeking out genuine sardonyxes and fixing the value of great *iaspides* (ix. 60, 19, 20).

Dioscorides (v. 159, *al.* 160) described the *ἴασπις* as of various kinds, resembling emerald, or crystal, or air, smoky, having bright white veins, resembling turpentine. Dionysius Periegetes (vv. 724, 782, 1120) describes it as of the colour of air and of water (*ἠερόεσσα, ὑδατόεσσα*), and mentioning it after the diamond makes it pale green and translucent (*χλωρὰ διαγάζουσαν*).

Epiphanius describes the iaspis thus, in Rosenmüller's translation: "The colour of some has a greenish shade; these are more soft and imperfectly transparent. The internal mass is green; it resembles the rust of the nobler metals and has several rows of strata. Another species is of a light sea-green colour, with a paler lustre. A third ... its bluish red is somewhat diaphanous, and has also a wine and amethyst colour ... There is also a green jasper having no lustre; and another still, resembling snow and lithomarge, which is called the old jasper" (Epiphan. *De XII. Gemmis*, sect. vi. in *Pat. Gr.* xliii. 297, 332; E. F. C. Rosenmüller, *Mineralogy and Botany of the Bible*, p. 41). Epiphanius, enumerating the twelve stones in the order of the LXX., places the *iaspis* sixth.

Coming now to the jasper of the moderns, we notice that Andreas Baccius, 1603, describes its beautiful combination of many excellent greens and whites (*De Gemmis*, c. 8, p. 70). A. R. Millin de Grandmaison makes it the chief of the opaque silicious stones, coloured green, yellow, brown, black, grey; and he notices the blood jasper, a green sort spotted with red (*Archéologie des Pierres Gravées*, ed. 1826, p. 134). Madame Barrera speaks of its lustreless fracture, its complete lack of transparency, its advantageous use in mosaics on account of its variety of colour (*Gems and Jewels*, 1860, p. 201).

Augusto Castellani describes jasper as a dark quartz, very compact and capable of receiving a beautiful polish; white, brown, black jasper being rare; red, blue, violet, green, abundant; green the most common; blood jasper much sought for engraving (*Gems*, tr. by Mrs. Brogden, 1871, p. 102). Streeter says it is found in compact kidney-shaped masses, and in pebbles; its colours, green, yellow, red, rarely blue; near Cairo it occurs in masses; in the Vatican there are a vase of red jasper with white veins, and one of black jasper with yellow veins (*Precious Stones and Gems*, 1877, p. 201). At South Kensington there are amorphous specimens of porcelain jasper, polished agate jasper, and riband jasper.

Mr. C. W. King draws the following general conclusion:—"Greenness and more or less transparency were (according to Pliny) the two essential characters of the ancient jaspis. According to all ancient testimony, the ancient jaspis was exactly the opposite to the modern jasper, the latter being always opaque and corresponding to the achates of the Romans. The jaspis of the ancients was our chalcedony (silica and alumina); in its primary sense the variety coloured green by nickel, now called plasma, but in after-times embracing the blue, the purple, the yellow, and whity-brown shades of the same substance" (*Precious Stones*, 1865, pp. 202, 203, 206). It must be observed that if the jaspis of the ancients was our chalcedony, this latter could not have been the ancient chalcedony, since both jaspis and chalcedony are named in the New Jerusalem. [C. H.]

JASU'BUS (Ἰασοῦβος; *Jasub*), 1 Esd. ix. 30. [JASHUB, 2.]

JA'TAL (BA. Ἀτάρ; *Azer*), 1 Esd. v. 28. The form in A. V. is adopted from the Aldine Version, after the Bishops' Bible. [ATER, 1.]

JATHNI'-EL (יְתְנִיאֵל = *whom God bestows*; B. Ἰεουήλ; *Jathanaël*), a Korhite Levite, and a doorkeeper (A. V. "porter") to the House of Jehovah, *i.e.* the Tabernacle; the fourth of the family of Meshelemiah (1 Ch. xxvi. 2).

JAT'TIR (יַתִּיר, in Josh. xv. 48; elsewhere יֶתֶר = *very great, eminent*; B. Ἰεθθάρ, A. Ἰεθέρ Ειεθέρ; *Jether*), a town of Judah in the mountain district (Josh. xv. 48), one of the group containing Socoh, Eshtemoh, &c.; it was among the nine cities which with their suburbs

were allotted out of Judah to the priests (xxi. 14; 1 Ch. vi. 57), and was one of the places in the south which David used to haunt in his freebooting days, and to his friends in which he sent gifts from the spoil of the enemies of Jehovah (1 Sam. xxx. 27). By Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 268, 42; p. 165, 3) it is spoken of as a very large place, inhabited only by Christians, in the middle of Daroma, near Malatha, and 20 miles from Eleutheropolis. It is named by Hap-Parchi, the Jewish traveller; but the passage is defective, and little can be gathered from it (Zunz in Asher's *Benj. Tudela*, ii. 442). By Robinson (i. 494–5) it is identified with *'Attir*, 9½ miles N. of Molada, *Kh. el-Milh*, and 12 miles S.S.W. of Hebron, and having the probable sites of Socoh, Eshtemoh, and other southern towns within short distances. This identification may be accepted, notwithstanding the discrepancy in the distance of *'Attir* from Eleutheropolis, which is by road much more than 20 Roman miles, though in a direct line it is about that distance. Possibly Eusebius may have confounded *'Attir* with *Yuttah*, which, by road, is about 20 miles from *B. Jibrin*. There are many caves, foundations, and masses of stones, and a *kubbeh* standing on a knoll (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 404, 408; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 197; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 383 sq.). Robinson notices that it is not usual for the *Jod* with which Jattir commences to change into the *Ain* of *'Attir* (*Bib. Res.* i. 494, note).

The two Ithrite heroes of David's guard were probably from Jattir, living memorials to him of his early difficulties. [G.] [W.]

JA'VAN (יָוָן: in Gen. Ἰωυάν; in Is. and Ezek. Ἑλλάς; in Dan. and Zech. Ἕλληνες: *Graecia, Graeci, Javan*). **1.** A son of Japheth, and the father of Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim (Gen. x. 2, 4). The name appears in Is. lxvi. 19, where it is coupled with Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, and more particularly with Tubal and the "isles afar off," as representatives of the Gentile world: again, in Ezek. xxvii. 13, where it is coupled with Tubal and Meshech, as carrying on considerable commerce with the Tyrians, who imported from these countries slaves and brazen vessels; in Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2 (A. V. Grecia, R. V. Greece), in reference to the Macedonian empire; and, lastly, in Zech. ix. 13 (A.V. and R. V. Greece), in reference to the Graeco-Syrian empire. From a comparison of these various passages there can be no doubt that Javan was regarded as the representative of the Greek race: the similarity of the name to that branch of the Hellenic family with which the Orientals were best acquainted, viz. the Ionians, particularly in the older form in which their name appears (Ἰάων), is too close to be regarded as accidental: and the occurrence of the name in the cuneiform inscriptions of the time of Sargon (about B.C. 709), in the form of *Jâvanu* [MV.[11]], as descriptive of the isle of Cyprus, where the Assyrians first came in contact with the power of the Greeks, further shows that its use was not confined to the Hebrews, but was widely spread throughout the East. The name[a] was probably introduced into Asia by the Phoenicians, to whom the Ionians were naturally better known than any other of the Hellenic races, on account of their commercial activity and the high prosperity of their towns on the western coast of Asia Minor. The extension of the name westward to the general body of the Greeks, as they became known to the Hebrews through the Phoenicians, was but a natural process. The discovery of the name of a "Yivana" or Ionian in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, serving "in the country of Tyre," points to acquaintance between Greek and Canaanite a century before the Exodus; and it is illustrative of the communication which existed between the Greeks and the East, that among the artists who contributed to the ornamentation of Esarhaddon's palaces, the names of several Greek artists appear in one of the inscriptions (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 483). At a later period the Hebrews must have gained considerable knowledge of the Greeks through the Egyptians. Psammetichus (B.C. 664–610) employed Ionians and Carians as mercenaries, and showed them so much favour that the war-caste of Egypt forsook him in a body: the Greeks were settled near Bubastis, probably at Tahpanhes, *Tell Defenneh*, in a part of the country with which the Jews were familiar (Herod. ii. 154). It is possible that the Greek garrison of Tahpanhes accompanied Pharaoh Necho and took part in the fight at Megiddo (Jer. ii. 16). At any rate, during the troubled period 607–587 B.C., when there was a large migration to Egypt, there must have been constant intercourse between the Jews and the Greek frontier garrison at Tahpanhes, under circumstances that would give opportunity for the permeation of Greek words and Greek ideas among the upper classes of the Jewish nation (Flinders Petrie, *Egypt Explor. Fund*, 4th Memoir, p. 48 sq.). The policy of Psammetichus was followed by the succeeding monarchs, especially Amasis (571–525), who gave the Greeks Naucratis as a commercial emporium. The Greeks themselves were very slightly acquainted with the southern coast of Syria until the invasion of Alexander the Great. The earliest notices of Palestine occur in the works of Hecataeus (B.C. 549–486), who mentions only the two towns Canytis and Cardytus; the next are in Herodotus, who describes the country as Syria Palaestina, and notices incidentally the towns Ascalon, Azotus, Ecbatana (Batanaea ?), and Cadytis, the same as the Canytis of Hecataeus, probably Gaza. These towns were on the border of Egypt, with the exception of the uncertain Ecbatana; and it is therefore highly probable that no Greek had, down to this late period, travelled through Palestine.

2. (BA. omit; *Graecia.*) A town in the southern part of Arabia (*Yemen*), whither the Phoenicians traded (Ezek. xxvii. 19): the connexion with Uzal decides in favour of this place rather than Greece, as in the Vulg. For conjectures as to the origin of the name, see Orelli in loco (in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*); and Rüetschi in Herzog, *RE.*[2], s. v.

[W. L. B.] [W.]

JA'VAN, SONS OF (בְּנֵי יָוָן; *vioὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*; *filii Graecorum*), in A. V. "the Grecians," in R. V. and A. V. marg. *the sons*

[a] In Gen. the name probably signifies the Island of Cyprus, which was visited by the Babylonians at a very early period (*circ.* B.C. 3750).

of the Grecians (Joel iii. 6). The view generally adopted is that the Ionians or Greeks are here intended. [GREECE; GREEKS; GRECIANS.] [W.]

JAVELIN. [ARMS.]

JA'ZAR (B. Ἰαζήρ, A. Ἰαζήν; *Gazer*), 1 Macc. v. 8. [JAAZER.]

JA'ZER (Ἰαζήρ; 2 Sam. Ἐλιέζερ; in 2 Sam. A. Ἐλιαζής; in 1 Ch. B. Γαζέρ, Ῥιαζήρ, A. Γαζήρ: *Jazer, Jaser, Jezer*), Num. xxxii. 1, 3; Josh. xxi. 39; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; 1 Ch. vi. 81, xxvi. 31; Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32. [JAAZER.]

JA'ZIZ (יָזִיז = *shining*; B. Ἰαζείζ, A. Ἰωσζίζ; *Jaziz*), a Hagarite who had charge of the "flocks," *i.e.* the sheep and goats (הַצֹּאן), of king David (1 Ch. xxvii. 31), which were probably pastured on the east of Jordan, in the nomad country where the forefathers of Jaziz had for ages roamed (cp. v. 19–22).

JEA'RIM, MOUNT (הַר־יְעָרִים; B. πόλις Ἰαρείν, A. Ἰαρίμ; *Mons Jarim*), a place named in specifying the northern boundary of Judah (Josh. xv. 10). The boundary ran from Mount Seir to "the shoulder of Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon"—that is, Chesalon was the landmark on the mountain. *Kesla* stands, 9½ miles due west of Jerusalem, "on a high point on the north slope of the lofty ridge between *Wâdy Ghurâb* and *W. Ism'aîn*. The latter of these is the south-western continuation of *W. Beit Hannina*, and the former runs parallel to and northward of it, and they are separated by this ridge, which is probably Mount Jearim" (Rob. iii. 154). If Jearim be taken as Hebrew, it signifies "forests." Forests in our sense of the word there are none: but we have the testimony of one traveller that "such thorough woods, both for loneliness and obscurity, he had not seen since he left Germany" (Tobler, *Wanderung*, 1857, p. 178; see also *PEF. Mem.* iii. p. 25; and Conder, *Hbk.* p. 259). Kirjath-Jearim—whether it be *Kuryet el-'Enab*, towards the north, or *Kh. 'Erma*, towards the south—is not far distant. [CHESALON.] [G.] [W.]

JEA'TERAI (יְאַתְרַי; A. Ἰεθρί, B. Ἰεθρεί; *Jethrai*), a Gershonite Levite, son of Zerah (1 Ch. vi. 21); apparently the head of his family at the time that the service of the Tabernacle was instituted by David (cp. *v.* 31). In the reversed genealogy of the descendants of Gershom, Zerah's son is stated as ETHNI (אֶתְנִי, *v.* 41). The two names have quite similarity enough to allow of the one being a corruption of the other, though the fact is not ascertainable.

JEBERECHI'AH (יְבַרְכְיָהוּ = *whom Jehovah blesses*; Βαραχίας; *Barachias*), probably the same name as Berechiah. Nothing is known of him. [F.]

JEBU'S (יְבוּס; Ἰεβούς; *Jebus*), one of the names of Jerusalem, the city of the Jebusites, also called JEBUSI. It occurs only twice, first in connexion with the journey of the Levite and his unhappy concubine from Bethlehem to Gibeah (Judg. xix. 10, 11); and secondly, in the narrative of the capture of the place by David in 1 Ch. xi. 4, 5. In 2 Sam. v. 6–9 the name Jerusalem is employed. By Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 189, בּוּס) and Fürst (*Handwb.* p. 477) Jebus is interpreted to mean a place dry or downtrodden like a threshing-floor; an interpretation which by Ewald (iii. 155) and Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 177) is taken to prove that Jebus must have been the south-western hill, the "dry rock" of the modern Zion, and "not the Mount Moriah, the city of Solomon, in whose centre arose the perennial spring." But in the great uncertainty which attends these ancient names, this is, to say the least, very doubtful. Jebus was the city of the Jebusites. Either the name of the town is derived from the name of the tribe, or the reverse. If the former, then the interpretation just quoted falls to the ground. If the latter, then the origin of the name of Jebus is thrown back to the very beginning of the Canaanite race—so far at any rate as to make its connexion with a Hebrew root extremely uncertain. [G.] [W.]

JEBU'SI (הַיְבוּסִי = *the Jebusite*; *Jebusaeus, Jebus*), the name employed for the city of JEBUS, only in the ancient document describing the landmarks and the towns of the allotment of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xv. 8 [BA. Ἰεβοῦς], xviii. 16 [B. Ἰεβουσαί, A. Ἰεβοῦς], 28 [BA. Ἰεβοῦς]). In the first and last place the explanatory words, "which is Jerusalem," are added. In each place R. V. reads "the Jebusite;" A. V. in the first only.

A parallel to this mode of designating the town by its inhabitants is found in this very list in Zemaraim (xviii. 22), Avim (*v.* 23), Ophni (*v.* 24), and Japhletite (xvi. 3), &c. [G.] [W.]

JEBUSITE, JEBUSITES, THE. Although these two forms are indiscriminately employed in the A. V. and R. V., yet in the original the name, whether applied to individuals or to the nation, is never found in the plural; always singular. The usual form is הַיְבוּסִי; but in a few places—viz., 2 Sam. v. 6, xxiv. 16, 18; 1 Ch. xxi. 18 only—it is הַיְבֻסִי. Without the article, יְבוּסִי, it occurs in 2 Sam. v. 8; 1 Ch. xi. 6; Zech. ix. 7. In the first two of these the force is much increased by removing the article introduced in the A. V., and reading "and smiteth a Jebusite." We do not hear of a progenitor to the tribe, but the name which would have been his had he existed has attached itself to the city in which we meet with the Jebusites in historic times. [JEBUS.] The LXX. A. gives the name Ἰεβουσαῖος in Judg. xix. 11, B. Ἰεβουσαίν; in Ezra ix. 1, BA. -σει; Vulg. *Jebusaeus*.

1. According to the table in Genesis x. "the Jebusite" is the third son of Canaan. His place in the list is between Heth and the Amorites (Gen. x. 16; 1 Ch. i. 14), a position which the tribe maintained long after (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3); and the same connexion is traceable in the words of Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45), who addresses Jerusalem as the fruit of the union of an Amorite with a Hittite. But in the formula by which the Promised Land is so often designated, the Jebusites are uniformly placed last, which may have arisen from their

small number, or their quiet disposition. See Gen. xv. 21; Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, ix. 1, xii. 8, xxiv. 11; 1 K. ix. 20; 2 Ch. viii. 7; Ezra ix. 1; Neh. ix. 8.

2. Our first glimpse of the actual people is in the invaluable report of the spies—"the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the mountain" (Num. xiii. 29). This was forty years before the entrance into Palestine, but no change in their *habitat* had been made in the interval; for when Jabin organised his rising against Joshua, he sent amongst others "to the Amorite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountain" (Josh. xi. 3). A mountain-tribe they were, and a mountain-tribe they remained. "Jebus, which is Jerusalem," lost its king in the slaughter of Beth-horon (Josh. x. 1, 5, 26; cp. xii. 10)—was sacked and burnt by the men of Judah (Judg. i. 21), and its citadel finally scaled and occupied by David (2 Sam. v. 6); but still the Jebusites who inhabited Jerusalem, the "inhabitants of the land," could not be expelled from their mountain-seat, but continued to dwell with the children of Judah and Benjamin to a very late date (Josh. xv. 8, 63; Judg. i. 21, xix. 11). This obstinacy is characteristic of mountaineers, and the few traits we possess of the Jebusites show them to have been a warlike people. Before the expedition under Jabin, Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem, had himself headed the attack on the Gibeonites, which ended in the slaughter of Beth-horon, and cost him his life on that eventful evening under the trees at Makkedah (Josh. x.).[a] That they were established in the strongest natural fortress of the country in itself says much for their courage and power; and when they lost it, it was through bravado rather than from any cowardice on their part. [JERUSALEM.]

After this they emerge from the darkness but once, in the person of Araunah[b] the Jebusite, "Araunah the king" (אַרַוְנָה הַמֶּלֶךְ), who appears before us in true kingly dignity in his well-known transaction with David (2 Sam. xxiv. 23; 1 Ch. xxi. 23). The picture presented us in these well-known passages is a very interesting one. We see the fallen Jebusite king and his four sons on their threshing-floor on Mount Moriah, treading out their wheat (דָּישׁ; A. V. "threshing") by driving the oxen with the heavy sledges (מֹרָגִים; A. V. "threshing instruments") over the corn; round the central heap. We see Araunah on the approach of David fall on his face on the ground, and we hear him ask, "Wherefore is my lord the king come to his slave?" followed by his offer of all his property. But this reveals no traits peculiar to the Jebusites, or characteristic of them more than of their contemporaries in Israel, or in the other nations of Canaan. The early judges and kings of Israel threshed wheat in the wine-press (Judg. vi. 11), followed the herd out of the field (1 Sam. xi. 5), and were taken from the sheepcotes (2 Sam. vii. 8); and the courtesy of Araunah is closely paralleled by that of Ephron the Hittite in his negotiation with Abraham.

We are not favoured with further traits of the Jebusites, nor with any clue to their religion or rites; but these last were no doubt very similar to those of the CANAANITES and HITTITES, with whom they were closely allied.

Two names of individual Jebusites are preserved. In ADONIZEDEK the only remarkable thing is its Hebrew form, in which it means "Lord of justice."

That of ARAUNAH is much more uncertain—so much so as to lead to the belief that we possess it more nearly in its original shape. In the short narrative of Samuel alone the Hebrew name is given in three forms—"the Avarnah" (*v.* 16, *Qeri*; the Aravnah, *Khetib*); Araneah (*v.* 18, *Qeri*; Aravnah, *Khetib*); Aravnah (*vv.* 20, 21). In 1 Ch. xxi. 15 it is Ornan, while with the LXX. it is Ὀρνά, and with Josephus Ὀρόννα. [ARAUNAH; ORNAN.]

To these, if Jerusalem be Salem, may perhaps be added MELCHIZEDEK.

In the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles the ashes of St. Barnabas, after his martyrdom in Cyprus, are said to have been buried in a cave, "where the race of the Jebusites formerly dwelt;" and previously to this is mentioned the arrival in the island of a "pious Jebusite, a kinsman of Nero" (*Act. Apost. Apocr.* pp. 72, 73, ed. Tisch.). [G.] [W.]

JECAMI'AH (יְקַמְיָה = *may Jehovah set up*, *i.e.* Jekamiah, as the name is elsewhere given; BA. Ἰεκενιά; *Jecemia*), one of a batch of seven, including Salathiel and Pedaiah, who were introduced into the royal line, on the failure of it in the person of Jehoiachin (1 Ch. iii. 18). They were all apparently sons of Neri, of the line of Nathan, since Salathiel certainly was so (Luke iii. 27). [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, p. 1148 *a*.] [A. C. H.]

JECHOLI'AH (יְכָלְיָהוּ, with the final *û*, = *Jehovah is powerful*: B. Χαλειά, A. Ἰέχεμα; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, § 3, Ἀχιάλας: *Jechelia*), wife of Amaziah king of Judah, and mother of Azariah or Uzziah his successor (2 K. xv. 2). Both this queen and Jehoaddan, the mother of her husband, are specified as "of Jerusalem." In the A. V. of Chronicles her name is given as JECOLIAH.

JECHONI'AS (Ἰεχονίας; *Jechonias*). **1.** The Greek form of the name of king JECHONIAH, followed by the translators in the books rendered from the Greek, viz. Esth. xi. 4; Bar. i. 3, 9; Matt. i. 11, 12.

2. 1 Esd. viii. 92. [SHECHANIAH.]

3. 1 Esd. i. 9. The same as CONANIAH.

JECOLI'AH (יְכָלְיָה; B. Χαειά, A. Ἰεχελία; *Jechelia*), 2 Ch. xxvi. 3 [R. V. Jechiliah]. In the original the name differs from its form in the parallel passage in Kings, only in not having the final *û*. [JECHOLIAH.]

[a] In *v.* 5 the king of Jerusalem is styled one of the "five kings of the Amorites." But the LXX. (both MSS.) have τῶν Ἰεβουσαίων of the Jebusites.

[b] By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 13, § 9) Araunah is said to have been one of David's chief friends (ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Δαυίδου), and to have been expressly spared by him when the citadel was taken. If there is any truth in this, David no doubt made his friendship during his wanderings, when he also acquired that of Uriah the Hittite, Ahimelech, Sibbechai, and others of his associates who belonged to the old nations.

JECONI'AH (יְכָנְיָה; excepting once, יְכַנְיָהוּ with the final *ú*, Jer. xxiv. 1; and once in *Khetîb*, יְכוֹנְיָה, Jer. xxvii. 20: Ἰεχονίας: *Jechonias*), an altered form of the name of JEHOIACHIN, last but one of the kings of Judah, which is found in the following passages:—1 Ch. iii. 16, 17; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxix. 1; Esth. ii. 6. It is still further abbreviated to Coniah. See also JECHONIAS and JOACIM.

JECONI'AS (Ἰεχονίας; *Jechonias*), 1 Esd. i. 9. [CONANIAH.]

JEDAI'AH [3 syll.] (יְדַעְיָה = *Jehovah hath known:* B. Ἀναιδειά, Ἰωδαέ, Ἰεουδά, Δαδειά, Ἰεδδούς; A. Ἰδειά, Ἰδιά, Ἰαδιά, Ἰεδδουά; ℵ. Ἰδειάς, Δαλειά: *Idaia, Jedaia, Jadaia, Joiada, Jedei, Jeddu*). **1.** Head of the second course of priests, as they were divided in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiv. 7). Some of them survived to return to Jerusalem after the Babylonish Captivity, as appears from Ezra ii. 36, Neh. vii. 39—"the children of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, 973." The addition "of the house of Jeshua" indicates that there were two priestly families of the name of Jedaiah, which it appears from Neh. xii. 6, 7, 19, 21, was actually the case. If these sons of Jedaiah had for their head JESHUA, the high-priest in the time of Zerubbabel, as the Jewish tradition says they had (Thos. Lewis's *Orig. Heb.* bk. ii. ch. vii., Lond. 1724, Oxf. 1835), this may be the reason why, in 1 Ch. ix. 10 and Neh. xi. 10, the course of Jedaiah is named before that of Joiarib, though Joiarib's was the first course. But perhaps Jeshua was another priest descended from Jedaiah, from whom this branch sprung. It is certainly a corrupt reading in Neh. xi. 10 which makes Jedaiah son of Joiarib. 1 Ch. ix. 10 preserves the true text. In Esdras the name is JEDDU.

2. (*οἱ ἐπεγνωκότες*; *Idaia.*) A priest in the time of Jeshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 10, 14). [A. C. H.]

JEDAI'AH (יְדָיָה = *he praiseth* or *confesseth Jah*). This is a different name from the last, though the two are identical in the A. V.

1. (B. Ἰδιά, A. Ἐδιά; *Idaia.*) A man named in the genealogies of Simeon as a forefather of Ziza, one of the chiefs of the tribe, apparently in the time of king Hezekiah (1 Ch. iv. 37).

2. (B. Ἰεδαιά, ℵ. Ἰεδδειά; *Jedaiah.*) Son of Harumaph; a man who did his part in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

JED'DU (Ἰέδδους; *Jeddus*), 1 Esd. v. 24.

JEDE'US (Ἰεδαῖος; *Jeddeus*), 1 Esd. ix. 30. [ADAIAH, 5.]

JEDI'A-EL (יְדִיעֲאֵל = *known of God:* B. Ἀσβήλ, Ἀσυβήρ, Ἀδειήλ, Ἀριήλ, Σαβά; A. Ἰαδιήλ, Ἀσβήλ: *Jadihel*). **1.** A chief patriarch of the tribe of Benjamin, from whom sprang many Benjamite houses of fathers, numbering 17,200 mighty men of valour, in the days of David (1 Ch. vii. 6, 11). It is usually assumed that Jediael is the same as Ashbel (Gen. xlvi. 21; Num. xxvi. 38; 1 Ch. viii. 1). But though this may be so, it cannot be affirmed with certainty. [BECHER; BELA.] Jediael might be a later descendant of Benjamin not mentioned in the Pentateuch, but who, from the fruitfulness of his house and the decadence of elder branches, rose to the first rank.

2. (B. Ἰδερήλ, A. Ἰαδιήλ; *Jadihel.*) Second son of Meshelemiah, a Levite, of the sons of Ebiasaph the son of Korah. One of the door-keepers of the Temple in the time of David (1 Ch. xxvi. 1, 2). [A. C. H.]

3. (B. Ἐλθειήλ, A. Ἰεδιήλ; *Jedihel.*) Son of Shimri; one of the heroes of David's guard in the enlarged catalogue of Chronicles (1 Ch. xi. 45). In the absence of further information, we cannot decide whether or not he is the same person as

4. (B. Ῥωδιήλ, A. Ἰεδιήλ; *Jedihel.*) One of the chiefs (lit. "heads") of the thousands of Manasseh who joined David on his march from Aphek to Ziklag when he left the Philistine army on the eve of the battle of Gilboa, and helped him in his revenge on the marauding Amalekites (1 Ch. xii. 20; cp. 1 Sam. xxix. xxx.).

JEDI'DAH (יְדִידָה = *beloved;* B. Ἰεδεία, A. Ἐδιδά; *Idida*), queen of Amon, and mother of the good king Josiah (2 K. xxii. 1). She was a native of Bozkath near Lachish, the daughter of a certain Adaiah. By Josephus (*Ant.* x. 4, § 1) her name is given as Ἰεδίς.

JEDIDI'AH (יְדִידְיָה = *beloved of Jehovah* [cp. the Sabaean name, ידראל, MV.[11]]; B. Ἰεδεδεί, A. Ειεδιδιά; *Amabilis Domino*), the name bestowed, through Nathan the prophet, on David's son Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25).

Bathsheba's first child had died—"Jehovah struck it" (*v.* 15). A second son was born, and David—whether in allusion to the state of his external affairs, or to his own restored peace of mind—called his name Shelômôh ("Peaceful"); and Jehovah loved the child. And David sent by the hand of Nathan, to obtain through him some oracle or token of the Divine favour on the babe, and the babe's name was called JEDID-JAH. It is then added that this was done "for the Lord's sake" (R. V.). The clue to the meaning of these last words, and indeed of the whole circumstance, seems to reside in the fact that "Jedid" and "David" are both derived from the same root, or from two very closely related (see Gesen. *Thes.* p. 565 *a*—"יָדַד, idem quod דּוּד"). To us these plays on words have little or no significance; but to the old Hebrews, as to the modern Orientals, they were full of meaning. To David himself, the "darling" or "beloved" of his family and his people, no more happy omen, no more precious seal of his restoration to the Divine favour after his late fall, could have been afforded than this announcement by the prophet, that the name of his child was to combine his own name with that of Jehovah — JEDID-JAH, "darling of Jehovah."

The practice of bestowing a second name on children, in addition to that given immediately on birth—such second name having a religious bearing, as Nûr ed-Dîn, Saleh ed-Dîn (Saladin), &c.—still exists in the East. [G.] [W.]

JEDITHIN. [JEDUTHUN.]

JEDU'THUN (יְדוּתוּן (?) = *praise;* with the final וּן, except in 1 Ch. xvi. 38, Neh. xi. 17,

Ps. xxx. title, and lxxvii. title, where it is יְדִיתוּן, *i.e.* Jedithun: B. Ἰδειθούν, Ἰδιθούμ, Ἰδειθούν, Ἰδιθούν, Ἰδιθώμ, Ἐδειθώμ, Ἰδειθών, Ἰωθών; A. Ἰδιθούμ, Ἰδιθούν, Ἰδιθοῦ, Ἰδουθών; א. Ἰδιθώμ, Ἰδιθών, Ἰδεθών, Ἰδιθούν: *Idithun, Idithum*), a Levite, of the family of Merari, who was associated with Heman the Kohathite, and Asaph the Gershonite, in the conduct of the musical service of the Tabernacle, in the time of David; according to what is said in 1 Ch. xxiii. 6, that David divided the Levites "into courses among the sons of Levi, namely, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari." The proof of his being a Merarite depends upon his identification with Ethan in 1 Ch. xv. 17, who, we learn from that passage as well as from the genealogy in vi. 44 (A. V.), was a Merarite [HEMAN]. But it may be added that the very circumstance of Ethan being a Merarite, which Jeduthun must have been (since the only reason of there being three musical chiefs was to have one for each division of the Levites), is a strong additional proof of this identity. Another proof may be found in the mention of Hosah (xvi. 38, 42), as a son of Jeduthun[a] and a gatekeeper, compared with xxvi. 10, where we read that Hosah was of the children of Merari. Assuming then that, as regards 1 Ch. vi. 44, xv. 17, 19, אֵיתָן is a mere clerical variation for יְדִיתוּן—which a comparison of xv. 17, 19 with xvi. 41, 42, xxv. 1, 3, 6, 2 Ch. xxxv. 15, makes almost certain—we have Jeduthun's descent as son of Kishi, or Kushaiah, from Mahli, the son of Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi, being the fourteenth generation from Levi inclusive (1 Ch. vi. 44–47). His office was generally to preside over the music of the Temple service, consisting of the *nebel*, or nablium, the *cinnor*, or harp, and the cymbals, together with the human voice (the trumpets being confined to the priests). But his peculiar part, as well as that of his two colleagues Heman and Asaph, was "to sound with cymbals of brass," while the others played on the nablium and the harp (1 Ch. xv. 16, 17). This appointment to the office was by election of the chiefs (שָׂרִים) of the Levites at David's command, each of the three divisions probably choosing one. The first occasion of Jeduthun's ministering was when David brought up the Ark to Jerusalem. He then took his place in the procession, and played on the cymbals (1 Ch. xv. 17, 19, Ethan). But when the division of the Levitical services took place, owing to the Tabernacle being at Gibeon and the Ark at Jerusalem, while Asaph and his brethren were appointed to minister before the Ark, it fell to Jeduthun and Heman to be located with Zadok the priest, to give thanks "before the Tabernacle of the Lord in the high place that was at Gibeon," still by playing the cymbals in accompaniment to the other musical instruments (1 Ch. xvi. 39–42, cp. Ps. cl. 5). In the account of Josiah's Passover reference is made (2 Ch. xxxv. 15) to the singing as conducted in accordance with the arrangements made by David, and by Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun *the king's seer* (חוֹזֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ). [HEMAN.] Perhaps the phrase rather means the king's adviser in matters connected with the musical service. The sons of Jeduthun were employed (1 Ch. xxv. 1, 3, 6) partly in music, viz. six of them, who prophesied with the harp—Gedaliah, head of the 2nd ward; Zeri, or Izri, of the 4th; Jeshaiah of the 8th, Shimei of the 10th,[b] Hashabiah of the 12th, and Mattithiah of the 14th—and partly as gatekeepers (A. V. "porters") (xvi. 42), viz. Obed-Edom and Hosah (*v.* 38), which last had thirteen sons and brothers (xxvi. 11). The triple division of the Levitical musicians seems to have lasted as long as the Temple, and each to have been called after their respective leaders. At the dedication of Solomon's Temple "the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun," performed their proper part (2 Ch. v. 12). In the reign of Hezekiah, again, we find the sons of Asaph, the sons of Heman, and the sons of Jeduthun, taking their part in purifying the Temple (2 Ch. xxix. 13, 14); they are mentioned, we have seen, in Josiah's reign, and so late as in Nehemiah's time we still find descendants of Jeduthun employed about the singing (Neh. xi. 17; 1 Ch. ix. 16). His name stands at the head of the 39th, 62nd, and 77th Psalms, indicating probably that they were to be sung by his choir. [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JEE'LI (B. Ἰεηλεί, A. Ἰεηλί; *Ceeli*), 1 Esd. v. 33. [JAALAH.]

JEE'LUS (B. Ἰέηλος, A. Ἰεήλ; *Jehelus*), 1 Esd. viii. 92. [JEHIEL, 9.]

JE-E'ZER (אִיעֶזֶר (?) = *father of help*; Ἀχιέζερ; *Jizer*), the form assumed in the list in Numbers (xxvi. 30 [LXX. *v.* 34]) by the name of a descendant of Manasseh, eldest son of Gilead, and founder of one of the chief families of the tribe. [JEEZERITES.] In parallel lists the name is given as ABI-EZER, and the family as the ABIEZRITES—the house of Gideon. Whether this change has arisen from the accidental addition or omission of a letter, or is an intentional variation, akin to that in the case of Abiel and Jehiel, cannot be ascertained. The LXX. perhaps read אֲחִיעֶזֶר.

JEE'ZERITES, THE (הָאִיעֶזְרִי; Ἀχιεζερί, B. Ἀχιεζειρει; *familia Hiezeritarum*), the family of the foregoing (Num. xxvi. 30).

JEGA'R SAHADU'THA (יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא, "Mound of the testimony"; βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας, but A. βουνὸς μάρτυς; *tumulum testis*), the name said (Gen. xxxi. 47) to have been given by Laban the Aramean to a heap of stones which he erected as a memorial of the compact between Jacob and himself, while Jacob commemorated the same by setting up a "pillar" (*maṣṣēbâh*; *v.* 45). Galeed, "Mound of testimony" (cp. Ex. xx. 16), is given as the Hebrew equivalent of the western Aramaic *yĕḡar sâhădûthâ*. The fluctuation of the LXX. shows that

[a] The reason why "son of Jeduthun" is especially attached to the name of Obed-Edom in this verse, is to distinguish him from the other Obed-Edom the Gittite (2 Sam. vi. 10) mentioned in the same verse, who was probably a Kohathite (Josh. xxi. 24).

[b] Omitted in *v.* 3, but necessary to make up the six sons.

some doubt was felt about the exact rendering of the Heb. עֵד, which means both "testifier" and "testimony," like our own term "witness." The Vulgate, oddly enough, has rightly translated Galeed by *acervum testimonii*, and Jegar Sahadutha wrongly by *tumulum testis* (but cp. *v.* 48). In the mind of the Hebrew writer the two names were evidently identical in meaning. It should perhaps be added that Galeed (Heb. *Gal'ēd*) appears to convey a characteristic allusion to the name of the hill-country of Gilead (Heb. *Gil'ād*), which was the scene of the meeting between Jacob and Laban. Ewald even supposes that in the original story "the mound was the rocky mountain-range of Gilead itself" (*H. I.* i. 347). [C. J. B.]

JEHAL'EL-EEL (יְהַלְלְאֵל = *he praises God*; R. V. Jehallelel; B. Γεσεήλ, A. Ἰαλλελήλ; *Jaleleel*). Four men of the Bene-Jehallelel are introduced abruptly into the genealogies of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 16). The name is identical with that rendered in the A. V. JEHALELEL. The more correct form is given by R. V.

JEHAL'EL-EL (יְהַלְלְאֵל = *he praises God*; R. V. Jehallelel; B. Ἐλλή, A. Ἰαλλήλ; *Jalaleel*), a Merarite Levite, whose son Azariah took part in the restoration of the Temple in Hezekiah's time (2 Ch. xxix. 12).

JEHDEI'AH (יְחַדְיָהוּ, *i.e.* Yechde-yahu = *Jehovah is glad*). **1.** (B. Ἰεδεία, A. Ἰαδαία, Ἀραδαία; *Jehedeia.*) The representative of the Bene-Shubael—descendants of Gershom, son of Moses—in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiv. 20). But in xxvi. 24, a man of the name of Shebuel or Shubael is recorded as the head of the house; unless in this passage the family itself, and not an individual, be intended.

2. (Ἰαδίας; *Jadias.*) A Meronothite who had charge of the she-asses—the riding and breeding stock—of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 30).

JEHEZ'EKEL (יְחִזְקֵאל; R. V. Jehezkel; ὁ Ἐζεκήλ; *Hezechiel*), a priest to whom was given by David the charge of the twentieth of the twenty-four courses in the service of the House of Jehovah (1 Ch. xxiv. 16).

The name in the original is the same as that rendered EZEKIEL.

JEHI'AH (יְחִיָה = *Jehovah lives*; B. Ἰεία, א. Εἰά, A. Ἰεαία; *Jehias*). He and Obed-edom were "doorkeepers for the Ark" (שֹׁעֲרִים, the word elsewhere expressed by "porters") at the time of its establishment in Jerusalem (1 Ch. xv. 24). The name does not recur, but it is possible it may be exchanged for the similar JEHIEL or JEIEL in xvi. 5.

JEHI'EL (יְחִיאֵל = *God lives*). **1.** (B. Ἰεήλ, Εἰθήλ, Ελεήλ; A. Ἰθήλ, Ἰεήλ: *Jahiel, Jehiel.*) One of the Levites appointed by David to assist in the service of the house of God (1 Ch. xv. 18, 20; xvi. 4).

2. (B. Ἰήλ, A. Ἰεήλ; *Jahiel.*) One of the sons of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, who was put to death by his brother Jehoram shortly after his becoming king (2 Ch. xxi. 2).

3. (Ἰεήλ; *Jahiel.*) One of the rulers of the house of God at the time of the reforms of Josiah (2 Ch. xxxv. 8). [SYELUS.]

4. (B. Ἰήλ, Βεσήλ; A. Ἰεήλ: *Jahiel.*) A Gershonite Levite, head of the Bene-Laadan in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiii. 8), who had charge of the treasures (xxix. 8). His family—JEHIELI, *i.e.* Jehielite, or, as we should say now, Jehielites—is mentioned in xxvi. 21.

5. (B. Ἰεήλ, A. Ἰερμήλ; *Jahiel.*) Son of Hachmoni, or of a Hachmonite, named in the list of David's officers (1 Ch. xxvii. 32) as "with (עִם) the king's sons," whatever that may mean. The mention of Ahithophel (*v.* 33) seems to fix the date of this list as before the revolt. In Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae* on this passage, Jehiel is said to be David's son Chileab or Daniel; and "Achamoni," interpreted as *Sapientissimus*, is taken as an *alias* of David himself. His being called a son of a Hachmonite brings him into some connexion with Jashobeam (1 Ch. xi. 11).

6. (In the original text, יְחוּאֵל, Jehuel—the A. V. follows the alteration of the *Qeri*; Ἰεήλ; *Jahiel.*) A Levite of the Bene-Heman, who took part in the restorations of king Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 14).

7. (B. Εἰήλ, A. Ἰεήλ; *Jahiel.*) Another Levite at the same period (2 Ch. xxxi. 13), one of the "overseers" (פְּקִידִים) of the offerings dedicated to Jehovah. His parentage is not mentioned.

8. (B. Ἰεμά, A. Ἰεειήλ; *Jahiel.*) Father of Obadiah, who headed 218 men of the Bene-Joab in the return from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra viii. 9). In 1 Esd. viii. 35 the name is EZELUS, and the number of his clan is stated at 212.

9. (B. Ἰεήλ, A. Ἰεειήλ; *Jehiel.*) One of the Bene-Elam. His son Shechaniah encouraged Ezra to put away the foreign wives of the people (Ezra x. 2). In 1 Esd. viii. 92, it is JEELUS.

10. (B. Ἰαήλ, א. Ἰαεήλ, A. Αἰεήλ; *Jehiel.*) A member of the same family, if not the same person, who had himself to part with his wife (Ezra x. 26). [HIERIELUS.]

11. (B. Ἰεήλ, A. Ἰεήλ; *Jehiel.*) A priest, one of the Bene-Harim, who also had to put away his foreign wife (Ezra x. 21). [HIEREEL.] [C. H.]

JEHI'EL,[a] a perfectly distinct name from the last, though the same in the A. V. **1.** (יְעִיאֵל; R. V. Jeiel; so the *Qeri*, but the *Khetîb* has יעואל, *i.e.* Jeuel; B. Ἰήλ, א. Ἰεήλ, A. Ἰεειήλ; *Jehiel*), a man described as Abi-Gibeon, father of Gibeon; a forefather of king Saul (1 Ch. ix. 35). His wife was Maachah. In viii. 29 the name is omitted. The presence of the stubborn letter *Ain* in Jehiel seems to forbid our identifying it with Abiel in 1 Sam. ix. 1, as some have been tempted to do.

2. (In Hebrew the same two variations. B. Ἰειά, א. Εἰά, A. Ἰεειήλ; *Jehiel.*) One of the sons of Hotham the Aroerite; a member of the guard of David, included in the extended list of 1 Ch. xi. 44. [C. H.]

[a] Here the A. V. represents *Ain* by H, unless it simply follows the Vulgate. Cp. JEHUSH, MEHUMIM.

JEHI-E'LI (יְחִיאֵלִי; B. Ἰεήλ, A. Ἰεήχ; *Jehieli*), according to the A. V. a Gershonite Levite of the family of LAADAN. The Bene-Jehieli had charge of the treasures of the house of Jehovah (1 Ch. xxvi. 21, 22). In other lists it is given as JEHIEL (4). The name appears to be strictly a patronymic—Jehielite. For a discussion of the text and a proposed slight emendation of the Hebrew, see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco. [C. H.]

JEHIZKI'AH (יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ, *i.e.* Yechizki-yahu; same name as Hezekiah: Ἐζεκίας; *Ezechias*), son of Shallum, one of the heads of the tribe of Ephraim in the time of Ahaz, who at the instance of Oded, the prophet, nobly withstood the attempt to bring into Samaria a large number of captives and much booty, which the Israelite army under king Pekah had taken in the campaign against Judah. By the exertions of Jehizkiahu and his fellows the captives were clothed, fed, and tended, and returned to Jericho *en route* for Judah (2 Ch. xxviii. 12; cp. *vv.* 8, 13, 15).

JEHO-AD'AH (יְהוֹעַדָּה = *Jehovah is the adornment, i.e.* Jehoaddah [R. V.]; B. Ἰαδά, A. Ἰωαδά; *Joada*), one of the descendants of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 36); great grandson to Meribbaal, *i.e.* Mephibosheth. In the duplicate genealogy (ix. 42) the name is changed to JARAH.

JEHO-AD'DAN (יְהוֹעַדִּן, Chron.; but in Kings the original text has יְהוֹעַדִּין; B. Ἰωαδελμ, Ἰωναδ, A. Ἰωαδελν, Ἰωαδέν; *Joadan, Joaden*). "Jehoaddan of Jerusalem" was queen to king Joash, and mother of Amaziah of Judah (2 K. xiv. 2; 2 Ch. xxv. 1). [C. H.]

JEHO-AHAZ (יְהוֹאָחָז = *Jehovah preserves*; B. Ἰωαχάς, A. Ἰωαχάζ; *Joachaz*). **1.** The son and successor of Jehu; reigned 17 years (B.C. 856–840; al. 815–799) over Israel in Samaria. His inglorious history, commencing in the 23rd year of Joash king of Judah, is given in 2 K. xiii. 1–9. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 8, § 5) puts his accession in the 21st of Jehoash. Throughout his reign (*v.* 22) he was kept in subjection by Hazael king of Damascus, who, following up the successes which he had previously achieved against Jehu, compelled Jehoahaz to reduce his army to 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 infantry. His submission to Syria continued under Benhadad (*v.* 3). Jehoahaz maintained the idolatry of Jeroboam; but in the extremity of his humiliation he besought Jehovah; and Jehovah gave Israel a deliverer—probably either Jehoash (*vv.* 23 and 25), or Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 24, 25; see Keil, *Commentary on Kings*). The prophet Elisha survived Jehoahaz; and Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 357) is disposed to place in his reign the incursions of the Syrians mentioned in 2 K. v. 2, vi. 8, and of the Ammonites mentioned in Amos i. 13.

2. Jehoahaz, otherwise called SHALLUM, the fourth (acc. to 1 Ch. iii. 15), or third, if Zedekiah's age be correctly stated (2 Ch. xxxvi. 11), son of Josiah, whom he succeeded as king of Judah. He was chosen by the people in preference to his elder (cp. 2 K. xxiii. 33, 36) brother, B.C. 610, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. His anointing (*v.* 30) was probably some additional ceremony, or it is mentioned with peculiar emphasis, as if to make up for his want of the ordinary title to the throne. He is described by his contemporaries as an evil-doer (2 K. xxiii. 32) and (under the figure of a lion's whelp) as an oppressor (Ezek. xix. 3), and such is his traditional character in Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5, § 2); but his deposition seems to have been lamented by the people (Jer. xxii. 10, and Ezek. xix. 1). Pharaoh-necho on his return from Carchemish, perhaps resenting the election of Jehoahaz, sent to Jerusalem to depose him, and to fetch him to Riblah. There he was cast into chains, and from thence he was taken into Egypt, where he died (see Prideaux, *Connection*, anno B.C. 610; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 719; Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Jerem.* xxii. 11).

3. (B. Ὀχοζίας, A. Ὀχοζίας; *Johachaz.*) The name given (2 Ch. xxi. 17) during his father's lifetime (Bertheau) to the youngest son of Jehoram king of Judah. As king he is known by the name of AHAZIAH, which is written Azariah in the present Hebrew text of 2 Ch. xxii. 6, perhaps through a transcriber's error. The Hebrew components of Jehoahaz (יְהוֹאָחָז) and Ahaziah (אֲחַזְיָהוּ) are identical, but stand in inverse order. [W. T. B.] [C. H.]

JEHO'ASH (יְהוֹאָשׁ, of uncertain meaning [see MV.[11]]; Ἰωάς; *Joas*), the original uncontracted form of the name which is more commonly found compressed into JOASH. The two forms appear to be used quite indiscriminately; sometimes both occur in one verse, in Hebrew as well as in English (*e.g.* 2 K. xiv. 17).

1. The seventh king of Judah after Solomon; son of AHAZIAH (2 K. xi. 21; xii. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 18; xiv. 13). [JOASH, 1.]

2. The twelfth king of Israel; son of JEHOAHAZ (2 K. xiii. 10, 25; xiv. 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17). [JOASH, 2.] [C. H.]

JEHO-HA'NAN (יְהוֹחָנָן = *Jehovah is gracious*, answering to Theodore; Ἰωανάν; *Johanan*), a name much in use, both in this form and in the contracted shape of JOHANAN in the later periods of Jewish history. It has come down to us as JOHN, and indeed is rendered by Josephus Ἰωαννῆς (*Ant.* viii. 15, § 2).

1. (B. Ἰωνάς, A. Ἰωνά.) A Levite, one of the doorkeepers (R. V.; in A. V. "porters") to the house of Jehovah, *i.e.* the Tabernacle, according to the appointment of David (1 Ch. xxvi. 3; cp. xxv. 1). He was the sixth of the seven sons of Meshelemiah; a Korhite,—that is, descended from Korah, the founder of that great Kohathite house. He is also said (*v.* 1) to have been of the Bene-Asaph; but this Asaph is a contraction for Ebiasaph, as is seen from the genealogy in ix. 19. The well-known Asaph, too, was not a Kohathite, but a Gershonite.

2. (Ἰωανάν.) One of the principal men of Judah, under king Jehoshaphat; he commanded 280,000 men, apparently in and about Jerusalem (2 Ch. xvii. 15; cp. *vv.* 13 and 19). He is named second on the list, and is entitled הַשָּׂר, "the captain" (A. V. and R. V.), a title also given to Adnah in the preceding verse, though there rendered "the chief" in A. V., but "captain"

in R. V. The Hebrew is often rendered "prince." He is probably the same person as

3. (Ἰωανάν.) Father of *Ishmael*, Ishmael being one of the "captains (שָׂרֵי, as before) of hundreds"—evidently residing in or near Jerusalem—whom Jehoiada the priest took into his confidence about the restoration of the line of Judah (2 Ch. xxiii. 1).

4. (Ἰωανάν.) One of the Bene-Bebai, a lay Israelite who was forced by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezra x. 28). In 1 Esd. ix. 29 the name is JOHANNES.

5. (Ἰωανάν.) A priest (Neh. xii. 13), the representative of the house of Amariah (cp. *v.* 2), during the high-priesthood of Joiakim (*v.* 12); that is to say, in the generation after the first return from Captivity.

6. (LXX. B. omits; ℵ. Ἰωανάν.) A priest who took part in the musical service of thanksgiving, at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42).

In two other cases this name is given in the A. V. as JOHANAN.

JEHOI'ACHIN (יְהוֹיָכִין = *Jehovah establisheth*; once only, Ezra i. 2, contracted to יוֹיָכִין: Ἰωακείμ; Joseph. Ἰωάχιμος: *Joachin*). Elsewhere the name is altered to JECONIAH and CONIAH. See also JECHONIAS, JOIAKIM, and JOACIM.

Son of Jehoiakim and Nehushta, and for three months and ten days (B.C. 599) king of Judah, after the death of his father, being the nineteenth king from David, or twentieth, counting Jehoahaz. According to 2 K. xxiv. 8, Jehoiachin was eighteen years old at his accession; but 2 Ch. xxxvi. 9, as well as 1 Esd. i. 43, has the far more probable reading eight years,* which fixes his birth to the time of his father's captivity, according to Matt. i. 11.

Jehoiachin came to the throne at a time when Egypt was still prostrate in consequence of the victory at Carchemish, and when the Jews had been for three or four years harassed and distressed by the inroads of the armed bands of Chaldeans, Ammonites, and Moabites, sent against them by Nebuchadnezzar in consequence of Jehoiakim's rebellion. [JEHOIAKIM.] Jerusalem at this time, therefore, was quite defenceless, and unable to offer any resistance to the regular army which Nebuchadnezzar sent to besiege it in the eighth year of his reign, and which he seems to have joined in person after the siege had commenced (2 K. xxiv. 10, 11). In a very short time, apparently, and without any losses from famine or fighting which would indicate a serious resistance, Jehoiachin surrendered at discretion; and he, and the queen-mother, and all his servants, captains, and officers, came out and gave themselves up to Nebuchadnezzar, who carried them, with the harem and the eunuchs, to Babylon (Jer. xxix. 2; Ezek. xvii. 12, xix. 9). All the king's treasures, and all the treasure of the Temple, were seized; and the golden vessels of the Temple, which the king of Babylon had left when he pillaged it in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, were now either cut up or carried away to Babylon, with all the nobles, and men of war, and skilled artisans, none but the poorest and weakest being left behind (2 K. xxiv. 13; 2 Ch. xxxvi. 19). According to 2 K. xxiv. 14, 16, the number taken at this time into captivity was 10,000, viz. 7000 soldiers, 1000 craftsmen and smiths, and 2000 whose calling is not specified. But, according to Jer. lii. 28 (a passage which is omitted in the LXX.), the number carried away captive at this time (called the seventh of Nebuchadnezzar, instead of the eighth, as in 2 K. xxiv. 12) was 3023. Whether this difference arises from any corruption of the numerals, or whether only a portion of those originally taken captive were actually carried to Babylon, the others being left with Zedekiah upon his swearing allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, cannot perhaps be decided. The numbers in Jeremiah are certainly very small, only 4,600 in all, whereas the numbers who returned from captivity, as given in Ezra ii. and Neh. vii., were 42,360. However, Jehoiachin was himself led away captive to Babylon, and there he remained a prisoner, actually in prison (בֵּית הָאֲסִיר), and wearing prison garments, for thirty-six years, viz. till the death of Nebuchadnezzar, when Evil-Merodach, succeeding to the throne of Babylon, treated him with much kindness, brought him out of prison, changed his garments, raised him above the other subject or captive kings, and made him sit at his own table. Whether Jehoiachin outlived the two years of Evil-Merodach's reign or not does not appear, nor have we any particulars of his life at Babylon. The general description of him in 2 K. xxiv. 9, "He did evil in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that his father had done," seems to apply to his character at the time he was king, and but a child; and so does the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxii. 24–30; cp. Ezek. xix. 5–9). We also learn from Jer. xxviii. 4, that four years after Jehoiachin had gone to Babylon, there was a great expectation at Jerusalem of his return, but it does not appear whether Jehoiachin himself shared this hope at Babylon. [HANANIAH, 4.] The tenor of Jeremiah's letter to the elders of the Captivity (xxix.) would, however, indicate that there was a party among the Captivity, encouraged by false prophets, who were at this time looking forward to Nebuchadnezzar's overthrow and Jehoiachin's return; and perhaps the fearful death of Ahab the son of Kolaiah (ib. *v.* 22), and the close confinement of Jehoiachin through Nebuchadnezzar's reign, may have been the result of some disposition to conspire against Nebuchadnezzar on the part of a portion of those of the Captivity. But neither Daniel nor Ezekiel, who were Jehoiachin's fellow-captives, make any further allusion to him, except that Ezekiel dates his prophecies by the year of king Jehoiachin's captivity (i. 2, viii. 1, xxi. 1, xxiv. 1, xxvi. 1, xxix. 1, xxx. 1, xxxii. 1, xl. 1); the latest date being "the twenty-seventh year" (xxix. 17). We also learn from Esth. ii. 6, that Kish, the ancestor of Mordecai, was Jehoiachin's

* Many commentators prefer the reading "eighteen," as agreeing better with the language of Jeremiah. But the words אָיִשׁ and גֶּבֶר, applied to Jehoiachin in Jer. xxii. 28, 30, imply sex rather than age, and are both actually used of infants. See Gesen. *Thes.* s. vv. The words "his seed" may also be taken in the wider sense of *family* or *kindred* (Dan. i. 3). And so Josephus seems to have understood it, rendering it τοὺς συγγενεῖς (*Ant.* x. 7, § 1).

fellow-captive. But the apocryphal books are more communicative. Thus the author of the book of Baruch (i. 3; see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco) introduces "Jechonias the son of Joachim king of Judah" into his narrative, and represents Baruch as reading his prophecy in his ears, and in the ears of the king's sons, and the nobles and elders and people at Babylon. At the hearing of Baruch's words, it is added, they wept and fasted and prayed, and sent a collection of silver to Jerusalem to Joachim the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum the high-priest, with which to purchase burnt-offerings and sacrifice and incense, bidding them pray for the prosperity of Nabuchodonosor and Balthasar his son. The history of Susanna and the Elders also apparently makes Jehoiachin an important personage; for, according to the author, the husband of Susanna was Joacim, a man of great wealth, and the chief person among the captives, to whose house all the people resorted for judgment, a description which suits Jehoiachin (see Ball's note on Hist. Sus. *v.* 1, and Introd. to that book, p. 328 in *Speaker's Comm.* on the *Apocrypha*, 1888). Africanus (*Ep. ad Orig.*; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 113) expressly calls Susanna's husband king, and says that the king of Babylon had made him his royal companion (*σύνθρονος*). He is also mentioned in 1 Esd. v. 5, but the text seems to be corrupt. It probably should be "Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Joacim," *i.e.* Jehoiachin. It does not appear certainly from Scripture, whether Jehoiachin was married or had any children. That Zedekiah, who in 1 Ch. iii. 16 is called "his son," is the same as Zedekiah his uncle (called "his brother," 2 Ch. xxxvi. 10), who was his successor on the throne, seems certain. But it is not impossible that Assir (אַסִּיר = *captive*), who is reckoned among the "sons of Jeconiah" in 1 Ch. iii. 17, may have been so really, and either have died young or been made an eunuch (Is. xxxix. 7). This is quite in accordance with the term "childless," עֲרִירִי, applied to Jeconiah by Jeremiah (xxii. 30). [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.]

Jehoiachin was the last of Solomon's line; and on its failure in his person, the right to succession passed to the line of Nathan, whose descendant Shealtiel, or Salathiel, the son of Neri, was consequently inscribed in the genealogy as of "the sons of Jehoiachin." Hence his place in the genealogy of Christ (Matt. i. 11, 12). For the variations in the Hebrew forms of Jeconiah's name, see HANANIAH, 8; and for the confusion in Greek and Latin writers between Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, Ἰωαχείμ and Ἰωακείμ, see GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, and Hervey's *Genealogy*, pp. 71–73.

N.B. The compiler of 1 Esd. gives the name of Jechonias to Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, who reigned three months after Josiah's death, and was deposed and carried to Egypt by Pharaoh-Necho (1 Esd. i. 34; 2 K. xxiii. 30). He is followed in this blunder by Epiphanius (vol. i. p. 21), who says "Josiah begat Jechoniah, who is also called Shallum. This Jechoniah begat Jechoniah, who is called Zedekiah and Joakim." It has its origin doubtless in the confusion of the names when written in Greek by writers ignorant of Hebrew. [A. C. H.]

JEHOI'ADA (יְהוֹיָדָע = *Jehovah knows*; Joseph. Ἰώαδος; *Joiada*). In the later Books the name is contracted to JOIADA.

1. (B. Ἰωδάε, Ἰανάκ, Ἀχειλούθ; A. Ἰωιαδάε, Ἰωδάε.) Father of David's well-known warrior BENAIAH (2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 23, xxiii. 20, 22; 1 K. i. 8, 26, 32, 36, 38, 44, ii. 25, 29, 30, 34, 35, 46; 1 Ch. xi. 22, xviii. 17, xxvii. 5). The "son of a mighty man" in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, 1 Ch. xi. 22, means, according to a well-known Hebrew usage, simply "a mighty man," and refers to Benaiah. From 1 Ch. xxvii. 5, where *a* chief priest is rather *the* chief priest (R. V. and the Heb.), we learn that Benaiah's father was the chief priest (not to be understood as high-priest, cp. No. 5), and he is therefore doubtless identical with—

2. (B. Τωαδάς, ℵ. Τωαδάε, A. Ἰωαδάε.) Leader (נָגִיד) of the Aaronites (accurately "of Aaron"), *i.e.* the priests; who joined David at Hebron, bringing with him 3,700 priests (1 Ch. xii. 27).

3. (B. Ἰωδάε, A. Ἰωαδάε.) According to 1 Ch. xxvii. 34, son of Benaiah, and one of David's chief counsellors, apparently having succeeded Ahithophel in that office. Many suppose that Benaiah *the* son of Jehoiada is meant, by a transposition similar to that which has arisen with regard to Ahimelech and Abiathar (1 Ch. xviii. 16, 2 Sam. viii. 17). Others however see no reason why a son of Benaiah named after his grandfather may not be intended.

4. (B. Ἰωδάε; A. Ἰωαδάε, Ἰωιαδάε, Ἰωιαδά.) High-priest at the time of Athaliah's usurpation of the throne of Judah (B.C. 884–878; al. 843–838), and during the greater portion of the forty years' reign of Joash. It does not appear when he first became high-priest, but it may have been as early as the latter part of Jehoshaphat's reign. Anyhow, he probably succeeded Amariah. [HIGH-PRIEST.] He married JEHOSHEBA, or Jehoshabeath, daughter of king Jehoram, and sister of king Ahaziah (2 Ch. xxii. 11); and when Athaliah slew all the seed royal of Judah after Ahaziah had been put to death by Jehu, he and his wife stole Joash from among the king's sons, and hid him for six years in the Temple, and eventually placed him on the throne of his ancestors (2 K. xi. 3; 2 Ch. xxii. 12). [JOASH; ATHALIAH.] In effecting this happy revolution, by which both the throne of David and the worship of the true God according to the Law of Moses were rescued from imminent danger of destruction, Jehoiada displayed great ability and prudence. Waiting patiently till the tyranny of Athaliah, and, we may presume, till her foreign practices and preferences, had produced disgust in the land, he at length, in the seventh year of her reign, entered into secret alliance with the chief supporters of the house of David and of the true religion. He also collected at Jerusalem the Levites from the different cities of Judah and Israel, probably under cover of providing for the Temple services, and then concentrated a large and concealed force in the Temple, by the expedient of not dismissing the old courses of priests and Levites when their successors came to relieve them on the Sabbath. By means of the consecrated shields and spears which David had taken in his wars, and which were preserved in the treasury of the Temple

(cp. 1 Ch. xviii. 7–11, xxvi. 20–28; 1 K. xiv. 26, 27), he supplied the captains of hundreds with arms for their men. Having then divided the priests and Levites into three bands, which were posted at the principal entrances, and filled the courts with people favourable to the cause, he produced the young king before the whole assembly, and crowned and anointed him, and presented to him a copy of the Law according to Deut. xvii. 18–20. [HILKIAH.] The excitement of the moment did not make him forget the sanctity of God's House. None but the priests and ministering Levites were permitted by him to enter the Temple; and he gave strict orders that Athaliah should be carried without its precincts before she was put to death. In the same spirit he inaugurated the new reign by a solemn covenant between himself, as high-priest, and the people and the king, to renounce the Baal-worship which had been introduced by the house of Ahab, and to serve Jehovah. This was followed by the immediate destruction of the altar and temple of Baal, and the death of Mattan his priest. He then took measures for the due celebration of the Temple service, and at the same time for the perfect re-establishment of the monarchy (2 K. xi. 17–21; 2 Ch. xxiii. 16–21); all which seems to have been effected with great vigour and success, and without any cruelty or violence. For Joash, as he grew to man's estate, Jehoiada selected two wives (2 Ch. xxiv. 3), having had probably in view the extermination of the royal lineage of which Athaliah had been guilty. The young king himself, under this wise and virtuous counsellor, ruled his kingdom well and prosperously, and was forward in works of piety, during the lifetime of Jehoiada. The reparation of the Temple in the twenty-third year of his reign, of which a full and interesting account is given in 2 K. xii. and 2 Ch. xxiv., was one of the most important works at this period. At length, however, Jehoiada died, and, though far advanced in years, too soon for the welfare of his country and the weak unstable character of Joash. The text of 2 Ch. xxiv. 15, supported by the LXX. and Josephus, makes him 130 years old when he died. But supposing him to have lived to the thirty-fifth year of Joash (which leaves only five years for all the subsequent events of the reign), he would in that case have been ninety-five at the time of the insurrection against Athaliah; and fifteen years before, when Jehoram, whose daughter was his wife, was only thirty-two years old, he would have been eighty: than which nothing can be more improbable. There must therefore be some early corruption of the numeral. Perhaps we ought to read שְׁמֹנִים וּשְׁלֹשָׁה (83), instead of מֵאָה וּשְׁלֹשִׁים. Even 103 (as suggested, *Geneal. of our Lord*, p. 304) would leave an improbable age at the two above-named epochs. If eighty-three at his death, he would have been thirty-three years old at Joram's accession. For his signal services to his God, his king, and his country, which have earned him a place among the very foremost well-doers in Israel, he had the unique honour of burial among the kings of Judah in the city of David. He was probably succeeded by his son Zechariah. In Josephus' list (*Ant.* x. 8, § 6) the name of ΙΩΔΕΑΣ by an easy corruption is transformed into ΦΙΔΕΑΣ, and in the *Seder Olam* into Phadea. It has been thought that Jehoiada's alliance with the royal house, and his tenure of supreme authority as regent for so many years during the minority, left its mark in time to come on the high-priesthood itself, bringing it into greater civil prominence, and even increasing the authority in public life of the entire Levitical order. See Notes in the *Speaker's Comm.* on 2 K. xii. 2, 10.

In Matt. xxiii. 35, Zechariah the son of Jehoiada is mentioned as the "son of Barachias," *i.e.* Berechiah. This is omitted in Luke (xi. 51), and has probably been inserted from a confusion between this Zechariah and the prophet, who was son of Berechiah; or with the son of Jeberechiah (Is. viii. 2).

5. Second priest, or (as the Rabbins entitle him) sagan, to Seraiah the high-priest. He was deposed at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, probably for adhering to the prophet Jeremiah; when Zephaniah was appointed sagan in his room[a] (Jer. xxix. 25–29; 2 K. xxv. 18). This is a clear instance of the title "the priest" being applied to the second priest. The passage in Jeremiah shows the nature of the sagan's authority at this time, when he was doubtless "ruler of the house of Jehovah" (נְגִיד בֵּית יְהוָה). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Winer (*Realwb.*) has quite misunderstood the passage, and makes Jehoiada the same as the high-priest in the reign of Joash.

6. (יְהוֹיָדָע, *i.e.* Joiada; B. Ἰοειαδ, A. Ἰοειδά; *Joiada*), son of Paseach, who assisted to repair the "old gate" of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 6).

[A. C. H.]

JEHOI'AKIM (יְהוֹיָקִים = *Jehovah raises up*; Ἰωακείμ, Joseph. Ἰωάκιμος; *Joakim*), 18th (or, counting Jehoahaz, 19th) king of Judah from David inclusive; twenty-five years old at his accession, and originally called ELIAKIM. He was the son of Josiah and Zebudah, daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah, possibly identical with Arumah of Judg. ix. 41 (where the Vulg. has *Rumah*), and in that case in the tribe of Manasseh. His younger brother Jehoahaz, or Shallum, as he is called in Jer. xxii. 11, was in the first instance made king by the people of the land on the death of his father Josiah, probably with the intention of following up Josiah's policy, which was to side with Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt, being, as Prideaux thinks, bound by oath to the kings of Babylon (*Conn.* i. 57, ann. B.C. 610, ed. 1838). Pharaoh-Necho, therefore, having borne down all resistance with his victorious army, immediately deposed Jehoahaz, and had him brought in chains to Riblah—where, it seems, he was—on his way to Carchemish (2 K. xxiii. 33, 34; Jer. xxii. 10–12). He then set Eliakim his elder brother upon the throne, changing his name to Jehoiakim; and having charged him with the task of collecting a tribute of 100 talents of silver, and 1 talent of gold = nearly 40,000*l.*, in which he mulcted the land for the part Josiah had taken in the war with Babylon, he eventually returned to Egypt, taking

[a] It is, however, possible that Jehoiada vacated the office by death.

Jehoahaz with him, who died there in captivity (2 K. xxiii. 34; Jer. xxii. 10–12; Ezek. xix. 4).[a] Pharaoh-Necho also himself returned no more to Jerusalem, for after his great defeat at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim he lost all his Syrian possessions (2 K. xxiv. 7; Jer. xlvi. 2), and his successor Psammis (Herod. ii. 161) made no attempt to recover them. Egypt, therefore, played no part in Jewish politics during the seven or eight years of Jehoiakim's reign. After the battle of Carchemish Nebuchadnezzar invaded Palestine as one of the Egyptian tributary kingdoms, the capture of which was the natural fruit of his victory over Necho. He found Jehoiakim quite defenceless. After a short siege he entered Jerusalem, took the king prisoner, bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon, and took also some of the precious vessels of the Temple and carried them to the land of Shinar to the temple of Bel his god. It was at this time, in the fourth, or, as Daniel (i. 1; see *Speaker's Comm.*[2] in loco) reckons, in the third year of his reign, that Daniel, and Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, were taken captives to Babylon; but Nebuchadnezzar seems to have changed his purpose as regarded Jehoiakim, and to have accepted his submission, and reinstated him on the throne, perhaps in remembrance of the fidelity of his father Josiah. What is certain is, that Jehoiakim became tributary to Nebuchadnezzar after his invasion of Judah, and continued so for three years, but at the end of that time broke his oath of allegiance and rebelled against him (2 K. xxiv. 1; 2 Ch. vi. 7). What moved or encouraged Jehoiakim to this rebellion it is difficult to say, unless it were the restless turbulence of his own bad disposition and the dislike of paying the tribute to the king of Babylon, which he would have rather lavished upon his own luxury and pride (Jer. xxii. 13–17), for there is nothing to bear out Winer's conjecture, or Josephus's assertion, that there was anything in the attitude of Egypt at this time to account for such a step. It seems more probable that seeing Egypt entirely severed from the affairs of Syria since the battle of Carchemish, and the king of Babylon wholly occupied with distant wars, he hoped to make himself independent. But whatever was the motive of this foolish and wicked proceeding, which was contrary to the repeated warnings of the Prophet Jeremiah, it is certain that it brought misery and ruin upon the king and his country. Though Nebuchadnezzar was not able at that time to come in person to chastise his rebellious vassal, he sent against him numerous bands of Chaldeans, with Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, who were all now subject to Babylon (2 K. xxiv. 2, 7), and who cruelly harassed the whole country. It was perhaps at this time that the great drought described in Jer. xiv. 1–6 (cp. Jer. xv. 4 with 2 K. xxiv. 2, 3) occurred. In his fourth year Israel's seventy years' Captivity was predicted by Jeremiah (xxv. 1–11). The closing years of this reign must have been a time of extreme misery. The Ammonites appear to have overrun the land of Gad (Jer. xlix. 1), and the other neighbouring nations to have taken advantage of the helplessness of Israel to ravage their land to the utmost (Ezek. xxv.). There was no rest or safety out of the walled cities. We are not acquainted with the details of the close of the reign. Probably as the time approached for Nebuchadnezzar himself to come against Judaea, the desultory attacks and invasions of his troops became more concentrated. Either in an engagement with some of these forces, or else by the hand of his own oppressed subjects, who thought to conciliate the Babylonians by the murder of their king, Jehoiakim came to a violent end in the eleventh year of his reign. His body was cast out ignominiously on the ground; perhaps thrown over the walls to convince the enemy that he was dead; and then, after being left exposed for some time, was dragged away and buried "with the burial of an ass," without pomp or lamentation, "beyond the gates of Jerusalem" (Jer. xxii. 18, 19; xxxvi. 30). Within three months of his death Nebuchadnezzar arrived, and put an end to his dynasty by carrying Jehoiachin off to Babylon. [JEHOIACHIN.] All the accounts we have of Jehoiakim concur in ascribing to him a vicious and irreligious character. The writer of 2 K. xxiii. 37 tells us that "he did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah," a statement which is repeated in xxiv. 9 and in 2 Ch. xxxvi. 5. The Chronicler uses the yet stronger expression, "the acts of Jehoiakim, and the abominations which he did" (*v.* 8). But it is in the writings of Jeremiah that we have the fullest portraiture of him. If, as is probable, the xixth chapter of Jeremiah belongs to this reign, we have a detail of the abominations of idolatry practised at Jerusalem under the king's sanction, with which Ezekiel's vision of what was going on six years later, within the very precincts of the Temple, exactly agrees: incense offered up to "abominable beasts;" "women weeping for Thammuz;" and men in the inner court of the Temple, "with their backs towards the Temple of the Lord," worshipping "the sun towards the east" (Ezek. viii.). The vindictive pursuit and murder of Urijah the son of Shemaiah, and the indignities offered to his corpse by the king's command, in revenge for his faithful prophesying of evil against Jerusalem and Judah, are samples of his irreligion and tyranny combined. Jeremiah only narrowly escaped the same fate (Jer. xxvi. 20–24). The curious notice of him in 1 Esd. i. 38, that he put his nobles in chains and caught Zaraces his brother in Egypt[b] and brought him up thence (to Jerusalem), also points to his cruelty. His daring impiety in cutting up and burning the roll containing Jeremiah's prophecy, at the very moment when the national fast was being celebrated, is another specimen of his character, and drew

[a] It does not appear from the narrative in 2 K. xxiii. (which is the fullest) whether Necho went straight to Egypt from Jerusalem, or whether the calamitous campaign on the Euphrates intervened.

[b] The passage seems to be corrupt. The words *τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ* seem to be repeated from the preceding line but one, and *Ζαράκην* is a corruption of *Οὐρίαν*. *συλλαβὼν ἐξήγαγεν* is a paraphrase of the Alexandrian Codex of Jer. xxxiii. 23 (xxvi. 23, A. V.), *συνελάβοσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξήγαγον*. See the note on 1 Esd. i. 38, in the *Speaker's Comm.* on the *Apocrypha*, 1888.

down upon him the sentence, "He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David" (Jer. xxvi. 23, 30. Cp. Stanley's *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, ii. 452, &c. [1883]). His oppression, injustice, covetousness, luxury, and tyranny, are most severely rebuked (xxii. 13–17); and it has been frequently observed, as indicating his thorough selfishness and indifference to the sufferings of his people, that at a time when the land was so impoverished by the heavy tributes laid upon it by Egypt and Babylon in turn, he should have squandered large sums in building luxurious palaces for himself (xxii. 14, 15). Josephus's history of Jehoiakim's reign is consistent neither with Scripture nor with itself. His account of Jehoiakim's death and Jehoiachin's accession appears to be only his own inference from the Scripture narrative. According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 6, § 1), Nebuchadnezzar came against Judaea in the eighth year of Jehoiakim's reign, and compelled him to pay tribute, which he did for three years, and then revolted in the eleventh year, on hearing that the king of Babylon had gone to Egypt.[a] He then inserts the account of Jehoiakim's burning Jeremiah's prophecy in his fifth year, and concludes by saying, that a little time afterwards the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, who admitted Nebuchadnezzar into the city upon certain conditions, which Nebuchadnezzar immediately broke; that he slew Jehoiakim and the flower of the citizens, and sent three thousand captives to Babylon, and set up Jehoiachin for king, but almost immediately afterwards was seized with fear lest the young king should avenge his father's death, and so sent back his army to besiege Jerusalem; that Jehoiachin, being a man of just and gentle disposition, did not like to expose the city to danger on his own account, and therefore surrendered himself, his mother, and kindred, to the king of Babylon's officers on condition of the city suffering no harm; but that Nebuchadnezzar, in direct violation of the conditions, took 10,832 prisoners, and made Zedekiah king in the room of Jehoiachin, whom he kept in custody (*Ant.* x. 7, § 1)—a statement the principal portion of which seems to have no foundation whatever in fact. The account given above is derived from the various statements in Scripture. and seems to agree perfectly with the probabilities of Nebuchadnezzar's movements and with what the most recent discoveries have brought to light concerning him. [NEBUCHADNEZZAR.] The reign of Jehoiakim extends from B.C. 609 to B.C. 598, or as some reckon 599.

The name of Jehoiakim appears in a contracted form in JOIAKIM, a high-priest. [A. C. H.]

JEHO-IA'RIB (יְהוֹיָרִיב, (?) = *Jehovah will plead*, 1 Ch. ix. 10, xxiv. 7, only; elsewhere, both in Hebrew and A. V., the name is abbreviated to JOIARIB: B. Ἰωαρείμ, Ἰαρείμ; A. Ἰωαρείβ, Ἰαρείβ: *Joiarib*), head of the first of the twenty-four courses of priests, according to the arrangement of king David (1 Ch. xxiv. 7). Some of his descendants returned from the Babylonish captivity, as we learn from 1 Ch. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10. [JEDAIAH.] Their chief in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua was Mattenai (Neh. xii. 6, 19). They were probably of the house of Eleazar. To the course of Jehoiarib belonged the Asmonean family (1 Macc. ii. 1; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6, § 1) and Josephus, as he informs us (*Life*, § 1). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Prideaux indeed (*Connection*, i. 149, ann. B.C. 536, ed. 1838), following the Jewish tradition, affirms that only four of the courses returned from Babylon, Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim—for which last, however, the Babylonian Talmud has Joiarib—because these four only are enumerated in Ezra ii. 36–39, Neh. vii. 39–42. He accounts for the mention of other courses, as of Joiarib (1 Macc. ii. 1) and Abiah (Luke i. 5), by saying that those four courses were subdivided into six each, so as to keep up the old number of twenty-four, which took the names of the original courses, though not really descended from them. But this is probably an invention of the Jews, to account for the mention of only these four families of priests in the list of Ezra ii. and Neh. vii. However difficult it may be to say with certainty why only those four courses are mentioned in that particular list, we have the positive authority of 1 Ch. ix. 10 and Neh. xi. 10 for asserting that Joiarib did return; and we have two other lists of courses, one of the time of Nehemiah (Neh. x. 2–8), the other of Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 1–7); the former enumerating twenty-one, the latter twenty-two courses; and the latter naming Joiarib as one of them,[a] and adding, at *v.* 19, the name of the chief of the course of Joiarib in the days of Joiakim. So that there can be no reasonable doubt that Joiarib did return. The notion of the Jews does not receive any confirmation from the statement in the Latin version of Josephus (*cont. Apion.* ii. 7), that there were four courses of priests, as it is a manifest corruption of the text for twenty-four, as Whiston and others have shown (note to *Life of Josephus*, § 1). The subjoined table gives the three lists of courses which returned, with the original list in David's time to compare them by:—

[a] Nothing can be more improbable than an invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar at this time. All the Syrian possessions of Egypt fell into the power of Babylon soon after the victory at Carchemish, and the king of Egypt retired thenceforth into his own country. His Asiatic wars seem to have engrossed Nebuchadnezzar's attention for the next seven years; and in like manner the king of Egypt seems to have confined himself to Ethiopian wars. The first hint we have of Egypt aiming at recovering her lost influence in Syria is at the accession of Pharaoh-Hophra, in the 4th of Zedekiah. [HANANIAH, 4.] He made several abortive attempts against Nebuchadnezzar in Zedekiah's reign, and detached the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Tyrians, and Zidonians from the Babylonish alliance (Jer. xxvii.). In consequence, Nebuchadnezzar, after thoroughly subduing these nations, and devoting thirteen years to the siege of Tyre, at length invaded and subdued Egypt in the thirty-fifth year of his reign (Ezek. xxix. 17).

[a] It is, however, very singular that the names after Shemaiah in Neh. xii. 6, including Joiarib and Jedaiah, have the appearance of being added on to the previously existing list, which ended with Shemaiah, as does that in Neh. x. 2–8. For Joiarib's is introduced with the copula "and;" it is quite out of its right order as the first course; and, moreover, these names are entirely omitted in the LXX. till we come to the times of Joiakim at *vv.* 12–21. Still the utmost that could be concluded from this is, that Joiarib returned later than the time of Zerubbabel.

COURSES OF PRIESTS.

In David's reign, 1 Ch. xxiv.	In list in Ezra ii., Neh. vii.	In Nehemiah's time, Neh. x.	In Zerubbabel's time, Neh. xii.
	—	—	Joiarib.
1. Jehoiarib, 1 Ch. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10.		—	Jedaiah.
2. Jedaiah.	Children of Jedaiah.	Harim.	Rehum (Harim, v. 15).
3. Harim.	Children of Harim.	—	—
4. Seorim.	—	Malchijah.	—
5. Malchijah.	Children of Pashur, 1 Ch. ix. 12.	Mijamin.	Miamin (Miniamin, v. 17)
6. Mijamin.	—	Meremoth, son of Hakkoz, Neh. iii. 4 (R. V.).	Meremoth (Meraioth, v. 15).
7. Hakkoz.	—	Abijah.	Abijah.
8. Abijah.	—	—	—
9. Jeshuah.	House of Jeshua (?), Ezra ii. 36, Neh. vii. 39.	Shebaniah.	Shechaniah (Shebaniah, v. 14).
10. Shecaniah.	—	—	—
11. Eliashib.	—	—	—
12. Jakim.	—	—	—
13. Huppah.	—	—	—
14. Jeshebeab.	—	Bilgai.	Bilgah.
15. Bilgah.	—	Amariah.	Amariah.
16. Immer.	Children of Immer.	—	—
17. Hezir.	—	—	—
18. Aphses.	—	—	—
19. Pethahiah.	—	—	—
20. Jehezekel.	—	—	—
21. Jachin, Neh. xi. 10, 1 Ch. ix. 10.	—	—	—
22. Gamul.	—	—	—
23. Delaiah.	—	—	—
24. Maaziah.	—	Maaziah.	Maadiah (Moadiah, v. 17).

The courses which cannot be identified with the original ones, but which are enumerated as existing after the Return, are as follows:—

Neh. x.	Neh. xii.	Neh. xi., 1 Ch. ix.
Seraiah.	Seraiah.	Seraiah (?).
Azariah.	Ezra.	Azariah.
Jeremiah.	Jeremiah.	—
Pashur.	—	—
Hattush.	Hattush.	—
Malluch.	Malluch.	—
Obadiah.	Iddo.	Adaiah (?).
Daniel.	—	—
Ginnethon.	Ginnetho.	—
Baruch.	—	—
Meshullam.	—	—
Shemaiah.	Shemaiah.	—
	Sallu.	
	Amok.	
	Hilkiah.	
	Jedaiah (2).	

For the courses, see Lewis's *Orig. Hebr.* ii. ch. vii.; Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, ii. 182 sq.

In 1 Esd. i. 44, ix. 19, the name is given as JORIBAS, JORIBUS. [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JEHO-NA'DAB, and JON'ADAB (the longer form, יְהוֹנָדָב = *Jehovah hath incited*, is employed in 2 K. x. and Jer. xxxv. 8, 14, 16, 18; the shorter one, יוֹנָדָב, in Jer. xxxv. 6, 10, 19: Ἰωναδάβ), the son of Rechab, founder of the Rechabites. It appears from 1 Ch. ii. 55, that his father or ancestor Rechab ("a rider") belonged to a branch of the Kenites; the Arabian tribe which entered Palestine with the Israelites. One settlement of them was to be found in the extreme north, under the chieftainship of Heber (Judg. iv. 11), retaining their Bedouin customs under the oak which derived its name from their nomadic habits. The main settlement was in the south. Of these, one branch had nestled in the cliffs of Engedi (Judg. i. 16; Num. xxiv. 21). Another had returned to the frontier of their native wilderness on the south of Judah (Judg. i. 16). A third was established, under a threefold division, at or near the town of Jabez in Judah (1 Ch. ii. 55). To these last belonged Rechab and his son Jehonadab [RECHABITES]. The Bedouin habits, which were kept up by the other branches of the Kenite tribe, were inculcated by Jehonadab with the utmost minuteness on his descendants; the more so, perhaps, from their being brought into closer connexion with the inhabitants of the settled districts. The vow or rule which he prescribed to them is preserved to us: "Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build houses, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers" (Jer. xxxv. 6, 7). This life, partly monastic, partly Bedouin, was observed with the tenacity with which from generation to generation such customs are continued in Arab tribes; and when, many years after the death of Jehonadab, the Rechabites (as they were called from his father) were forced to take refuge from the Chaldean invasion within the walls of Jerusalem, nothing would induce them to transgress the rule of their ancestor; and in consequence a blessing was pronounced upon him and them by the Prophet Jeremiah (xxxv. 19): "Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before Me for ever." [RECHABITES.]

Bearing in mind this general character of Jehonadab as an Arab chief, and the founder of a half-religious sect, perhaps in connexion with the austere Elijah, and the Nazarites mentioned in Amos ii. 11 (see Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 118, 3rd ed. 1869; p. 88 of Solly's Engl. tr., 1876), we are the better able to understand the single occasion on which he appears before us in the historical narrative.

Jehu was advancing, after the slaughter of Beth-eked, on the city of Samaria, when he suddenly met the austere Bedouin coming towards him (2 K. x. 15). It seems that they were already known to each other (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 6, § 6). The king was in his chariot; the Arab was on foot. It is not clear, from the present state of the text, which was the first to speak. The Hebrew text—followed by the A. V.—implies that the king blessed (A. V. "saluted") Jehonadab. The LXX. and Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6, § 6) imply that Jehonadab blessed the king. Each would have its peculiar appropriateness. The king then proposed their close union. "Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?" The answer of Jehonadab is slightly varied. In the Hebrew text he vehemently replies, "It is, it is: give me thine hand." In the LXX., and in the A. V. and R. V., he replies simply, "It is;" and Jehu then rejoins, "If it is, give me thine hand." The hand, whether of Jehonadab or Jehu, was offered and grasped (see *QPB.*²). The king lifted him up to the edge of the chariot, apparently that he might whisper his secret into his ear, and said, "Come with me, and see my zeal for Jehovah." It was the first indication of Jehu's design upon the worship of Baal, for which he perceived that the stern zealot would be a fit coadjutor. Having entrusted

him with the secret, he (LXX., or his attendants, Heb., A. V., R. V.) causes Jehonadab to proceed with him to Samaria in the royal chariot.

So completely had the worship of Baal become the national religion, that even Jehonadab was able to conceal his purpose under the mask of conformity. No doubt he acted in concert with Jehu throughout; but the only occasion on which he is expressly mentioned is when (probably from his previous knowledge of the secret worshippers of Jehovah) he went with Jehu through the temple of Baal to turn out any that there might happen to be in the mass of Pagan worshippers (2 K. x. 23). [JEHU.] This is the last we hear of him (Stanley, *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, ii. 287 [1883]).

[A. P. S.]

JEHO-NA'THAN (יְהוֹנָתָן = *Jehovah hath given*; Ἰωναθάν; *Jonathan*): the more accurate rendering of the Hebrew name, which is most frequently given in the A. V. as JONATHAN. It is ascribed to three persons:—

1. Son of Uzziah; superintendent of certain of king David's storehouses (אֹצָרוֹת: the word rendered "treasures" earlier in the verse [R. V. "treasuries"], and in *vv.* 27, 28 "cellars"); 1 Ch. xxvii. 25.

2. One of nine Levites who, along with five princes and two priests, were sent by Jehoshaphat, in the third year of his reign, through the cities of Judah, with a book of the Law, to teach the people (2 Ch. xvii. 8).

3. A priest (Neh. xii. 18): the representative of the family of Shemaiah (*v.* 6), when Joiakim was high-priest; that is, in the next generation after the return from Babylon under Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

JEHO'RAM (יְהוֹרָם = *Jehovah is exalted*. Cp. the Phoen. בעלרם [MV.[11]]; Ἰωράμ; Joseph. Ἰώραμος: *Joram*). The name is more often found in the contracted form of JORAM.

1. Son of Ahab king of Israel. In the second year of Jehoram king of Judah (2 K. i. 17), and in the eighteenth of Jehoshaphat king of Judah (2 K. iii. 1), he succeeded his brother Ahaziah (who had no son) upon the throne at Samaria, B.C. 896–884 (Riehm, 855–844). His history is related in the Second Book of Kings, there being but a passing mention of him in 2 Ch. xxii. 5–7. During the first four years of his reign his contemporary on the throne of Judah was Jehoshaphat, and for the next seven years and upwards Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, and for the last year, or portion of a year, Ahaziah the son of Jehoram, who was killed the same day that he was (2 K. ix. 27). The alliance between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, commenced by his father and Jehoshaphat, was very close throughout his reign. We first find Jehoram associated with Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom, at that time a tributary of the kingdom of Judah, in a war against the Moabites (2 K. iii.). Mesha their king, on the death of Ahab, had revolted from Israel, and refused to pay the customary tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams. Jehoram asked and obtained Jehoshaphat's help to reduce him to his obedience, and accordingly the three kings, of Israel, Judah, and Edom, marched through the wilderness of Edom to attack him. The three armies were in the utmost danger of perishing for want of water. The piety of Jehoshaphat suggested an inquiry of some prophet of Jehovah, and Elisha the son of Shaphat, at that time and since the latter part of Ahab's reign Elijah's attendant (2 K. iii. 11; 1 K. xix. 19–21), was found with the host. When the three kings went down to him, Jehoram received a severe rebuke, and was bidden to inquire of the prophets of his father and mother, the prophets of Baal. Nevertheless for Jehoshaphat's sake Elisha inquired of Jehovah, and received the promise of an abundant supply of water, and of a great victory over the Moabites: a promise which was immediately fulfilled. The same water which, filling the valley and the trenches dug by the Israelites, supplied the whole army and all their cattle with drink, appeared to the Moabites, who were advancing, like blood, when the morning sun shone upon it. Concluding that the allies had fallen out and slain each other, they marched incautiously to the attack, and were put to the rout. The allies pursued them with great slaughter into their own land, which they utterly ravaged and destroyed with all its cities. Kirhareseth alone remained, and there the king of Moab made his last stand. An attempt to break through the besieging army having failed, he resorted to the desperate expedient of offering up his eldest son, the heir to his throne, as a burnt-offering, upon the wall of the city, in the sight of the enemy. Upon this the Israelites retired and returned to their own land (2 K. iii.). It was perhaps in consequence of Elisha's rebuke, and of the above remarkable deliverance granted to the allied armies according to his word, that Jehoram, on his return to Samaria, put away the image of Baal which Ahab his father had made (2 K. iii. 2). For in 2 K. iv. 13 we have an evidence of Elisha's being on friendly terms with Jehoram, in the offer made by him to speak to the king in favour of the Shunammite. The impression on the king's mind was probably strengthened by the subsequent incident of Naaman's cure, and the temporary cessation of the inroads of the Syrians, which doubtless resulted from it (2 K. v.). Accordingly when, a little later, war broke out between Syria and Israel, we find Elisha befriending Jehoram. The king was made acquainted by the prophet with the secret counsels of the king of Syria, and was thus enabled to defeat them (2 K. vi. 8–12); and on the other hand, when Elisha had led a large band of Syrian soldiers, whom God had blinded, into the midst of Samaria, Jehoram reverentially asked him, "My father, shall I smite them?" and, at the prophet's bidding, not only forbore to kill them, but made a feast for them, and then sent them home unhurt. This procured another cessation from the Syrian invasions for the Israelites (2 K. vi. 19–23). What happened after this to change the relations between the king and the prophet we can only conjecture. But in view of the general bad character given of Jehoram (2 K. iii. 2, 3), together with the fact of the prevalence of Baal-worship at the end of his reign (2 K. x. 21–28), it seems probable that when the Syrian inroads ceased, and he felt less dependent upon the aid of the

prophet, he—relapsing into idolatry—was rebuked by Elisha, and threatened with a return of the calamities from which he had escaped. Upon his refusing to repent, a fresh invasion by the Syrians, and a close siege of Samaria, actually came to pass (2 K. vi. 24, 25), according probably to the word of the prophet. Hence, when the terrible incident arose, in consequence of the famine, of a woman boiling and eating her own child, the king [a] immediately attributed the evil to Elisha the son of Shaphat, and determined to take away his life (*vv.* 26–31). The message which he sent by the messenger whom he commissioned to cut off the prophet's head, "Behold, this evil is from Jehovah; why should I wait for Jehovah any longer?" coupled with the fact of his having on sackcloth at the time (2 K. vi. 30, 33), also indicates that many remonstrances and warnings, similar to those given by Jeremiah to the kings of his day, had passed between the prophet and the weak and unstable son of Ahab. The providential interposition by which both Elisha's life was saved and the city delivered is narrated in 2 K. vii., and Jehoram appears to have returned to friendly feelings towards Elisha (2 K. viii. 4). His life, however, was now drawing to its close. It was very soon after the above events that Elisha went to Damascus, and predicted the revolt of Hazael, and his accession to the throne of Syria in the room of Benhadad; and it was during Elisha's absence, probably, that the conversation between Jehoram and Gehazi, and the return of the Shunammite from the land of the Philistines, recorded in 2 K. viii. 1–6, took place. Jehoram seems to have thought the revolution in Syria, which immediately followed Elisha's prediction, a good opportunity to pursue his father's favourite project of recovering Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians. He accordingly made an alliance with his nephew Ahaziah, who had just succeeded Jehoram on the throne of Judah, and the two kings proceeded to occupy Ramoth-Gilead by force. The expedition was an unfortunate one. Jehoram was wounded in battle, and obliged to return to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds (2 K. viii. 29; ix. 14, 15), leaving his army under Jehu to hold Ramoth-Gilead against Hazael. Jehu, however, and the army under his command, revolted from their allegiance to Jehoram (2 K. ix.), and, hastily marching to Jezreel, surprised Jehoram, wounded and defenceless as he was. Jehoram, going out to meet him, fell pierced by an arrow from Jehu's bow on the very "plat" of ground which Ahab had wrested from Naboth the Jezreelite; thus fulfilling to the letter the prophecy of Elijah (1 K. xxi. 21–29). With the life of Jehoram ended the dynasty of Omri.

Jehoram's reign was rendered very remarkable by the two eminent prophets who lived in it, Elijah and Elisha. The former seems to have survived till the sixth year of his reign; the latter to have begun to be conspicuous quite in the beginning of it. For the famine which Elisha foretold to the Shunammite [b] (2 K. viii. 1), and which seems to be the same as that alluded to iv. 38, must have begun in the sixth year of Jehoram's reign, since it lasted seven years, and ended in the twelfth year. In that case his acquaintance with the Shunammite must have begun not less than five or at least four years sooner, as the child must have been as much as three years old when it died; which brings us back at latest to the beginning of the second year of Jehoram's reign. Elisha's appearance in the camp of the three kings (2 K. iii. 11) was probably as early as the first year of Jehoram. With reference to the very entangled chronology of this reign, it is important to remark that there is no evidence whatever to show that Elijah the prophet was translated at the time of Elisha's first prophetic ministrations. The history in 2 K., at this part of it, having much the nature of memoirs of Elisha, and the active ministrations of Elijah having closed with the death of Ahaziah, it was very natural to complete Elijah's personal history with the narrative of his translation in ch. ii. before beginning the series of Elisha's miracles. But it by no means follows that ch. ii. is really prior in order of time to ch. iii., or that, though the raising from the dead of the Shunammite's son was subsequent, as it probably was, to Elijah's translation, therefore all the preliminary circumstances related in ch. iv. were so likewise. Neither again does the expression (2 K. iii. 11), "Here is Elisha, which poured water on the hands of Elijah," [c] imply that this ministration had at that time ceased, and still less that Elijah was removed from the earth. We learn, on the contrary, from 2 Ch. xxi. 12, that he was still on earth in the reign of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat, who did not begin to reign till the fifth of Jehoram (2 K. viii. 16); and it seems highly probable that the note of time in 2 K. i. 17, "in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat," which is obviously and certainly out of its place where it now is, properly belongs to the narrative in ch. ii. With regard to the other discordant dates at this epoch, it must suffice to remark that all attempts to reconcile them are vain. That which is based upon the supposition of Jehoram having been associated with his father in the kingdom for three or seven years, is of all perhaps the most unfortunate, as being utterly inconsistent with the history, annihilating his independent reign, and after all failing to produce even a verbal consistency. The table given below is framed on the supposition that Jehoshaphat's reign really lasted only twenty-two years, and Ahab's only nineteen, as appears from the texts cited; that the statement that Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years is caused by the probable circumstance of his having taken part in the government during the last three years of Asa's reign, when his father was incapacitated by the disease in his feet (2 Ch. xvi. 12); and that three years were then added to Ahab's reign, to make the whole

[a] Some prefer to consider "the king" to have been not Jehoram, but Jehoahaz the son of Jehu.

[b] The "then" of the A. V. of 2 K. viii. 1 is a thorough misrepresentation of the order of the events. Instead of "Then spake Elisha," the R. V. reads "Now Elisha had spoken." The narrative goes back seven years, merely to introduce the woman's return at this time. The king's conversation with Gehazi was doubtless caused by the providential deliverance related in ch. vii.

[c] The use of the perfect tense in Hebrew often implies the habit or the repetition of an action, as *e.g.* Ps. i. 1, ii. 1, &c.

number of the years of the kings of Israel agree with the whole number of those of the kings of Judah, thus unduly lengthened by an addition of three years to Jehoshaphat's reign. This arrangement, it is believed, reconciles the greatest number of existing texts, agrees best with history, and especially coincides with what is the most certain of all the elements of the chronology of this time, viz. that the twelve years' reign of Jehoram son of Ahab, and the few months' reign of Ahaziah, the successor of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat, ended simultaneously at the accession of Jehu.[4]

KINGS OF ISRAEL.		KINGS OF JUDAH.
Ahab (reigned 19 yrs.) 1st yr.	=	Asa (reigned 41 yrs.), 38th, 1 K. xvi. 29.
Ahab. . . . . 4th yr.	=	Jehoshaphat (reigned 22 yrs.), 1st, 1 K. xxii. 41.
Ahab. . . last and 19th yr.	=	Jehoshaphat . . 16th, ib. 51.
Ahaziah (reigned 2 yrs.) 1st yr.	=	Jehoshaphat, 17th, 1 K. xxii. 51.
Ahaziah. . . . . 2nd yr. and Jehoram (reigned 12 yrs.) 1st yr.	=	Jehoshaphat, 18th, 2 K. iii. 1.
Jehoram . . . . 5th yr.	=	Jehoshaphat, last and 22nd; and Jehoram (reigned 8 yrs.) 1st, 2 K. [viii. 16.
Jehoram . . . 6th yr. Elijah carried up to heaven	=	Jehoram, 2nd, 2 K. i. 17, ii.; 2 Ch. xxi. 12.
Jehoram . . . 12th yr.	=	Jehoram, 8th, 2 K. viii. 17; and Ahaziah (reigned 1 yr.), 1st, [2 K. viii. 26.

2. King of Judah, the eldest son of Jehoshaphat, in whose lifetime, and in the fifth year of Jehoram king of Israel, he began to reign, at the age of thirty-two, and he reigned eight years (2 K. viii. 16, 17; 2 Ch. xxi. 1–5), from B.C. 893–2—885–4 [Riehm, 852–845]. [JEHORAM, 1.] Jehosheba his daughter was wife to the high-priest Jehoiada. The ill effects of his marriage with Athaliah the daughter of Ahab (2 K. viii. 18; 2 Ch. xxi. 6), and the influence of that second Jezebel upon him, were immediately apparent. As soon as he was fixed on the throne, he put his six brothers to death, with many of the chief nobles of the land (2 Ch. xxi. 4, 13). He then proceeded to establish the worship of Baal and other abominations, and to enforce the practice of idolatry by persecution. A prophetic writing from the aged Elijah (2 Ch. xxi. 12), the last recorded act of that prophet, reproving him for his crimes and his impiety, and foretelling the most grievous judgments upon his person and his kingdom, failed to produce any good effect upon him. This was in the first or second year of his reign. The remainder of it was a series of calamities. First the Edomites, who had been tributary to Jehoshaphat, revolted from his dominion, and established their permanent independence (2 K. viii. 20–22; 2 Ch. xxi. 8–10). It was as much as Jehoram could do, by a night-attack with all his forces, to extricate himself from their army, which had surrounded him. Next, the priestly city Libnah, one of the strongest fortified cities in Judah (2 K. xix. 8), indignant at his cruelties, and abhorring his apostasy, rebelled against him (2 K. viii. 22; 2 Ch. xxi. 10). Then followed invasions of armed bands of Philistines and of Arabians (the same who paid tribute to Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. xvii. 11), who burst into Judaea, stormed the king's palace, put his wives and all his children, except his youngest son Ahaziah, to death (2 Ch. xxii. 1), or carried them into captivity, and plundered all his treasures (2 Ch. xxi. 16, 17). To crown all, a terrible and incurable disease in his bowels fell upon him, of which after two years of misery he died, unregretted. He went down to a dishonoured grave in the prime of life, without either private or public mourning, and, though buried in the city of David, without a resting-place in the sepulchres of his fathers (2 Ch. xxi. 18–20). He died early in the twelfth year of his brother-in-law Jehoram's reign over Israel, and was succeeded by his son Ahaziah. [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

3. (B. Ἰωράν, A. Ἰωράμ; *Joran.*) One of two priests sent by king Jehoshaphat in the third year of his reign, along with nine Levites and five princes, to teach the Law in the cities of Judah (2 Ch. xvii. 8). [C. H.]

JEHOSHABE'ATH (יְהוֹשַׁבְעַת; B. Ἰωσαβεέ, A. Ἰωσαβέθ; *Josabeth*): the form in which the name of JEHOSHEBA is given in 2 Ch. xxii. 11, where only we are informed that she was the wife of Jehoiada the high-priest. [JEHOSHEBA.]

JEHO-SHA'PHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט = *Jehovah hath judged*; Ἰωσαφάτ; *Josaphat*). **1.** King of Judah; the son of Asa and Azubah (1 K. xxii. 42; 2 Ch. xx. 31). He succeeded Asa, in the fourth year of Ahab king of Israel (1 K. xxii. 41), when he was thirty-five years old and reigned twenty-five years (Riehm, B.C. 877–853). His history is to be found among the events recorded in 1 K. xv. 24, xxii.; 2 K. iii. 7–14, xii. 18; and in a continuous and fuller narrative in 2 Ch. xvii.–xxi. The rest of his acts were recorded in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah (1 K. xxii. 45) and in the Book of Jehu the son of Hanani (1 Ch. xx. 34). He was contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram, kings of Israel. At first he strengthened himself against Israel by fortifying and garrisoning the cities of Judah and the Ephraimite conquests of Asa. But soon afterwards the two Hebrew kings, perhaps appreciating their common danger from Damascus and the tribes on their eastern frontier, came to an understanding. Israel and Judah drew together (1 K. xxii. 2–4; 2 Ch. xviii. 2, 3) for the first time since they parted at Shechem sixty years previously. Jehoshaphat's eldest son Jehoram married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (1 K. viii. 18; 2 Ch. xxi. 6). A comparison of dates and ages shows that the marriage occurred in the lifetime of Jehoshaphat, but it does not appear how far he encouraged it. The closeness of the alliance between the two kings is shown by many circumstances:—Elijah's reluctance when in exile to set foot within the territory of Judah (Blunt, *Und. Coinc.* ii. § 19, p. 199); the identity of names given to the children of the two royal families; the admission of names compounded with the name of Jehovah into the family of Jezebel, the zealous worshipper of Baal; and the extreme alacrity with which Jehoshaphat afterwards accompanied Ahab to the field of battle.

But in his own kingdom Jehoshaphat ever showed himself a zealous follower of the commandments of God: he tried, it would seem not quite successfully, to put down the high places in which the people of Judah used to burn incense (1 K. xxii. 43; 2 Ch. xix. 3, xx. 33). The Chronicler adds much that is interest-

[4] See another table in Riehm, *HWB.*, "Zeittrechnung," p. 1822.—F.

ing, and which is not to be set aside as the projection of later ideas on early times. In his third year, apprehending perhaps the evil example of Israelitish idolatry, and considering that the Levites were not fulfilling satisfactorily their function of teaching the people, Jehoshaphat sent out a commission of certain princes, priests, and Levites, to go through the cities of Judah, teaching the people out of the Book of the Law (2 Ch. xvii. 7–9). He made separate provision for each of his sons as they grew up, perhaps with a foreboding of their melancholy end (2 Ch. xxi. 4). Riches and honours increased around him. He received tribute from the Philistines and Arabians, and kept up a large standing army in Jerusalem (2 Ch. xvii. 10–19).

It was probably about the 16th year of his reign when he went to Samaria to visit Ahab and to become his ally in the great battle of Ramoth-gilead (1 K. xxii. 2–33; 2 Ch. xviii. 2–32)—not very decisive in its result, and fatal to Ahab. From thence Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem in peace; and, after receiving a rebuke from the prophet Jehu, went himself through the people "from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim," reclaiming them to the Law of God (2 Ch. xix. 1–4). He also took measures for the better administration of justice, ecclesiastical and civil, throughout his dominions (*vv.* 5–11); on which see Selden, *De Synedriis*, ii. cap. 8, § 4. Turning his attention to foreign commerce, he built at Ezion-geber, with the help of Ahaziah, a navy designed to go to Tarshish (cp. *Speaker's Comm.*, Keil, and Oettli on 2 Ch. xx. 36); but in accordance with a prediction of a prophet Eliezer, it was wrecked at Ezion-geber (2 Ch. xx. 35–37); and Jehoshaphat resisted Ahaziah's proposal to renew their joint attempt.

Before the close of his reign he was engaged in two additional wars. He was miraculously delivered from a threatened attack of the people of Ammon, Moab, and Seir (2 Ch. xx. 1–28); the result of which is thought by some critics to be celebrated in Pss. xlviii. and xcii., and to be alluded to by the Prophet Joel (iii. 2, 12). Those invaders coming by the ascent of Ziz must have entered Judah from the Salt Sea at Engedi; and the Israelite army, advancing from Jerusalem some ten miles southward towards the Wilderness of Tekoa, saw them dead in the valley of Berachah midway between Bethlehem and Hebron. After this, perhaps, must be dated the war which Jehoshaphat, in conjunction with Jehoram king of Israel and the king of Edom, carried on against the rebellious king of Moab (2 K. iii. 4–27). The kings of Israel and Judah reached Moab, not at the north of that country, at the Arnon border, but at the south of it, arriving by way of Hebron and round the lower bay of the Salt Sea at the Wâdy Kurahy or Ahsy at the S.E. corner, where they would unite with Edom, which was there divided from Moab. After this the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet. In his declining years the administration of affairs was placed in the hands of his son Jehoram; to whom, as Ussher conjectures, the same charge had been temporarily committed during Jehoshaphat's absence at Ramoth-gilead.

Like the prophets with whom he was brought into contact, we cannot describe the character of this good king without a mixture of blame. Eminently pious, gentle, just, devoted to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his subjects, active in mind and body, he was wanting in firmness and consistency.

2. (B. Ἰωσαφάτ, Ἰωσαφάθ; A. Ἰωσαφάτ, Ἰωσάφ.) Son of Ahilud, who filled the office of recorder or annalist in the court of David (2 Sam. viii. 16, xx. 24; 1 Ch. xviii. 15), and afterwards of Solomon (1 K. iv. 3). The marginal alternatives of "recorder" are in A. V. "remembrancer," "writer of chronicles;" in R. V. "chronicler." [RECORDER.] Such officers are found not only in the courts of the Hebrew kings, but also in those of ancient and modern Persia, of the Eastern Roman Empire (Gesenius), of China, &c. (Keil). An instance of the use made of their writings is given in Esth. vi. 1.

3. (Ἰωσαφάτ.) One of seven priests (1 Ch. xv. 24) appointed by David to blow trumpets before the Ark in its transit from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem.

4. (B. omits, A. Ἰωσαφάτ.) Son of Paruah; one of the twelve purveyors of king Solomon (1 K. iv. 17), his district being Issachar.

5. (B. Ἰωσαφάθ, A. Ἰωσαφάτ.) Son of Nimshi, and father of king Jehu (2 K. ix. 2, 14).

[W. T. B.] [C. H.]

JEHO-SHA'PHAT, VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק יְהוֹשָׁפָט; Κοιλὰς Ἰωσαφάτ; *Vallis Josaphat*), a valley mentioned by the prophet Joel only, as the spot in which, after the return of Judah and Jerusalem from captivity, Jehovah would gather all the heathen (Joel iii. 2; *Heb.* iv. 2), and would there sit to judge them for their misdeeds to Israel (iii. 12; *Heb.* v. 4). The passage is one of great boldness, abounding in the verbal turns in which Hebrew poetry so much delights, and in particular there is a play between the name given to the spot—Jehoshaphat, *i.e.* "Jehovah's judgment"—and the "judgment" there to be pronounced. The Hebrew Prophets often refer to the ancient glories of their nation: thus Isaiah speaks of "the day of Midian," and of the triumphs of David and of Joshua in "Mount Perazim" and in the "Valley of Gibeon;" and in like manner Joel, in announcing the vengeance to be taken on the strangers who were annoying his country (iii. 14), seems to have glanced back to that triumphant day when king Jehoshaphat, the greatest king the nation had seen since Solomon, and the greatest champion of Jehovah, led out his people to a valley in the wilderness of Tekoah, and was there blessed with such a victory over the hordes of his enemies as was without a parallel in the national records (2 Ch. xx.).

But though such a reference to Jehoshaphat is both natural and characteristic, it is not certain that it is intended (cp. Orelli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* on Joel *l. c.*). The name may be only an imaginary one conferred on a spot which existed nowhere but in the vision of the Prophet. Such was the view of some of the ancient translators. Thus Theodotion renders it χώρα κρίσεως; and so the Targum of Jonathan—"the plain of the division of judgment." Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelehrten*, Remarks on Joel) takes a similar view, and considers the passage to be a prediction of the Maccabean victories. By others, however, the

Prophet has been supposed to have the end of the world in view. And not only this, but the scene of "Jehovah's judgment" has been localised, and the name has come down to us attached to the deep ravine which separates Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives. At what period the name was first applied to this spot is not known. There is no trace of it in the Bible or in Josephus. In both the only name used for this gorge is KIDRON (N. T. CEDRON). We first encounter its new title in the middle of the 4th century in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome (s. v. Κοιλὰς Ἰωσαφάτ, *OS.*[2] p. 272, 89; p. 145, 13); in the Commentary of the latter Father on Joel; and in the *Itin. Hierosol.* Eucherius (*c.* A.D. 440) has *Geennon sive vallis Josaphat*, and in the 6th cent. it was also known as the "Valley of Gethsemane" (Ant. Mart. xvii.). Since that time the name has been recognised and adopted by travellers of all ages and all faiths. It is used by Christians—as Arculf about 670 (*Early Trav.* p. 4), the author of the *Citez de Iherusalem* in 1187 (Rob. ii. 562), and Maundrell in 1697 (*E. Trav.* p. 469); and by Jews, as Benjamin of Tudela, about 1170 (Asher, i. 71; and see Reland, *Pal.* p. 356). By the Muslims it is called *Wâdy Jahannum*, but it is commonly known as the *W. Sitti Maryam*, from the "Tomb of the Virgin"; or *W. el-Jôs*, possibly an abbreviation of Jehoshaphat. According to Seetzen (ii. 23, 26) it bears the name of *W. Jûshafat* or *Shafat*. Both Muslims and Jews believe that the last judgment is to take place there. To find a grave there is the dearest wish of the latter (Briggs, *Heathen and Holy Lands*, p. 290); and the former show—as they have shown for certainly two centuries—the place on which Muhammad is to be seated at the Last Judgment, a stone jutting out from the east wall of the Haram area near the south corner, one of the pillars[a] which once adorned the churches of Helena or Justinian, and of which multitudes are now embedded in the rude masonry of the more modern walls of Jerusalem. The steep sides of the ravine, wherever a level strip affords the opportunity, are crowded—in places almost paved—by the sepulchres of the Muslims, or by the simpler slabs of the Jewish tombs, alike awaiting the assembly of the Last Judgment.

So narrow and precipitous[b] a glen is quite unsuited for such an event; but this inconsistency does not appear to have disturbed those who framed, or those who hold, the tradition. It is however implied in the Hebrew terms employed in the two cases. That by Joel is *'Emek* (עֵמֶק), a word applied to spacious valleys, such as those of Esdraelon or Gibeon (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 1). On the other hand the ravine of the Kidron is invariably designated by *Nachal* (נַחַל), answering to the modern Arabic *Wâdy*. There is no instance in the O. T. of these two terms being convertible, and this fact alone would warrant the inference that the tradition of the identity of the Emek of Jehoshaphat and the Nachal Kedron did not arise until Hebrew had begun to become a dead language.[c] The grounds on which it did arise were probably two:—1. The frequent mention throughout this passage of Joel of Mount Zion, Jerusalem, and the Temple (ii. 32; iii. 1, 6, 16, 17, 18), may have led to the belief that the locality of the great judgment would be in their immediate neighbourhood. This would be assisted by the mention of the Mount of Olives in the somewhat similar passage in Zechariah (xiv. 3, 4).

2. The belief that Christ would reappear in judgment on the Mount of Olives, from which He had ascended. This was at one time a received article of Christian belief, and was grounded on the words of the Angels, "He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven"[d] (Adrichomius, *Theatr. Ter. Sanctae*, Jerusalem, § 192; Corn. à Lapide on Acts i.).

There is the alternative that the valley of Jehoshaphat was really an ancient name of the Valley of the Kedron; and that, from the name, the connexion with Joel's prophecy and the belief in its being the scene of Jehovah's last judgment have followed. This may be so; but then we should expect to find some trace of the existence of the name before the 4th century after Christ. It was certainly used as a burying-place as early as the reign of Josiah (2 K. xxiii. 6), but no inference can fairly be drawn from this.

But whatever originated the tradition, it has held its ground most firmly. (*a.*) In the valley itself, one of the four remarkable monuments which exist at the foot of Olivet was at a very early date connected with Jehoshaphat. At Arculf's visit (about 670) the name appears to have been borne by that now called "Absalom's tomb," but then the "tower of Jehoshaphat;" whilst the present "tomb of Jehoshaphat" was assigned to Simeon and Joseph (*E. Trav.* p. 4). In the time of Maundrell the "tomb of Jehoshaphat" was, what it still is, an excavation, with an architectural front, in the face of the rock behind "Absalom's tomb" (*E. Trav.* p. 469). A photograph of the tomb has been published in the series of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The name may, as already observed, really point to Jehoshaphat himself, though not to his *tomb*, as he was buried, like the other kings, in the city

[a] This pillar is said to be called *et-Tarîk*, "the road" (De Saulcy, *Voyage*, ii. 199). From it will spring the Bridge of *es-Sirât*, the crossing of which is to test the true believers. Those who cannot stand the test will drop off into the abyss of Gehenna in the depths of the valley (Ali Bey, 224–6; Mejr ed-Dîn in Rob. i. 269). According to Muslim tradition, all mankind will be assembled for judgment on the plain *es-Sâhirah*, near the Church of the Ascension (Mukadassi) or to the north of Jerusalem (Mejr ed-Dîn).

[b] St. Cyril (of Alexandria) either did not know the spot, or has another Valley in his eye; probably the former. He describes it as not many stadia from Jerusalem; and says he is told (φησι) that it is "bare and apt for horses" (ψιλὸν καὶ ἱππήλατον, *Comm. on Joel*, quoted by Reland, p. 355). Perhaps this indicates that the tradition was not at that time quite fixed.

[c] It appears in the Targum on Cant. viii. 1.

[d] In Sir John Maundeville a different reason is given for the same. "Very near this"—the place where Christ wept over Jerusalem—"is the stone on which our Lord sat when He preached; and on that same stone shall He sit on the day of doom, right as He said Himself." Bernard the Wise, in the 8th century, speaks of the church of St. Leon, in the Valley, "where our Lord will come to judgment" (*Early Trav.* p. 28).

of David (2 Ch. xxi. 1). (*b.*) One of the gates of the city in the east wall, opening on the valley, bore the same name. This is plain from the *Citez de Iherusalem*, where the present St. Stephen's Gate is called the *Porte de Josafas*, and the street leading westward from it the *Rue de Josafas* (§§ 22–24; cp. J. of Würzburg, xvi.). Mention is also made in the *Citez de I.* (§ 13) of a "postern," called the *Porte de Josafas*, which was to the left, or north of the Golden Gate, and probably the same gate as that just mentioned. It cannot be the supposed walled-up doorway, 50 ft. south of the Golden Gate, to which M. de Saulcy has given the name *Póterne de Josaphat*. This "postern," if it be a doorway, is of comparatively modern date, and perhaps marks the position of the *Bab el-Burak* of Mejr ed-Dîn (*Notes to O. S. of Jerusalem*, p. 25; and PEF. photograph).

The name would seem to be generally confined by travellers to the upper part of the glen, from about the "Tomb of the Virgin" to the south-east corner of the wall of Jerusalem. [TOMBS.] [G.] [W.]

JEHO-SHEBA (יְהוֹשֶׁבַע; LXX. Ἰωσάβεε, Joseph. Ἰωσαβεθή), daughter of Jehoram king of Israel, and wife of Jehoiada the high-priest (2 K. xi. 2; 2 Ch. xxii. 11). Her name in the Chronicles is given JEHOSHABEATH. It thus exactly resembles the name of the only two other wives of Jewish priests who are known to us, viz. ELISHEBA (LXX. and N. T. Ἐλισαβέτ, whence our Elisabeth), the wife of Aaron, Ex. vi. 23, and the wife of Zechariah, Luke i. 7. In the former case the word signifies "Jehovah's oath;" in the second, "God's oath."

As she is called (2 K. xi. 2) "the daughter of *Joram*, sister of Ahaziah," it has been conjectured that she was the daughter, not of Athaliah, but of Jehoram, by another wife; and Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 7, § 1) calls her Ὀχοζία ὁμοπάτριος ἀδελφή. This may be; but it is also possible that the omission of Athaliah's name may have been occasioned by the detestation in which it was held,—in the same way as modern commentators have, for the same reason, eagerly embraced this hypothesis. That it is not absolutely needed is shown by the fact that the worship of Jehovah was tolerated under the reigns both of Jehoram and Athaliah—and that the name of Jehovah was incorporated into both of their names.

She is the only recorded instance of the marriage of a princess of the royal house with a high-priest. On this occasion it was a providential circumstance ("for she was the sister of Ahaziah," 2 Ch. xxii. 11), as inducing and probably enabling her to rescue the infant Joash from the massacre of his brothers. By her, he and his nurse were concealed in the palace, and afterwards in the Temple (2 K. xi. 2, 3; 2 Ch. xxii. 11), where he was brought up probably with her sons (2 Ch. xxiii. 11), who assisted at his coronation. One of these was Zechariah, who succeeded her husband in his office, and was afterwards murdered (2 Ch. xxiv. 20). The "bed-chamber" of this narrative is explained as the "chamber of mattresses" in the palace, a room belonging to an Eastern abode at this day, wherein those articles and what pertained to them were stored, a convenient refuge for the child in the first moments of danger (Keil, *Comm.* in loc.; Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* in loc.; Stanley, *Jewish Ch.* ii. 39 [1883]). "With her hid in the house of the Lord," may refer to the high-priest's abode in the Temple precincts (Keil), or to some building in the high-priest's charge adjoining the Temple (Ewald).

[A. P. S.] [C. H.]

JEHO-SHU'A (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ; Ἰησοῦς; *Josue*). In this form—contracted in the Hebrew, but fuller than usual in the A. V.—is given the name of Joshua in Num. xiii. 16, on the occasion of its bestowal by Moses. The addition of the name of Jehovah probably marks the recognition by Moses of the important part taken in the affair of the spies by him, who till this time had been Hoshea, "help," but was henceforward to be Jeho-shua, "Jehovah is help" (Ewald, ii. 306). Once more only the name appears in its full form in the A. V.—this time with a redundant letter—as

JEHO-SHU'AH (the Heb. is as above; Ἰησουέ, in both MSS.; *Josue*), in the genealogy of Ephraim (1 Ch. vii. 27). We should be thankful to the translators of the A. V. for giving the first syllables of this great name their full form, if only in these two cases; though why in these only it is difficult to understand. Nor is it easier to see whence they got the final *h* in the latter of the two. [G.]

JEHO'VAH (יְהוָה; so the word is usually pointed, with the vowels of אֲדֹנָי; but when the two occur together, the former is pointed יְהוִה- that is, with the vowels of אֱלֹהִים, as in Obad. i. 1, Hab. iii. 19. The LXX. generally render it by Κύριος, the Vulgate by *Dominus*; and in this respect they have been followed by the A. V., where it is translated "The LORD"). The true pronunciation of this Name, which, strictly speaking, is the proper Name of the God of Israel, has been entirely lost, the Jews themselves scrupulously avoiding every mention of it, and reading in its stead one or other of the words with whose proper vowel-points it may happen to be written. This custom, which had its origin in reverence, but degenerated into a superstition, was founded upon an erroneous construction of Lev. xxiv. 16 (see Targ. Onk. ad loc.), from which it was inferred that the mere utterance of the Name constituted a capital offence. In the Rabbinical writings it is distinguished by various euphemistic expressions; as simply "the Name," or "the Name of four letters" (the Greek *tetragrammaton*); "the great and terrible Name;" "the peculiar Name," *i.e.* appropriated to God alone; "the separate Name," *i.e.* either the Name which is separated or removed from human knowledge, or, as some render, "the Name which has been interpreted or revealed" (שֵׁם הַמְפוֹרָשׁ, *shém hammephōrâsh*). The Samaritans followed the same custom, and in reading the Pentateuch substituted for Jehovah שְׁמָא, *shĕmâ*, "the Name," at the same time perpetuating the practice in their alphabetical poems and later writings (cp. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 262). According to Jewish tradition, it was pronounced but once a year by the high-priest on the day

of Atonement when he entered the Holy of Holies; but on this point there is some doubt, Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 61) asserting that the use of the word was confined to the blessings of the priests, and restricted to the sanctuary, without limiting it still further to the high-priest alone. On the same authority we learn that its use ceased with Simeon the Just (*Yad. Chaz.* c. 14, § 10), having lasted through two generations, that of the men of the Great Synagogue and the age of *shemed* (*i.e.* apostasy or persecution); while others include the generation of Zedekiah among those who possessed the use of the *shêm hammephōrāsh* (Midrash on Ps. xxxvi. 11, quoted by Buxtorf in Reland's *Decas Exercit.*). But even after the destruction of the second Temple we meet with reports of individuals who were credited with knowledge of the secret. A certain Bar Kamzar is mentioned in the Mishna (*Yoma*, iii. § 11) who was able to write this Name of God; but even on such evidence we may conclude, that after the second siege of Jerusalem, and probably at an earlier period, the Divine Name had passed altogether out of popular use. Josephus, who was a priest, professes a religious scruple about revealing this holy Name (*Ant.* ii. 12, § 4); and Philo states (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. p. 519) that for those alone whose ears and tongue were purged by wisdom 'was it lawful to hear or utter it. It is evident therefore that no reference to Jewish writers can be expected to decide the question of its exact sound. At the same time the discussion of the probable ancient pronunciation may prove to be interesting; and as it is one in which great names are ranged on both sides, it would for this reason alone be impertinent to dismiss it with a cursory notice. In Reland's *Decade of Dissertations*, Fuller, Gataker, and Leusden do battle for the pronunciation Jehovah, against such formidable antagonists as Drusius, Amama, Cappellus, Buxtorf, and Alting, who, it is scarcely necessary to say, fairly beat their opponents out of the field; the only argument, in fact, of any weight, which is employed by the advocates of the pronunciation of the word as it is written, being that derived from the form in which it appears in proper names, such as Jehoshaphat, which, however, is simply due to the shifting of the accent. Their antagonists make a strong point of the fact that, as has been noticed above, two different sets of vowels are applied to the same consonants according to circumstances. To this Leusden, of all the champions on his side, but feebly replies. The same may be said of replies to the argument derived from the fact that the letters מוכלב, when prefixed to יהוה, take, not the vowels which they would regularly receive were the present punctuation true, but those with which they would be written if יְאֲדֹנָי, *'adōnâi*, were the reading; and that the letters ordinarily taking *dagesh lene* when following יהוה would, according to the rules of the Hebrew points, if *Jehovah* were correctly vocalized, be written without dagesh, whereas it is uniformly inserted. Whatever, therefore, be the true pronunciation of the word, the usage of the Masorets themselves indicates that it is not *Jehovah*.

In Greek writers it appears under the several forms of Ἰαώ (Diod. Sic. i. 94; Irenaeus, i. 4, § 1), Ἰευώ (Porphyry in Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.* i. 9, § 21), Ἰαού (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 666), and in a catena to the Pentateuch in a MS. at Turin Ἰὰ *obé*. Both Theodoret (*Quaest.* 15 *in Exod.*) and Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* 20) give Ἰαβέ, the former distinguishing it as the pronunciation of the Samaritans, while Ἀϊά represented that of the Jews. Of these forms, Ἰαώ and Ἰαού may both have arisen from יָהוּ (*yāhū*), the second element in so many Hebrew proper names; Ἰευώ is perhaps an attempt to render a pronunciation יְהוֹה (*Yehwōh*) which might have succeeded יְהוָה (*Yahwāh*); cp. יְהוּא, Jehu, Assyrian *Ya-u-a*. Ἀϊά has the look of a Greek imitation of אהיה (*'ähyäh* or *'ehyéh*), "I am" (Ex. iii. 14), but another MS. reads Ἰά, that is, apparently, יָהּ, Jah (*Yāh*), which occurs in the O. T. as an independent Name; while Ἰαβέ seems to preserve the pronunciation יַהְוֶה (*Yahwăh* or *Yahwéh*), as nearly as Greek writing allows. Epiphanius, in fact, expressly states that Ἰαβέ was the Name interpreted by God Himself to Moses (Ex. vi. 3). Lastly, the *Jaho* of pseudo-Jerome (*Brev. in Psalt.* Ps. viii.) seems to be only a Latin modification of Ἰαώ.

The conjectures of the moderns may next be reviewed. It will be better perhaps to ascend from the most improbable hypotheses to those which carry with them more show of reason, and thus prepare the way for the considerations which will follow.

I. Von Bohlen unhesitatingly asserts that beyond all doubt the word Jehovah is not Semitic in its origin. Pinning his faith upon the Abraxas gems of the Gnostics, in which he finds it in the form *Jao*, he connects it with the Sanscrit *devas*, the Greek Διός, and Latin *Jovis* or *Diovis*. But, apart from the consideration that his authority is at least questionable, he omits to explain the striking phenomenon that the older form which has the *d* should be preserved in the younger languages, the Greek and ancient Latin, while not a trace of it appears in the Hebrew. It would be desirable also, before a philological argument of this nature is admitted, that the relation between the Semitic and Aryan families of speech should be more clearly established. In the absence of this, any inferences which may be drawn from apparent resemblances (the resemblance in the present case not being even apparent) will lead to certain error. That the Hebrews learned the Name of their God from the Egyptians is a theory which has found some advocates. The foundations for this theory are sufficiently slight. As has been mentioned above, Diodorus (i. 94) gives the Greek form Ἰαώ; and from this it has been inferred that Ἰαώ was a deity of the Egyptians, whereas nothing can be clearer from the context than that the historian is speaking specially of the God of the Jews. Again, in Macrobius (*Sat.* i. c. 18), a line is quoted from an oracular response of Apollo Clarius,

φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν' Ἰαῶ,

which has been made use of for the same purpose. But Jablonsky (*Panth. Aeg.* ii. § 5) has proved incontestably that the author of the

verses from which the above is quoted, was one of the Judaizing Gnostics, who were in the habit of making the names Ἰαῶ and Σεβαώθ the subjects of mystical speculations. The Ophites, who were Egyptians, are known to have given the name Ἰαῶ to the moon (Neander, *Gnost.* 252), but this, as Tholuck suggests, may have arisen from the fact that in Coptic the moon is called *ioh* (*Vern. Schriften*, Th. i. 385); just as the absurd fable that the Jews worshipped an ass or the head of an ass probably arose from the fact that *ioh* is Coptic for ass. Movers (*Phoen.* i. 540), while defending the genuineness of the passage of Macrobius, connects Ἰαῶ, which denotes the Sun or Dionysus, with the root חוה, so that it signifies "the life-giver" (?). In any case, the fact that the name Ἰαῶ is found among the Greeks and Egyptians, or among the Orientals of Further Asia, in the 2nd or 3rd century, cannot be made use of as an argument that the Hebrews derived their knowledge of the Name of their own God from any one of these nations. On the contrary, there can be but little doubt that the process in reality was reversed, and that in this case the Hebrews were, not the borrowers, but the lenders. We have indisputable evidence that it existed among them, whatever may have been its origin, many centuries before it is found in other records; of the contrary we have no evidence whatever.

Rémusat supposed that a Chinese phonetic spelling of "Jehovah" was actually to be found in the 14th chapter of the Tao Teh King of Lao Tsze, the contemporary of Confucius (*Mém. sur la Vie et les Opinions de Lâo-Tsze*, Paris, 1823). M. Rémusat translates the passage as follows:—"Celui que vous regardez et que vous ne voyez pas, se nomme *j*; celui que vous écoutez et que vous n'entendez pas, se nomme *Hi*; celui que votre main cherche et qu'elle ne peut pas saisir, se nomme *Wei*. Ce sont trois êtres qu'on ne peut comprendre, et qui, confondus, n'en font qu'un." This strange misapplication of three technical terms of Chinese metaphysics, which appears to have originated with certain Romish missionaries in the 17th century, was exploded by Stanislas Julien in his version of the Tao Teh King (*Le Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu*, Paris, 1842. See Legge, *Encyc. Britann.* s. v. Lao-Tsze). Equally groundless is the identification suggested in a letter from the missionary Plaisant to the Vicar Apostolic Boucho, dated 18th Feb. 1847, which mentions a tradition existing among a tribe in the jungles of Burmah, that the divine being was called *Jova* or *Kara-Jova*, and that the peculiarities of the Jehovah of the Old Testament were attributed to him (Reinke, *Beiträge*, iii. 65). The inscription in front of the temple of Isis at Saïs quoted by Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* § 9), "I am all that hath been, and that is, and that shall be," which has been employed as an argument to prove that the Name Jehovah was known among the Egyptians, is mentioned neither by Herodotus, Diodorus, nor Strabo; and Proclus, who does allude to it, says it was in the adytum of the temple. But, even if it be genuine, its authority is worthless for the purpose for which it is adduced. For, supposing that Jehovah is the Name to which such meaning is attached, it follows rather that the Egyptians borrowed it and learned its significance from the Jews, unless it can be proved that both in Egyptian and Hebrew the same combination of letters conveyed the same idea. Without, however, having recourse to any hypothesis of this kind, the peculiarity of the inscription is sufficiently explained by the Pantheism which is known to have characterised the decline of Egyptian religion (Renouf, *Hibbert Lect.*, pp. 230 sqq.). The advocates of the Egyptian origin of the Name have shown no lack of ingenuity in summoning to their aid authorities the most unpromising. A passage from a treatise on interpretation (*περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, § 71), written by one Demetrius, in which it is said that the Egyptians hymned their gods by means of the seven vowels, has been tortured to give evidence on the point. Scaliger was in doubt whether it referred to Serapis, called by Hesychius "Serapis of seven letters" (*τὸ ἑπταγράμματον Σαράπις*), or to the exclamation יְהוֹה הוּא, *hû' yehôváh*, "He is Jehovah." But the gloss in Hesychius is Ἑπταγράμματον. *τὸ ὀργίλον. ἢ σκληρόν. καὶ Σάραπιν*; which may be explained like the Latin phrase *homo trium literarum* (i.e. *fur*). Sarapis, like the two disparaging epithets which precede it in the gloss, is a *heptagram* or word of seven letters, including vowels and consonants. The citation, therefore, has clearly no bearing on our subject. Gesner took the seven Greek vowels, and, arranging them in the order ΙΕΗΩΟΤΑ, found therein Jehovah. But he was triumphantly refuted by Didymus, who maintained that the vowels were merely used for musical notes, and in this very probable conjecture he is supported by the Milesian inscription elucidated by Barthélemy and others. In this the invocation of God is denoted by the seven vowels five times repeated in different arrangements, Αεηιουω, Εηιουωα, Ηιουωαε, Ιουωαεη, Ουωαεηι: each group of vowels precedes a "holy" (ἅγιε), and the whole concludes with the following: "The city of the Milesians and all the inhabitants are guarded by Archangels." Müller, with much probability, concludes that the seven vowels represented the seven notes of the octave. Another argument for the Egyptian origin of Jehovah is found in the circumstance that Pharaoh changed the name of Eliakim to Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiii. 34), which it is asserted is not in accordance with the practice of conquerors towards the conquered, unless the Egyptian king imposed upon the king of Judah the name of one of his own gods. But the same reasoning would prove that the origin of the word was Babylonian, for the king of Babylon changed the name of Mattaniah to Zedekiah (2 K. xxiv. 17). Of late, again, it has been suggested that יהוה, "He Who Is" or "Becometh," is a Hebrew version of the Egyptian Cheperâ, the god who is always "becoming," *i.e.* the Sun, symbolised by the scarabaeus, which in Egyptian was also called *cheperâ*. But evidence of connexion between the two names is entirely wanting; apart from the fact that the original meaning of the Hebrew Name is far from certain (see also Renouf, *Hib. Lect.* pp. 243 sqq.).

But many, abandoning as untenable the theory of an Egyptian origin, have sought to trace the Name among the Phoenicians and Canaanitish tribes. In support of this, Hartmann brings forward a passage from a pretended fragment

of Sanchoniathon quoted by Philo Byblius, a writer of the age of Nero. But it is now generally admitted that the so-called fragments of Sanchoniathon, the ancient Phoenician chronicler, are impudent forgeries concocted by Philo Byblius himself. Besides, the passage to which Hartmann refers is not found in Philo Byblius, but is quoted from Porphyry by Eusebius (*Praep. Evan.* i. 9, § 21), and, genuine or not, evidently alludes to the Jehovah of the Jews. It is there stated that the most trustworthy authority in matters connected with the Jews was Sanchoniathon of Beyrout, who received his information from Hierombalos (*Jerubbaal*), the priest of the god 'Ιευώ. From the occurrence of Jehovah as a compound in the proper names of many who were not Hebrews, Hamaker (*Misc. Phoen.*, p. 174, &c.) contends that it must have been known among heathen peoples. But such knowledge, if it existed, was no more than might have been obtained by their necessary contact with the Hebrews. The names of Uri*ah* the Hittite, of Araunah or Aran*jah* the Jebusite, of Tobi*ah* the Ammonite, and of the Canaanitish town Bizjothjah, may thus be all explained without having recourse to Hamaker's hypothesis. Besides, Araunah is doubtful, as its variants show, and Bizjothjah is a mere corruption of וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ, "and her daughters," as the LXX. shows (Josh. xv. 28). No certain instance, in fact, can be adduced of Jah compounded with a local name. Of as little value is his appeal to 1 K. v. 7, where we find the Name Jehovah in the mouth of Hiram, king of Tyre. Apart from the consideration that Hiram would necessarily be acquainted with the Name as that of the Hebrews' national God, its occurrence is sufficiently explained by the tenor of Solomon's message (1 K. v. 3–5). Another point on which Hamaker relies for support is the name Ἀβδαῖος, which occurs as that of a Tyrian suffete in Menander (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 21), and which he identifies with Obadiah (עֹבַדְיָה). But both Fürst and Hengstenberg represent it in Hebrew characters by עַבְדִּי, *'abdai*, which even Hamaker thinks more probable.* While, however, it must be admitted that no trace of יהוה, as a Canaanitish deity, can be specified, and while therefore we agree with Kuenen and others that this Name, in fact, designates the national God of Israel as distinct from the gods of Canaan, the same can hardly be affirmed of יה and יהו, which are usually regarded as contractions of the fuller form יהוה. Already in the tablets of *Tell al-Amarna* (15th cent. B.C.) we meet with such names as Arzau-ya, Wid(?)-ya (governor of Ashkelon), and Bi-i-ya (*i.e.* perhaps Abī-yah), which seem to imply that *Yahu* or *Yah* really was a Divine name known to the peoples of Canaan before the Exodus. The evidence of numerous Babylonian contract tablets of a later period points likewise to the conclusion that this Name was known to other Semitic nations besides Israel. It is difficult to suppose that all such names as *Kittia* or *Kittîya*, "son of Ea's priest"—to cite a tablet in the writer's collection (*PSBA.* Feb. 1892)—are those of Jews settled in Babylonia. *Kittîya*, from *kittu*, "righteousness," is an exact Babylonian parallel to the Hebrew Zedekiah (*Ṣidqîya*). Quite recently Mr. Pinches has found the name *Bel-Yaū* in one of these documents, which means, apparently, "Bel is Yah," like the Heb. בְּעַלְיָה, "Baal is Jah." (See *PSBA.* Nov. 1892.)

II. Such are the principal hypotheses which have been constructed in favour of a non-Hebraic origin of Jehovah. To attribute much value to them requires a large share of faith. It remains now to examine the theories on the opposite side; for on this point authorities are by no means agreed, and have frequently gone to the contrary extreme. S. D. Luzzatto (*Anim. in Jes. Vat.* in Rosenmüller's *Compend.* xxiv.) advanced with singular simplicity the extraordinary statement that Jehovah, or rather יהוה divested of points, is compounded of two interjections, וֵהּ, *vâh*, of pain, and יָהּ, *yâhû*, of joy, and denotes the author of good and evil. Such an etymology, from one who was unquestionably among the first of modern Jewish scholars, is a remarkable phenomenon. Ewald, referring to Gen. xix. 24, suggested as the origin of Jehovah, the Arab. هَوٌ, which signifies "the air;" a not impossible suggestion, in view of the fact that the atmospheric phenomena of storm and thunder and lightning were looked upon as special manifestations of His Presence (*e.g.* Hab. iii.; Ps. xxix.). Ewald refers to Gen. xix. 24 (מֵאֵת יהוה) and to Micah v. 7, and cites the later designation of Jehovah as "The God of Heaven" (*HI.* ii. 157, Eng. Trans.). But most have taken for the basis of their explanations, and the different modes of punctuation which they propose, the passage Ex. iii. 14; according to which, when Moses received his commission to be the deliverer of Israel, the Almighty, Who appeared in the burning bush, communicated to him the Name which he should give as the credentials of his mission: "And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM (אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, *'ehyèh 'âshèr 'ehyèh*); and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." That this passage was intended to indicate the etymology of Jehovah, as understood by the Hebrews, no one has ventured to doubt. According to this view then, יהוה must be formed from the 3rd sing. masc. impf. of the substantive verb הָיָה, the older form of which was הָוָה, still found in the Chaldee הֲוָה, and Syriac ܗܘܐ, a fact which will be referred to hereafter in discussing the antiquity of the Name. If this etymology be correct, and there seems little reason to call it in question, one step towards the true punctuation and pronunciation is already gained. Many learned men, and among them Grotius, Galatinus, Crusius, and Leusden, in an age when such fancies were rife, imagined that, reading the Name with the vowel-points usually attached to it, they discovered an indication of the eternity of God in the fact that the Name by which He revealed Himself to the Hebrews was compounded of the Present Participle, and the Future and Praeterite tenses of the substantive verb. The idea may have been sug-

* עבדי, however, may represent עַבְדִּיָּה or עַבְדִּיָּהוּ; and Ἀβδαῖος may be compared with Ζεβεδαῖος=זַבְדִּיָּה.

gested by the expression in Rev. iv. 8 (ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος), and received apparent confirmation from the Targ. Jon. on Deut. xxxii. 39, and Targ. Jer. on Ex. iii. 14. These passages, however, throw no light upon the composition of the Name, and merely assert that in its significance it embraces past, present, and future. But having agreed to reject the present punctuation, it is useless to discuss any theories which may be based upon it, had they even greater probability in their favour than the one just mentioned. As one of the forms in which Jehovah appears in Greek characters is Ἰαώ, it was proposed by Cappellus to punctuate it יָהוֹ, *yahvóh*, which is clearly contrary to the analogy of ל״ה verbs. Gussetius suggested יְהֹוֶה, *yehĕvèh*, or יְהֹוֶה, *yihvèh*, in the former of which he is supported by Fürst; and Mercer and Corn. à Lapide read it יְהֹוֶה, *yehvèh*: but on all these suppositions we should have יְהוּ for יָהוּ in the terminations of compound proper names. The suffrages of others are divided between יְהֹוָה, or יְהֹוָה, supposed to be represented by the Ἰαβέ of Epiphanius above mentioned, and יַהֲוֶה or יַהֲוֶה, which Fürst wrongly holds to be the Ἰευώ of Porphyry, or the Ἰαού of Clemens Alexandrinus. Caspari (*Micha*, p. 5, &c.) decides in favour of the former on the ground that this form only would give rise to the contraction יְהוּ in proper names, and opposes both Fürst's punctuation יְהֹוָה or יְהֹוָה, as well as that of יְהוֹה or יְהוֹה, which would naturally be contracted into יְהוֹ. Gesenius punctuates the word יְהֹוָה, from which, or from יְהֹוָה, may be derived the abbreviated form יָהּ, *yāh*, used in poetry, and the form יָהוֹ = יָהוּ = יָהוֹ (so יָהִי becomes יְהִי), which occurs at the commencement of compound proper names (Hitzig, *Jesaia*, p. 4). Delitzsch once maintained that, whichever punctuation be adopted, the quiescent sheva under ה is ungrammatical, and Chateph Pathach is the proper vowel. He therefore wrote it יַהֲוֶה, *yahăvāh*, with which he compared the Ἀιά of Theodoret; the last vowel being Kametz instead of Segol, according to the analogy of proper names derived from ל״ה verbs (*e.g.* יִמְנָה, יִמְרָה, יִסְכָּה, and others). Afterwards, he adopted the pronunciation *Jahve* (i.e. *Yahvè*), as agreeing best with patristic and Talmudic tradition (*Comm. über den Psalter*, Einl.). There remains to be noticed the suggestion of Gesenius that the form יְהֹוָה, which he adopted, might be the Hiph. impf. of the substantive verb. Of the same opinion was Reuss. The objection is that a Hiphil of this verb does not exist. Others again would make it Piel, and read יְהַוֶּה, against which a similar objection may be urged. Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.) mentions some other etymologies which affect the meaning rather than the punctuation of the name; such, for instance, as that it is derived from a root הוה, "to overthrow," and signifies "the destroyer or storm-sender" (cp. the Arabic هوى, "to fall from a height," causative "to throw down," "ruin," used of God's overthrow of Sodom, Qur'ān, *Sūrah*, 53, 54, cited by W. H. Green), or that it denotes "the light or heaven," from a root הוה = יפה, "to be bright," or "the life-giver," from the root = חוה, "to live." We have practically to decide between יְהֹוָה or יְהֹוָה. The former, that is, *Jahveh* or *Yahveh*, has been very generally adopted by modern scholars. But perhaps *Jahvah* or *Jahăvah* has a better claim, if, as seems most probable, the names Gamar-ya-a-wa, Aqabi-ya-a-wa, recently found on Babylonian tablets in the British Museum, are really transcriptions of the Hebrew Gemariah and Akabiah (*Aboth*, iii. 1).

III. The next point for consideration is of vastly more importance: what is the meaning of Jehovah, and what does it express of the Being and Nature of God, more than or in distinction from the other Names applied to the Deity in the O. T.? That there was some distinction in these different appellations was early perceived, and various explanations were employed to account for it. Tertullian (*adv. Hermog.* c. 3) observed that God was not called Lord (κύριος) till after the Creation, and in consequence of it; while Augustine found in it an indication of the absolute dependence of man upon God (*de Gen. ad lit.* viii. 2). Chrysostom (*Hom. xiv. in Gen.*) considered the two Names, Lord and God, as equivalent, and the alternate use of them arbitrary. But all their arguments proceed upon the supposition that the κύριος of the LXX. is the true rendering of the original, whereas it is merely the translation of אֲדֹנָי, *'ădōnāi*, whose points it bears. With regard to אֱלֹהִים, *'ĕlōhīm*, the other chief Name by which the Deity is designated in the O. T., it has been held by many, and the opinion does not even now want supporters, that in the plural form of the word was shadowed forth the plurality of Persons in the Godhead, and the mystery of the Trinity was inferred therefrom. Such, according to Peter Lombard, was the true significance of Elohim. But Calvin, Mercer, Drusius, and Bellarmine have given the weight of their authority against an explanation so fanciful and arbitrary. Among the Jewish writers of the Middle Ages the question much more nearly approached its solution. R. Jehuda Hallevi (12th cent.), the author of the book *Cozri*, found in the usage of Elohim a protest against idolaters, who call each personified power אֱלוֹהַּ, *'ĕlōah*, and all collectively Elohim. He interpreted it as the most general Name of the Deity, distinguishing Him as manifested in the exhibition of His power, without reference to His personality or moral qualities, or to any special relation which He bears to man. Jehovah, on the contrary, is the revealed and known God. While the meaning of the former could be evolved by reasoning, the true significance of the latter could only be apprehended "by that prophetic vision by which a man is, as it were, separated and withdrawn from his own kind, and approaches to the angelic, and another spirit enters into him." In like manner Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 61, Buxt.) saw in Jehovah the Name which teaches of the substance of the Creator, and Abarbanel (quoted by Buxtorf, *de Nom. Dei*, § 39) distinguishes Jehovah, as denoting God according to what He

is in Himself, from Elohim which conveys the idea of the impression made by His power. In the opinion of Astruc, a Belgian physician, with whom the documentary hypothesis of Genesis originated, the alternate use of the two Names was arbitrary, and determined by no essential difference. Hasse (*Entdeckungen*) considered them as historical Names, and Sack (*de usu nom. dei*, &c.) regarded Elohim as a vague term denoting "a certain infinite, omnipotent, incomprehensible existence, from which things finite and visible have derived their origin;" while to God, as revealing Himself, the more definite title of Jehovah was applied. Ewald, in his tract on the composition of Genesis (written when he was nineteen), maintained that Elohim denoted the Deity in general, and is the common or lower Name, while Jehovah was the national God of the Israelites. But in order to carry out his theory he was compelled in many places to alter the text, and was afterwards induced to modify his statements, which were opposed by Gramberg and Stähelin. Doubtless Elohim is used in many cases of the gods of the heathen, who included in the same title the God of the Hebrews, and denoted generally the Deity when spoken of as a supernatural being, and when no national feeling influenced the speaker. It was Elohim who, in the eyes of the heathen, delivered the Israelites from Egypt (1 Sam. iv. 8), and the Egyptian had adjured David by Elohim, rather than by Jehovah, of Whom he would have no knowledge (1 Sam. xxx. 15). So Ehud announces to the Moabitish king a message from Elohim (Judg. iii. 20); to the Syrians the Jehovah of the Hebrews was only their national God, one of the Elohim (1 K. xx. 23, 28), and in the mouth of a heathen the Name Jehovah would convey no more intelligible meaning than this. It is to be observed also that when a Hebrew speaks with a heathen he uses the more general term Elohim. Joseph, in addressing Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 16), and David, in appealing to the king of Moab to protect his family (1 Sam. xxii. 3), designate the Deity by the less specific title; and on the other hand the same rule is generally followed when the heathen are the speakers, as in the case of Abimelech (Gen. xxi. 23), the Hittites (Gen. xxiii. 6), the Midianite (Judg. vii. 14), and Joseph in his assumed character as an Egyptian (Gen. xlii. 18). But, although this distinction between Elohim, as the general appellation of Deity, and Jehovah, the national God of the Israelites, contains some superficial truth, the real nature of their difference must be sought for far deeper, and as a foundation for the arguments which will be adduced recourse must again be had to etymology.

IV. With regard to the derivation of אֱלֹהִים, *'Elōhīm*, the pl. of אֱלוֹהַּ, etymologists are divided in their opinions; some connecting it with אֵל, *'ēl*, and the unused root אוּל, *'ūl*, "to be strong" ("vorn sein," Nöldeke), while others refer it to the Arabic ﺃﻟﻪ, *'aliha*, ﺃﻟﻪ, *'alaha*, "to worship, adore;" Elohim thus denoting the Supreme Being Who was worthy of all worship and adoration, the dread and awful One. Fürst takes the noun in this case as the primitive from which is derived the idea of worship contained in the verb, and gives as the true root אָלַהּ = אוּל, "to be strong." Delitzsch would prefer a root אוּל = אָלַהּ = אָלָהּ (*Symb. ad Psalm. illustr.* p. 29). The connexion with אוּל seems doubtful, in view of forms like אֶלְחָנָן, אֶלִיאֵל; cp. also the Assyrian *ilu*, *iltu*, "god," "goddess," with *i*. From whatever root, however, the word may be derived, most are of opinion that the primary idea contained in it is that of strength, power; so that Elohim is the proper appellation of the Deity, as manifested in His creative and universally sustaining agency, and in the general divine guidance and government of the world. Hengstenberg, who adheres to the derivation above-mentioned from the Arab., *'aliha*, *'alaha*, deduces from this etymology his theory that Elohim indicates a lower and Jehovah a higher stage of the knowledge of God, on the ground that "the feeling of fear is the lowest which can exist in reference to God, and merely in respect of this feeling is God marked by this designation." But the same inference might also be drawn on the supposition that the idea of simple power or strength is the most prominent in the word; and it is more natural that the Divine Being should be conceived of as strong before He became the object of fear and adoration. To this view Gesenius accedes, when he says that the notion of worshipping and fearing is rather derived from the power of the Deity which is expressed in His Name. The question now arises, What is the meaning to be attached to the plural form of the word? As has been already mentioned, some have discovered here the mystery of the Trinity, while others maintain that it points to polytheism. The Rabbis generally explain it as the plural of majesty; Rabbi Bechai, as signifying the lord of all powers. Abarbanel and Kimchi consider it a title of honour, in accordance with the Hebrew idiom, of which examples will be found in Is. liv. 5, Job xxxv. 10, Gen. xxxix. 20, xlii. 30. In Prov. ix. 1, the plural חָכְמוֹת, *chokmōth*, "wisdoms," is used for wisdom in the abstract, as including all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Hence it is probable that the plural form Elohim, instead of pointing to polytheism, is applied to God as comprehending in Himself the fulness of all power, and uniting in a perfect degree all that which the Name signifies, and all the high attributes which the heathen ascribe to the several divinities of their pantheon. The singular אֱלוֹהַּ, *'Elōah*, with few exceptions (Neh. ix. 17; 2 Ch. xxxii. 15), occurs only in poetry. It will be found, upon examination of the passages in which Elohim occurs, that it is chiefly in places where God is exhibited only in the plenitude of His power, and where no especial reference is made to His unity, personality, or holiness, or to His relation to Israel and the theocracy (see Ps. xvi. 1; xix. 1, 7, 8). Hengstenberg's etymology of the word is disputed by Delitzsch (*Symb. ad Pss. illustr.* p. 29), who refers it, as has been mentioned above, to a root indicating power or might, and sees in it an expression not of what men think of God, but of what He is in Himself, in so far as He has life omnipotent in Himself, and according as He is the beginning

and end of all life. For the true explanation of the Name he refers to the revelation of the mystery of the Trinity. But it is at least extremely doubtful whether to the ancient Israelites any idea of this nature was conveyed by Elohim; and in making use of the more advanced knowledge supplied by the New Testament, there is some danger of discovering more meaning and a more subtle significance than was ever intended to be expressed.

V. But while Elohim exhibits God displayed in His power as the Creator and Governor of the physical universe, the Name Jehovah designates His nature as He stands in relation to man, as the only, almighty, true, personal, holy Being, a Spirit, and "the Father of spirits" (Num. xvi. 22; cp. John iv. 24), Who revealed Himself to His people, made a covenant with them, and became their Lawgiver, and to Whom all honour and worship are due. If the etymology above given be accepted, and the Name be derived from the impf. tense of the substantive verb, it would denote, in accordance with the general analogy of proper names of a similar form, "He that is," "the Being," Whose chief attribute is eternal existence. Jehovah is represented as eternal (Gen. xxi. 33; cp. 1 Tim. vi. 16), unchangeable (Ex. iii. 14; Mal. iii. 6), the only Being (Josh. xxii. 22; Ps. l. 1), Creator and Lord of all things (Ex. xx. 11; cp. Num. xvi. 22 with xxvii. 16; Is. xlii. 5). It is Jehovah Who made the covenant with His people (Gen. xv. 18; Num. x. 33, &c.). In this connexion Elohim occurs but once (Ps. lxxviii. 10); and even with the article, Ha-Elohim, which expresses more personality than Elohim alone, is found but seldom (Judg. xx. 27; 1 Sam. iv. 4). The Israelites were enjoined to observe the commandments of Jehovah (Lev. iv. 27, &c.), to keep His Law, and to worship Him alone. Hence the phrase "to serve Jehovah" (Ex. x. 7, 8, &c.) is applied to denote true worship, whereas "to serve Ha-Elohim" is used but once in this sense (Ex. iii. 12), and Elohim occurs in the same association only when the worship of idols is spoken of (Deut. iv. 28; Judg. iii. 6). As Jehovah, the only true God, is the only object of true worship, to Him belong the sabbaths and festivals, and all the ordinances connected with the religious services of the Israelites (Ex. x. 9, xii. 11; Lev. xxiii. 2). His are the altars on which offerings are made to the true God; the priests and ministers are His (1 Sam. ii. 11, xiv. 8), and so exclusively that a priest of Elohim is always associated with idolatrous worship. To Jehovah alone are offerings made (Ex. viii. 8); and if Elohim is ever used in this connexion, it is always qualified by pronominal suffixes, or some word in construction with it so as to indicate the true God; in all other cases it refers to idols (Ex. xxii. 20, xxxiv. 15). It follows naturally that the Temple and Tabernacle are Jehovah's; and if they are attributed to Elohim, the latter is in some manner restricted as before. The prophets are the prophets of Jehovah, and their announcements proceed from Him, seldom from Elohim. The Israelites are the people of Jehovah (Ex. xxxvi. 20), the congregation of Jehovah (Num. xvi. 3), as the Moabites are the people of Chemosh (Jer. xlviii. 46). Their king is the anointed of Jehovah; their wars are the wars of Jehovah (Ex. xiv. 25; 1 Sam. xviii. 17); their enemies are the enemies of Jehovah (2 Sam. xii. 14); it is the hand of Jehovah that delivers them up to their foes (Judg. vi. 1, xiii. 1, &c.), and He it is Who raises up for them deliverers and judges, and on whom they call in times of peril (Judg. ii. 18, iii. 9, 15; Josh. xxiv. 7; 1 Sam. xvii. 37). In fine, Jehovah is the Divine King of His people (Judg. viii. 23); by Him their kings reign and achieve success against the national enemies (1 Sam. xi. 13, xiv. 23). Their heroes are inspired by His Spirit (Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34), and their hand steeled against their foes (2 Sam. vii. 23); the watchword of Gideon was "The Sword of Jehovah, and of Gideon!" (Judg. vii. 20.) The day on which God executes judgment on the wicked is the day of Jehovah (Is. ii. 12, xxxiv. 8; cp. Rev. xvi. 14). As the Israelites were in a remarkable manner distinguished as the people of Jehovah, Who became their Lawgiver and Supreme Ruler, it is not strange that He should be put in strong contrast with Chemosh (Judg. xi. 24), Ashtaroth (Judg. x. 6), and the Baalim (Judg. iii. 7), the national deities of the surrounding nations, and thus be pre-eminently distinguished as the tutelary Deity of the Hebrews in one aspect of His character. [For the Moabite view of Chemosh, see the Stone of Dibon.] Such and no more was He to the heathen (1 K. xx. 23); but all this and much more to the Israelites, to whom Jehovah was the living God, Who reveals Himself to man by word and deed, helps, guides, saves, and delivers, in all the exigencies of life. Jehovah was no abstract Name, but thoroughly practical, and stood in intimate connexion with the religious life of the people. While Elohim represents God only in His most outward relation to man, and distinguishes Him as recognised in His omnipotence, Jehovah describes Him according to His innermost being. In Jehovah the moral attributes are presented as constituting the essence of His nature; whereas in Elohim there is no reference to personality or moral character. The relation of Elohim to Jehovah has been variously explained. The former, in Hengstenberg's opinion, indicates a lower, and the latter a higher, stage of consciousness of God; Elohim becoming Jehovah by an historical process, and to show how He became so, being the main object of the sacred history. Kurtz considers the two names as related to each other as power and evolution: Elohim the God of the beginning, Jehovah of the development; Elohim the Creator, Jehovah the Mediator. Elohim is God of the beginning and end, the Creator and the Judge; Jehovah the God of the middle, of the development which lies between the beginning and end (*Die Einheit der Gen.*). That Jehovah is identical with Elohim, and not a separate Being, is indicated by the joint use of the names Jehovah-Elohim (see also Kuenen, *HI.* i. 39 sqq.; W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, pp. 33, 49 sq.).

VI. The antiquity of the Name Jehovah among the Hebrews has formed the subject of much discussion. That it was not known before the age of Moses has been inferred from Ex. vi. 3; while Von Bohlen assigned to it a much more recent date, and contended that we have "no conclusive proof of the worship of Jehovah anterior to the ancient hymns of David" (*Int. to Gen.* i. 150, Eng. tr.). But, on the other hand, we might be inclined to infer from the tra-

ditional etymology of the word that it originated in an age long prior to that of the Pentateuch, in which the root הוה has already been displaced by היה. From the Aramaic form in which it appears (cp. Chald. יְהָוָה; Syr. ܝܗܘܐ), Jahn refers to the earliest times of Abraham for its date, and to Mesopotamia or Ur of the Chaldees for its birthplace. [It is now known that Ur was in S. Babylonia, and that the language of Ur was not Aramaic but Accadian first, and then Assyrio-Babylonian.] Its usage in Genesis cannot be explained, as Le Clerc suggests, by supposing it to be employed by anticipation, for it is introduced where the persons to whom the history relates are speaking, and not only where the narrator adopts terms familiar to himself; and the same difficulty remains whatever hypothesis be assumed with regard to the original documents which formed the basis of the history.[b] At the same time it is distinctly stated in Ex. vi. 3, that to the patriarchs God was not known by the Name Jehovah. If, therefore, this passage has reference to the first revelation of Jehovah simply as a Name and Title of God, there is clearly a discrepancy which requires to be explained. In renewing His promise of deliverance from Egypt, "God spake unto Moses and said unto him, I am Jehovah; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by (the name of) God Almighty (*'El Shaddai*, אֵל שַׁדָּי), but by My Name Jehovah was I not known to them." It follows then that, if the reference were merely to the Name as a Name, the passage in question would prove equally that before this time Elohim was unknown as an appellation of the Deity, and God would appear uniformly as El Shaddai in the patriarchal history. [This assumes that *'Elōhīm* is a "Name" in the same sense as *Yahwah* or the obscure *'El Shaddai*, which is hardly the case.] But although it was held by Theodoret (*Quaest.* 15 *in Ex.*) and many of the Fathers, who have been followed by a long list of moderns, that the name was first made known by God to Moses, and then introduced by him among the Israelites, the contrary was maintained by Cajetan, Lyranus, Calvin, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and others, who deny that the passage in Ex. vi. alludes to the introduction of the Name. Calvin saw at once that the knowledge there spoken of could not refer to the syllables and letters, but to the recognition of God's glory and majesty. It was not the Name, but the true depth of its significance which was unknown to and uncomprehended by the Patriarchs. They had known God as *'El Shaddai* (Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3), the Ruler of the physical universe, and of man as one of His creatures; as a God eternal, immutable, and true to His promises He was yet to be revealed. In the character expressed by the Name Jehovah He had not hitherto been fully known; His true attributes had not been recognised (cp. Rashi on Ex. vi. 3) in His working and acts for Israel. Aben Ezra explained the occurrence of the Name in Genesis as simply indicating the knowledge of it as a proper name, not as a qualificative expressing the attributes and qualities of God. Referring to other passages in which the phrase "the Name of God" occurs, it is clear that something more is intended by it than a mere appellation, and that the proclamation of the Name of God is a revelation of His moral attributes, and of His true character as Jehovah (Ex. xxxiii. 19; xxxiv. 6, 7), the God of the covenant. Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 64, ed. Buxtorf) explains the Name of God as signifying His essence and His truth, and Olshausen (on Matt. xviii. 20) interprets "name" (*ὄνομα*) as denoting "personality and essential being, and that not as it is incomprehensible or unknown, but in its manifestation." The name of a thing represents the thing itself so far as it can be expressed in words. That Jehovah was not a new Name Hävernick concludes from Ex. iii. 14, where "the Name of God Jehovah is evidently presupposed as already in use, and is only explained, interpreted, and applied . . . It is certainly not a new Name that is introduced; on the contrary, the אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה (I am that I am) would be unintelligible, if the Name itself were not presupposed as already known. The old Name of antiquity, whose precious significance had been forgotten and neglected by the children of Israel, here as it were rises again to life, and is again brought home to the consciousness of the people" (*Introd. to the Pent.* p. 61). The same passage supplies an argument to prove that by "name" we are not to understand merely letters and syllables, for Jehovah appears at first in another form, *'ehyèh* (אֶהְיֶה). The correct collective view of Ex. vi. 3, Hengstenberg conceives to be the following:—"Hitherto that Being, Who in one aspect was Jehovah, in another had always been Elohim. The great crisis now drew nigh in which Jehovah Elohim would be changed into Jehovah. In prospect of this event God solemnly announced Himself as Jehovah."

Great stress has been laid, by those who deny the antiquity of the Name Jehovah, upon the fact that proper names compounded with it occur but seldom before the age of Samuel and David. It is undoubtedly true that, about this period, proper names so compounded did become more frequent; but if it could be shown that prior to the time of Moses any such names existed, it would be sufficient to prove that the Name Jehovah was not entirely unknown. Among those which have been quoted for this purpose are Jochebed the mother of Moses, and daughter of Levi, and Moriah, the mountain on which Abraham was commanded to offer up Isaac. Against the former it is urged that Moses might have changed her name to Jochebed after the Name Jehovah had been communicated by God, as he changed Hoshea to Joshua; but this is very improbable, as he was at this time eighty years old, and his mother in all probability dead. If this only be admitted as a genuine instance of a name compounded with Jehovah, it takes us at once back into the patriarchal age, and proves that a word which was employed in forming the proper name of Jacob's granddaughter could not have been unknown to that patriarch himself. [Ewald, on the ground of the name Jochebed, and the language of Ex. xv.

[b] The truth is that J uses יהוה from the beginning; P consistently eschews it till Ex. vi. 3 (Driver).

2, supposed that Jahveh was a Name of God current in the family of Moses. König agrees with him (*Hauptprobl.* p. 27). Stade, Tiele, and Wellhausen think that Jahveh may have been originally the god of the Kenites. The evidence, upon the whole, appears to justify a suspicion that at least in the forms *Yahu*, *Yah*, the name was once current among Israel's heathen neighbours.] The name Moriah (מוֹרִיָּה) is of more importance, for in one passage in which it occurs it is accompanied by an etymology intended to indicate what was then understood by it (2 Ch. iii. 1). Hengstenberg regarded it as a compound of מֹרְאָה, the Hoph. Part. of רָאָה, and יָהּ, the abbreviated form of יְהוָה; so that, according to this etymology, it would signify "shown by Jehovah." [It is, however, a serious objection, that מֹרְאָיָה could hardly become מוֹרִיָּה, and, moreover, a place-name compounded with יָהּ is otherwise unknown.] Gesenius, adopting the meaning of רָאָה in Gen. xxii. 8. renders it "chosen by Jehovah," but suggests at the same time what he considers a more probable derivation, according to which Jehovah does not form a part of the compound word. But there is reason to believe from various allusions in Gen. xxii. that the former was regarded as the true etymology. [ISAAC.]

Having thus considered the origin, significance, and antiquity of the Name Jehovah, the reader will be in a position to judge how much of truth there is in the assertion of Schwind (quoted by Reinke, *Beitr.* iii. 135, n. 10) that the terms *Elohim*, *Jehovah Elohim*, and then *Jehovah* alone applied to God, show "to the philosophic inquirer the progress of the human mind from a plurality of gods to a superior god, and from this to a single Almighty Creator and Ruler of the world."

The principal authorities which have been made use of in this article are Hengstenberg, *On the Authenticity of the Pentateuch*, i. 213–307, Eng. trans.; Reinke, *Phil. histor. Abhandlung über den Gottesnamen Jehova*, *Beiträge*, vol. iii.; Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, Th. i. pp. 377–405; Kurtz, *Die Einheit der Genesis* xliii.–liii.; Keil, *Ueber die Gottesnamen im Pentateuche*, in Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift;* Ewald, *Die Composition der Genesis;* Gesenius, *Thesaurus;* Bunsen, *Bibelwerk;* and Reland, *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehova;* besides those already quoted.

The more recent authorities are cited by Driver, *Studia Biblica*, i. Oxford, 1885. Among them may be mentioned Baudissin, *Studien*, pp. 181 sqq. (1876); Knobel-Dillmann, *Exodus* (1880); Friedrich Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 158 sqq. (1881); König, *Hauptprobleme d. altisr. Relig.* pp. 29 sqq. (1884); Lagarde (cp. *O.S.*² p. 192). [W. A. W.] [C. J. B.]

JEHO'VAH-JIR'EH (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה; Κύριος εἶδεν; *Dominus videt*), *i.e.* "Jehovah will see," or provide, the name given by Abraham to the place on which he had been commanded to offer Isaac, commemorating the interposition of the Angel of Jehovah, who prevented the sacrifice (Gen. xxii. 14) and provided another victim. The immediate allusion is to the expression in the 8th verse, "God will look out for Himself a lamb for a burnt offering," but it is not unlikely that there is at the same time a covert reference to Moriah, the scene of the whole occurrence. The play upon words is followed up in the latter clause of *v.* 14, which appears in the form of a popular proverb: "as it is said this day, In the mountain of Jehovah, He will be seen," or "provision shall be made." Such might be the rendering if the received punctuation be accepted, but on this point there is a division of opinion. The ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὤφθη of the LXX. implies בְּהַר יְהוָה יֵרָאֶה, "on the mountain Jehovah appeareth;" and the same, with the exception of יֵרָאֶה for the last word, must have been the reading of the Vulgate and Syriac. The Targum of Onkelos is obscure. [ISAAC.]

[W. A. W.] [C. J. B.]

JEHO'VAH-NIS'SI (יְהוָה נִסִּי; Κύριος καταφυγή μου; *Dominus exaltatio mea*), *i.e.* "Jehovah is my banner," the name given by Moses to the altar which he built in commemoration of the discomfiture of the Amalekites by Joshua and his chosen warriors at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 15). It was erected either upon the hill overlooking the battle-field, upon which Moses sat with the staff of God in his hand, or upon the battle-field itself. According to Aben Ezra, it was on the Mount Horeb. The Targum of Onkelos paraphrases the verse thus:—"Moses built an altar and worshipped upon it before Jehovah, Who had wrought for him miracles" (נִיסִין, *nissin*). Such too is Rashi's explanation of the name, as referring to the miraculous interposition of God in the defeat of the Amalekites. The LXX. in their translation, "the Lord my refuge," evidently supposed *nissī* to be derived from the root נוּס, *nūs*, "to flee," and the Vulgate traced it to נָשָׂא, "to lift up" (cp. Ps. iv. 7, Heb.). The significance of the name is probably contained in an allusion to the staff which Moses held in his hand as a banner during the engagement, and the raising or lowering of which turned the fortune of battle in favour of the Israelites or their enemies. God is thus recognised in the memorial altar as the deliverer of His people, Who leads them to victory, and is their rallying-point in time of peril. [The Hebrew of *v.* 16, which assigned the reason for the name, is corrupt (see R. V., which follows the Jewish expositors). We may perhaps restore: "And he said כִּי יָדַיִל נֵס הַמִּלְחָמָה, *The banner of warfare shall be lifted up* unto Jahvah against Amalek from generation to generation" (cp. Cant. v. 10, vi. 4; Ps. xx. 5).] On the figurative use of "banner," see Ps. lx. 4, Is. xi. 10. [W. A. W.] [C. J. B.]

JEHO'VAH-SHA'LOM (יְהוָה שָׁלוֹם; εἰρήνη Κυρίου; *Domini pax*), *i.e.* "Jehovah is peace," or, with the ellipsis of אֱלֹהֵי, "Jehovah is the God of peace." The altar erected by Gideon in Ophrah was so called in memory of the salutation addressed to him by the Angel of Jehovah, "Peace be unto thee" (Judg. vi. 24). The LXX. and Vulg. appear to have inverted the words as they stand in the present Hebrew text, and to have read שָׁלוֹם יְהוָה, but they are supported by no MS. authority.

[W. A. W.] [C. J. B.]

JEHO'VAH-SHAM'MAH (יְהוָה שָׁמָּה; A. Κύριος ἐκεῖ, B. om.; *Dominus ibidem*), "Jehovah is there" (*shā'mmāh*, "illuc" for "illic," as in Jer. xviii. 2); the name of the New Jerusalem of Ezekiel's prophetic visions (Ezek. xlviii. 35; marg. A. V.): cp. Rev. xxiii. 3.
[C. J. B.]

JEHO'VAH-TSIDKE'NU (יְהוָה צִדְקֵנוּ; AB. Ἰωσεδέκ, S*. Ἰωσεικείμ; *Dominus justus noster* = צִדְקֵנוּ, *defective*), "Jehovah is our Righteousness": (1) The name of the Messianic king, whose coming is announced in Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. There appears to be an allusion to the name of Zedekiah (צִדְקִיָּהוּ), "Righteousness of Jah," the last native sovereign of Judah; not in the sense that the Prophet ever expected such a glorious future for that unhappy prince, but rather by way of suggesting that the Divine Righteousness which required the imminent or already realized overthrow of his kingdom would not rest there, but would in its own time accomplish the promises as well as the menaces of prophecy. The LXX. translation connects יהוה with the preceding verb as its subject: "And this is his name, whereby *the Lord* will call him: Josedek." It may be that the last two letters of צדקנו were effaced in the translator's MS., or that the name was abbreviated thus, יְהוֹצָדָק, or thus, יְהוֹצָדָק. The vocalisation Ἰωσεδὲκ [see JEHOZADAK] implies a Hebrew punctuation, יְהוֹצָדֶק or יוֹצָדֶק, a form like Melchizedek, and essentially like Zedekiah.

(2) The name of the restored Jerusalem, in the similar prophecy, Jer. xxxiii. 16. [C. J. B.]

JEHO-ZA'BAD (יְהוֹזָבָד = *Jehovah hath given; Jozabad*). **1.** (B. Ἰωζαβάθ; A. Ἰωζαβδ.) A Korahite Levite, second son of Obed-edom, and one of the porters or doorkeepers of the south gate of the Temple, and of the storehouse there (בֵּית אֲסַפִּים), in the time of David (1 Ch. xxvi. 4, 15, compared with Neh. xii. 25).

2. (Ἰωζαβάδ; Joseph. Ὀχόβατος.) A Benjamite, captain of 180,000 armed men, in the days of king Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 18; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 15, § 2).

3. (Ἰεζεβούθ, Ζωζαβέδ; A. Ἰωζαβέδ; *Josabad.*) Son of Shomer or Shimrith, a Moabitish woman, and possibly a descendant of the preceding, who with another, Jozachar or Zabad, conspired against king Joash and slew him in his bed (2 K. xii. 21; 2 Ch. xxiv. 26). [JOASH.] The similarity in the names of both conspirators and their parents is worth notice.

This name is commonly abbreviated in the Hebrew to JOZABAD. [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JEHO-ZA'DAK (יְהוֹצָדָק; B. Ἰωσαδάκ, A. Ἰωσεδέκ; *Josedec*), son of the high-priest SERAIAH (1 Ch. vi. 14, 15) in the reign of Zedekiah. When his father was slain at Riblah by order of Nebuchadnezzar, in the 11th of Zedekiah (2 K. xxv. 18, 21), Jehozadak was led away captive to Babylon (1 Ch. vi. 15), where he doubtless spent the remainder of his days. He himself never attained the high-priesthood, the Temple being burnt to the ground, and so continuing, and he himself being a captive all his life. But he was the father of JESHUA the high-priest who with Zerubbabel headed the Return from Captivity, and in whom the succession continued till the pontificate of Alcimus (Ezra iii. 2, 8, v. 2, x. 18; Neh. xii. 26; Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 2, 4; Zech. vi. 11). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Nothing more is known about him. It is perhaps worth remarking that his name is compounded of the same elements, and has nearly the same meaning, as that of the contemporary king Zedekiah (צִדְקִיָּה, יוֹצָדָק)—"Jehovah is righteous;" and that the righteousness of Jehovah was signally displayed in the simultaneous suspension of the throne of David and the priesthood of Aaron, on account of the sins of Judah. This remark perhaps acquires weight from the fact of his successor Jeshua, who restored the priesthood and rebuilt the Temple, having the same name as Joshua, who brought the nation into the land of promise, and JESUS, a name significative of salvation.

In Haggai and Zechariah, though the name in the original is exactly as above, yet the A. V., following the Greek form, presents it as JOSEDECH. In the R. V. it is JEHOZADAK.

In Ezra and Nehemiah it is abbreviated, in Hebrew, A. V., and R. V., to JOZADAK.
[A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JE'HU. **1.** (יֵהוּא, probably = יְהוֹהוּא = *Jehovah is He;* B. Εἰού, A. Ἰηού, Joseph. Ἰηοῦς: *Jehu.*) The founder of the fifth dynasty of the kingdom of Israel (Riehm, B.C. 843–816). His history[a] was told in the lost "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (2 K. x. 34). His father's name was Jehoshaphat (2 K. ix. 2, 14); his grandfather's (which, as being better known, was sometimes affixed to his own—2 K. ix.) was Nimshi. In his youth he had been one of the guards of Ahab. His first appearance in history is when, with a comrade in arms, Bidkar, or Bar-Dakar (Ephrem Syr. *Explan. in iv. Regum*, cap. iv. sec. 2, *Op.* t. ii. 125, ed. Caillau, 1842), he rode[b] behind Ahab on the fatal journey from Samaria to Jezreel, and heard, and laid up in his heart, the warning of Elijah against the murderer of Naboth (2 K. ix. 25). But he had already, as it would seem, been known to Elijah as a youth of promise, and, accordingly, in the vision at Horeb he is mentioned as the future king of Israel, whom Elijah is to anoint as the minister of vengeance on Israel (1 K. xix. 16, 17). This injunction, for reasons unknown to us, Elijah never fulfilled. It was reserved long afterwards for his successor Elisha.

Jehu meantime, in the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, had risen to importance. The same activity and vehemence which had fitted him for his earlier distinctions still continued, and he was known far and wide as a charioteer whose

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[a] Modern criticism finds but little fault with the section dealing with Jehu and his revolution. See a summary in Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebräer*, ii. 186 (and Index), 1892.—[F.]

[b] The Hebrew word is רְכָבִים; usually employed for the coupling, together of oxen. This the LXX. understands as though the two soldiers rode in separate chariots—ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐπὶ ζέυγη (2 K. ix. 25); Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6, § 3) as though they sat in the same chariot with the king (καθεζομένους ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἅρματος τοῦ Ἀχάβου).

rapid driving, as if of a madman[c] (2 K. ix. 20), could be distinguished even from a distance. He was, under the last-named king, captain of the host in the siege of Ramoth-Gilead. According to Ephrem Syrus (who omits the words "saith the Lord" in 2 K. ix. 26, and makes "I" refer to Jehu) he had, in a dream the night before, seen the blood of Naboth and his sons (see Ephr. Syr. *u. s.*). Whilst in the midst of the officers of the besieging army a youth suddenly entered, of wild appearance (2 K. ix. 11), and insisted on a private interview with Jehu. They retired into a secret chamber. The youth uncovered a phial of the sacred oil, as Josephus puts it (*Ant.* ix. 6, 1; Stanley, *Jewish Ch.* ii. 283 [1883]), which he had brought with him, poured it over Jehu's head, and after announcing to him the message from Elisha, that he was appointed to be king of Israel and destroyer of the house of Ahab, rushed out of the house and disappeared (2 K. ix. 1–10; 2 Ch. xxii. 7).

Jehu's countenance, as he re-entered the assembly of officers, showed that some strange tidings had reached him. He tried at first to evade their questions, but then revealed the situation in which he found himself placed by the prophetic call. In a moment the enthusiasm of those present took fire. They threw their garments—the large square *Beged*, similar to a wrapper or plaid—under his feet, so as to form a rough carpet of state, placed him on the top of the stairs,[d] as on an extempore throne, blew the royal salute on their trumpets, and thus proclaimed him king. He then cut off all communication between Ramoth-Gilead and Jezreel, and set off, full speed, with his ancient comrade Bidkar, whom he had made his chief officer (Stanley, *Jew. Ch.* ii. 285 [1883]), and a band of horsemen. From the tower of Jezreel a watchman saw the cloud of dust (שִׁפְעַת, *κονιορτόν*; A. V. and R. V. "company") and announced his coming (2 K. ix. 17). The messengers that were sent out to him he detained, on the same principle of secrecy which had guided all his movements. It was not till he had almost reached the city, and was identified by the watchman, that alarm was taken. But even then it seems as if the two kings in Jezreel anticipated news from the Syrian war rather than a revolution at home. It was not till, in answer to Jehoram's question, "Is it peace, Jehu?" that Jehu's fierce denunciation of Jezebel at once revealed the danger. Jehu seized his opportunity, and taking full aim at Jehoram, with the bow which, as captain of the host, he had always with him, shot him through the heart (ix. 24). The body was thrown out on the fatal field, and whilst his soldiers pursued and killed the king of Judah (2 K. ix. 27, 28; 2 Ch. xxii. 9) at Beth-gan (A. V. and R. V., "the garden-house," LXX. Βαιθάν), probably Engannim, Jehu advanced to the gates of Jezreel and fulfilled the divine judgment on Jezebel as already on Jehoram. [JEZEBEL.] He then entered on a work of extermination hitherto unparalleled in the history of the Jewish monarchy. All the descendants of Ahab that remained in Jezreel, together with the officers of the court and hierarchy of Astarte, were swept away. His next step was to secure Samaria. Every stage of his progress was marked with blood. At the gates of Jezreel he found the heads of seventy princes of the house of Ahab, ranged in two heaps, sent to him as a propitiation by their guardians in Samaria, whom he had defied to withstand him, and on whom he thus threw the responsibility of destroying their own royal charge. Next, at "the shearing-house" (or Betheked, LXX. Βαιθάκαθ) between Jezreel and Samaria he encountered forty-two sons or nephews (2 K. x. 13, 14; 2 Ch. xx. 8) of the late king of Judah, and therefore connected by marriage with Ahab, on a visit of compliment to their relatives, of whose fall, seemingly, they had not heard. These also were put to the sword at the fatal well, as in the later history, of Mizpah (2 K. x. 14), and, in our own days, of Cawnpore. [ISHMAEL, 6.] As he drove on he encountered a strange figure, such as might have reminded him of the great Elijah. It was Jehonadab, the austere Arabian sectary, the son of Rechab. In him his keen eye discovered a ready ally. He took him into his chariot, and they concocted their schemes as they entered Samaria (x. 15, 16). [JEHONADAB.]

Some stragglers of the house of Ahab in that city still remained to be destroyed. But the great stroke was yet to come; and it was conceived and executed with that union of intrepid daring and profound secrecy which marks the whole career of Jehu. Up to this moment there was nothing which showed anything beyond a determination to exterminate in all its branches the personal adherents of Ahab. Jehu might still have been at heart, as he seems up to this time to have been in name, disposed to tolerate, if not to join in, the Phoenician worship. "Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much." There was to be a new inauguration of the worship of Baal. A solemn assembly, sacred vestments, innumerable victims, were ready. The vast temple at Samaria raised by Ahab (1 K. xvi. 32; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 6) was crowded from end to end. The chief sacrifice was offered, as if in the excess of his zeal, by Jehu himself. Jehonadab joined in the deception. There was some apprehension lest worshippers of Jehovah might be found in the temple; such, it seems, had been the intermixture of the two religions. As soon, however, as it was ascertained that all, and none but, the idolaters were there, the signal was given to eighty trusted guards, and a sweeping massacre removed at one blow the male heathen population of the kingdom of Israel. The innermost sanctuary of

[c] This is the force of the Hebrew word which the LXX. translate *ἐν παραλλαγῇ*. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6, § 3) says *σχολαίτερον δὲ καὶ μετ' εὐταξίας ὤδευεν*.

[d] The expression translated "on the *top* of the stairs" (R. V. marg. *on the bare steps*) is one the clue to which is lost. The word is *gerem*, גֶּרֶם, *i.e.* a bone, and the meaning appears to be that they placed Jehu on the very stairs themselves—if מַעֲלוֹת be stairs—without any seat or chair below him. The stairs doubtless ran round the inside of the quadrangle of the house, as they do still, for instance, in the ruin called the house of Zacchaeus at Jericho, and Jehu sat where they joined the flat platform which formed the top or roof of the house. Thus he was conspicuous against the sky, while the captains were below him in the open quadrangle. The LXX. repeats the Hebrew word, *ἐπὶ τὸ γάρεμ τῶν ἀναβάθμων*, which Lucian's Version renders intelligible by *ἐπὶ μίαν τῶν ἀναβαθμίδων*. By Josephus it is avoided.

the temple (A. V. and R. V. "the city of the house of Baal") was stormed, the great stone statue of Baal was demolished, the wooden figures of the inferior divinities sitting round him were torn from their places and burnt (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 526), and the site of the sanctuary itself became the public resort of the inhabitants of the city for the basest uses. This is the last public act recorded of Jehu. The remaining twenty-seven years of his long reign are passed over in a few words, in which two points only are material:—He did not destroy the calf-worship of Jeroboam: the Transjordanic tribes suffered much from the ravages of Hazael (2 K. x. 29–33). With reference to this second point, cuneiform discovery has much to suggest. Jehu's name is found on the Black Obelisk discovered at Nimrud (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 396) and now in the British Museum, amongst the kings who are bringing tribute (in this case gold and silver, and articles manufactured in gold) to Shalmaneser II. His name is given as "Yahua the son of Khumri" (Omri) (*Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser*, tr. by Sayce in *Records of the Past*, v. 41, 1875. Cp. Schrader, *KAT*.[2] p. 208 sq.; *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, i. 151). This substitution of the name of Omri for that of his own father may be accounted for, either by the importance which Omri had assumed as the second founder of the northern kingdom, or by the name of "Beth-Khumri," only given to Samaria in these monuments as "the House or Capital of Omri" (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 613, ed. 1853; Rawlinson's *Herodot.* i. 469, 3rd ed. 1875).*

Jehu's appearance in this may be thus explained. Under Jehoram Israel had held its own against its Syrian foes. In B.C. 842, Shalmaneser directed an expedition against Damascus and Hazael; and when he did so, Jehu lost no time in sending his ambassadors, bearing tribute, to enlist the protection of the Assyrian. He had but just ascended the throne, and every step had been marked in blood; and he may have felt that Assyrian protection was needed by himself personally, even more than by his people. For a time his policy probably secured the desired end; but the Assyrian expedition was practically unsuccessful. On the retirement of the Assyrians, the Syrians once more turned against the Israelites, and the havoc and cruelty foretold by Elisha (2 K. viii. 12), and so summarily stated by the historian (2 K. x. 32–3), took place.

The character of Jehu is not difficult to understand, if we take it as a whole, and judge it from a general point of view.

He must be regarded, like many others in history, as an instrument for accomplishing great purposes rather than as great or good in himself. In the long period during which his destiny—though known to others and perhaps to himself—lay dormant; in the suddenness of his rise to power; in the ruthlessness with which he carried out his purposes; in the union of profound silence and dissimulation with a stern, fanatic, wayward zeal,—he has not been without his likeness in modern times. The Scripture narrative, although it fixes our attention on the services which he rendered to the cause of religion by the extermination of a worthless dynasty and a degrading worship, yet on the whole leaves the sense that it was a reign barren in great results. His dynasty, indeed, was firmly seated on the throne longer than any other royal house of Israel (2 K. x. 30), and under Jeroboam II. it acquired a high name amongst the Oriental nations. But Elisha, who had raised him to power, as far as we know never saw him. In other respects it was a failure; the original sin of Jeroboam's worship continued; and in the Prophet Hosea there seems to be a retribution exacted for the bloodshed by which he had mounted the throne: "I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu" (Hos. i. 4), as in the similar condemnation of Baasha (1 K. xvi. 2). See a striking poem to this effect on the character of Jehu in the *Lyra Apostolica*.

2. (B.* Εἰού, Ἰού, Ἰησοῦ; A. Εἰηού, Ἰηού.) Jehu, son of Hanani; a prophet of Judah, but whose ministrations were chiefly directed to Israel. His father was probably the seer who reproved Asa (2 Ch. xvi. 7). He must have begun his career as a prophet when very young. He first denounced Baasha, both for his imitation of the dynasty of Jeroboam, and also (as it would seem) for his cruelty in destroying it (1 K. xvi. 1, 7), and then, after an interval of thirty years, reappears to denounce Jehoshaphat for his alliance with Ahab (2 Ch. xix. 2, 3). He survived Jehoshaphat and wrote his life (xx. 34). From an obscurity in the text of 1 K. xvi. 7, the Vulgate has represented him as killed by Baasha. But this is not required by the words, and (except on the improbable hypothesis of two Jehus, both sons of Hanani) is contradicted by the later appearance of this prophet.

3. (B. Ἰησοῦς, A. Ἰηού; *Jehu.*) A man of Judah of the house of Hezron (1 Ch. ii. 38). He was the son of a certain Obed, descended from the union of an Egyptian, JARHA, with the daughter of Sheshan, whose slave Jarha was (cp. v. 34).

4. (Ἰηού.) A Simeonite, son of Josibiah (1 Ch. iv. 35). He was one of the chief men of the tribe, apparently in the reign of Hezekiah (cp. *v.* 41).

5. (Ἰηούλ.) Jehu the Antothite (A. V.; Anathothite, R. V.), *i.e.* native of Anathoth, was one of the chief of the heroes of Benjamin, who forsook the cause of Saul for that of David when the latter was at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 3). He does not appear in any of the later lists.

[A. P. S.] [C. H.]

* The Black Obelisk is figured large in Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh* (fol., Ser. I., 1849, No. 53), small in Layard's *Nineveh* (1849, 8vo, p. 347); and in both volumes there are descriptions, but not translations. The name JEHU was first discovered on this monument in 1851 by Dr. Hincks. His name is also found, according to Norris, upon an unpublished fragment of another inscription of Shalmaneser (Norris, *Assyr. Dict.*, Pt. ii. p. 467). It was for some while the earliest in Scripture history yielded by the Assyrian records, and was so represented in the former edition of this Dictionary. But about 1867 the earlier king AHAB was found in the *Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser* from Kurkh (see its entire translation by Sayce in *Records of the Past*, iii., 1874; cp. Norris, *Assyr. Dict.*, Pt. i. p. 25), and he now holds the priority, as noticed by Prof. Sayce (*Witness of Ancient Monuments*, 1884, p. 9; see also the Introductions to his above translations).

JEHUB'BAH (יְחֻבָּה, *(?)=hidden;* B. Ὠβάβ, A. Ὀβά; *Haba*), a man of Asher; son of Shamer or Shomer, of the house of Beriah (1 Ch. vii. 34).

JEHU'CAL (יְהוּכָל, perhaps a contraction of יְהוֹיוּכָל = *Jehovah is able* [MV.[11]]; B. Ἰωάχαλ, A. Ἰωαχάζ; *Juchal*), son of Shelemiah, sent with Zephaniah by king Zedekiah to Jeremiah, to entreat his prayers and advice (Jer. xxxvii. 3). His name is also given as JUCAL, and he appears to have been one of the "princes of the king" (cp. xxxviii. 1, 4).

JE'HUD (יְהוּד; B. Ἀζώρ, A. Ἰούθ; *Jud*), one of the towns of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 45), named between Baalath and Bene-berak, *Ibn Ibrâk*. By Eusebius and Jerome Jehud is not named. It has been identified by Robinson (ii. 242) and Schwarz (p. 110) with *el-Yehûdiyeh*, a large mud village, surrounded by palm trees, on the plain about 8 miles east of Jaffa. According to the Samaritans, it is the burial-place of *Neby Hûdah*, Judah (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 258). Possibly Jehud, and not Jerusalem, as Prof. Sayce has suggested, may be the Judah-Melek of Shishak's inscription at Karnak. [G.] [W.]

JEHU'DI (יְהוּדִי = *Jew;* BN. om. *v.* 14; A. Ἰουδεΐ, BNA. Ἰουδεῖν in *vv.* 21, 23; *Judi*), son of Nethaniah, employed by the princes of Jehoiakim's court to bring Baruch before them with the roll of Jeremiah's denunciation. When this had been read to them by Baruch and afterwards laid up in the chamber of Elishama, Jehudi fetched it therefrom by command of the king and read it to him and the princes; but after Jehudi had read three or four leaves the king cut the roll and cast it into the fire (Jer. xxxvi. [LXX. xliii.] 14, 21, 23).

JEHUDI'JAH (הַיְּהוּדִיָּה); B. Ἀδειά, A. Ἰδιά; *Judaia*). There is really no such name in the Hebrew Bible as that which our A. V. exhibits in 1 Ch. iv. 18. It is rather an appellative, "the Jewess," as in the A. V. margin, the R. V. text, and modern commentators generally. As far as an opinion can be formed on so obscure and apparently corrupt a passage, Mered, a descendant of Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and whose towns (Gedor, Socho, and Eshtemoa) lay in the south of Judah, married two wives; one a Jewess, the other an Egyptian, a daughter of Pharaoh. The Jewess was sister of Naham, the founder of the cities of Keilah and Eshtemoa. The descendants of Mered by his two wives are given in *vv.* 18, 19, and perhaps in the latter part of *v.* 17. Hodijah in *v.* 19 may be a corruption of Ha-jehudijah, "the Jewess," though the R. V. and modern critics retain it as a proper name. If the full stop at the end of *v.* 18 be removed, the passage may be read, "These are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took (for his wife), and the sons of his wife, the Jewess, the sister of Naham (which Naham was), the father of Keilah, whose inhabitants are Garmites, and of Eshtemoa, whose inhabitants are Maachathites;" the last being named possibly from Maachah, Caleb's concubine, as the Ephrathites were from Ephratah. Bertheau (*Chronik*) arrives at the same general result, by proposing to place the closing words of *v.* 18 before the words "And she bare Miriam," &c., in *v.* 17, and with him agree Keil, Oettli, &c. in locc. See also Vatablus in loco in Bp. Pearson's *Critici Sacri*, 1660, t. ii. col. 2661.
[A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JEHU'SH, R. V. JEUSH (יְעוּשׁ; Ἰάς, B. Γάγ, A. Ἰδιάς; *Jehus*), son of Eshek, a remote descendant of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 39). The parallel genealogy in ch. ix. 43, 44 stops short of this man.

JEI'EL (יְעִיאֵל; *Jehiel*). **1.** (Ἰωήλ.) A chief man among the Reubenites, one of the house of Joel (1 Ch. v. 7).

2. (Ἰεϊήλ; A. once Ἰθιήλ.) A Merarite Levite, one of the gate-keepers (שֹׁעֲרִים; A. V. "porters" and "doorkeepers") to the sacred tent, at the first establishment of the Ark in Jerusalem (1 Ch. xv. 18). His duty was also to play the harp (*v.* 21), or the psaltery and harp (xvi. 5), in the service before the Ark.

3. (Ἐλεϊήλ, B. Ἐλαλεήλ, A. Ἐλεήλ.) A Gershonite Levite, one of the Bene-Asaph, forefather of JAHAZIEL in the time of king Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xx. 14).

4. (יְעוּאֵל, *i.e.* Jeuel, but the A. V. and R. V. follow the correction of the *Qeri;* Ἰεϊήλ.) The scribe (הַסּוֹפֵר) who kept the account of the numbers of king Uzziah's irregular predatory warriors (גְּדוּדִים, A. V. "bands," 2 Ch. xxvi. 11).

5. (Jeuel, as in the preceding, but the A. V. again follows the *Keri*, whilst R. V. reads Jeuel; Ἰεϊήλ; *Jahiel.*) A Gershonite Levite, one of the Bene-Elizaphan, who assisted in the restoration of the house of Jehovah under king Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 13).

6. (B. Ἰωήλ, A. Ἰεϊήλ.) One of the chiefs of (יִשָּׂרִי) the Levites in the time of Josiah, and an assistant in the rites at his great Passover (2 Ch. xxxv. 9).

7. (Jeuel as above, but in *Qeri* and A. V. Jeiel; in R. V. Jeuel: Ἰεήλ; B. Ἐνειά, A. Ἐλήλ.) One of the Bene-Adonikam who formed part of the caravan of Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezra viii. 13). In Esdras the name is JEUEL.

8. (Ἰαήλ, A. Ἰεειήλ.) A layman, of the Bene-Nebo, who had taken a foreign wife and had to relinquish her (Ezra x. 43). In Esdras it is omitted from the Greek and A. V., though the Vulgate has *Idelus.*

JEKAB-ZE-EL (יְקַבְצְאֵל; B. omits, A. Καβσεήλ; *Cabseel*), a fuller form of the name of KABZEEL, the most remote city of Judah on the southern frontier. This form occurs only in the list of the places re-occupied after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 25). Its site is unknown.
[G.] [W.]

JEKAM-EAM (יְקַמְעָם, *(?)=*[God] *raises up the people:* B. Ἰεκμιάς, Ἰοκόμ; A. Ἰεκεμιά: *Jecmaam, Jecmaan*), a Levite in the time of king David: fourth of the sons of Hebron, the son of Kohath (1 Ch. xxiii. 19; xxiv. 23).

JEKAMI'AH (יְקַמְיָה, *(?)=May Jehovah upraise;* B. Ἰεχεμίας, A. Ἰεκομιάς; *Icamia*), son of

Shallum, in the line of Ahlai, about contemporary with king Ahaz. In another passage the same name, borne by a different person, is given as JECAMIAH (1 Ch. ii. 41). [JARHA.] [A. C. H.]

JEKU'THIEL (יְקוּתִיאֵל, (?)= *the protection of God* [MV.[11]]; B. ὁ Χετιήλ, A. Ἰεκθιήλ; *Icuthiel*), a man recorded in the genealogies of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 18) as the son of a certain Ezrah by his Jewish wife (A. V. Jehudijah), and in his turn the father, or founder, of the town of Zanoah. This passage in the Targum is not without a certain interest. Jered is interpreted to mean Moses, and each of the names following are taken as titles borne by him. Jekuthiel—"trust in God"—is so applied "because in his days the Israelites trusted in the God of heaven for forty years in the wilderness."

In a remarkable prayer used by the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the concluding service of the Sabbath, Elijah is invoked as having had "tidings of peace delivered to him by the hand of Jekuthiel." This is explained to refer to some transaction in the life of Phineas, with whom Elijah is, in the traditions of the Jews, believed to be identical (see the quotations in *Modern Judaism*, p. 229).

JEMI'MA (יְמִימָה; Ἡμέρα; *Dies*, as if from יוֹם, "a day:" cp. יְמִימָה, *īmāmā*, day), the eldest of the three daughters born to Job after the restoration of his prosperity (Job xlii. 14). Gesenius and Dillmann identify the name with an Arabic word signifying "dove." [W. T. B.]

JEM'NAAN (Ἰεμναάν; Vulg. omits), mentioned among the places on the sea-coast of Palestine to which the panic of the incursion of Holofernes extended (Judith ii. 28). No doubt Jabneel—generally called Jamnia by the Greek writers—is intended. The omission of Joppa, however, is remarkable. [G.] [W.]

JEMU'EL (יְמוּאֵל: B. Ἰεμουήλ, Ἰεμιήλ; A. Ἰεμουήλ: *Jemuel*, *Jamuel*), the eldest son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15). In the lists of Num. xxvi. and 1 Ch. iv. the name is given as NEMUEL, which Gesenius decides to be the corrupted form.

JEPHTHA'E (Ἰεφθάε; *Jephte*), Heb. xi. 32. The Greek form of the name JEPHTHAH.

JEPH'THAH (יִפְתָּח = [God] *opens* or *makes free* [M.V.[11]] or = *the breaker through* [Edersheim]; Ἰεφθάε; *Jephte*), a judge. His history is contained in Judg. xi. 1–xii. 7. He was a Gileadite, the son of Gilead and a concubine. Driven by the legitimate sons from his father's inheritance, he went to Tob, and became the head of a company of freebooters in a debatable land probably belonging to Ammon (2 Sam. x. 6). The idolatrous Israelites in Gilead were at that time smarting under the oppression of an Ammonitish king; and Jephthah was led, as well as by the unsettled character of the age as by his own family circumstances, to adopt a kind of life unrestrained, adventurous, and insecure as that of a Scottish border-chieftain in the Middle Ages. It was not unlike the life which David afterwards led at Ziklag, with this exception, that Jephthah had no friend among the heathen in whose land he lived. His fame as a bold and successful captain was carried back to his native Gilead; and when the time was ripe for throwing off the yoke of Ammon, the Gileadite elders sought in vain for any leader who in an equal degree with the base-born outcast could command the confidence of his countrymen. Jephthah consented to become their captain, on the condition—solemnly ratified before the Lord in Mizpeh—that in the event of his success against Ammon he should still remain as their acknowledged head. Messages, urging their respective claims to occupy the trans-Jordanic region, were exchanged between the Ammonitish king and Jephthah. Then the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah. He collected warriors throughout Gilead and Manasseh, the provinces which acknowledged his authority. And then he vowed his vow unto the Lord, "Whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, it shall be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt offering" (R. V.). The Ammonites were routed with great slaughter. Twenty cities, from Aroer on the Arnon to Minnith and to Abel Keramim, were taken from them. But as the conqueror returned to Mizpeh there came out to meet him a procession of damsels with dances and timbrels, and among them—the first person from his own house—his daughter and only child. "Alas! my daughter, thou hast brought me very low," was the greeting of the heart-stricken father. But the high-minded maiden was ready for any personal suffering in the hour of her father's triumph. Only she asked for a respite of two months to withdraw to her native mountains, and in their recesses to weep with her virgin-friends that she was to die unmarried. When that time was ended, she returned to her father; and "he did unto her his vow."

But Jephthah had not long leisure, even if he were disposed, for the indulgence of domestic grief. The proud tribe of Ephraim challenged his right to go to war, as he had done without their concurrence, against Ammon; and they proceeded to vindicate the absurd claim by invading Jephthah in Gilead. They did but add to his triumph which they envied. He first defeated them, then intercepted the fugitives at the fords of Jordan, and there, having insultingly identified them as Ephraimites by their peculiar pronunciation, he put forty-two thousand men to the sword.

The eminent office for which Jephthah had stipulated as the reward of his exertions, and the glory which he had won, did not long abide with him. He judged Israel six years and died.

It is generally conjectured that his jurisdiction was limited to the trans-Jordanic region.

That the daughter of Jephthah was really offered up to God in sacrifice, slain by the hand of her father and then burned, is a horrible conclusion; but one which it seems impossible to avoid (cp. Wordsworth, *Holy Bible, with notes*, in loco). This was understood to be the meaning of the text by Jonathan the paraphrast, and Rashi, by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 7, § 10), and by perhaps all the early Christian fathers, as Origen, *in Joannem*, tom. vi. cap. 36; Chrysostom, *Hom. ad pop. Antioch.* xiv. 3, *Opp.* ii. 145; Theodoret, *Quaest.*

in Jud. xx.; Jerome, *Ep. ad Jul.* 118, *Opp.* i. 791, &c.; Augustine, *Quaest. in Jud.* viii. § 49, *Opp.* iii. 1, p. 610. For the first eleven centuries of the Christian era this was the current, perhaps the universal, opinion of Jews and Christians. Yet none of them extenuate the act of Jephthah. Josephus calls it neither lawful nor pleasing to God. Jewish writers say that he ought to have referred it to the high-priest; but either he failed to do so, or the high-priest culpably omitted to prevent the rash act. Origen strictly confines his praise to the heroism of Jephthah's daughter.

Another interpretation was suggested by Joseph Kimchi. He supposed that, instead of being sacrificed, she was shut up in a house which her father built for the purpose, and that she was there visited by the daughters of Israel four days in each year so long as she lived. This interpretation has been adopted by many eminent men, as by Levi ben Gersom and Bechai among the Jews, and by Drusius, Grotius, Estius, de Dieu, Bishop Hall, Waterland, Dr. Hales, and others. And this opinion has found favour with many modern critics (cp. Cassel in Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n. "Iefta"; Köhler, *König, Hauptprobl.* p. 74; Edersheim, *Bible History*, ii. 159, &c.). Support for these opinions respectively is deduced from the original text and the customs of the day (see them stated in the first edition of this work), and theological opinions have sometimes had the effect of leading men to prefer one view of Jephthah's vow to another. The act itself is, however, one which the Scripture relates in all its baldness, and leaves judgment upon it unpronounced. There is no necessity to turn in explanation of it to foreign analogies, such as have been sought in the sacrifice of his son by Idomeneus or in the intention of Agamemnon to offer Iphigenia; still less is the act to be set aside as mythological and unhistorical. The commendation of Jephthah's faith (Heb. xi. 32) leaves unaffected acts which, if reprobated to-day, are not incompatible with the belief of the age in which they are alleged to have occurred (cp. Mozley, *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages and their relation to O. T. faith*, Lectures ii., iii. and xi.).

The views of the modern school upon the sources and text of Jephthah's history may be seen summed up in Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebräer*, ii. 80 sq., 1892. [W. L. B.] [F.]

JEPHUN'NE (Ἰεφοννῆ; *Jephone*), Ecclus. xlvi. 7. [JEPHUNNEH.]

JEPHUN'NEH (יְפֻנֶּה; *Jephone*). **1.** (Ἰεφοννή.) Father of Caleb the spy, who is usually designated as "Caleb the son of Jephunneh." He appears to have belonged to an Edomitish tribe called Kenezites, from Kenaz their founder; but his father or other ancestors are not named. [CALEB, 2; KENAZ.] (See Num. xiii. 6, &c., xxxii. 12, &c.; Josh. xiv. 14, &c.; 1 Ch. iv. 15.)

2. (B. Ἰφινά, A. Ἰεφιήλ.) A descendant of Asher, eldest of the three sons of Jether (1 Ch. vii. 38). [A. C. H.]

JE'RAH (יֶרַח, *Yèrach*; in Gen. A. Ἰδρᾶδ, F. Ἰδρεδ; *Jare*), the fourth of the thirteen sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 26; 1 Ch. i. 20 [BA. om.]), who appear to represent the eponymous ancestors or founders of a group of related tribes in Western and Southern Arabia. The name Jerah, however, has not been certainly identified, either locally or in Arab genealogical traditions. Bochart, indeed, suggested that יֶרַח was not the actual name of the Joktanide clan in question, but a Hebrew translation of it, and that the clan was, in fact, the *Banū Hilāl*, "Sons of the New Moon," in Northern Yemen, whom he further identified with the Alilaei mentioned by Agatharchides (*ap.* Diod. Sic. iii. 45). But the assumption of a translation instead of a transcription of the name is unsatisfactory; and, in any case, יֶרַח is not Heb. for "New Moon" (חֹדֶשׁ), nor even "moon," but "month."[a] And it is known that the *Banū Hilāl* got their name from an ancestor of the Prophet, belonging to the tribe of *Ḳais*, and therefore have nothing to do with the Alilaei (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, Tab. XA; Abul-Fidā, p. 194, ed. Fleischer, cited by E. S. Poole).

In the Hebrew list, Jerah follows Hazarmaveth, the modern Hadhramaut. J. D. Michaelis, therefore, while adopting Bochart's main idea, compared غب القمر, *Ghubbu'l-Ḳamar*, "The Coast of the Moon," and جبل القمر, *G'abalu'l-Ḳamar*, "The Mountain of the Moon," both E. of Hadhramaut. Mr. E. S. Poole compared يراخ, *Yarākh*, a fortress of the Nig'ād, in Mahrah (*Marāsid*, s. v. *Yarākh*); Prof. D. H. Müller, *Warākh*, an inhabited mountain in the district of *al-'Aud*, W. of Hadhramaut (Hamdānī, *G'azīrat al-'Arab*, pp. 178 sq.). But we can hardly feel assured of the Hebrew reading of the name, in face of the LXX. variant Jarad or Jared; and it is possible that K. Niebuhr's hesitating comparison of يريم, *Jarīm*, a very ancient town of Hadhramaut, is correct (*Arabien*, p. 291). [C. J. B.]

JERAH'ME-EL (יְרַחְמְאֵל = *God hath mercy*: B. Ἰραμεήλ, Ἰερεμεήλ, Ἰερεμαήλ, Ῥαμεήλ; A. Ἰερεμεήλ, Ἰερεμιήλ: *Jerameel*). **1.** First-born son of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah (1 Ch. ii. 9). His wives and descendants are given at length in *vv.* 25–33. and nowhere else. [AZARIAH, 13; ZABAD.] They inhabited the southern border of Judah. [JERAHMEELITES.]

2. (Ἰραμαήλ.) A Merarite Levite; the representative, at the time of the organisation of the Divine service by king David, of the family of Kish the son of Mahli (1 Ch. xxiv. 29; cp. xxiii. 21).

3. (Ἰερεμεήλ.) Son of Hammelech, or as the LXX., R.V., A.V. margin, render it, "son of the king," *i.e.* a prince of the blood. He was employed by Jehoiakim to make Jeremiah and Baruch prisoners, after the roll of Jeremiah's prophecy had been burnt (Jer. xxxvi. [LXX. xliii.] 26). [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

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[a] The kindred term יָרֵחַ is "moon;" although, like the Assyrian *arḫu*, its formal equivalent, יֶרַח doubtless originally denoted "moon," and then "month."

JERAH'MEELITES, THE (הַיִּרְחְמְאֵלִי: Ἰεσμεγά, ὁ Ἰερεμεήλ; B. in xxx. 29, Ἰσραήλ; A. Ἰσραμηλεί, Ἰεραμηλεί: *Jerameel*). The tribe descended from the first of the foregoing persons (1 Sam. xxvii. 10). Their cities were also named amongst those to which David sent presents from his Amalekite booty (xxx. 29), although to Achish he had represented that he had attacked them.

JER'ECHUS (Ἱέρεχος, B. Ἰερέχου; Bᵃ. Ἰερεχού; *Ericus*), 1 Esd. v. 22. [JERICHO.]

JE'RED, R. V. JARED (יֶרֶד=*descent*; Ἰάρεδ; *Jared*). **1.** One of the patriarchs before the Flood, son of Mahalaleel and father of Enoch (1 Ch. i. 2). In Genesis the name is given as JARED.

2. (*Jaret.*) One of the descendants of Judah signalised as the "father—*i.e.* the founder—of Gedor" (1 Ch. iv. 18). He was one of the sons of Ezrah by his wife Ha-Jehudijah, *i.e.* the Jewess. The Jews, however, give an allegorical interpretation to the passage, and treat this and other names therein as titles of Moses—Jered because he caused the manna to descend. Here—as noticed under Jabez—the pun, though obvious in biblical Hebrew, where *Jarad* (the root of Jordan) means "to descend," is concealed in the rabbinical paraphrase, which has אוֹרִית, —a word with the same meaning, but without any relation to *Jered*, either for eye or ear.

[G.] [W.]

JERE'MAI (יִרְמַי; B. Ἰεραμελμ, A. Ἰερεμί, א. Ἰεραμεί; *Jermai*), a layman; one of the Bene-Hashum, who was compelled by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezra x. 33). In the lists of Esdras it is omitted.

JEREMI'AH, BOOK OF. 1. *Title.*—יִרְמְיָהוּ the usual form, but יִרְמְיָה occurs, besides the heading to the Book, in xxvii. 1, xxviii. 5, 10, 11, 15, xxix. 1; so Dan. ix. 2: LXX. Ἱερεμίας; Vulg. *Jeremias;* St. Jerome and others, *Hieremias.* Conjectures as to the meaning of the name are (*a*) "the Lord's exalted one" (St. Jerome, and so Simonis, *Onomast.* p. 535); (*b*) "the Lord's appointed one" (Gesen. *Thes.* s. v., "jecit, id est, collocavit, constituit," referring it to the sense of the root which appears probably in Dan. vii. 9, "placed," marg. *cast down*, R. V.); (*c*) "the Lord throws (down)" (Hengst. *Christologie des A. B.*, Clark's Library, ii. 361, tracing this use of the root to Ex. xv. 1, and making the application in Jeremiah's case to be to the work spoken of in i. 10). This last perhaps accords most closely with the analogues יִבְנִיָּה, יִפְדָיָה, יִזְרַחְיָה; yet the ill omen which it suggests is hardly in accordance with the fact that the name was far from uncommon.

2. *Authorship and Authenticity.* — An unvarying tradition ascribes the Book to Jeremiah the Prophet, and the strong impress of the writer's individuality, which is apparent throughout the greater part, confirms us in this conclusion.[a] We must however at once except ch. lii. because of (i.) the last words of li.; (ii.) a certain peculiarity of style, *e.g.* the use of the name Jehoiachin instead of Coniah or Jeconiah; (iii.) the contents of *vv.* 31–34. Other portions in which the authorship has been doubted or denied are viii. 10–12;[b] x. 1–16;[c] xv. 11–14; xvii. 19–27; xxv. 12–14; xxvii. 7,[b] 16–22; xxx.–xxxiii.; xxxix. 1, 2; xlviii., l., li.

The chief of those who have denied or doubted the genuineness of one or more of the above passages are Berthold, Cheyne, Ewald, Graf, Hitzig, Knobel, Meier, Movers, Naegelsbach, Schnurrer, Struensee, Venema; while amongst their defenders are Hengstenberg, Keil, and Payne Smith.

It would seem unlikely that Baruch was in any sense the author of portions of the Book, with the possible exception of the historical appendix (lii.), carefully distinguished (see li. 64) from Jeremiah's own words.

Parts of the LXX. in this Book present startling exceptions to its general rule of adherence with tolerable fidelity to the Massoretic text. Hence has arisen the question, whether the Heb. or the Greek text of Jeremiah is to be considered the more authentic. We may conveniently classify their divergencies under two heads.

(1.) *Matter.*—In the LXX., besides a certain amount of alteration of a kind to affect the sense, while little is added, there is an immense number of trifling omissions besides some of more importance. The longest of these last—none of them, we may observe, of a character to be easily omitted by accident—are xxix. 16–20; xxxiii. 14–26; xxxix. 4–13; liii. 28–30. On the whole about an eighth of the Heb. text is wanting.

(2.) *Arrangement.*—The position of the prophecies against foreign nations differs.[d] In the LXX. instead of coming near the end of the Book (xlvi.–li.) they follow upon xxv. 13, and therefore immediately precede the section of kindred subject-matter which begins at xxv. 15. Also the order of sequence of these prophecies among themselves[e] differs.

It is not a case of two independent recensions, for then (*a*) the striking differences would not be confined to certain parts of the Book, and (*b*) we should not find the peculiar form of Introduction (i. 1–3),[f] virtually the same, and lii. added in both. Further we must suppose both forms of the Book to have existed very early, as it would be impossible that one already for any length of time in possession (a thing which would naturally take place in a very

[a] For the strange view which places the writing of this and of the other Prophetical Books in the 2nd cent. B.C., see E. Havet in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1889, iv. p. 516, &c. (answered by De Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, vol. iv.), and Maurice Vernes, *Précis d'Histoire Juive depuis les Origines jusqu'à l'Époque Persane*, 1890.

[b] Omitted in LXX.

[c] And *v.* 11, on the special ground that it is in Chaldee.

[d] Noticed as early as Origen, *Ep. ad Afric.*, Migne, p. 56; Hieron. *Praef. in Jerem.*

[e] See *e.g.* Naegelsbach, in translation of Lange's *Commentary*, &c. (T. and T. Clark, Edinb.), *Introd.* p. 13. The Heb. order is preferable from internal considerations.

[f] Implying repeated alteration from the original shape. *Vv.* 1, 2 are the natural heading of a prophecy including only the utterances of Josiah's reign. *V.* 3 is evidently added with a further group, but still does not cover xl.–xliv.

brief period with a Prophet, illustrious and honoured as Jeremiah became) should admit another so different to be on anything like an equal footing.

Views as to the causes of variation may be thus classified:[g] (*a*) errors of copyists (St. Jerome, Grabe), (*b*) negligence or caprice of LXX. (Spohn, Naegelsbach, Wichelhaus, Keil, Graf), (*c*) two or more recensions of the Hebrew (J. D. Michaelis, Movers, Hitzig, Bleek, and Workman[h] holding that that followed by the LXX. is nearer the original text, while Ewald, ? Hävernick, Schrader, and Kuenen consider that, while on the whole the Massoretic text is to be preferred, the Greek translation, in spite of manifold errors and caprices, now and then gets nearer to the original). Against the LXX. are pleaded (*a*) the arbitrary character of an immense number of the renderings, alike affecting letters, syllables, words, and verses; (*b*) the omissions, especially those which do not materially affect the sense, viz. the words "the prophet," "saith the Lord," "the Lord of hosts the God of Israel," &c. Hence it has been suggested that Baruch, desiring on the death of Jeremiah to return to Palestine and to carry with him the original writings, allowed several persons to transcribe the prophecies *in all haste*, and that the LXX. preserves for us this form of the Book.[i] On behalf of the LXX. are pleaded (*a*) its more important omissions (see above) as not of a character to be accidentally left out; (*b*) the use of cipher[k] in the Heb. text (not recognised in the LXX.); (*c*) the position given in the Greek text to the prophecies directed against foreign nations, as one which they are more likely to have occupied in Jeremiah's roll.[l] On the whole it would appear that the text which formed the basis of the Greek translators' work was, both in accuracy and in the arrangement of its matter, superior to the Massoretic text, while the numerous errors which disfigure the LXX. Version of the Book are to be charged (we know not with what precise distribution of blame) to slips on their own part, and to errors, obscurities, lacunae, &c. in the Heb. MSS. on which they worked.

3. *Date and Place.*—This subject has been of necessity discussed already under the heading of authenticity. Either before, or very soon after Jeremiah's death in Egypt (? A.D. 575[m]), Baruch, we may conjecture, put together the Prophet's writings, and, as well through dislike of the princes who had brought him thither as in deference to his master's unvarying opinion (ii. 36; xxxvii. 7; xlii. 9–22), returned with the Book to Palestine.

4. *Persons addressed.*—A. *His own nation.* Even the reformation-work of Josiah seems to have been but superficial. Jeremiah was called upon to seek to convince of sin and stir up to a sense of the requirements of the Divine Law the followers of Baal and Astarte (i. 16; ii. 5, 11, 13, 20, 23, 27, 28; iii. 1 sq.; vii. 18; ix. 14), and of the unholy pleasures to which that worship ministered (v. 7, 8),—men devoted to magical arts (xxvii. 9) and steeped in habits of dishonesty (v. 1, 26–28; vi. 13; vii. 8; ix. 3–6, 8), false swearing (v. 2; xxiii. 10), violence (vi. 7; vii. 5, 6; xxi. 12), and infanticide (viii. 31; xix. 5; xxxii. 35).[n]

Many of his rebukes are directly addressed to the priests and false prophets. For Jeremiah, unlike certain of his predecessors, had to meet the united hostility of these two classes,[o] who, as we see (v. 31; vi. 13; viii. 10; xxiii. 11), played into each other's hands.[p] The main object of the former was to ensure the external prosperity of the Temple, as the substantial symbol of the theocracy, and the source of their own gains; while the prophets, closely joined with them by a common interest in the maintenance of the *status quo*, supported the priesthood by their optimistic teachings, which were delivered with an air of the utmost confidence and bolstered up by pretended revelations obtained by incantation and magical arts (which Deut. xviii. 10–14 had stringently forbidden), and uncontrolled by the Spirit of God (Jer. xiv. 14). Jeremiah, "by each of his callings naturally led to sympathize with both, was the doomed antagonist of both."[q] For his language towards them, besides the passages given above, see ii. 8, 26; vi. 14 sq.; viii. 1, 13; xiii. 13; xiv. 13–17; xviii. 18; xxvi. 7, 12–15; xxvii. 9, 14, 16; xxix. 21–32; xxxii. 32; xxxiv. 19; xxxvii. 19.

On the other hand, the "princes"[r] were friendly to Jeremiah in his earlier time (xxvi.), and not unfriendly even in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (xxxvi.). Later (xxxvii. 15 sq.) they were decidedly hostile.

Lastly, from none of the kings did the Prophet meet with any active or continuous opposition, although the fate of the roll (xxxvi. 23) and the treatment to which Zedekiah allowed the Prophet to be subjected, show that the warnings which he addressed to Jehoiakim and his successors by no means always induced them to bow to the authority which he claimed.

B. *Heathen nations.* Jeremiah addresses the nations[s] through their ambassadors both by word and acted symbol, warning them of the crushing

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[g] This classification is taken in the main from article *Jeremiah* (Cheyne) in 9th ed. of *Encycl. Brit.*

[h] See the careful treatise of the last-named writer (Edinb. 1889).

[i] See *Speaker's Comm.* (Payne Smith), Introd. to Jer.

[k] Ch. xxv. 26, li. 1, 41, and cp. *v.* 64. In defence of the probability of Jeremiah's use of a Kabbalistic system of writing (Atbash) in these passages, see Plumptre's note on xxxii. 9 in Bp. Ellicott's *O. T. Comm. for English Readers.*

[l] See Naegelsbach, *Introd.* p. xiii., with reff. to his Commentary there given.

[m] About ten years after his arrival in Egypt. The traditional notices are slender and even inconsistent. The Christian account is given by Tertullian, *adv. Gnost.* 8, "Jeremias lapidatur;" so Hieron. *adv. Jov.* ii. 37. The Jewish is that Nebuchadnezzar brought him and Baruch from Egypt to Babylon (סדר עולם רבא פ"ץ), but Rashi (on xliv. 14) says that he died in Judaea.

[n] See also vii. 9, xxix. 23, and many other passages.

[o] The "wise," joined with these two as a third ministerial class in the Jewish state (xviii. 18, but cp. vii. 9), seem to have been naturally on friendly terms with Jeremiah. See Canon Cheyne's *Jer. his Life and Times*, p. 90.

[p] See Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 441, for contrast between Jeremiah's position in this respect and that of Isaiah or Amos.

[q] Stanley's *Jewish Church*, ii. 440.

[r] Probably heads of prominent families.

[s] For this custom see Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* iv. 196.

power of the growing empire of Babylon (xxvii. 1–11). This was early in the reign of Zedekiah. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim he had addressed to the nations similar warnings, emphasized by the symbol of the wine-cup (xxv. 8–38), and to the same date belongs the greater part of the prophecies relating to foreign nations, which are comprised in xlvi.–xlix. The prophecy against Babylon (l., li.) is probably later.

5. *Contents and character.* — A. *Contents.* (i.) *Jeremiah's early life.* He was a priest and son of Hilkiah (i. 1). If with some (*e.g.* St. Clem. Alex., St. Jer., Theodoret, Kimchi, Abarbanel, Eichhorn, Von Bohlen, Umbreit) we assume that his father is identical with the high-priest[t] who five years (cp. i. 2 with 2 K. xxii. 3–8) after Jeremiah's call "found the book of the law in the house of the Lord," we can the more clearly picture to ourselves the Prophet's training as son of the man who held not only the chief position in religious matters, but also the foremost place in Josiah's reformation. In favour of this view are (i.) the respect with which the Prophet was treated by the kings and the princes of Judah, and (ii.) the fact that Baruch, a man of good birth,[u] and brother of Seraiah, a prince (li. 59), was willing to be his scribe. Against it is the fact that Hilkiah was descended from Eleazar (1 Ch. vi. 4–13), but the priests of Anathoth through Abiathar from Ithamar (1 K. ii. 26; 1 Ch. xxiv. 3). It is however not impossible, nor even, for aught we know, very improbable, that members of both lines of descent should reside in the same priestly city, and it is certainly likely that the dominant family would secure for its high-priest a dwelling in a place so conveniently near ("three Roman miles," St. Jer. on i. 1; "twenty Roman stadia," Jos. *Ant.* x. 7, § 3) to Jerusalem.[x]

Jeremiah speaks of himself at the time of his call as "a child" (נַעַר, i. 6). The same word is used of Joshua (Ex. xxxiii. 11) at a time when he appears to have been forty-five years of age.[y] In the case of Jeremiah, however, the length of his prophetic ministry shows that he must have been very youthful at its commencement. The period from about B.C. 626 (thirteenth year of Josiah) till B.C. 586 (destruction of Jerusalem) gives us forty years, while he survived for a considerable time the fall of the city.

That he was a Nazarite has been inferred by some, but hardly with sufficient reason, from (*a*) the reverence with which he regards the Rechabites (xxxv.); (*b*) the improbability that one trained in the house of a devout priest would be unmindful of such passages as Is. xxviii. 7, Amos ii. 11, 12; (*c*) Lam. iv. 7. In this connexion it has been pointed out also that a Rechabite is named Jeremiah (xxxv. 3).

The Biblical narrative suggests that Jeremiah was prepared for his life-work rather by the instruction and associations of Anathoth than by any formal training in the "schools of the prophets," and that he was thence called direct to the task of declaring the will of God to His disobedient people.[z]

(ii.) *His relations to Josiah* (B.C. 638–608). His attachment to the person of Josiah, as shown by his lamentation[a] over his death in battle (2 Ch. xxxv. 25), as well as the strong sympathy with which he regarded the war waged by the king against idolatry and its attendant defilements, neither hindered him from looking with disquietude upon the traditionary policy of seeking an alliance with Egypt (ii. 36), nor yet prevented him from seeing that hitherto it was but the surface of the nation's pollutions which had been touched. In fact, as far as his extant prophecies are concerned, Josiah's work of reformation might have been wholly non-existent, while on the other hand there is no mention of Jeremiah in the historical record. The mass of the people, and even the main body of the priests and prophets themselves, were unmoved, and it therefore behoved him unceasingly to preach the message with which he was charged.

During the gradual progress of this outward and partial reformation, and five years before its sudden and great development in connexion with the discovery of "the book of the law," the Prophet's actual call occurred, and in a form evidently altogether unlooked for (cp. Is. vi.; Ezek. i.). He shrinks from the prospect, but the Lord reassures him, touches his mouth and sends him forth as His Prophet.[b] The more important portion of his task is to consist in rebuke and threatening, "to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down" (i. 10), while out of the ruins a better and more hopeful state of things shall spring, "to build and to plant" (ibid.).

Now and to the end of his ministry idolatry is the foundation sin that he denounces. In the valley of Hinnom, close to Jerusalem, at any rate up to the time of Josiah's reforms, children were offered to Baal or Molech (vii. 31; xix. 5; xxxii. 35; the two being identified in this last passage); while "the queen of heaven" (vii. 18; xliv. 17, 18, 19, 25), the Atar-Samain of Assurbanipal's inscription,[c] received moon-shaped cakes from female worshippers. The Prophet dwells with perpetual iteration upon this indictment, and upon the overthrow that must ensue. Tokens of that overthrow are already to be seen in the shape of drought and famine (v. 25; xiv. 1). The power "from the north" (i. 13 sq.; iii. 18; iv. 6; vi. 22; x. 22; xiii. 20; xvi. 15; xxiii. 8),[d] subsequently defined as the Chaldeans

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[t] So Targum of "Jonathan" on Lam. begins thus: "Jeremiah the prophet and chief priest (וְכָהֲנָא רַבָּא) said."

[u] Josephus, *Ant.* x. 9, § 1, ἐξ ἐπισήμων σφόδρα οἰκίας.

[x] Hilkiah is not the only name common to the historical and prophetic record. We have also Shallum (xxxii. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 14) and Ahikam (xxvi. 24; 2 K. xxii. 12).

[y] Solomon (1 K. iii. 7) when about twenty years of age calls himself נַעַר קָטֹן.

[z] See Canon Cheyne, *Jer., his Life*, &c. pp. 31–35.

[a] Possibly his earliest appearance as a writer. Some, but without sufficient grounds, identify Lam. iv. with this elegy.

[b] Observe, however, that he is not called a נָבִיא till the great crisis of xxv. 2.

[c] But Stade, *Zeitschr. f. A. T. Wissensch.* 1886, p. 123 sq., makes מלכת=*dominion*, i.e. a general expression for the heavenly powers (sun, moon, and stars).

[d] These passages have been supposed by some to refer to the Scythian invasion (Herod. i. 103, &c.),

(xxv. 9), shall consummate the work of destruction. Nevertheless, for the people of God, redemption shall at length succeed punishment (iv. 27; v. 18; xvi. 14, 15; xxiii. 8; xxv. 12; xxvii. 22; xxix. 10; xxx. 3; xxxii. 37); while for their enemies victory shall be followed by judgment (li.).

(iii.) *His relations to the kings subsequent to Josiah.* There was now no longer even a semblance of observance paid to Josiah's covenant; while those who attributed the king's death to the anger of the gods, whose shrines he had overthrown at the Prophet's instigation, were naturally full of wrath against Jeremiah for the supposed results of his policy.

Of Shallum's brief reign Jeremiah speaks with kindness and sorrow (xxii. 10–12). Contrast the stern rebuke administered to his successor (*vv.* 13–19).

Jehoiakim, hitherto called Eliakim, the eldest son, succeeds (2 K. xxiii. 34), and now Jeremiah occupies a very important position. The favour of the court was no longer, as in the days of Josiah, on the side of the godly. Self-indulgence, covetousness, the shedding of innocent blood, violence, the exaction of forced labour and of exorbitant tribute, these (xxii. 13, 14, 17) were Jehoiakim's characteristics. The Prophet, in charging him with these sins, exasperates also the priests and false prophets. Between him and them it is henceforth war *à outrance*. Persecution from his own people (xi. 19) is now (xxvi. 7–24, probably = vii.) followed by an attempt at his judicial murder in Jerusalem.

Jeremiah illustrated his declaration that "all these lands are given into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar," God's "servant" (xxv. 9, xxvii. 6; cp. xliii. 10 and Ezek. xxix. 18–20), by the symbol of the moulding and remoulding of the potter's clay, and by the solemn breaking of an earthen vessel in the valley of Hinnom, in presence of the chief of the priests and people (xviii., xix.). This excited the wrath of Pashur, son of Immer (to be distinguished from the Pashur son of Melchiah, of xxi. 1), who had assumed to himself the functions of a prophet, but "prophesied lies" (xx. 6) in the name of the Lord. At his hands Jeremiah underwent ignominious treatment (xx. 2), including apparently imprisonment for a time.

In regard both to the history of the East and to Jeremiah's prophetic life, the fourth year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 604), as the year of Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Pharaoh-neco at Carchemish, was a turning-point.[e] There are few things in history so remarkable as the rapidity of the rise of the Chaldean power (Hab. i. 5, 6). "In B.C. 609 Babylon had still two seemingly vigorous rivals, Assyria and Egypt; in B.C. 604 it had the undisputed mastery of the East."[f]

Ch. xxv., Jeremiah's earliest closely dated prophecy (*v.* 1), was delivered apparently between the news of the victory and the arrival of the Chaldean army beneath the walls of Jerusalem. The special detail which marks the introduction to xxv., the definite date, the application to himself of the title Prophet (נָבִיא) for the first time, and the comprehensive glance which he casts at his whole previous ministry, all show that he considers this to form a decided crisis.[g] Accordingly he apparently reckons the seventy years' servitude (xxv. 11, xxix. 10; cp. xxvii. 7) as beginning from this time.

Nebuchadnezzar plunders the Temple of its sacred vessels, carries away Daniel and others to Babylon (2 Ch. xxxvi. 6, 7; Dan. i. 3), and then, hearing of his father's illness, hastens his return, in order to secure the throne. The Jews failed to profit by the warning, and in the fifth[h] year (B.C. 593) of Jehoiakim (xxxvi.) Jeremiah, himself hidden in some retreat from the expected wrath of the king, sent his trusted follower Baruch with a roll[i] to be read in the Temple on a fast day in the ears of all the people. The substance of it was reported to the king; the roll was fetched by his order, and read before him: whereupon, in spite of the intercession of certain of the princes, Jehoiakim burned it piece by piece. Baruch then at the Prophet's dictation wrote and communicated to the king another roll, containing in addition to the contents of the former a rebuke to him for his impious act, and further announcements of God's vengeance.

To this time is most fitly to be referred the acted symbol of the linen girdle (xiii.).[k] Commentators differ on the question whether Jeremiah on this occasion actually visited the Euphrates or not. On behalf of the former view, which on the whole appears the more probable (so Keil, Naegelsbach, Orelli), it is pointed out that (i.) the narrative is apparently quite straightforward and meant to be taken literally; (ii.) in fact Jeremiah may well have been at or near Babylon in the later years of

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seeing that Babylon is not north, but rather south-east of Palestine. That invasion, however, was too early (*circ.* B.C. 635) to be referred to here, as is also shown by the language of iii. 18, v. 19. The recollection of these inroads, and those of other savage bands, more or less subject to the Assyrian and Babylonian powers, may, however, have affected the *form* ("from the north") of his prophecy.

[e] "Epochemachend in Geschichte und Weissagung," Orelli in Strack's *Kurzgef. Comm.*

[f] Cheyne, Introd. to Jer., *Pulpit Comm.* p. v.

[g] See remarks in Naegelsbach's *Introd.* p. 5.

[h] The LXX. reads "eighth," which agrees with the statement of Josephus that Jehoiakim paid tribute to Nebuchadnezzar in his eighth year, viewed in connexion with 2 K. xxiv. 1, "In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant *three* years," *i.e.* till his rebellion towards the close (eleventh year) of his reign. That rebellion was naturally followed by the siege, which, however, actually fell in the short reign of his successor. See Cheyne, *Pulpit Comm.* on xxxvi. 9 (where, however, the order of the vassalage and rebellion is accidentally transposed), and Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, &c., Bd. xxiii. p. 300.

[i] The word (מְגִלָּה) occurs only in Jeremiah and later Books (Ezek. ii. 9, iii. 1; Zech. v. 1, 2). Ps. xl. 8 is a possible exception. The prophecy as read on this occasion probably consisted of the main part of ch. xxv. Cp. the contents of that chapter with the statement in xxxvi. 29. So Cheyne, and Grätz, *Monatssch.* Bd. xxiii. 298 sq.

[k] The date (at the close or immediately after the reign of Jehoiakim) is almost certainly settled by the mention in *v.* 18 of "the queen (mother)," Nehushta, carried captive to Babylon with her son Jehoiachin (xxix. 2). Some, however, take her to be Jedidah (2 K. xxii. 1), mother of Josiah.

Jehoiakim's reign, as we have no account of him during that period; (iii.) Jonah and probably Nahum had been there; (iv.) Jeremiah may have desired for his country's sake to become acquainted with its destined conquerors; (v.) if his visit was subsequent to the first deportation of Jews (third year of Jehoiakim, Dan. i. 1), he may have had the further object of visiting Ezekiel or Daniel. The former Prophet, as associated with Jeremiah at Jerusalem during the earlier part of Jehoiakim's reign, shows in his teaching many traces of Jeremiah's influence;[l] (vi.) the kindly feeling shown towards him by Nebuchadnezzar at the capture of Jerusalem points to an earlier acquaintance. Against the view are pleaded (by Graf, Rosenmüller, and others), (i.) the absence of the usual prefix "the river"; (ii.) the silence of the narrative as to the length of the journey; (iii.) the absence of rocks on the Euphrates; (iv.) the needlessness of going so far merely to prove that a girdle buried in the ground would become unfit for use. Hence Ewald and Birch have both suggested, instead of Euphrates, Forah (involving however a change of the text from פְּרָת to פָּרָה), a few miles N.E. of Jerusalem and of Anathoth, Birch (*Quart. Statement, PEF.* Oct. 1880, p. 236) identifying it with the Parah of Josh. xviii. 23. Others (*e.g.* Bochardt, Venema, Dathe, Hitzig) hold that פְּרָת = אֶפְרָת = Bethlehem, or the Bethlehem district with its limestone hills. It is best, however, to take the word in its literal sense. The river which runs through Babylon, about to be the city of exile, is naturally chosen as that on the banks of which the girdle should rot. Jeremiah and Baruch probably found it unsafe to return till the close of the reign of Jehoiakim, who came to a violent end and a dishonoured burial in accordance with Jeremiah's prophecy (xxii. 18, 19; cp. xxxvi. 30).

Jehoiachin (= Jeconiah of xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxix. 2; 1 Ch. iii. 16; Esth. ii. 6, and = Coniah[m] of xxii. 24, 28, xxxvii. 1), his son, succeeded to the throne (B.C. 597) at the age of eighteen[n] (2 K. xxiv. 8), and, like Jehoahaz, reigned but three months. Of Jeremiah's prophecies *undoubtedly* relating to this reign (excluding therefore xiii.), we have only his lament over the king's fate in xxii. 24–30.

Mattaniah, Josiah's youngest son, was placed on the throne by the king of Babylon, and assumed the name of Zedekiah, "the righteousness of the Lord," apparently meant to identify him with the teaching of xxiii. 6, however sad and pathetic was to be the contrast with such aspirations which was afforded by the history of his reign. He was well meaning, but utterly weak, a "poor roi fainéant."[o] His whole reign was spent in a policy of vacillation between the course urged by the Prophet and the suggestions of the princes. To this time belongs Jeremiah's letter of advice (xxix. 4–23) to the exiles, in which he counsels them to submit, and await restoration. The letter is received at Babylon with much indignation on the part of the false prophets (see xxix. 25–32, and cp. iii. 24; 2 K. xxv. 18). There was an impression prevalent both at Jerusalem (xxviii. 1–11) and at Babylon (xxix.), that Jehoiachin and the rest would soon return from exile. It was probably in consequence of this, and as an act of homage to Nebuchadnezzar, that Zedekiah in the fourth year of his reign (B.C. 593) visited Babylon (li. 59, but the LXX. text does not make him visit that city). On that occasion Jeremiah sends by Seraiah, Baruch's brother (cp. xxxii. 12), the prophecy (l., li. 1–58) of the overthrow of the city that now holds his countrymen captive.

A Chaldean army now (B.C. 589) approached Jerusalem. The wealthiest of the people (in particular probably those in the rural parts), who had apparently long taken advantage of the distressed condition of their land to enslave their brethren, consented under this pressure (xxxiv. 8–10) to release them. But on the departure of the besieging army to meet that of Pharaoh-Hophra, which was thought to be about to attempt the raising of the siege, the princes withdrew their boon from the manumitted (*v.* 11), an act which Jeremiah denounced in the strongest terms (*vv.* 17–22). The Prophet had already several years previously (xxvii. 2) appeared in the streets with a yoke upon his neck to symbolize the impending servitude of the nation; and when Hananiah, who had prophesied deliverance in two years (xxviii. 3), had broken the yoke, Jeremiah foretold his speedy death (*vv.* 16, 17). His attempt during a temporary absence of the besiegers, by a visit to Anathoth, to secure himself in the possession of a portion of land near that town (xxxvii. 12),[p] gave his enemies the opportunity of seizing him and putting him in prison as a deserter (*vv.* 13–16). There he was visited by Zedekiah, and after "many days" set at liberty, and given a daily supply of food (*v.* 21). Although still declaring the speedy overthrow of Jerusalem, he also foretold plainly its restoration (xxxii. 15; xxxiii. 11, 15–18), and gave practical proof of his belief that brighter days were in store for his countrymen.[q] But the captains, unmoved by these distant prospects, cast the Prophet into a miry cistern, to be presently rescued by Ebed-melech, an Ethiopian eunuch (*vv.* 7–13), whose foreign birth kept him clear of all temptation to hostile feelings. Another interview followed, first with the feeble-minded king (xxxviii. 14), and then with Pashur (son of Melchiah, to be distinguished from the son of Immer of xx. 1), and Zephaniah (xxi. 1 sq.), sent by the king to ask for a further declaration of the future. To this date belong the utterances of mingled warnings and hope contained in chs. xxi.–xxiv.

At length in the eleventh year of Zedekiah (B.C. 586) the city was sacked, the Temple burnt, and the king and his attendants taken prisoners while in the act of flight (xxxix.: cp. lii.; 2 K. xxv.). At Riblah (xxxix. 5; cp. xxxii. 4 and

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[l] Cp. Ezek. xiii. and Jer. xxiii. 9 sq.; Ezek. xviii. 2 and Jer. xxxi. 29; Ezek. xxxiv. 11–13 and Jer. xxxiii.

[m] All three names mean, "The Lord will establish."

[n] 2 Ch. xxxvi. 9 says *eight*, probably by a scribe's error.

[o] Cheyne's *Jer., his Life*, &c. p. 160.

[p] This seems the best explanation. The Hebrew is difficult.

[q] His purchase (cp. Livy, xxvi. 11) of a portion of a field for seventeen shekels (about £2 2*s.* 6*d.*, but representing a much larger amount according to the present value of money) shows us that Jeremiah could not even then have been in needy circumstances.

xxxiv. 3) Zedekiah's sons are slain in his presence, and, his eyes being then put out (xxxix. 6, 7; cp. Ezek. xii. 13), he is brought to Babylon and immured in a dismal dungeon, apparently till his death.[r] As for Jeremiah, he was rescued from the court of the guard (A. V. "prison"), taken in chains with the other captives to Ramah, and offered his choice of remaining under Gedaliah, the new governor, or living in an honourable captivity at Babylon. The Prophet adopted the former course, as we should expect, inasmuch as Gedaliah was son of Ahikam and grandson of Shaphan, the friend of Hilkiah the high-priest (xl. 5: cp. xxxvi. 10; 2 K. xxii. 12). But within two months[s] Gedaliah was murdered by Ishmael, a prince of the blood royal.

From Tahpanhes, a town near the E. border of Lower Egypt, whither he had evidently been carried by his fellow-countrymen, we draw the last certain notice which we possess of his life (between B.C. 585 and 572). He declares that Nebuchadnezzar's throne shall be set up at the entry of Pharaoh's house (xliii. 9, 10),[t] and makes a dying protest (xliv.) against the idolatrous moon-worship practised by his countrymen. We have no notice in the Scriptures of his death.[u]

(iv.) *Arrangement of the Contents.* The prophecies of Jeremiah cover a period of at least some thirty years, and, in the shape in which they have come down to us, in the main approximate to a chronological order, but with some very marked exceptions, where the grouping of prophecies of various dates may be accounted for by resemblances in subject-matter or other considerations. Prophecies uttered in the reign of Zedekiah occur in the midst of those relating to Jehoiakim. The Jewish captives carried to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar are addressed in words of comfort several chapters earlier than the mention of the announcement made to Jehoiakim that that exportation is imminent, while most, if not all, of the prophecies concerning foreign nations (xlvi.–li.) were delivered before the final overthrow of the city and kingdom.

The following is an approximation to a chronological arrangement of the contents of the Book[x]:—

Chaps.	
i.–xii.	Josiah.
xiv.–xx.	Jehoiakim.
xxvi.	1st year of Jehoiakim.
xxv.	4th " "
xlvi.–xlix.[y]	" " "
xxxv., xxxvi.	" " "
xlv.	" " "
xiii.	Jehoiachin.
xxix.	(? 1st year of) Zedekiah.
xxvii.	" " "
l., li.	4th year of Zedekiah.
xxviii.	" " "
xxi.–xxiv.[z]	9th " "
xxxiv.	" " "
xxxvii.	9th (10th) year of Zedekiah.
xxx.–xxxiii.	10th year of Zedekiah.
xxxviii.	" " "
lii.	11th " "
xxxix.–xliv.	Period of exile.

Such being the arrangement of the contents, we are supplied by xxxvi. 2, 32 with a clue to the explanation, and shown the nucleus of the present Book, although, as we see from the above Table, i.–xxxvi. cannot have been wholly contained in the roll. It is probable that at some earlier period than that treated of in xxxvi., Jeremiah had written the substance of one or more discourses, which would no doubt be incorporated by him with what was new in the roll.[a] Again, by the close of Zedekiah's reign, much fresh matter was ready to be introduced into the Book. The circumstances of the times might well prevent it from being inserted in chronological order. The duty of compiling and issuing the prophecies fell, we may conjecture, to Baruch, and so we have certain portions of Jeremiah's later prophecies (xiii., xxi., &c.) inserted in the earlier roll. Thus the very lack of order, so far as it exists, serves a valuable end, as making it at least probable that we possess the Prophet's words, not as modelled and fitted to men's notions by a subsequent generation, but as they fell from the inspired lips themselves, and as put together in the same troublous days in which they were spoken.

B. *Character.*—Jeremiah may well be considered as the most interesting of the Prophets, because, unlike the others, he opens to us the inmost recesses of his mind.[b] The various qualities which made up the man are quickly and easily gathered from his own lips. His office was to utter and reiterate warnings, though all the time sensible that the sentence of condemnation was passed and intercession of no avail (vii. 16; xiv. 11, 12; xv. 1). His work was not to persuade, but rather to testify. And yet he was by nature of a shy and timid disposition; and, further, he seems, at one time at least, to have asked himself, had he the credentials granted to his predecessors and marking a true Prophet? No miracle was wrought to attest his words. No prediction of his was

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[r] For the deportations recorded in Jeremiah and 2 Kings, see Gardiner's Introd. to Ezekiel in Bp. Ellicott's *O. T. Comm. for Eng. Readers.*

[s] Grätz, however, *Monatssch.* Bd. 19, pp. 268 sq., shows reasons for believing that the interval was much longer, and puts it at five years. See *Pulpit Comm.* (Cheyne) on xli. 1.

[t] For a very interesting description of "Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes," see article in the *Times* (since reprinted), June 18, 1886. See also for a translation of a contemporary Egyptian inscription, said to supply evidence of an actual conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, Wiedeman in *Zeitschrift für Aegypt. Sprache*, 1878, 1. 2 sq., or Cheyne on xlvi. 13; and cp. Rev. P. Thomson, *Expositor*, 1st Ser. vol. x. (1879), 397 sq.

[u] See traditional (Christian and Jewish) notices brought together in *Camb. Bible for Schools*, &c., Jeremiah, Appendix, Note I. References to Jeremiah in Apocryphal books are, Ecclus. xlix. 7; 2 Macc. ii. 1–7, xv. 12–16.

[x] For a very full analysis, see Naegelsbach, *Introd.* p. 129.

[y] Except xlvi. 13–28 . . . Period of exile.
" xlix. 34–39 . . . 1st year of Zedekiah.

[z] But originally *spoken* at various times. See xxii. 1.

[a] Perhaps with a certain amount of adaptation of earlier notices (*e.g.* of the Scythian invasion) to later events.

[b] "His life is at once the most natural and the most supernatural in the Old Testament." (Cheyne's *Jer.*, &c. p. 36.)

fulfilled with speed. Such is the bitterness of his sufferings that he resolves to keep silence, and yet he cannot (xx. 8, 9). He has been likened (*a*) to Cassandra, whose predictions, though always true, failed to gain credence; (*b*) to Phocion and to Demosthenes, who maintained that, if Athens were to escape worse evils, she must submit to the growing power of Macedon; (*c*) to Dante, inasmuch as Florence was in relation to France and the Empire as Palestine to Egypt and Babylon, while the poet, like the Prophet, could only protest without effect; (*d*) to Milton and (*e*) to Savonarola.[c] Yet throughout all he heartily loved his people (viii. 21, 22; cp. 2 Macc. xv. 14), even extending this affection to the northern kingdom a century after their exile (iii. 11).[d]

His style corresponds closely with what we should expect from his nature and position. It displays (*a*) absence of ornament;[e] (*b*) frequent repetition;[f] (*c*) numerous parallels in thought and phraseology with prophetical and other Books, especially with Deuteronomy; (*d*) frequent use of images by way of illustration, including sometimes a peculiar way of mingling the image and the thing signified; (*e*) onomatopoeia and play on words; (*f*) insertion of a bright thought among gloomy ones.

The following passages of Jeremiah either are quoted in the N. T. (distinguished by italics), or contain germs of N. T. thoughts:—iv. 3, Matt. xiii. 7 sq.; vii. 11, Matt. xxi. 13 (cp. Luke xix. 46); viii. 8, Matt. xxiii. 3 sq.; viii. 13, Luke xiii. 6–9 (cp. Matt. xxi. 19); ix. 4, Matt. x. 36; ix. 20, Luke xxiii. 27, 28; *ix. 24*, 1 Cor. i. 31, 2 Cor. x. 17; ix. 25, 26, Rom. ii. 25–29; *xi. 20*, Rev. ii. 23; xii. 6, Matt. xiii. 57 (cp. Luke iv. 24, John iv. 44); xiii. 16, John xi. 10, xii. 35; xiv. 8, Acts xxviii. 20; xvii. 16 (possibly, though with change in application of the figure), Matt. iv. 19; xvii. 13, John viii. 6; xxv. 10, Rev. xviii. 22, 23; *xxxi. 15*, Matt. ii. 18; xxxi. 31–34, Heb. viii. 8–12 (cp. Matt. xxvi. 28; John vi. 45, 1 Cor. xi. 25, 2 Cor. iii. 3–6); l. 8, li. 6, 45, Rev. xviii. 4; li. 7, Rev. xiv. 8, xvii. 4, 5; li. 25, Rev. viii. 8.[g]

In our Lord's time one of the phases which Messianic hope had assumed was the belief that Jeremiah's work on earth was not yet done, and Deut. xviii. 18 seems to have been thought to refer to him. See Matt. xvi. 14, and cp. John i. 21, vi. 14, vii. 40.

Jeremiah's attitude to the Ceremonial Law and the Sabbath.—His unvarying theme is that in God's sight the Moral always takes precedence of the Ceremonial Law.[h] This he applies to the people's reverence for the Ark (iii. 16) and the Tables of the Law (xxxi. 31 sq.; cp. xxxii. 40), to circumcision (iv. 4, vi. 10, ix. 26), to the Temple (vii. 4, 10 sq.; xi. 15; xvii. 3; xxvi. 6, 9, 12; xxvii. 16), to sacrifices (vi. 20, vii. 21 sq., xi. 15, xiv. 12). His language in reference to these last in vii. 21, 22 has been thought by some (*e.g.* Graf, Kuenen) inconsistent with the traditional date of their institution. But (i.) regularly instituted sacrifices are expressly mentioned, xxxiii. 18 (*vv.* 14–26 of this ch. are however omitted in LXX.), as well as referred to in the passages quoted above and in xvii. 26, xxxi. 14, xxxiii. 11; (ii.) Hosea (iv. 8, vi. 6, viii. 11–13) and Amos (iv. 4, 5; v. 21–25) and Micah (vi. 6), all Prophets prior in date to Jeremiah, testify the same; (iii.) the frequent censure of sacrifice, when offered as a perfunctory task, shows that an institution, on the efficacy of which men placed such reliance, was a powerful one; (iv.) the discovery of the "book of the law" (whatever portion of the "Books of Moses" it may have included) some, probably many, years before this prophecy, together with the feeling which it produced, is opposed to such a supposition. The passage is therefore, like vi. 20 *a*, an exaggeration for the sake of rhetorical effect. Jeremiah's phraseology[i] seems to make it clear that he had in his mind the promulgation of the Decalogue. There we find no direction concerning sacrifice, and, moreover, it was the only body of precepts which was treasured in the Ark, and thus from the first received the place of honour. Cp. further for the thought of this passage, 1 Sam. xv. 22; Ps. xl. 6 sq., l. 8–15, li. 18, 19; Prov. xxi. 27; Is. lviii. 3 sq., lxvi. 3.

Other references in Jeremiah to the enactments of the Law are: xvi. 6 (see also vii. 29, xli. 5), cp. Lev. xix. 28, xxi. 5, Deut. xiv. 1; xxxii. 7, cp. Lev. xxv. 24, 25; xxxiv. 8, cp. Ex. xxi. 2, Lev. xxv. 39–55, Deut. xv. 12. To these may be added xxxiv. 18, 9, cp. Gen. xv. 10.

We may further note that in many of the passages where the Law is mentioned, the Prophet is more or less certainly describing the oral teaching given by priests (Deut. xvii. 11) and prophets to those who consulted them on points of ritual or practice.[k] See for this sense ii. 8, ix. 13, xviii. 18, xxvi. 4, 5.

The Messianic passages.—The most striking illustration of the Prophet's tendency (remarked on above) to insert a bright thought among gloomy ones, is undoubtedly to be found in the fact that at the most terrible period of his country's fortunes his Messianic hopes are clearest in their expression. Those hopes are gathered round (*a*) the Davidic house, (*b*) Jerusalem.[l]

"In those days" (iii. 16, v. 18, xxxiii. 16, l. 20) was the ordinary phrase for the times of the Messiah. Cp. "the days come" in xxiii. 5 sq.

The chief Messianic passages are deserving of close study, as indicating the gradually increasing clearness of the hope. They are as follows: (i.) xvii. 25, 26; (ii.) xxiii. 5–8[m]; (iii.) xxx. 9;

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[c] See Cheyne, *Jer.*, &c., p. 203.

[d] Naegelsbach, p. 7.

[e] Contrast the artificial style of Habakkuk, as a Prophet of about the same period, and see for further remarks on this point Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* iv. 282 sq.

[f] See *Speaker's Comm.*, Introd. to Jer., p. 326.

[g] For Matt. xxvii. 9, see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, and *Expositor*, 3rd Series, vol. iii. (1886), p. 151.

[h] Laxity, however, in Sabbath observance (cp. Ezek. xx. 12–24, Neh. xiii. 15–22) is sharply rebuked in xvii. 19–27.

[i] This appears from *v.* 23, where we find an expression, "in all the ways," which occurs elsewhere only immediately after "the Ten Words" as given in Deut. (v. 33).

[k] See Cheyne on viii. 8.

[l] Ewald, v. 32.

[m] See Cheyne on *v.* 6.

(iv.) xxx. 21, (v.) xxxiii. 14–18 (not however in LXX.). A passage inadmissible to this list is xxxi. 31–44 (so, too, xxxi. 22), except in so far as its thought attains completion only in the Incarnation of the Divine Son.[n]

Jeremiah viewed as a type of Christ.—St. Jerome (on Jer. xxiii. 9) says that this Prophet prefigured Christ (i.) as leading a single life, (ii.) as a Prophet, (iii.) as sanctified from the womb, (iv.) in his name, *the Lord's exalted one.* To state the parallel further in the words of a modern writer[o]:—"In both there is the same early manifestation of the consciousness of a Divine mission (Luke ii. 49) . . . His protests against the priests and prophets are the forerunners of the woes against the scribes and Pharisees (Matt. xxiii.). His lamentations over the coming miseries of his country answer to the tears that were shed over the Holy City by the Son of Man. His sufferings come nearest, of those of the whole army of martyrs, to those of the Teacher, against Whom princes and priests and elders and people were gathered together. He saw more clearly than others that New Covenant, with all its spiritual gifts of life and power, which was proclaimed and ratified in the death upon the Cross."

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[n] See Bruce in *Expositor*, 1st Ser., vol. xi. (1880), p. 65.

[o] In art. Jeremiah in 1st edit. of this *Dict. of Bible* (Plumptre).

[p] This collection was also published under the name of Cyril Alex. from a MS. of the Escurial by B. Corderius, Antw. 1648.

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[A. W. S.]

JEREMI'AH. Seven other persons bearing the same name as the Prophet are mentioned in the O. T.

1. ('Ιερεμίας; *Jeremias.*) Jeremiah of Libnah, father of Hamutal, wife of Josiah (2 K. xxiii. 31).

2, 3, 4. The Greek MSS. vary much in the spelling of the name (see Swete in loco). Three warriors—two of the tribe of Gad—in David's army (1 Ch. xii. 4, 10, 13).

5. (B. 'Ιερμεία.) One of the "mighty men of valour" of the trans-Jordanic half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch. v. 24).

6. (BA. 'Ιερμιά; in xii. 34, A. 'Ιερεμίας.) A priest of high rank, head of the second or third of the twenty-one courses which are apparently enumerated in Neh. x. 2–8. He is mentioned again, *i.e.* the course which was called after him is, in Neh. xii. 1; and we are told at *v.* 12 that the personal name of the head of this course in the days of Joiakim was HANANIAH. This course, or its chief, took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 34).

7. ('Ιερεμίν.) The father of Jaazaniah the Rechabite (Jer. xxxv. 3).

JEREMI'AS ('Ιερεμίας, in Ecclus. A. 'Ιηρεμίας; *Jeremias, Hieremias*). **1.** The Greek form of the name of Jeremiah the Prophet, used in the E. V. of Ecclus. xlix. 6; 2 Macc. xv. 15; Matt. xvi. 14 (R. V. Jeremiah). [JEREMIAH; JEREMY.]

2. 1 Esd. ix. 34. [JEREMAI.]

JERE'MOTH (יְרִימוֹת = *heights*). **1.** (B. 'Ιαρειμώθ, A. 'Ιαριμούθ; *Jerimoth*). A Benjamite chief, a son of the house of Beriah of Elpaal, according to an obscure genealogy of the age of Hezekiah (1 Ch. viii. 14; cp. *vv.* 12 and 18). His family dwelt at Jerusalem, as distinguished from the other division of the tribe, located at Gibeon (*v.* 28).

2. (B. 'Αρειμώθ, A. 'Ιαριμώθ; *Jerimoth.*) A Merarite Levite, son of Mushi (1 Ch. xxiii. 23); in xxiv. 30 called Jerimoth [JERIMOTH (4)].

3. (B. 'Ιερεμώθ, 'Ερειμώθ; A. 'Ιεριμούθ, 'Ιερειμώθ: *Jerimoth.*) Son of Heman; head of the 15th of the twenty-four courses of musicians in the Divine service (1 Ch. xxv. 22). In *v.* 4 the name is Jerimoth [JERIMOTH (5)].

4. (B. 'Ιαρειμοίθ, A. 'Ιεριμώθ, ℵ. 'Ιαριμώθ; *Jerimoth.*) One of the sons of Elam, and, **5.** (B. 'Αμών, A. 'Ιαρμώθ, ℵ. 'Αρμών; *Jerimuth*), one of the sons of Zattu, who had taken strange wives; but put them away, and offered each a ram for a trespass offering, at the persuasion of Ezra (Ezra x. 26, 27). In 1 Esd. ix. 27, 28 the names are respectively HIEREMOTH and JARIMOTH.

6. (B. Μημών, ℵ. Μηνών, A. 'Ρημώθ; *Ramoth.*) The name which appears in the same list (Ezra x.) as "and RAMOTH" (*v.* 29)—following the correction of the *Qeri*—is in the original text

Jeremoth, in which form also it stands in 1 Esd. ix. 30, Ἱερεμώθ, A. V. HIEREMOTH. [A. C. H.]

JEREMY (Ἱερεμίας; in 2 Macc. ii. 7, A. Ἱερεμείας; *Jeremias, Hieremias*), the Prophet Jeremiah (1 Esd. i. 28, 32, 47, 57, ii. 1; 2 Esd. ii. 18; 2 Macc. ii. 1, 5, 7; Matt. ii. 17, xxvii. 9, R. V. Jeremiah). [JEREMIAH; JEREMIAS.] These abbreviated forms were much in favour about the time that the A. V. was translated. Elsewhere we find ESAY for Isaiah; and in the Homilies such abbreviations as Zachary, Toby, &c., are frequent.

JEREMY, EPISTLE OF. [BARUCH, THE BOOK OF.]

JERI'AH (יְרִיָּהוּ, *i.e.* Yeri-yahu, (?)=*foundation of Jehovah*: B. Ἰδούδ, Ἰηδειμού; A. Ἰεριά, Ἰεδιού: *Jeriau*), a Kohathite Levite, chief of the great house of Hebron when David organised the service (1 Ch. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 23: in the latter passage the name of Hebron has been omitted both in the Hebrew and LXX.). The same man is mentioned again, though with a slight difference in his name, as JERIJAH.

JER'IBAI (יְרִיבַי, if=יריביה=*Jehovah defends*; Ἰαριβί, B. Ἰαριβεί, A. Ἰαριβαΐ; *Jeribai*), one of the Bene-Elnaam, named among the heroes of David's guard in the supplemental list of 1 Ch. (xi. 46).

JER'ICHO (יְרֵחוֹ, *Yrecho*, Num. xxii. 1; also יְרִיחוֹ, *Yricho*, Josh. ii. 1, 2, 3; and יְרִיחֹה, *Yrichoh*, 1 K. xvi. 34; أريحا, *Erihâ*[a]; "place of fragrance," from רוּחַ, *Ruach*, "to breathe," הֵרִיחַ, "to smell;" older commentators derive it from יָרֵחַ, *Jareach*, "the moon[b];" also from רָוַח, *Ravach*, "to be broad," as in a wide plain: Ἱεριχώ; B. Ἱερειχώ, exc. Ezra ii. 34, Ἱερειά; A. Ἱερειχώ, in 1 Ch. vi. 78, Ezra ii. 34, Neh. iii. 2, vii. 36; Josephus, Ἱεριχοῦς; Strabo, Ἱερικοῦς: *Jericho*), a city of high antiquity and, for those days, of considerable importance, situated near the foot of the mountains, in the valley of the Jordan, and exactly over against the point at which that river was crossed by the Israelites under Joshua (Josh. iii. 16, xxiv. 11). Such was either its vicinity, or the extent of its territory, that Gilgal, which formed their primary encampment, stood in its east border (iv. 19). That it had a king is a very secondary consideration, for almost every small town had one (xii. 9–24); in fact monarchy was the only form of government known to those primitive times—the government of the people of God presenting a marked exception to prevailing usage. But Jericho was further enclosed by walls—a fenced city; its walls were so considerable that at least one person (Rahab) had a house upon them (ii. 15), and its gates were shut, as throughout the East still, "when it was dark" (*v.* 5). Again, the spoil that was found in it betokened its affluence—Ai, Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, and even Hazor, evidently contained nothing worth mentioning in comparison: besides sheep, oxen, and asses, we hear of vessels of brass and iron. These possibly may have been the first-fruits of those brass foundries "in the plain of Jordan" of which Solomon afterwards so largely availed himself (2 Ch. iv. 17). Silver and gold were found in such abundance that one man (Achan) could appropriate stealthily 200 shekels (100 oz. avoird.: see Lewis, *Heb. Rep.* vi. 57) of the former, and "a wedge of gold of 50 shekels (25 oz.) weight." "A goodly Babylonish garment," purloined in the same dishonesty, may be adduced as evidence of a then existing commerce between Jericho and the far East (Josh. vi. 24, vii. 21). In fact, its situation alone—at the edge of a fertile plain, and close to an abundant supply of water—would bespeak its importance in a country where these natural advantages have been always so highly prized, and in an age when people depended so much more upon the indigenous resources of nature than they are compelled to do now. It was also close to the entrance to the important passes leading up through the hills to Jerusalem and Bethel. But for the curse of Joshua (vi. 26) doubtless Jericho might have proved a more formidable counter-charm to the city of David than even Samaria.

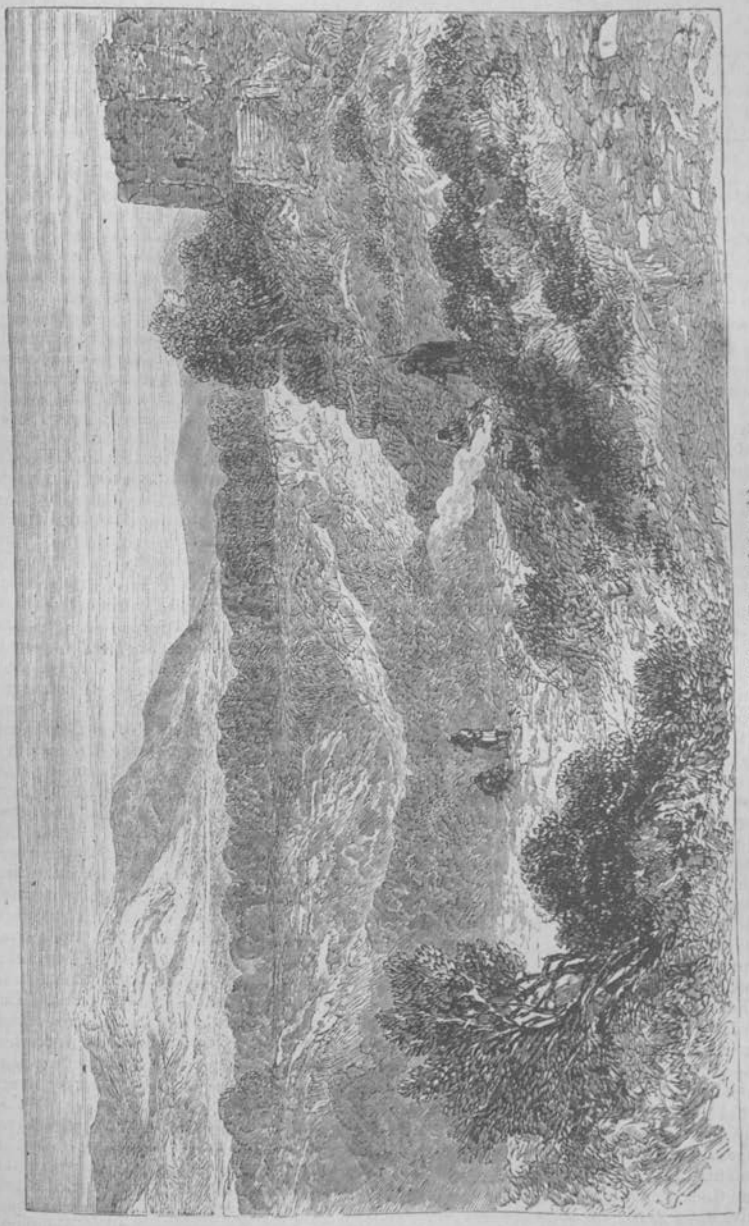
Jericho is first mentioned in the formula "in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho" (Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, 63, xxxi. 12, xxxiii. 48, 50, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13; Josh. xiii. 32, cp. xx. 8; 1 Ch. vi. 78); it was on the opposite side of the Jordan to the inheritance of the two and a half tribes (xxxiv. 15), over against Mount Nebo (Deut. xxxii. 49; xxxiv. 1), and was seen by Moses from the top of Pisgah (xxxiv. 3). Joshua sent two spies to the city from Shittim: they were lodged in the house of Rahab the harlot upon the wall, and departed, having first promised to save her and all that were found in her house from destruction (ii. 1–21). In the annihilation of the city that ensued this promise was religiously observed. Her house was recognised by the scarlet line bound in the window from which the spies were let down, and she and her relatives were taken out of it, and "lodged without the camp" (*v.*, vi.); but it is nowhere said or implied that her house escaped the general conflagration. That she "dwelt in Israel" for the future; that she married Salmon, son of Naasson, "prince of the children of Judah," and had by him Boaz, the husband of Ruth and progenitor of David and of our Lord; and lastly, that she is the first and only Gentile name that appears in the list of the faithful of the O. T. given by St. Paul (Josh. vi. 25; 1 Ch. ii. 10; Matt. i. 5; Heb. xi. 31), all these facts surely indicate that she did not continue to inhabit the accursed site: and, if so, and in absence of all direct evidence from Scripture, how could it ever have been inferred that her house was left standing? From Jericho, after its capture, spies were sent to Ai (Josh. vii. 2), which was to be destroyed as that city had been (viii. 2). The fall of those

[a] *Erihâ* comes from the Hebrew by weakening of the first letter, as in the case of *Zerin* from Jezreel, and *Sûeimeh* from Jesimoth.

[b] In which case it would probably be a remnant of the old Canaanitish worship of the heavenly bodies, which has left its traces in such names as Chesil, Bethshemesh, and others (see IDOLATRY, p. 1433), which may have been the head-quarters of the worship indicated in the names they bear.

two places produced a profound impression upon the princes of the country (ix. 3; x. 1), of whom several were to share the fate of the king of Jericho (x. 28, 30).

Jericho is mentioned in connexion with the boundary of the children of Joseph (Josh. xvi. 1, 7) and of Benjamin, to which tribe it was allotted by Joshua (xviii. 12, 21). From this time a long interval elapses before it appears again upon the scene. It is only incidentally



Site of Jericho. (From a photograph.)
On the left are the Mountains of Benjamin. The tower on the right is the only stone building remaining of Jericho.

mentioned in the life of David in connexion with his embassy to the Ammonite king (2 Sam. x. 5; 1 Ch. xix. 5). And the solemn manner in which its second foundation under Hiel the Bethelite is recorded—upon whom the curse of Joshua is said to have descended in full force (1 K. xvi. 34) —would certainly seem to imply that up to that time its site had been uninhabited. It is true that mention is made of "a city of palm-trees" (Judg. i. 16 and iii. 13) in existence apparently

at the time when spoken of; and that Jericho is twice—once *before* its first overthrow, and once *after* its second foundation—designated by that name (see Deut. xxxiv. 3, and 2 Ch. xxviii. 15). But the city mentioned in the Book of Judges was probably not built on the site of the town destroyed by Joshua. However, once actually rebuilt, Jericho rose again slowly into consequence. In its immediate vicinity the sons of the prophets sought retirement from the world: Elisha "healed the spring of the waters;" and over and against it, beyond Jordan, Elijah "went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (2 K. ii. 1–22). In its plains Zedekiah fell into the hands of the Chaldeans (2 K. xxv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 8). By what may be called a retrospective account of it, we may infer that Hiel's restoration had not utterly failed; for in the return under Zerubbabel the "children of Jericho," 345 in number, are comprised (Ezra ii. 34; Neh. vii. 36); and it is even implied that they removed thither again, for the *men of Jericho* assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding that part of the wall of Jerusalem that was next to the sheep-gate (Neh. iii. 2). Jericho was one of the places to which messengers were sent by the Jews of Judaea on the approach of Holofernes (Judith iv. 4); and its fort was repaired by Bacchides after his fight with Jonathan Maccabaeus on the banks of the Jordan (1 Macc. ix. 50). It was whilst visiting Jericho that Simon Maccabaeus was treacherously murdered at Docus (1 Macc. xvi. 11, 14). We now enter upon its more modern phase. The Jericho of the days of Josephus was distant 150 stadia from Jerusalem, and 50 from the Jordan. It lay in a plain, overhung by a barren mountain whose roots ran northwards towards Scythopolis, and southwards in the direction of Sodom and the Dead Sea. These formed the western boundaries of the plain. Eastwards, its barriers were the mountains of Moab, which ran parallel to the former. In the midst of the plain—the great plain, as it was called—flowed the Jordan, and at the top and bottom of it were two lakes: Tiberias, proverbial for its sweetness, and Asphaltites for its bitterness. Away from the Jordan it was parched and unhealthy during summer; but during winter, even when it snowed at Jerusalem, the inhabitants here wore linen garments. Hard by Jericho—bursting forth close to the site of the old city, which Joshua took on his entrance into Canaan—was a most exuberant fountain, whose waters, before noted for their contrary properties, had received, proceeds Josephus, through Elisha's prayers, their then wonderfully salutary and prolific efficacy. Within its range—70 stadia (Strabo says 100) by 20—the fertility of the soil was unexampled; palms of various names and properties, some that produced honey scarce inferior to that of the neighbourhood—opobalsamum, the choicest of indigenous fruits—cyprus (Ar. *el-henna*) and myrobalanum (*zakkûm*) throve there beautifully, and were thickly dotted about in pleasure-grounds (*B. J.* iv. 8, §§ 2, 3). Wisdom herself did not disdain comparison with "the rose-plants of Jericho" (Ecclus. xxiv. 14). Well might Strabo (*Geogr.* xvi. 2, § 41, ed. Müller) conclude that its revenues were considerable. By the Romans Jericho was first visited under Pompey: he encamped there for a single night, and subsequently destroyed two forts, Threx and Taurus, that commanded its approaches (Strabo, *ibid.* § 40). Gabinius, in his re-settlement of Judaea, made it one of the five seats of assembly (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 5, § 4; *B. J.* i. 8, § 5). With Herod the Great it rose to still greater prominence; it had been found full of treasure of all kinds, as in the time of Joshua, so by Herod's Roman allies who sacked it (*ibid.* i. 15, § 6); and its revenues were eagerly sought, and rented by the wily tyrant from Cleopatra, to whom Antony had assigned them (*Ant.* xv. 4, § 2). Not long afterwards he built a fort there, which he called "Cypros" in honour of his mother (*ibid.* xvi. 5, § 2; *B. J.* i. 21, § 9); several palaces, some of which he named after his friends (*B. J.* i. 21, § 4), and perhaps also an amphitheatre (*Ant.* xvii. 6, § 5), and other public buildings. There were also reservoirs for water, in one of which he caused Aristobulus to be drowned (*Ant.* xv. 3, § 3). If he did not make Jericho his habitual residence, he at least retired to it to die—and to be mourned, if he could have got his plan carried out—and it was in the amphitheatre of Jericho that the news of his death was announced to the assembled soldiers and people by Salome (*B. J.* i. 33, § 8). Soon afterwards the palace was burnt, and the town plundered by one Simon, a revolutionary who had been slave to Herod (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 6); but Archelaus rebuilt the former sumptuously—founded a new town in the plain, that bore his own name—and, most important of all, diverted water from a village called Neaera, to irrigate the plain which he had planted with palms (*Ant.* xvii. 13, § 1). Thus Jericho was once more "a city of palms" when our Lord visited it; such as Herod the Great and Archelaus had left it, such He saw it. As the city that had so exceptionally contributed to His own ancestry—as the city which had been the first to fall, amidst so much ceremony, before "the captain of the Lord's host, and His servant Joshua"—we may well suppose that His eyes surveyed it with unwonted interest. It is supposed to have been on the rocky heights overhanging it (hence called by tradition the Quarantana) that He was assailed by the Tempter; and over against it, according to tradition likewise, He had been previously baptized in the Jordan. Here He restored sight to the blind (two certainly, perhaps three, St. Matt. xx. 30; St. Mark x. 46: this was on *leaving* Jericho. St. Luke says, "As He was *come nigh unto* Jericho," &c., xviii. 35). Here the descendant of Rahab did not disdain the hospitality of Zacchaeus the publican—an office which was likely to be lucrative enough in so rich a city. Finally, between Jerusalem and Jericho was laid the scene of His story of the good Samaritan, which, if it is not to be regarded as a real occurrence throughout, at least derives interest from the fact, that robbers have ever been the terror of that precipitous road; and so formidable had they proved only just before the Christian era, that Pompey had been induced to undertake the destruction of their strongholds (Strabo, as before, xvi. 2, § 40; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, § 1 et seq.). Dagon, or Docus (1 Macc. xvi. 15; cp. ix. 50), where Ptolemy assassinated his father-in-law, Simon the Maccabee, may have been one of these.

Posterior to the Gospels the chronicle of

Jericho may be briefly told. After their victory over Cestius, the Jews appointed Joseph son of Simon governor of Jericho (*B. J.* ii. 20, § 4). Vespasian found it one of the toparchies of Judaea (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 5), but deserted by its inhabitants in a great measure when he encamped there (*ib.* iv. 8, § 2). He left a garrison on his departure—not necessarily the 10th Legion, which is only stated to have marched *through* Jericho—which was still there when Titus advanced upon Jerusalem. Is it asked how Jericho was destroyed? Evidently by Vespasian; for Josephus, rightly understood, is not so silent as Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 566, 2nd ed.) thinks. The city pillaged and burnt in *B. J.* iv. 9, § 1, was clearly Jericho with its adjacent villages, and not Gerasa, as may be seen at once by comparing the language there with that of c. 8, § 2, and the agent was Vespasian. Eusebius and St. Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 267, 10; p. 163, 31) say that it was destroyed when Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans. They further add that it was afterwards rebuilt —they do not say by whom—and still existed in their day; nor had the ruins of the two preceding cities been obliterated. Could Hadrian possibly have planted a colony there when he passed through Judaea and founded Aelia? (Dio Cass. *Hist.* lxix. c. 11, ed. Sturz; more at large *Chron. Paschal.* 254, ed. Du Fresne). The discovery which Origen made there of a version of the O. T. (the 5th in his Hexapla), together with sundry MSS., Greek and Hebrew, suggests that it could not have been wholly without inhabitants (Euseb. *E. H.* vi. 16; S. Epiphan. *Lib. de Pond. et Mensur.* circa med.); or again, as is perhaps more probable, did a Christian settlement arise there under Constantine, when Baptisms in the Jordan began to be common? That Jericho became an episcopal see about that time under Jerusalem appears from more than one ancient Notitia (*Geograph. S. a Carolo Paulo*, 306, and the Parergon appended to it; cp. William of Tyre, *Hist.* lib. xxiii. ad f.). Its Bishops subscribed to various councils in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries (*ibid.* and Le Quien's *Oriens Christian.* iii. 654). Justinian, we are told, restored a hospice there, and likewise a church dedicated to the Virgin (Procop. *De Aedif.* v. 9). As early as A.D. 333, when the Bordeaux Pilgrim (ed. Wesseling) visited it, a house existed above the fountain at Old Jericho which was pointed out, after the manner of those days, as the house of Rahab. This was roofless when Arculfus saw it; and not only so, but the third city was likewise in ruins, and the site was planted with corn and vines (ii. § 12).[a] Had Jericho been visited by an earthquake, as Antoninus reports (xiii. xiv.), and as Syria certainly was, in the 27th year of Justinian, A.D. 553? If so, we can well understand the restorations already referred to; and when Antoninus adds that the house of Rahab had now become a hospice and oratory, we might almost pronounce that this was the very hospice which had been restored by that emperor (cp. Theodosius, § 16). Again, it may be asked, did Christian Jericho receive no injury from the Persian Romizan, the ferocious general of Chosroes II. A.D. 614? (Bar-Hebraei *Chron.* 99, Lat. v. ed. Kirsch). It would rather seem that there were more religious edifices in the 7th than in the 6th century round about it. According to Arculfus, one church marked the site of Gilgal; another the spot where our Lord was supposed to have deposited His garments previously to His Baptism; a third within the precincts of a vast monastery dedicated to St. John, situated upon some rising ground overlooking the Jordan (Arculfus, ii. §§ 12–14; cp. Antoninus, xi.–xv., and App. to Eng. ed. pub. by the P. P. Text Soc.). Under the Muslims Jericho became a place of some importance. Ya'kûbî (891 A.D.) calls it the capital of the *Ghor*, or Jordan Valley. Mukaddasi (985 A.D.) identifies it with the "City of the Giants," mentioned in the Kurân. Excellent indigo was grown there; bananas, date palms, and flowers of fragrant odour were plentiful; snakes, scorpions, and fleas abounded; and the serpent whose flesh was used in the preparation of the celebrated antidote for venomous bites (*Theriack*) was common. The heat was excessive, and the people, spoken of by Arculfus as "diminutive men of the race of Canaan," were brown-skinned and swarthy. Yâkût (1225 A.D.) alludes to the number of palm-trees, and adds that sugar-cane was largely grown, and that the best sugar in the *Ghor* was made there (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, pp. 396, 397). The beauty of the gardens and the palms are also mentioned in 1294 A.D. by Riccoldus de Monte Crucis.

Jericho does not seem to have been ever restored as a town by the Crusaders; it is called by the Abbot Daniel (1106–7 A.D.) "only a Saracen village, in which was the house of Zacchaeus," probably the "square tower or castle" first distinctly mentioned by Willibrand in 1211 A.D. Its plains, however, had not ceased to be prolific, and were extensively cultivated and laid out in vineyards and gardens by the monks (Phocas *ap.* Leon. Allat. Συμμικτ. c. 20, p. 31). They seem to have been included in the domains of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and as such were bestowed by Arnulf upon his niece as a dowry (Wm. of Tyre, *Hist.* xi. 15). Twenty-five years afterwards we find Melisendis, wife of king Fulco, assigning them to the convent of Bethany, which she had founded A.D. 1137. After the fall of the Latin kingdom, Jericho is described as a "vile place" (Brocardus, A.D. 1230), and as a "poor nasty village" (Maundrell, A.D. 1697), and such it has since remained.

The site of ancient (the first) Jericho is at *Tell es-Sultân*, not quite 1½ m. north of the mouth of *Wâdy Kelt*. The mound is from 20 ft. to 30 ft. high, and at its foot well up the waters of *'Ain es-Sultân*, Elisha's fountain. The mound, according to Sir C. Warren, is formed, for the most part, of a light yellow clay, which, on being touched, crumbles into an impalpable powder; there were large quantities of pottery, and "two layers of bituminous stuff ½ to 2 in. thick." The fountain runs out into a shallow reservoir, and then flows away in numberless channels to irrigate the plain to the east. North of the mound are many traces of ruins, some of which show that the place was occupied in early Christian times; and to the E. and S.E. there

[a] Antoninus (xiv.) mentions a strong wine which was given to persons suffering from fever; and that the grapes from a certain vine were sold at Jerusalem on Ascension Day.

are extensive ruins on the way to *Ertha*, which is 1½ m. distant. Behind *Tell es-Sultân* rises *Jebel Kuruntul*, the "Mons Quarantana," or "Mount of Temptation,"—a precipitous cliff, 1000 ft. high, which is honeycombed with the cells and chapels of early and mediaeval anchorites. The second or Roman Jericho (the city of the N. T. and of Josephus) was at the foot of the hills close to the mouth of *W. Kelt* (see *Itin. Hierosol.*). There are here mounds and a large reservoir, but the palaces and other buildings of Herod, having apparently been constructed of soft friable stone, have completely disappeared. The mounds were excavated by Sir C. Warren, but nothing of importance was discovered. The third or mediaeval Jericho, now *Eriha*, is 1½ m. east of the last, and lies on the N. bank of *W. Kelt*. It is a miserable mud hamlet, with a few black tents pitched among the houses, which are surrounded by hedges of the thorny *nebk*. The inhabitants are a mixed and very degraded race, and have not sufficient energy to cultivate their own lands. Here is the square tower, known as the "House of Zacchaeus," and in its vicinity was at one time shown the tree into which he had climbed (Luke xix. 1–10). 1½ m. eastward of *Ertha* is *Birket Jiljulieh*, marking the site of Gilgal. The plain of Jericho was formerly irrigated by an elaborate system of conduits and aqueducts. The water was derived from six large springs, and there were twelve separate aqueducts, of which some are late Roman or Byzantine, and others are either in whole or in part the work of Crusaders or Saracens. Most of the water now runs to waste, and the site of the celebrated gardens is occupied by a dense jungle, covering an area 1½ miles square. The palm, the opobalsamum, and the sugar-cane have disappeared, but the natural fertility of the soil has not changed. Figs, pomegranates, vines, indigo, cotton, wheat, and barley grow luxuriantly where cultivated: and amongst other shrubs and plants are the *Zizyphus spina Christi*, the *Z. Lotus*, the *Balanites Aegyptiaca* (*Zakkûm*) from which the false "balm of Gilead" or "oil of Zacchaeus" is extracted; the sweet-smelling *Acacia Farnesiana*, the *Acacia vera*, the beautiful parasite *Loranthus indicus*, the *Agnus casti*, a large flowering bamboo, and the "Apple of Sodom," *Solanum Melongena*, with its potato blossom, and its bright yellow but poisonous fruit. All these are products of a sub-tropical climate, such as that which prevails in the Jordan Valley, which at Jericho is 800 ft. below the Mediterranean. Several curious native traditions relating to the capture of Jericho by Joshua have been collected by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 172, 173, 179, 201, 222 sq.; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 201 sq.; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 33–53, 132–149; Sepp, *Jer. u. d. H. Land*, i. 720 sq.; Baedeker-Socin, *Hbk.*).
[E. S. Ff.] [W.]

JERICHO, PLAINS OF. 2 K. xxv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 8. The part of the Jordan Valley extending from the mountains behind Jericho to the Jordan. [JERICHO.]

JERI'EL (יְרִיאֵל = *foundation of God*; B. Φειήλ, A. Ἰερεήλ; *Jeriel*), a man of Issachar, one of the six heads of the house of TOLA at the time of the census in the time of David (1 Ch. vii. 2).

JERI'JAH (יְרִיָּה = *foundation of Jehovah*; B. Τουδελίας, A. Ἰωρίας: *Jeria*), in 1 Ch. xxvi. 31. The same person as JERIAH.

JERI'MOTH (יְרִימוֹת = *heights*). **1.** (B. Ἀρεμώθ, A. Ἰερεμούθ; *Jerimoth*.) Son or descendant of Bela, according to 1 Ch. vii. 7, and founder of a Benjamite house, which existed in the time of David (*v.* 2). He is perhaps the same as

2. (B. Ἀρεμούθ, A. Ἰαριμούθ, N. Ἀρθμούς; *Jerimuth*), who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 5). [BELA.]

3. (יְרִימוֹת, *i.e.* Jeremoth; B. Αὐρημώθ, A. Ἰερεμώθ; *Jerimoth*.) A son of Becher (1 Ch. vii. 8), and head of another Benjamite house. [BECHER.]

4. (B. Ἀρεμώθ, A. Ἰερεμώθ; *Jerimoth*.) Son of Mushi, the son of Merari, and head of one of the families of the Merarites which were counted in the census of the Levites taken by David (1 Ch. xxiv. 30). [See JEREMOTH, 2.]

5. (B. Ἰερεμώθ, Ἐρεμώθ; A. Ἰερεμώθ, Ἰερεμούθ: *Jerimoth*.) Son of Heman, head of the 15th ward of musicians (1 Ch. xxv. 4, 22). In the latter verse he is called Jeremoth. [HEMAN; JEREMOTH (3).]

6. (B. Ἐρεμώθ, A. Ἰερεμούθ; *Jerimoth*.) Son of Azriel, "ruler" (נָגִיד) of the tribe of Naphtali in the reign of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 19). The same persons, called rulers, are in *v.* 22 called "princes" (שָׂרִים) of the tribes of Israel.

7. (B. Ἰερεμούθ, A. Ἐρμούθ; *Jerimoth*.) Son of king David, whose daughter Mahalath was one of the wives of Rehoboam, her cousin Abihail being the other (2 Ch. xi. 18). As Jerimoth is not named in the list of children by David's wives in 1 Ch. iii. or xiv. 4–7, it is fair to infer that he was the son of a concubine, and this in fact is the Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Quaestiones*, ad loc.). It is, however, questionable whether Rehoboam would have married the grandchild of a concubine even of the great David. The passage 2 Ch. xi. 18 is not quite clear, since the word "daughter" is a correction of the *Keri*: the *Keri*, LXX., and Vulg. read בֵּן, *i.e.* "son."

8. (B. Ἰερεμώθ, A. Ἰερεμώθ; *Jerimoth*.) A Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, one of the overseers of offerings and dedicated things placed in the chambers of the Temple, who were under Cononiah and Shimei the Levites, by command of Hezekiah, and Azariah the high-priest (2 Ch. xxxi. 13). [A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JERI'OTH (יְרִיעוֹת = *curtains*; B. Ἐλιώθ, A. Ἰεριώθ; *Jerioth*), according to our A. V. and the LXX., one of the elder Caleb's wives (1 Ch. ii. 18); but, according to the Vulgate, she was his daughter by his first wife Azubah. The Hebrew text seems evidently corrupt, and will not make sense; but the probability is that Jerioth was a daughter of Caleb the son of Hezron. (In this case we ought to read הוֹלִיד מִן עֲזוּבָה אִשְׁתּוֹ.) The Latin Version of Santes Pagninus, which makes Azubah and Jerioth both daughters of Caleb, and the note of Vatablus, which makes

Ishah (A. V. "wife") a proper name and a third daughter, are clearly wrong, as it appears from *v.* 19 that Azubah was Caleb's wife. Cp. Oettli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Hdbk.* in loco.

[A. C. H.] [C. H.]

JEROBO'AM (יָרָבְעָם = Yarob'am; Ἱεροβοάμ, Joseph. Ἱεροβόαμος; *Jeroboam*). The name, if taken to mean *whose people is many*, has nearly the same meaning as REHOBOAM, *enlarger of the people*. MV.[11] prefers *pleader for the people*. Both names appear for the first time in the reign of Solomon, and were perhaps suggested by the increase of the Jewish people at that time.

1. The first king of the divided kingdom of Israel (Riehm, B.C. 938–917). The ancient authorities for his reign and his wars were "the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (1 K. xiv. 19), and "the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat" (2 Ch. ix. 29). The extant account of his life is given in two versions, very different from each other. The one usually followed is that contained in the Hebrew text, and in one portion of the LXX. The other is given in a separate account inserted by the LXX. at 1 K. xi. 43 and xii. 24. The latter was preferred by Ranke, the historian, to the former, and is—in this article—taken as the basis of the biography of this remarkable man. Modern scholars prefer the Hebrew narrative (cp. Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebräer*, ii. 178).

I. He was the son of an Ephraimite of the name of Nebat;* his father had died whilst he was young; but his mother, who had been a person of loose character (LXX. πόρνη, *v.* 24 b), lived in widowhood, trusting apparently to her son for support. Her name is variously given as ZERUAH (Heb.), or Sarira (LXX. Σαρεισά, *v.* 24 b), and the place of their abode on the mountains of Ephraim is given either as ZEREDA, or (LXX. Σαρειρά, *v.* 24 b) as Sarira: in the latter case, indicating that there was some connexion between the wife of Nebat and her residence.

At the time when Solomon was constructing the fortifications of Millo underneath the citadel of Zion, his sagacious eye discovered the strength and activity of a young Ephraimite who was employed on the works, and he raised him to the rank of superintendent over the taxes and labours exacted from the tribe of Ephraim (1 K. xi. 28). This was Jeroboam. He made the most of his position. He completed the fortifications, and was long afterwards known as the man who had "enclosed the city of David" (1 K. xi. 24; LXX. xii. 24 b). He then aspired to royal state. Like Absalom before him, in like circumstances, though now on a grander scale, in proportion to the enlargement of the royal establishment itself, he kept 300 chariots and horses (LXX. xii. 24 b), and at last was perceived by Solomon to be aiming at the monarchy.

These ambitious designs were probably fostered by the sight of the growing disaffection of the great tribe over which he presided, as well as by the alienation of the Prophetic order from the house of Solomon. According to the version of the story in the Hebrew text (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 7), this alienation was made evident to Jeroboam very early in his career. He was leaving Jerusalem, and he encountered on one of the black-paved roads which ran out of the city, Ahijah, "the prophet" of the ancient sanctuary of Shiloh. Ahijah drew him aside from the road into the field (LXX.), and, as soon as they found themselves alone, the prophet, who was dressed in a new outer garment, stripped it off, and tore it into twelve shreds, ten of which he gave to Jeroboam, with the assurance that on condition of his obedience to His laws, God would establish for him a kingdom and a dynasty equal to that of David (1 K. xi. 29–40).

The attempts of Solomon to cut short Jeroboam's designs occasioned his flight into Egypt. There he remained during the rest of Solomon's reign—in the court of Shishak (LXX. Σουσακείμ, xii. 24 c), or Sheshonq, the founder of a new Egyptian dynasty, and therefore not allied with Solomon, who is here first named in the sacred narrative. On Solomon's death, he demanded Shishak's permission to return. The Egyptian king seems, in his reluctance, to have offered any gift which Jeroboam chose, as a reason for his remaining, and the consequence was the marriage with Ano (Ἀνώ), the elder sister of the Egyptian queen, Tahpenes (LXX. Thekemina, Θεκεμείνα, *v.* 24 e), and of another princess (LXX.) who had married the Edomite chief, Hadad. A year elapsed, and a son, Abijah (Ἀβιά, *v.* 24 e) (or Abijam), was born. Then Jeroboam again requested permission to depart, which was granted; and he returned with his wife and child to his native place, Sarira or Zereda, which he fortified, and which in consequence became a centre for his fellow tribesmen (1 K. xi. 41, LXX. xii. 24 f). Still there was no open act of insurrection, and it was in this period of suspense (according to the LXX. xii. 24 g) that a pathetic incident darkened his domestic history. His infant son fell sick. The anxious father sent his wife to inquire of God concerning him. Jerusalem would have been the obvious place to visit for this purpose. But no doubt political reasons forbade. The ancient sanctuary of Shiloh (Σηλώ) was nearer at hand; and it so happened that a prophet was now residing there, of the highest repute. It was Ahijah (Ἀχειά, *v.* 24 h)—the same who, according to the common version of the story, had already been in communication with Jeroboam, but who, according to the authority we are now following, appears for the first time on this occasion. He was sixty years of age—but was prematurely old, and his eyesight had already failed him. He was living, as it would seem, in poverty, with a boy who waited on him, and with his own little children. For him and for them, the wife of Jeroboam brought such gifts as were thought likely to be acceptable; ten loaves, and two rolls (κολλύρια) for the children (LXX. *v.* 24 h), a bunch of raisins (LXX. σταφυλήν, *ib.*), and a jar of honey. She had disguised herself, to avoid recognition; and perhaps these humble gifts were part of the plan. But the blind prophet, at her first

* According to the old Jewish tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.* 2 Sam. xvi. 10), Nebat, the father of Jeroboam, was identical with Shimei of Gera, who was the first to insult David in his flight, and the "first of all the house of Joseph" to congratulate him on his return.

approach, knew who was coming; and bade his boy go out to meet her, and invite her to his house without delay. There he warned her of the uselessness of her gifts. There was a doom on the house of Jeroboam, not to be averted; those who grew up in it and died in the city would become the prey of the hungry dogs; they who died in the country would be devoured by the vultures. This child alone would die before the calamities of the house arrived: "They shall mourn for the child, Woe, O Lord, for in him there is found a good word regarding the Lord" (LXX. *v.* 24 m) —or, according to the Hebrew version, "all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him; for he only of Jeroboam shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing toward Jehovah the God of Israel in the house of Jeroboam" (1 K. xiv. 13). The mother returned. As she re-entered the town of Sarira (Heb. Tirzah, 1 K. xiv. 17), the child died. The loud wail of her attendant damsels greeted her on the threshold (LXX. *v.* 24 n). The child was buried, as Ahijah had foretold, with all the state of the child of a royal house. "All Israel mourned for him" (1 K. xiv. 18). This incident, if it really occurred at this time, seems to have been the turning point in Jeroboam's career. It drove him from his ancestral home, and it gathered the sympathies of the tribe of Ephraim round him. He left Sarira and came to Shechem (Σίκιμα, *v.* 24 n). The Hebrew text describes that he was sent for. The LXX. speaks of it as his own act. However that may be, he was thus at the head of the northern tribes, when Rehoboam, after he had been on the throne for somewhat more than a year, came up to be inaugurated in that ancient capital. Then (if we may take the account already given of Ahijah's interview as something separate from this), for the second time, and in a like manner, the Divine intimation of his future greatness is conveyed to him. The prophet Shemaiah (Σαμαΐας) the Enlamite (?) (ὁ Ἐνλαμεί, LXX. *v.* 24 o) addressed to him the same acted parable, in the ten shreds of a new unwashed garment (LXX.). Then took place the conference with Rehoboam (Jeroboam appearing in it, in the Hebrew text, but not[b] in the LXX.), and the final revolt;[c] which ended (expressly in the Hebrew text, in the LXX. by implication) in the elevation of Jeroboam to the throne of the northern kingdom. Shemaiah remained on the spot and deterred Rehoboam from an attack. Jeroboam entered at once on the duties of his new situation, and fortified Shechem as his capital on the west, and Penuel (close by the old Transjordanic capital of Mahanaim) on the east (1 K. xii. 25).

II. Up to this point there had been nothing to disturb the anticipations of the Prophetic Order and of the mass of Israel as to the glory of Jeroboam's future. But from this moment one fatal error crept, not unnaturally, into his policy, which undermined his dynasty and tarnished his name as the first king of Israel. The political disruption of the kingdom was complete; but its religious unity was as yet unimpaired. He feared that the yearly pilgrimages to Jerusalem would undo all the work which he had effected, and he took the bold step of rending it asunder. Two sanctuaries of venerable antiquity existed already—one at the southern, the other at the northern, extremity of his dominions. These he elevated into seats of the national worship, which should rival the newly established Temple at Jerusalem. As Abderrahman, caliph of Spain, arrested the movement of his subjects to Mecca, by the erection of the holy place of the Zecca at Cordova, so Jeroboam trusted to the erection of his shrines at Dan and Bethel. But he was not satisfied without another deviation from the Mosaic idea of the national unity. His long stay in Egypt had familiarised him with the outward forms under which the Divinity was there represented; and now, for the first time since the Exodus, was an Egyptian element introduced into the national worship of Palestine. A golden figure of Mnevis, the sacred calf of Heliopolis, was set up at each sanctuary, with the address, "Behold thy God ('Elohim' —cp. Neh. ix. 18) which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." The sanctuary of DAN, as the most remote from Jerusalem, was established first (1 K. xii. 30) with priests from the distant tribes, whom he consecrated instead of the Levites (xii. 31; xiii. 33). The more important one, as nearer the capital and in the heart of the kingdom, was BETHEL. The worship and the sanctuary continued till the end of the northern kingdom. The priests were supplied by a peculiar form of consecration—any one from the non-Levitical tribes could procure the office on sacrificing a young bullock and seven rams (1 K. xiii. 33; 2 Ch. xi. 15, xiii. 9). For the dedication of this he copied the precedent of Solomon in choosing the Feast of Tabernacles as the occasion; but postponing it for a month, probably in order to meet the vintage of the most northern parts. On the fifteenth day of this month (the 8th), he went up in state to offer incense on the altar which was before the calf. It was at this solemn and critical moment that a prophet from Judah suddenly appeared, whom Josephus with great probability identifies with Iddo the Seer (he calls him Iadôn, Ἰαδών, *Ant.* viii. 8, § 5; and see Jerome, *Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Ch. x. 4), who denounced the altar, and foretold its desecration by Josiah, and violent overthrow. It is not clear from the account whether it is intended that the overthrow took place then or in the earthquake described by Amos (ix. 1). Another sign is described as taking place instantly. The king stretching out his hand to arrest the prophet felt it withered and paralysed, and only at the prophet's prayer saw it restored, and acknowledged his Divine mission (xiii. 6). Josephus adds, but probably in conjecture from the sacred narrative, that the prophet who seduced Iddo on his return, did so in order to prevent his obtaining too much influence over Jeroboam, and endeavoured to explain away the miracles to the king, by representing that the altar fell because it was new, and that his hand was paralysed from the fatigue of sacrificing. A further allusion is made to this incident in

[b] This omission is however borne out by the Hebrew text, 1 K. xii. 20, "when all Israel *heard that* Jeroboam was come again."

[c] The cry of revolt, 1 K. xii. 16, is the same as that in 2 Sam. xx. 1.

the narrative of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, § 4), where Zedekiah is represented as contrasting the potency of Iddo in withering the hand of Jeroboam with the powerlessness of Micaiah to wither the hand of Zedekiah. The visit of Ano to Ahijah, which the common Hebrew text (1 K. xiv. 18) places after this event, and with darker intimations in Ahijah's warning only suitable to a later period, has already been described.

Jeroboam was at constant war with the house of Judah, but the only act distinctly recorded is a battle with Abijah, son of Rehoboam; in which—in spite of a skilful ambush made by Jeroboam, and of much superior force—he was defeated, and for the time lost three important cities, Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephraim.[d] The calamity was severely felt; he never recovered the blow, and soon after died, in the twenty-second year of his reign (2 Ch. xiii. 20), and was buried in his ancestral sepulchre (1 K. xiv. 20). His son Nadab, or (LXX. Ναβάτ) Nebat (named after the grandfather), succeeded, and in him the dynasty was closed. The name of Jeroboam long remained under a cloud as the king who "had caused Israel to sin." At the time of the Reformation, it was a common practice of Roman Catholic writers to institute comparisons between his separation from the sanctuary of Judah, and that of Henry VIII. from the see of Rome.

[In his *Lectures on the Jewish Church* (ii. 239, 1883) Dean Stanley analyses the intention of Jeroboam in establishing his rites at Dan and Bethel. He considers that the golden calves were honestly designed as visible representations of the Supreme Deity, with a view to preserving the belief in the unity of God; but that with every desire thus to uphold the sanctity of the First Commandment, he violated the Second, tampering with the spiritual conception of the national worship, and thus accustoming the Israelites to the very sin against which it was his object to provide a safeguard. So likewise Ewald understands (*Hist. Isr.*[2] iv. 26, 1878). The *Speaker's Comm.* (*Notes* on 1 K. xii. 26, 28) gives Jeroboam unqualified blame; and Keil in his comments on this reign (Clark's *F. T. L.* xxxiii., 185, 186) credits him with the sole design of securing his own throne.—C. H.]

2. JEROBOAM II., the son of his predecessor Joash and the fourth of the dynasty of Jehu. The most prosperous of the kings of Israel. The contemporary accounts of his reign are, (1) in the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (2 K. xiv. 28), which are lost, but of which the substance is given in 2 K. xiv. 23–29; (2) in the contemporary Prophets Hosea and Amos, and (perhaps) in the fragments found in Is. xv., xvi. It had been foretold in the reign of Jehoahaz that a great deliverer should come, to rescue Israel from the Syrian yoke (cp. 2 K. xiii. 4, xiv. 26, 27), and this had been expanded into a distinct prediction of Jonah, that there should be a restoration of the widest dominion of Solomon (xiv. 25). This "saviour" and "restorer" was Jeroboam. He not only repelled the Syrian invaders, but took their capital city Damascus (2 K. xiv. 28; Amos i. 3–5), and recovered the whole of the ancient dominion from Hamath to the Dead Sea (xiv. 25; Amos vi. 14). Ammon and Moab were reconquered (Amos i. 13, ii. 1–3); the Transjordanic tribes were restored to their territory (2 K. xiii. 5; 1 Ch. v. 17–22).

But it was merely an outward restoration. The sanctuary at Bethel was kept up in royal state (Amos vii. 13), but drunkenness, licentiousness, and oppression prevailed in the country (Amos ii. 6–8, iv. 1, vi. 6; Hos. i. 2, iv. 12–14), and idolatry was united with the worship of Jehovah (Hos. iv. 13, xiii. 6).

Amos prophesied the destruction of Jeroboam and his house by the sword (Amos vii. 9, 17), and Amaziah, the high-priest of Bethel, complained to the king (Amos vii. 10–13). The effect does not appear. Hosea (Hos. i. 1) also denounced the crimes of the nation. The prediction of Amos was not fulfilled as regarded the king himself. He was buried with his ancestors in state (2 K. xiv. 29).

Ewald (*Hist. of Isr.*[2] iv. 124, note, 1878) supposes that Jeroboam was the subject of Ps. xlv. [A. P. S.]

JERO'HAM (יְרֹחָם = *beloved; Jeroham*). **1.** (B. Ἱερεμεήλ, Ἰδαέρ, Ἠαάλ; A. Ἱεροάμ, Ἱερεάμ, Ἱεροβοάμ.) Father of Elkanah, the father of Samuel, of the house of Kohath. His father is called Eliab at 1 Ch. vi. 27, Eliel at *v.* 34, and Elihu at 1 Sam. i. 1. Jeroham must have been about the same age as Eli. [A. C. H.]

2. (Ἰροάμ, B. Ἰραάμ, A. Ἱεροάμ.) A Benjamite, and the founder of a family of Bene-Jeroham (1 Ch. viii. 27). They were among the leaders of that part of the tribe which lived in Jerusalem, and which is here distinguished from the part which inhabited Gideon. Probably the same person is intended in

3. (Ἱεροβοάμ, B. Ἰραάμ, A. Ἱεροάμ.) Father (or progenitor) of Ibneiah, one of the leading Benjamites of Jerusalem (1 Ch. ix. 8; cp. *vv.* 3 and 9).

4. (Ἰραάμ, A. Ἱεραάμ; in Neh. B. omits, A. Ἱεροάμ.) A descendant of Aaron, of the house of Immer, the leader of the sixteenth course of priests; son of Pashur and father of Adaiah (1 Ch. ix. 12). He appears to be mentioned again in Neh. xi. 12 (a record curiously and puzzingly parallel to that of 1 Ch. ix., though with some striking differences), though there he is stated to belong to the house of Malchiah, who was leader of the fifth course (and cp. Neh. xi. 14).

5. (Ἰροάμ, B. Ῥαάμ, A. Ἱεροάμ.) Jeroham of Gedor (מִן־גְּדוֹר), some of whose "sons" joined David when he was taking refuge from Saul at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 7). The list purports to be of Benjamites (see *v.* 2, where the word "even" is interpolated, and the last five words belong to *v.* 3). But then how can the presence of Korhites (*v.* 6), the descendants of Korah the Levite, be accounted for?

6. (Ἰρωάβ, BA. Ἰωράμ.) A Danite, whose son or descendant Azareel was head of his tribe in the time of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 22).

7. (Ἰωράμ.) Father of Azariah, one of the

[d] The Targum on Ruth iv. 20 mentions that Jeroboam had stationed guards on the roads, which guards were slain by the people of Netophah; but what is here alluded to, or when it took place, we have at present no clue to.

"captains of hundreds" in the time of Athaliah; one of those to whom Jehoiada the priest confided his scheme for the restoration of Joash (2 Ch. xxiii. 1). [G.] [W.]

JERUB'BAAL (יְרֻבַּעַל, probably = *he that striveth with Baal*]. Cp. the Phoen. ישבעל [M.V.[11]]: B. chiefly Ἱεροβάαλ, but also once each Ἱεαροβάαλ, Ἰαρβάλ, Ἀρβαάλ, and in 1 Sam. xii. 11 Ἱεροβοάμ; A. δικαστήριον τοῦ Βαάλ, Judg. vi. 32, Ἰροβάαλ in vii. 1: *Jerobaal*), the surname of Gideon which he acquired in consequence of destroying the altar of Baal, when his father defended him from the vengeance of the Abi-ezrites. In the A. and R. V. of Judg. vi. 32, "*he* called him Jerubbaal," implying that the surname was given by Joash, means, in accordance with a well-known Hebrew idiom, "*one* called him," *i.e.* he was called by the men of his city. The LXX. in the same passage have ἐκάλεσεν αὐτό, "he called *it*," *i.e.* the altar mentioned in the preceding verse; but as in all other passages they recognise Jerubbaal as the name of Gideon, the reading should probably be αὐτόν. In Judg. viii. 35 the Vulg. strictly follows the Heb., *Jerobaal Gedeon*. The Alex. Version omits the name altogether from Judg. ix. 57. The name is also found in Judg. vii. 1, viii. 29, ix. 1, 5, 16, 19, 24, 28, and 1 Sam. xii. 11. It is not a little remarkable that Josephus (*Ant.* v. 6) omits all mention both of the change of name and of the event it commemorates. Gideon's act was one of putting away all sin and rebellion against God from his own house, before he entered upon the holy war to which God had called him.
[W. A. W.] [C. H.]

JERUB'BESHETH (יְרֻבֹּשֶׁת; Ἱεροβοάμ; *Jerobaal*), a name of Gideon (2 Sam. xi. 21). A later generation probably abstained from pronouncing the name (Ex. xxiii. 13) of a false god (Baal), and therefore changed Gideon's name (Judg. vi. 32) of Jerubbaal = *he that striveth with Baal*, into Jerubbesheth = *he that striveth with shame* (= the idol). Cp. similar changes (1 Ch. viii. 33, 34) of Eshbaal for Ishbosheth, and Meribbaal for Mephibosheth. See Ewald in loco. [W. T. B.] [C. H.]

JERU'EL, THE WILDERNESS OF (מִדְבַּר יְרוּאֵל; ἡ ἐρήμος Ἱεριήλ; *Jeruel*), the place in which Jehoshaphat was informed by Jahaziel the Levite that he should encounter the hordes of Ammon, Moab, and the Mehunim, who were swarming round the south end of the Dead Sea to the attack of Jerusalem: "Ye shall find them at the end of the valley (*wâdy*), facing the wilderness of Jeruel" (2 Ch. xx. 16). The "wilderness" contained a watch-tower (*v.* 24), from which many a similar incursion had probably been descried. It was a well-known spot, for it has the definite article. Or the word (הַמִּצְפֶּה) may mean a commanding ridge,[a] below which the "wilderness" lay open to view. The name has not been met with, but the "wilderness" was apparently a part of the JESHIMON in the neighbourhood of Tekoa and Berachah (perhaps *Bereikût*), east of the road between *Urtâs* and Hebron. [G.] [W.]

[a] ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβάσεως, λεγομένης δ' ἐξοχῆς, Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 1, § 2.

JERU'SALEM (יְרוּשָׁלַם, *i.e.* Yĕrûshâlâïm; or, in the more extended form, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, in 1 Ch. iii. 5, 2 Ch. xxv. 1, xxxii. 9, Esth. ii. 6, Jer. xxvi. 18, only; in the Chaldee passages of Ezra and Daniel, יְרוּשְׁלֶם, *i.e.* Yĕrûshĕlēm: LXX. Ἱερουσαλήμ; N. T. apparently indifferently Ἱερουσαλὴμ and τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα: Vulg. Cod. Amiat. *Hierusalem* and *Hierosolyma*, but in other old copies *Jerusalem*, *Jerosolyma*. In the A. V. of 1611 it is "Ierusalem," in O. T. and Apocr.; but in N. T. "Hierusalem").[a]

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[a] Other names borne by Jerusalem are as follows: 1. ARIEL, the "lion of God," or, according to another interpretation, the "hearth of God" (Is. xxix. 1, 2, 7; cp. Ezek. xliii. 15). For the former signification cp. Ps. lxxvi. 1, 2 (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 171). 2. ἡ ἁγία πόλις, "the holy city," Matt. iv. 5 and xxvii. 53 only. Both these passages would seem to refer to *Zion*—the sacred portion of the place, in which the Temple was situated. It also occurs—ἡ π. ἡ ἁγ.—Rev. xi. 2. 3. Aelia Capitolina, the name bestowed by the Emperor Hadrian (Aelius Hadrianus) on the city as rebuilt by him, A.D. 135–136. These two names of the emperor are inscribed on the well-known stone in the south wall of the Mosque el-Aksa, one of the few Roman relics about which there can be no dispute. This name is usually employed by Eusebius (Αἰλία) and Jerome, in their *Onomasticon*. By Ptolemy it is given as Καπιτωλιάς (Reland, *Pal.* p. 462). 4. The Arabic names are *el-Kuds*, "the holy," or *Beit el-Mukaddas* or *Beit el-Mukdis*, "the holy house," "the sanctuary." The first is that in ordinary use at present. The latter is found in Arabic chronicles. It is also called *Iliyâ* (Yâkût, iv. 592), and is referred to in poetry as *el-Balât*, "the court" (Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 84). The name *esh-Sherif*, "the venerable," or "the noble," is also quoted by Schultens in his *Index Geogr. in Vit. Salad.* 5. Yâkût mentions (i. 402, iii. 315, iv. 590) the forms *Urishallum*, *Uri-*

On the derivation and signification of the name considerable difference exists among the authorities. The Rabbis state that the name Shalem was bestowed on it by Shem (identical in their traditions with Melchizedek), and the name Jireh by Abraham, after the deliverance of Isaac on Mount Moriah,[b] and that the two were afterwards combined, lest displeasure should be felt by either of the two Saints at the exclusive use of one (Beresh. Rab. in Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v., also Lightfoot). Others, quoted by Reland (p. 833), would make it mean "fear of Salem," or "sight of peace." The suggestion of Reland himself, adopted by Simonis (*Onom.* p. 467) and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 155, note), is יְרוּשׁ שָׁלֵם, "inheritance of peace," but this is questioned by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 628*b*) and Fürst (*Handwb.* p. 547*b*), who prefer יְרוּ שָׁלֵם, the "foundation of peace."[c] Another derivation, proposed by the fertile Hitzig (*Jesaia*, p. 2), is named by the two last great scholars only to condemn it. Others again, looking to the name of the Canaanite tribe who possessed the place at the time of the conquest, would propose Jebus-salem (Reland, p. 834), or even Jebus-Solomon, as the name conferred on the city by that monarch when he began his reign of tranquillity.

Another controversy relates to the termination of the name—Jerushal*aim*—the Hebrew dual; and which, by Simonis and Ewald, is unhesitatingly referred to the double formation of the city, while reasons are shown against this by Reland and Gesenius. It is certain that on the two occasions where the latter portion of the name appears to be given for the whole (Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 2), it is Shalem, and not Shalaim; also that the five places where the vowel-points of the Masorets are supported by the letters of the original text, are of a late date, when the idea of the double city, and its reflection in the name, would have become familiar to the Jews. In this conflict of authorities the suggestion will perhaps occur to a bystander that the original formation of the name may have been anterior to the entrance of the Israelites on Canaan, and that this was the case seems clear from the cuneiform tablets found in the ruins of *Tell el-Amarna*. Most of these letters were written towards the close of the reign of Amenôphis IV., a century before the Israelites entered Canaan; and some of them are from Ebed-tob (*Abdu-dhabba*), the priest-king of *Uru-'salim*, Jerusalem. It would appear that Jerusalem was the seat of the worship and oracle of the god 'Salim, whose temple stood on "the mountain" of Moriah, and that the word signifies "the city of the god 'Salim," *i.e.* "of the god of Peace" (*Records of the Past*, New Series, v. 60, 61). Jerushalaim then may be regarded as the Hebrew form of the original archaic name. Centuries afterwards, when Hebrews in their turn gave way to Greeks, attempts were made to twist Jerushalaim into a shape which should be intelligible to Greek ears.[d] Ἱερο σολυμά, "the holy Solyma" (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 10), Ἱερὸν Σαλομῶνος,[e] the "holy place of Solomon" (Eupolemus, in Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* ix. 34), and the curious fancy quoted by Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 34, 35) from Lysimachus—Ἱερόσυλα, "spoilers of temples."

The subject of Jerusalem naturally divides itself into three heads:—

I. The place itself: its origin, position, and physical characteristics.

II. The annals of the city.

III. The topography of the town; the relative localities of its various parts; the sites of the "Holy Places," ancient and modern, &c.

I. The Place itself.

The arguments—if arguments they can be called—for and against the identity of the "Salem" of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) with Jerusalem—the "Salem" of a late Psalmist (Ps. lxxvi. 2)—are almost equally balanced. In favour of it are the unhesitating statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10, § 2; vii. 3, § 2; *B. J.* vi. 10[f]) and Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 267, 18, Ἱερουσαλήμ), the recurrence of the name Salem in the Psalm just quoted, where it undoubtedly means Jerusalem,[g] and the general consent in the identification. On the other hand is the no less positive statement of Jerome, grounded on more reason than he often vouchsafes for his statements[h] (*Ep. ad Evangelum*, § 7), that "Salem was not Jerusalem, as Josephus and all Christians (*nostri omnes*) believe it to be, but a town near Scythopolis, which to this day is called Salem, where the magnificent ruins of the palace of Melchizedek are still seen, and of which mention is made in a subsequent passage of Genesis—'Jacob came to Salem, a city of Shechem'[i] (Gen. xxxiii. 18)." Elsewhere (*OS.*[2] p. 282, 84; p. 180, 15) Eusebius and he identify it with Shechem itself. This question will be discussed under the head of

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shalum, and *Shallum* as the names of the Holy City in the days of the Jews. Edrisi also once gives it the name *Aurashalim* (ed. Jaubert, i. 345). 6. In the cuneiform inscriptions one form of the name appears as Ur-sa-li-im-mu (Schrader, *D. Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.* p. 161).

[b] The question of the identity of Moriah with Jerusalem will be examined under that head.

[c] Such mystical interpretations as those of Origen, τὸ πνεῦμα χάριτος αὐτῶν (from רוח and ישלם), or ἱερὸν εἰρήνης, where half the name is interpreted as Greek and half as Hebrew, curious as they are, cannot be examined here. (See the catalogues preserved by Jerome.)

[d] Other instances of familiar Greek forms given to Hebrew names are Ἱεριχὼ and Ἱερομάξ.

[e] Philo carries this a step further, and, bearing in view only the sanctity of the place, he discards the Semitic member of the name, and calls it Ἱερόπολις. It is exactly the complement of πόλις Σολύμα (Pausanias, viii. 16).

[f] In this passage he even goes so far as to say that Melchizedek, "the first priest of God," built there the first temple, and changed the name of the city from Soluma to Hierosoluma.

[g] A contraction analogous to others with which we are familiar in our own poetry; *e.g.* Edin, or Edina, for Edinburgh.

[h] Winer is wrong in stating (*RWB.* ii. 79) that Jerome bases this statement on a Rabbinical tradition. The tradition that he quotes, in § 5 of the same Ep., is as to the identity of Melchizedek with Shem.

[i] R. V. translates "Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem

SALEM. Here it is sufficient to say (1) that Jerusalem suits the circumstances of the narrative as well as any place further north, or more in the heart of the country. It would be quite as much in Abram's road from the sources of Jordan to his home under the oaks of Hebron, and it would be quite as suitable for the visit of the king of Sodom. (2) It is perhaps some confirmation of the identity, at any rate it is a remarkable coincidence, that the king of Jerusalem in the time of Joshua should bear the title Adoni-zedek—almost precisely the same as that of Melchi-zedek.[k]

The question of the identity of Jerusalem with "Cadytis, a large city of Syria," "almost as large as Sardis," which is mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 159, iii. 5) as having been taken by Pharaoh-Necho, need not be investigated in this place.[l] It is examined in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 246; Blakesley's *Herod.—Excursus on Bk.* iii. ch. 5 (both against the identification); and in Kenrick's *Egypt*, ii. 406, and *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Geogr.* ii. 17 (both for it).

Nor need we do more than refer to the traditions—if traditions they are, and not mere individual speculations—of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2) and Plutarch (*Is. et Osir.* ch. 31), of the foundation of the city by a certain Hierosolymus, a son of the Typhon (see Winer's note, i. 545). All certain information as to the early history of Jerusalem must be gathered from the books of the Jewish historians alone.

It is during the conquest of the country that Jerusalem first appears in definite form on the scene in which it was destined to occupy so prominent a position. The earliest notice is probably that in Josh. xv. 8 and xviii. 16, 28, describing the landmarks of the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin. Here it is styled Ha-Jebusi, *i.e.*, as in R. V., "the Jebusite" (A. V. Jebusi), after the name of its occupiers, just as is the case with other places in these lists. [JEBUSI.] Next, we find the form JEBUS (Judg. xix. 10, 11)—"Jebus, which is Jerusalem . . . the city of the Jebusites;" and lastly, in documents which profess to be of the same age as the foregoing, we have Jerusalem (Josh. x. 1, &c., xii. 10; Judg. i. 7, &c.).[m] To this we have a parallel in Hebron, the other great city of Southern Palestine, which bears the alternative title of Kirjath-Arba in these very same documents.

It is one of the obvious peculiarities of Jerusalem—but to which Dean Stanley appears to have been the first to call attention—that it did not become the capital till a comparatively late date in the career of the nation. Bethel, Shechem, Hebron, had their beginnings in the earliest periods of national life; but Jerusalem was not only not a chief city, it was not even possessed by the Israelites till they had gone through one complete stage of their life in Palestine, and the second—the monarchy—had been fairly entered on (see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 169).

The explanation of this is no doubt in some measure to be found in the fact that the seats of the government and the religion of the nation were originally fixed farther north—first at Shechem and Shiloh; then at Gibeah, Nob, and Gibeon; but it is also no doubt partly due to the natural strength of Jerusalem. The heroes of Joshua's army who traced the boundary-line which was to separate the possessions of Judah and Benjamin, when, after passing the spring of En-rogel, they went along the "ravine of the son of Hinnom," and looked up to the "southern shoulder of the Jebusite" (Josh. xv. 7, 8), must have felt that to scale heights so great and so steep would have fully tasked even their tried prowess. We shall see, when we glance through the annals of the city, that it did effectually resist the tribes of Judah and Simeon not many years later. But when, after the death of Ishbosheth, David became king of a united and powerful people, it was necessary for him to leave the remote Hebron and approach nearer to the bulk of his dominions. At the same time it was impossible to desert the great tribe to which he belonged, and over whom he had been reigning for seven years. Out of this difficulty Jerusalem was the natural escape, and accordingly at Jerusalem David fixed the seat of his throne and the future sanctuary of his nation.

The boundary between Judah and Benjamin, the north boundary of the former and the south of the latter, ran at the foot of the hill on which the city stands, so that the city itself was actually in Benjamin, while by crossing the narrow ravine of Hinnom you set foot on the territory of Judah.[n] That it was not far enough to the north to command the continued allegiance of the tribe of Ephraim, and the others which lay above him, is obvious from the fact of the separation which at last took place. It is enough for the vindication of David in having chosen it to remember that that separation did not take place during the reigns of himself or his son, and was at last precipitated by misgovernment, combined with feeble short-sightedness. And if not actually in the centre

[k] From a passage in one of the *Tell el-Amarna* tablets, it seems possible that the god of Jerusalem was worshipped under the title of *Tsedeq*, or "Righteousness"; so that the names of the two kings would have meant "Tsedeq is lord," "Tsedeq is king" (*Records of the Past*, N. S., v. 63). Cp. the Phoenician god, Sydek.

[l] Kadytis may perhaps be Kadesh on the Orontes, which would be on the road from Megiddo to Carchemish.

[m] It would appear from the *Tell el-Amarna* tablets that the original name was *Uru-'salim*, Jerusalem; and Professor Sayce has suggested (*Records of the Past*, New Series, v. 60) that it only received the name Jebus after its conquest by the Hittites and Amorites. When the Israelites entered Canaan, "they found Jerusalem a stronghold of the Jebusite tribe of Amorites. It had ceased for a while to be Jerusalem, and had become Jebus, the 'Jebusite' city."

[n] This appears from an examination of the two corresponding documents, Josh. xv. 7, 8, and xviii. 16, 17. The line was drawn from En-shemesh—probably *'Ain Haud*, below Bethany—to En-rogel—the Fountain of the Virgin; thence it went by the ravine of Hinnom and the southern shoulder of the Jebusite—the steep slope of the modern Zion; climbed the heights on the west of the ravine, and struck off to the spring at Nephtoah. The other view, which is made the most of by Blunt in one of his ingenious "coincidences" (Pt. ii. 17), and is also favoured by Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 176), is derived from a Jewish tradition, quoted by Lightfoot (*Prospect of the Temple*, ch. 1), to the effect that the Altars and Sanctuary were in Benjamin, the courts of the Temple were in Judah.

of Palestine, it was yet virtually so. "It was on the ridge, the broadest and most strongly marked ridge of the backbone of the complicated hills which extend through the whole country from the Plain of Esdraelon to the Desert. Every wanderer, every conqueror, every traveller who has trod the central route of Palestine from N. to S. must have passed through the table-land of Jerusalem. It was the watershed between the streams, or rather the torrent-beds, which find their way eastward to the Jordan (correctly Dead Sea), and those which pass westward to the Mediterranean" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 176).

This central position, as expressed in the words of Ezekiel (v. 5), "I have set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries round about her," led in later ages to a definite belief that the city was actually in the centre of the earth—in the words of Jerome, "umbilicus terrae," the central boss or navel of the world [o] (see the quotations in Reland, *Pal.* pp. 52 and 838; Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 5; also Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 116).

At the same time it should not be overlooked that, while thus central to the people of the country, it had the advantage of being remote from the great high road of the nations which so frequently passed by Palestine, and therefore enjoyed a certain immunity from disturbance. The only practicable route for a great army, with baggage, siege-trains, &c., moving between Egypt and Assyria, was by the low plain which bordered the sea-coast from Pelusium to Tyre. From that plain the central table-land on which Jerusalem stood was approached by valleys and passes generally too intricate and precipitous for the passage of large bodies. Two roads there were less rugged than the rest—that from Jaffa and Lydda up the pass of the Bethhorons to Gibeon, and thence over the hills to the north side of Jerusalem; and that from Gaza and Bethshemesh up the long ascent to Solomon's Pools, and thence by Rachel's Tomb, and the Plain of Rephaim to the west side of the city. By these routes, with few, if any, exceptions, armies seem to have approached the city.[p] On the other hand, we shall find, in tracing the annals of Jerusalem, that great forces frequently passed between Egypt and Assyria, and battles were fought in the plain by large armies, nay, that sieges of the towns on the Mediterranean coast were conducted, lasting for years, without apparently affecting Jerusalem the least.

Jerusalem stands in latitude 31° 46′ 43″ North, and longitude 35° 13′ 44″[q] East of Greenwich. It is 33 miles distant from the sea, and 18½ from the Jordan; 19 from Hebron, and 35 from Samaria. It is emphatically a mountain city. Situated in the heart of the hill-country, which extends from the plain of Esdraelon to the southern limit of the Promised Land, surrounded on all sides by limestone hills that are seamed by countless ravines, and only approached by rough mountain roads, its position is one of great natural strength. The importance attached to the surrounding hills as a protection from hostile attack may be inferred from the words of Ps. cxxv. 2: "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about His people." "In several respects," says Dean Stanley, "its situation is singular among the cities of Palestine. Its elevation is remarkable; occasioned not from its being on the summit of one of the numerous hills of Judaea, like most of the towns and villages, but because it is on the edge of one of the highest table-lands of the country." From the north and from the south the approach to Jerusalem is by a slight descent. But "to the traveller approaching the city from the E. or W. it must always have presented the appearance beyond any other capital of the then known world—we may say beyond any important city that has ever existed on the earth—of a mountain city; breathing, as compared with the sultry plains of Jordan, a mountain air; enthroned, as compared with Jericho or Damascus, Gaza or Tyre, on a mountain fastness" (*S. & P.* pp. 170–1).

The elevation of Jerusalem is a subject of constant reference and exultation by the Jewish writers. Their fervid poetry abounds with allusions to its height,[r] to the ascent thither of the tribes from all parts of the country. It was the habitation of Jehovah, from which "He looked upon all the inhabitants of the world" (Ps. xxxiii. 14): its kings were "higher than the kings of the earth" (Ps. lxxxix. 27). In the later Jewish literature of narrative and description this poetry is reduced to prose, and in the most exaggerated form. Jerusalem was so high that the flames of Jamnia were visible from it (2 Macc. xii. 9). From the tower of Psephinus, at the N.W. corner of the walls, could be discerned on the one hand the Mediterranean Sea, on the other the country of Arabia (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 3). Hebron could be seen from the roofs of the Temple (Lightfoot, *Chor. Cent.* xlix.). The same thing can be traced in Josephus's account of the environs of the city, in which he has exaggerated what is in truth a remarkable ravine, to a depth so enormous that the head swam and the eyes failed in gazing into its recesses (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5).

In exemplification of these remarks it may be said that the highest point within the walls of the city is 2,582 feet above the level of the sea. The Mount of Olives rises slightly above this—2,647 feet. Beyond the Mount of Olives, however, the descent is remarkable; Jericho—14½ miles off—being no less than 3,467 feet below, viz. 820 feet under the Mediterranean. On the north, Bethel, at a distance of 10½ miles, is 308 feet above Jerusalem. On the west Ramleh—25 miles—is 2,230 feet below. On the south, Hebron is 458 feet above. A table of the heights of the various parts of the city and environs is given further on.

[o] This is prettily expressed in a Rabbinical figure quoted by Otho (*Lex.* 266):—"The world is like to an eye: the white of the eye is the ocean surrounding the world; the black is the world itself; the pupil is Jerusalem; and the image in the pupil, the Temple."

[p] The principal roads from the maritime plain, and the valley of the Jordan, to the hill-country, avoided the narrow beds of the deep ravines, and, for obvious motives of precaution against hostile attack and winter torrents, followed the crests of the intervening spurs.

[q] This position is from the triangulation of the *PEF.* Survey, and depends on the Admiralty longitude of Jaffa.

[r] See the passages quoted by Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 171).

The situation of the city in reference to the rest of Palestine has been described by Dr. Robinson in a well-known passage, which is so complete and graphic a statement of the case, that we take the liberty of giving it entire.

"Jerusalem lies near the summit of a broad mountain ridge. This ridge or mountainous tract extends, without interruption, from the plain of Esdraelon to a line drawn between the south end of the Dead Sea and the S.E. corner of the Mediterranean: or more properly, perhaps, it may be regarded as extending as far south as to *Jebel 'Arâif* in the desert; where it sinks down at once to the level of the great western plateau. This tract, which is everywhere not less than from 20 to 25 geographical miles in breadth, is in fact high uneven table-land. It everywhere forms the precipitous western wall of the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea; while towards the west it sinks down by an offset into a range of lower hills, which lie between it and the great plain along the coast of the Mediterranean. The surface of this upper region is everywhere rocky, uneven, and mountainous; and is moreover cut up by deep valleys which run east or west on either side towards the Jordan or the Mediterranean. The line of division, or water-shed, between the waters of these valleys,—a term which here applies almost exclusively to the waters of the rainy season,—follows for the most part the height of land along the ridge; yet not so but that the heads of the valleys, which run off in different directions, often interlap for a considerable distance. Thus, for example, a valley which descends to the Jordan often has its head a mile or two westward of the commencement of other valleys which run to the western sea.

"From the great plain of Esdraelon onwards towards the south, the mountainous country rises gradually, forming the tract anciently known as the mountains of Ephraim and Judah; until in the vicinity of Hebron it attains an elevation of nearly 3,000 Paris feet[a] above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. Further north, on a line drawn from the north end of the Dead Sea towards the true west, the ridge has an elevation of only about 2,500 Paris feet; and here, close upon the water-shed, lies the city of Jerusalem.

"Six or seven miles N. and N.W. of the city is spread out the open plain or basin round about *el-Jîb* (Gibeon), extending also towards *el-Bireh* (Beeroth); the waters of which flow off at its S.E. part through the deep valley here called by the Arabs *Wâdy Beit Hanina*; but to which the monks and travellers have usually given the name of the Valley of Turpentine, or of the Terebinth, on the mistaken supposition that it is the ancient Valley of Elah. This great valley passes along in a S.W. direction an hour or more west of Jerusalem; and finally opens out from the mountains into the western plain, at the distance of 6 or 8 hours S.W. from the city, under the name of *Wâdy es-Surâr*. The traveller, on his way from Ramleh to Jerusalem, descends into and crosses this deep valley at the village of *Kulônieh* on its western side, an hour and a half from the latter city. On again reaching the high ground on its eastern side, he enters upon an open tract sloping gradually downwards towards the south and east; and sees before him, at the distance of a mile and a half, the walls and domes of the Holy City, and beyond them the higher ridge or summit of the Mount of Olives.

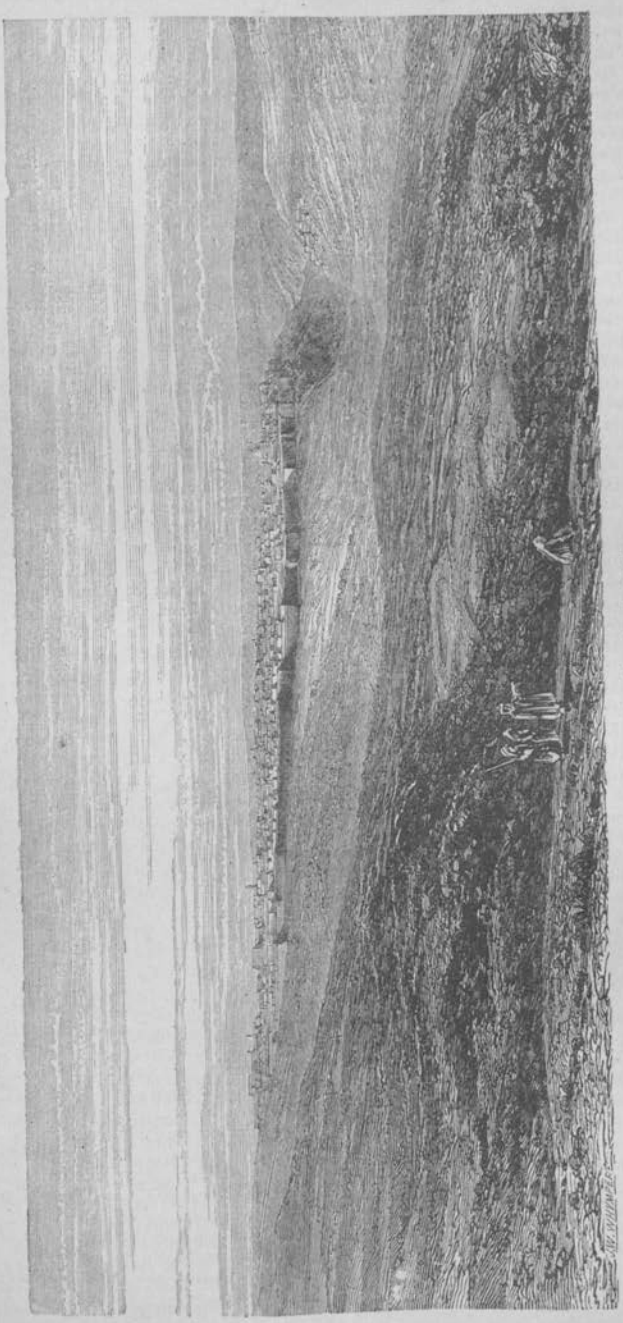
"The traveller now descends gradually towards the city along a broad swell of ground,[1] having at some distance on his left the shallow northern part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and close at hand on his right the basin which forms the beginning of the Valley of Hinnom. Upon the broad and elevated promontory within the fork of these two valleys, lies the Holy City. All around are higher hills: on the east, the Mount of Olives; on the south, the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called, rising directly from the Vale of Hinnom; on the west, the ground rises gently, as above described, to the borders of the great Wâdy; while on the north, a bend of the ridge connected with the Mount of Olives bounds the prospect at the distance of more than a mile. Towards the S.W. the view is somewhat more open; for here lies the plain of Rephaim, already described, commencing just at the southern brink of the Valley of Hinnom, and stretching off S.W., where it runs to the western sea. In the N.W., too, the eye reaches up along the upper part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and from many points can discern the mosque of *Neby Samwîl*, situated on a lofty ridge beyond the great Wâdy, at the distance of two hours" (Robinson's *Bibl. Researches*, i. 258–260).

So much for the local and political relation of Jerusalem to the country in general. To convey an idea of its individual position, we may say roughly, and with reference to the accompanying plan (Plate I.), that the city occupies the lower extremity of a small plateau which slopes gently southward from the ridge that parts the waters of the Mediterranean from those of the Dead Sea. The little table-land is not more than 1000 acres in extent, and on its west, south, and east sides it is cut off from the surrounding country by ravines more than usually deep and precipitous. These ravines take their rise, within a short distance of each other, in the higher ground to the north-west of the city, and falling, at first gradually, then rapidly, form a junction below its south-east corner. The eastern one—the Valley of the Kedron, commonly known as the Valley of Jehoshaphat—after running eastward for a mile and a half, changes its direction and runs nearly due south. The western one—the Valley of Hinnom—which, at its head, widens out into a broad shallow basin, follows a southerly course for a mile and a quarter, and then turns eastward to meet the Valley of the Kedron. After their junction the two valleys, now called the *Wâdy en-Nar*, "Valley of Fire," run off through the Wilderness of Judaea to the Dead Sea. How rapid is their descent may be gathered from the fact that the point of junction is 672 feet below the starting-point, though the two points are scarcely one and three quarter

[a] The altitude of *Hulhul*, near Hebron, is 3,270 feet.

[1] The "broad swell of ground" is now, in great part, covered with houses; but the features so clearly described by Dr. Robinson can still be easily recognised.

miles apart. Thus, while on the north there is no material difference between the general level of the country outside the walls and that of the highest parts of the city; on the other three sides the ravines fall so steeply, their character is so trench-like, and they keep so close to the



View of Jerusalem, from the south.

promontory, at whose feet they run, that they leave upon the beholder almost the impression of a ditch at the foot of a fortress.

The plateau thus encircled is itself intersected by a ravine which, rising to the north of the city, runs southward to join the Kedron Valley

at Siloam, and divides the central mass into two spurs of unequal size that terminate in abrupt broken slopes. Of these two spurs, that on the west—the Upper City of the Jews, the Mount Zion of modern tradition—is the higher and more massive; that on the east—Mount Moriah, the "Akra" or "Lower City" of Josephus, now occupied by the great Muhammadan sanctuary with its mosques and domes—is at once considerably lower and smaller, so that, to a spectator from the south, the city appears to slope sharply to the east.[u] About 700 yards above Siloam this central valley is joined, almost at right angles, by a smaller one, which falls rapidly in its course eastward from the vicinity of the present Jaffa Gate. Opinions differ as to whether the straight valley north and south, or its southern half, with the branch just spoken of, was the "Tyropoeon valley" of Josephus. The question will be examined in Section III. under the head of the Topography of the Ancient City.

A fourth valley, the rugged nature of which was only disclosed by excavation, rises in the eastern half of the plateau, and falls into the Kedron a short distance north of the Golden Gate. Part of this depression—apparently "the valley called Kedron," of Josephus—is still preserved in the large reservoir, *Birket Isrâil*, usually called the Pool of Bethesda, near the St. Stephen's Gate.

The Tyropoeon and the fourth valley are so filled with the *débris* of ancient Jerusalem that neither their form nor their true course can now be distinguished. The bed of the former is sometimes more than 90 feet, and that of the latter, where it underlies the north-east corner of the *Haram esh-Sherif*, no less than 125 feet below the present surface of the ground. The rocky sides of the Kedron and Hinnom valleys, which, below the city walls, were cut away in cliffs from 10 to 20 feet high to give additional security, are now so concealed by *débris* that they present the appearance of steep continuous slopes, broken only by a few terraced gardens.

This rough sketch of the *terrain* of Jerusalem will enable the reader to appreciate the two great advantages of its position. On the one hand the ravines which entrench it on the west, south, and east—out of which, as has been said, the rocky slopes of the city rise almost like the walls of a fortress out of its ditches—must have rendered it impregnable on those quarters to the warfare of the old world. On the other hand, its junction with the more level ground on its north and north-west sides afforded an opportunity of expansion, of which we know advantage was taken, and which gave it remarkable superiority over other cities of Palestine, and especially of Judah, which, though secure on their hill-tops, were unable to expand beyond them (Stanley, *S. & P.*, pp. 174–5).

The heights of the principal points in and round the city, above the Mediterranean Sea, as determined by the Ordnance Survey[x] in 1864–65, are as follows:—

	Feet.
Water-parting N.W. of city	2670
N.W. corner of the city (*Kalat el-Jalûd*)	2570
Church of Holy Sepulchre	2473
Upper City (Armenian Monastery)	2544
Mount Moriah (*Haram esh-Sherif*)	2419
Bridge over the Kedron, near Gethsemane	2270
Pool of Siloam	2087
Bir Eyûb, at the confluence of Hinnom and Kedron	1979
Mount of Olives, Church of Ascension on summit	2641
Hill of Evil Counsel	2549

From these figures it will be seen that the spur on which the western half of the city is built, is tolerably level from north to south; that the eastern hill is more than a hundred feet lower; and that from the latter the descent to the floor of the valley at its feet—the *Bir Eyûb*—is a drop of 440 feet.

The Mount of Olives overtops even the highest part of the city by nearly 100 feet, and the Temple-hill by no less than 220. Its northern and southern outliers—the Viri Galilaei, Scopus, and Mount of Offence—bend round slightly towards the city, and give the effect of "standing round about Jerusalem." Especially would this be the case to a worshipper in the Temple. "It is true," says Dean Stanley, "that this image is not realised, as most persons familiar with European scenery would wish and expect it to be realised. . . . Any one facing Jerusalem westward, northward, or southward, will always see the city itself on an elevation higher than the hills in its immediate neighbourhood, its towers and walls standing out against the sky, and not against any high background, such as that which encloses the mountain towns and villages of our own Cumbrian or Westmoreland valleys. Nor again is the plain on which it stands enclosed by a continuous, though distant, circle of mountains like Athens or Innspruck. The mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem are of unequal height, and only in two or three instances—*Neby-Samwîl*, *er-Râm*, and *Tuleil el-Fûl*—rising to any considerable elevation. Still they act as a shelter; they must be surmounted before the traveller can see, or the invader attack, the Holy City; and the distant line of Moab would always seem to rise as a wall against invaders from the remote east. It is these mountains, expressly including those beyond the Jordan, which are mentioned as 'standing round about Jerusalem' in another and more terrible sense, when, on the night of the assault of Jerusalem by the Roman armies, they 'echoed back' the screams of the inhabitants of the captured city, and the victorious shouts of the soldiers of Titus. The situation of Jerusalem was thus not unlike, on a small scale, to that of Rome, saving the great difference that Rome was in a well-watered plain, leading direct to the sea, whereas Jerusalem was on a bare table-land, in the heart of the country. But each was situated on its own cluster of steep hills; each had room for future expansion in the surrounding level; each, too, had its nearer and more remote barriers of protecting hills—Rome its Janiculum hard by, and its Apennine and Alban mountains in the distance; Jerusalem its Olivet hard by, and on the outposts of its plain, Mizpeh, Gibeon, and Ramah, and the ridge which divides it from Bethlehem" (*S. & P.* pp. 174–5).

[u] The character of the ravines and the eastward slope of the site are well shown in the Ordnance Survey photographs of Jerusalem; and in Section 1, Plan No. 2, p. 1637.

[x] The levels are given on the O.S. maps of Jerusalem on the 25 in. and 6 in. scales.

Geology.—The strata of the limestone plateau on which Jerusalem stands have a general easterly dip of about 10 degrees, and there is therefore an ascending series from the western hill to the Mount of Olives. Dr. Fraas (*Aus dem Orient.*, p. 50 sq.) has shown that the strata consist of the following in descending order:—1. Nummulitic limestone, composed of soft white limestone with bands of flints and fossils, locally known as *Kakûli*. 2. Upper Hippurite limestone, or Nerinaean marble, composed of beds of hard reddish and grey stone, capable of taking a good polish, called *Misseh*. 3. Lower Hippurite limestone, a soft easily-worked stone, called *Melekeh*, a name which recalls the *banc royal* of French quarrymen; and 4. *Zone des Ammonites rhotomagensis*, composed of pink and white strata of indurated chalk.

The *Melekeh* bed, which is from 30 to 40 feet thick, underlies the whole city, and has played an important part in its history. All the great subterranean reservoirs, nearly all the tombs, the Siloam aqueduct, and the caverns at the village of Siloam have been hewn out of it; and the extensive underground quarries near the Damascus Gate show that it was largely used for building purposes. Many of the large blocks in the walls of the Temple enclosure are from this bed, and the stone where free from flaws and not exposed to rain has worn well. The *Misseh* beds, however, have yielded most of the material for these walls, and the edges of the stones are frequently as sharp and perfect as when they left the mason's hands. The stone from both beds weathers a dull grey, and this gives the whole city an appearance of antiquity which harmonizes well with its history (Lartet, *Géologie de la Palestine*, pp. 175, 176).

Roads.—There appear to have been four main approaches to the city. 1. From the Jordan valley by Jericho and the Mount of Olives. This was the route commonly taken from the north and east of the country—as from Galilee by our Lord (Luke xvii. 11; xviii. 35; xix. 1, 29, 45, &c.), from Damascus by Pompey (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 3, § 4; 4, § 1), to Mahanaim by David (2 Sam. xv., xvi.). It was also the route from places in the central districts of the country, as Samaria (2 Ch. xxviii. 15). The latter part of the approach, over the Mount of Olives, as generally followed at the present day, is identical with what it was, at least in one memorable instance, in the time of Christ. A road there is over the crown of the hill, to the north of the Church of the Ascension, but the common route still runs more to the south, round the shoulder of the principal summit (see *S. & P.* p. 193). The insecure state of the Jordan valley has thrown this route very much into disuse, and has diverted the traffic from the north to a road along the central ridge of the country. 2. From Joppa, and the northern portion of the great maritime plain. This road led by the two Bethhorons up to the high ground at Gibeon, whence it turned south, and came to Jerusalem by Gibeah, and over the ridge north of the city. This route is still much used, though a shorter but more precipitous road is usually taken by travellers between Jerusalem and Jaffa. In tracing the annals we shall find that it was the route by which large bodies, such as armies, always approached the city from Caesarea and Ptolemais on the north, and sometimes from Gaza on the south. 3. From Egypt and the Plain of Philistia. This road ran by Bethshemesh, and thence up the long slope to "Solomon's Pools," where it turned northwards and, after passing Bethlehem, crossed the Plain of Rephaim to Jerusalem. Another road followed the Valley of Elah to Socoh, and there branched off on the one hand to Bethlehem, and on the other to Bethzur, on the road from Hebron to Jerusalem. These roads were frequently followed by the Philistines, who camped on the Plain of Rephaim, and, at one time, garrisoned Bethlehem. During the wars of the Maccabees the contending armies appear to have followed the more southerly road, passing by Bethzur. 4. From Samaria and Shechem. This road kept closely to the line of the water-parting from N. to S., and passed by Bethel. It was apparently followed by the kings of Israel in their campaigns against Judah. 5. The communication with the mountainous districts of the south was less complete. But there was a road by Hebron and Beersheba to Egypt, which seems to have been at one time much used.

The roads out of Jerusalem were a special subject of Solomon's care. He paved them with black stone—possibly the basalt of the Transjordanic districts, or the bituminous limestone from the hills between the city and the Dead Sea (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 4).

Gates.—The situation of the various gates of the city is examined in Section III. It may, however, be desirable to supply here a complete list of those which are named in the Bible and Josephus, with the references to their occurrences:—

1. Gate of Ephraim. 2 K. xiv. 13; 2 Ch. xxv. 23; Neh. viii. 16, xii. 39. This is perhaps the same as the

2. Gate of Benjamin.[7] Jer. xx. 2, xxxvii. 13, xxxviii. 7; Zech. xiv. 10. If so, it was 400 cubits distant from the

3. Corner gate. 2 K. xiv. 13; 2 Ch. xxv. 23, xxvi. 9; Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10.

4. Gate of Joshua, governor of the city. 2 K. xxiii. 8.

5. Gate between the two walls. 2 K. xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4, lii. 7.

6. Horse gate. Neh. iii. 28; 2 Ch. xxiii. 15: cp. 2 K. xi. 16; Jer. xxxi. 40; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 3, gate of the king's mules.

7. Ravine gate (*i.e.* opening on the ravine of Hinnom). 2 Ch. xxvi. 9; Neh. ii. 13, 15, iii. 13.

8. Fish gate. 2 Ch. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 3, xii. 39; Zeph. i. 10.

9. Dung gate. Neh. ii. 13; iii. 13, 14; xii. 31. Cp. the "place called Bethso" (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2).

10. Sheep gate. Neh. iii. 1, 32, xii. 39; John v. 2 in R. V.

11. East gate. Neh. iii. 29.

12. Miphkad (R. V. Ham-miphkad). Neh. iii. 31.

13. Fountain gate (Siloam?). Neh. ii. 14; iii. 15; xii. 37.

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[7] One of the gates on the east side of the future Jerusalem was to be called the Gate of Benjamin (Ezek. xlviii. 32).

14. Water gate. Neh. iii. 26, viii. 1, 3, 16; xii. 37.

15. Old gate. Neh. iii. 6; xii. 39.

16. Prison gate (R. V. Gate of the guard). Neh. xii. 39.

17. Gate Harsith (sun gate, or R. V. marg. *the gate of potsherds*; A. V. East gate). Jer. xix. 2.

18. First gate. Zech. xiv. 10.

19. Middle gate. Jer. xxxix. 3.

20. Gate Gennath (garden). Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2.

21. Essenes' gate. Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2.

22. Gate where water was brought into the tower Hippicus (*B. J.* v. 7, § 3). Perhaps the same as the

23. Obscure gate, near Hippicus (*B. J.* v. 6, § 5).

To these should be added the following gates of the Temple:—

Gate Sur. 2 K. xi. 6. Called also

Gate of the foundation. 2 Ch. xxiii. 5.

Gate of the guard, or behind the guard. 2 K. xi. 6, 19. Called the

High (R. V. upper) gate. 2 Ch. xxiii. 20, xxvii. 3; 2 K. xv. 35: cp. Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 2.

Gate Shallecheth (R. V. marg. *casting forth*). 1 Ch. xxvi. 16.

East gate. Ezek. x. 19; xi. 1.

New gate. Jer. xxvi. 10, xxxvi. 10.

The following gates of Herod's Temple are mentioned in the Bible, Josephus, and the Mishna:—

Beautiful gate. Acts iii. 2, 10.
East gate. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 7.
Gate leading to the king's palace. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5.
Gates leading to the suburbs. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5.
Gate leading to the other city. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5.
Huldah gates. *Mid.* i. 3, cp. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5.
Gate Kipunus. *Mid.* i. 3.
Gate Tadi. *Mid.* i. 3.
Gate Shushan. *Mid.* i. 3.
Gate Nicanor. *Mid.* i. 4.

Burial-grounds.—The main cemetery of the city seems from an early date to have been where it is still—on the steep slopes of the valley of the Kedron. Here it was that the fragments of the idol abominations, destroyed by Josiah, were cast on the "graves of the children of the people" (2 K. xxiii. 6), and the valley was always the receptacle for impurities of all kinds. There Maachah's idol was burnt by Asa (1 K. xv. 13); there, according to Josephus, Athaliah was executed; and there the "filthiness" accumulated in the sanctuary, by the false-worship of Ahaz, was discharged (2 Ch. xxix. 5, 16). But in addition to this, and although there is only a slight allusion in the Bible to the fact (Jer. vii. 32), many of the tombs now existing in the face of the ravine of Hinnom, on the south of the city, must be as old as Biblical times; and, if so, show that this was also used as a cemetery. The monument of Ananus the high-priest (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 12, § 2) would seem to have been in this direction.

The tombs of the kings were in the city of David, which, as will be shown in the concluding section of this article, was on the eastern hill, Moriah. The royal sepulchres were probably chambers containing separate recesses for the successive kings; and it is possible that the chambers were, as in many Phoenician tombs, at the bottom of a deep shaft. [TOMBS.] Of some of the kings it is recorded that, not being thought worthy of a resting-place there, they were buried in separate or private tombs in the city of David (2 Ch. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25; 2 K. xv. 7). Ahaz was not admitted to the city of David at all, but was buried in Jerusalem (2 Ch. xxviii. 27); and Manasseh and Amon were buried in the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 18, 26). Other spots also were used for burial. Somewhere to the north of the Temple, and not far from the wall, was the monument of king Alexander (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 7, § 3). Near the north-west corner of the city was the monument of John the high-priest (Joseph. v. 6, § 2, &c.), and to the north-east the "monument of the fuller" (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2). On the north, too, were the monuments of Herod (v. 3, § 2) and of queen Helena (v. 2, § 2; 3, § 3), the former close to the "Serpent's Pool."

Excepting in the Kedron and Hinnom valleys, where the ancient tombs form large cemeteries, the custom of burying in gardens appears to have been very general. There are large numbers of ancient tombs, isolated or in small groups, on the plateau to the north of the city, on the slopes of Olivet, and in the *W. en-Nar*, below *Bir Eyûb*. The only known rock-hewn tombs within the city are those in and near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; none have yet been found on the eastern and western hills.

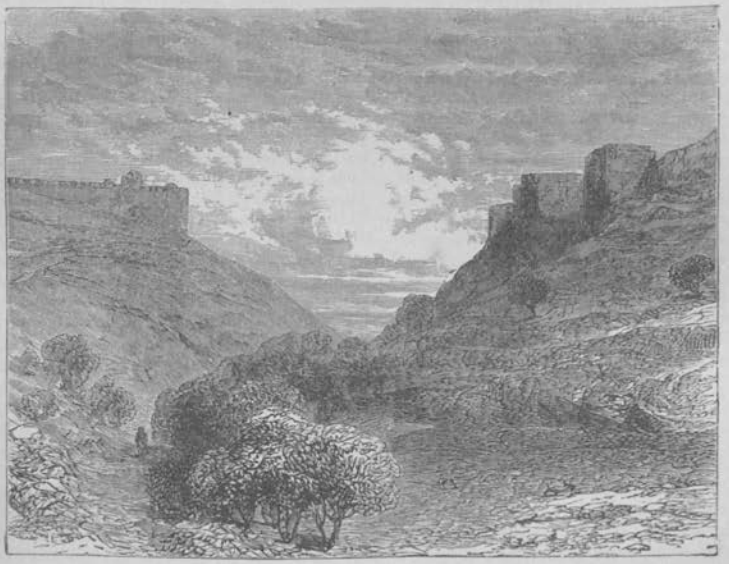
Woods; Gardens.—We have very little evidence as to the amount of wood and of cultivation that existed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The king's gardens of David and Solomon seem to have been in the bottom formed by the confluence of the Kedron and Hinnom (Neh. iii. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 14, § 4; ix. 10, § 4). The gardens of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 18) and of Joseph of Arimathea (John xix. 41) are mentioned without any indication of position. The Mount of Olives, as its name and those of various places upon it seem to imply, was a fruitful spot. At its foot was situated the Garden of Gethsemane. At the time of the final siege the space north of the wall of Agrippa was covered with gardens, groves, and plantations of fruit-trees, enclosed by hedges and walls; and to level these was one of Titus's first operations (*B. J.* v. 3, § 2). We know that the gate Gennath (*i.e.* "of the garden"), in the first wall, opened on this side of the city (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2). The Valley of Hinnom was, in Jerome's time, "a pleasant and woody spot, full of delightful gardens watered from the fountain of Siloah" (*Comm. in Jer.* vii. 30). In the Talmud mention is made of a certain rose-garden outside the city, which was of great fame, but no clue is given to its situation (Otho, *Lex. Rab.* p. 266). [GARDEN.] The sieges of Jerusalem were too frequent during its later history to admit of any considerable growth of wood near it, even if the thin soil which covers the rocky substratum would allow of it. And the scarcity of earth again necessitated the cutting down of all the trees that could be found for the banks and mounds with which the ancient sieges were conducted. This is expressly said in the accounts of the sieges of Pompey and Titus. In the latter case the country was swept of its timber

for a distance of 8 or 9 miles from the city (*B. J.* vi. 8, § 1, &c.).

Water Supply.—Numerous traces remain of the works connected with the ancient water supply of the city. This supply was derived from springs, wells, rain-water collected during the rainy seasons and stored in reservoirs and cisterns, and water brought from a distance by aqueducts and preserved in tanks.

(1.) The only known *spring* is the '*Ain umm ed-deraj*, or "Virgin's fountain," in the Kedron Valley close to the village of Siloam. The water from this spring, which has an intermittent flow, now passes through a rock-hewn tunnel, that dates from the time of the Kings, to the Upper Pool of Siloam. But the remains of a rock-hewn conduit in the valley seem to indicate that, at an earlier period, the water was carried along the foot of the hill to the Lower Pool of Siloam (*Birket el-Hamra*), where it was probably stored for the irrigation of the king's gardens [SILOAM]. At three other places,—outside the Damascus Gate, and near the *Hammâm esh-Shefa*, in the Tyropoeon Valley; and in the fourth valley, near the Church of St. Anne,—the topographical features and the geological formation favour the existence of small springs; and at each water is known to run to waste, during several months of the year, beneath the rubbish that fills the valleys.

(2.) The principal *well* is *Bir Eyûb*, "Job's well," which is situated a little below the junction of the Kedron and Hinnom valleys, and is 125 ft. deep. It rarely runs dry, and occasionally, after four or five days' continuous rain, its waters overflow and run a few yards down the valley. The *esh-Shefa* well, near the *Sûk el-Kattanîn*, is only a shaft in the rubbish, that gives access to a small basin in which the water running down the Tyropoeon Valley,



Jerusalem and Siloam.

perhaps from a small spring, collects, and is not an ancient well. On the western hill there are several very old wells; but as they derived their supply of water from infiltration and are not deep, they could never have been of much importance. On the eastern hill, beneath the *Sakhrah*, there is the so-called *Bir el-Arwah*, "well of spirits," but whether it be a well or not is uncertain.

(3.) The chief supply of the early inhabitants must have been rain-water, collected as at present within the area of the town and stored in *cisterns*. There seems to be an allusion to this in 2 K. xviii. 31; and the remains of cisterns are found in every part of the city. The quantity preserved in this way would not, however, have been sufficient for all purposes, and the question of improving the water supply must soon have forced itself upon the attention of the people. The first step would naturally be to construct reservoirs (κολυμβήθραι, *piscinae*) for catching the surface drainage of the valleys that embrace and intersect the plateau; and sites would, where possible, be selected whence the water could run down to the city by the force of gravity alone. This plan appears to have been adopted. Near the head of the Valley of Hinnom is the *Birket Mamilla*, which still holds water, and lower down in the same valley is the *B. es-Sultan*. In the upper part of the Kedron Valley, to the north of the "Tombs of the Kings," there is a reservoir, now filled with soil; and there was probably a pool, below the Virgin's Fountain, in which the flood-waters of the Kedron were stored for the irrigation of gardens at a lower level. At the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley there are the Upper and Lower Pools of Siloam, and there are some slight grounds for supposing that there was a reservoir a little higher up the valley, and another near its head outside the Damascus Gate. In the fourth valley are the *B. Israil*, and the pool near the Church

of St. Anne which was formerly called Bethesda. There are also, without the walls, the *B. Sitti Miriam*, near St. Stephen's Gate; and within the walls the *B. Hammâm el-Batrak*, "Hezekiah's Pool," which receives the surplus water of the *B. Mamilla*, the "Twin Pools," beneath the street at the N.W. corner of the *Haram esh-Sherif*, and the *B. el-Burak* constructed in the rubbish beneath "Wilson's Arch." Tradition has also preserved the sites of two other pools—near the *Bâb el-Kattanin* in the west wall of the *H. esh-Sherif*, and near the Jaffa Gate—but both appear to have been of much later date than the Roman siege.

(4.) The institution of the Temple services, with their frequent ceremonial ablutions, must have rendered a large and constant supply of water necessary; and this could only have been secured by bringing it from a distance by *aqueducts*. The principal supply was derived from "Solomon's Pools," near *Urtâs*, about 7 miles from Jerusalem, and from springs in the vicinity. The three pools are cleverly and well constructed, and the great tunnel or *Kariz*, about 4 miles long, in *W. Biâr*, is one of the most remarkable works in Palestine. The water was conveyed from the pools to Jerusalem by the "Low Level Aqueduct," about 13 miles long, that crossed the Valley of Hinnom above the *B. es-Sultan*, which it probably filled, and, winding round the western hill, passed over the causeway and Wilson's Arch to Mount Moriah and the Temple enclosure. Here it was stored in large subterranean reservoirs, excavated in the soft bed of limestone (*melekeh*) which, at a depth of only 3 to 4 feet, underlies the harder strata (*missae*). These storage reservoirs may still be seen in the *Haram esh-Sherif*, and one of them has a capacity of about 3,000,000 gallons. They were connected by an elaborate system of conduits, and the overflow was through one of the rock-hewn passages beneath the Triple Gate. The tradition that ascribes one at least of the pools, the aqueduct, and one or more of the subterranean reservoirs to Solomon, is probably correct. The supply was afterwards increased by constructing a reservoir in *W. Arrûb*, whence the water was conveyed to "Solomon's Pools" by an aqueduct about 28 miles long, which was apparently made by Pontius Pilate.[a] From the Pools the water flowed through the "Low Level Aqueduct" to the Temple enclosure, and this perhaps explains Pilate's application of the Corban to the construction of the new aqueduct.

Another aqueduct which exhibits a degree of engineering skill that could scarcely be surpassed at the present day conveyed the water of the "Sealed Fountain," above Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem. This "High Level Aqueduct" crossed the valley between Bethlehem and *Mar Elyas* by an inverted syphon, and was capable of delivering water at an elevation of 20 ft. above the sill of the Jaffa Gate. All trace of it is lost on the "Plain of Rephaim," but it probably ran to the *B. Mamilla*, and thence to the cisterns in the Citadel, near the Jaffa Gate, and to "Hezekiah's Pool." This aqueduct was apparently made by Herod to supply water to his palace, and to the fountains and ponds which were a marked feature of the palace gardens (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 4); and it entered the city at the Tower Hippicus (*B. J.* v. 7, § 3). The ancient conduit beneath Christ Church Rectory, which was possibly made in the first instance to convey the water of the *B. Mamilla* to the Temple enclosure, appears to have connected the High and Low Level aqueducts within the city.[a] A third conduit passed through the grounds of the Russian Convent, and entered the city near the N.W. angle of the wall, but the source from which it derived its supply is unknown (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1891, p. 279). A fourth aqueduct, which entered the city to the east of the Damascus Gate, has been traced to the "Twin Pools," and thence southwards to the wall of the *Haram esh-Sherif* which has been built across it. The course of this aqueduct is broken by the deep fosse which lies between Jeremiah's Grotto and "the Quarries," by the ditch which separated Antonia from Bezetha, and by the wall of the *Haram esh-Sherif*. It must therefore have been in existence when these important works were executed, and it is probably one of the oldest conduits in the city. Whether it derived its supply from a spring, or from a pool near the head of the Tyropoeon Valley, is uncertain; but it was capable of supplying the whole of the eastern hill, and apparently followed its western face at a high level. Another rock-hewn conduit, at a much lower level, was discovered by Sir C. Warren on the west side of the Tyropoeon ravine, beneath "Robinson's Arch." It is cut through by the west wall of the Haram, and is therefore older than the reconstruction of the Temple by Herod. Apparently it was connected with the conduit at the foot of the *Hamman esh-Shefa* well, and carried water from a small spring, or *Kariz*, in the Tyropoeon Valley, along the base of the western hill. The tunnel connecting the Virgin's Fountain with the Pool of Siloam has already been noticed. The following altitudes above the sea indicate the quarters of the city supplied by the several pools and aqueducts:—

	Feet.
Western Hill.	
Sill of Jaffa Gate	2528
High Level Aqueduct at Solomon's Pools	2616
Outlet *B. Mamilla*	2517
Eastern Hill.	
Level of Haram Enclosure	2419
Low Level Aqueduct at Solomon's Pools	2467
Aqueduct east of Damascus Gate	2462
Pool north of the Tombs of the Kings	2449
Aqueduct under Robinson's Arch	2313

[a] Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 2) gives the distance of the source from which the water was derived as 200 stadia; and (*B. J.* ii. 9, § 4) as 400 stadia. He apparently refers in the first case to the distance between Solomon's Pools and *W. Arrûb*, and in the latter to the total distance from Jerusalem. The necessity for increasing the supply was probably due to the diversion of the waters of the "Sealed Fountain" above Solomon's Pools, from the Temple enclosure to Herod's Palace on the completion of the "High Level Aqueduct."

[a] This gave rise to the belief, in the Middle Ages, that the *Birket Israil* was supplied with water by a *Fons Sion* close to the *Turris David* on the western hill (see Marino Sanuto's plan of Jerusalem in Tobler's *Planography of Jerusalem*).

	Feet.
Overflow *B. Israil*	2345
Outlet *B. es-Sultan*	2352
Siloam Pool	2087

What has been said above may explain some of the difficulties in understanding the allusions in the Bible and Josephus to the water-supply of the city. Excepting the reference to EN-ROGEL, now the Virgin's Fountain, as a point on the common boundary of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xv. 2; xviii. 16), the earliest distinct allusion to the water-supply is the command to Isaiah to meet Ahaz "at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field" (Is. vii. 3). The messengers sent by Sennacherib to summons Hezekiah to surrender (2 K. xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 2) stood by the same conduit when they spoke to the people on the wall; and if there be any connexion between the fuller's field and the "monument of the fuller" mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2), the conduit must have entered the city from the north. Possibly it was the conduit east of the Damascus Gate, and in this case the Upper Pool must have been either that to the north of the "Tombs of the Kings," or a pool at the head of the Tyro-

Pool of Siloam.

poeon Valley; and the Assyrian messengers must have delivered their summons in front of the citadel that occupied the ground upon which the Macedonian Acra was afterwards built.[b] In expectation of an attack from the Assyrians, Hezekiah is said to have "stopped all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the land" (2 Ch. xxxii. 4); he also on this or upon another occasion stopped "the upper spring of the waters of Gihon, and brought it straight down to (or on) the west side of the city of David" (2 Ch. xxxii. 30); "made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city" (2 K. xx. 20); and "fortified his city, and brought water into the midst thereof; he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for water" (Ecclus. xlviii. 17). The work of Hezekiah is also, apparently, alluded to in the passages "Ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool"

[b] According to another view, which derives some support from the position generally assigned to the "Camp of the Assyrians" in the N.W. quarter of the present city, the *Birket Mamilla* was the Upper Pool. In the 7th century one of the city gates, to the west of the existing Damascus Gate, was called *Porta Villae* (or *Viae*) *Fullonis* (Arculfus, i. 1); but this may have been a late tradition.

(Is. xxii. 9), and "Ye made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool" (xxii. 11). Any identification of these springs and pools must be purely conjectural; the "brook" (נחל) of 2 Ch. may be the overflow from the Virgin's Fountain;[c] the spring of Gihon may be the Virgin's Fountain, brought down by the rock-hewn tunnel to the Pool of Siloam at the southern extremity of the eastern hill; or it may be a spring near the head of the Tyropoeon Valley whose waters were brought down on the west side of the same hill by the aqueduct east of the Damascus Gate [GIHON]. The pool made by Hezekiah was perhaps the *B. Mamilla*, and the conduit that passing beneath the Jaffa Gate and Christ Church Rectory to the Temple enclosure; the lower pool of Isaiah may have been the *B. el-Hamra* at Siloam, and the old pool a reservoir higher up the Tyropoeon Valley. Nehemiah mentions the DRAGON WELL, or spring (Neh. ii. 13), possibly an outflow from the "Low Level" aqueduct above the *B. es-Sultan*; a fountain, apparently Siloam,[d] from which one of the city gates took its name (Neh. ii. 14; iii. 15; xii. 37); the Pool of Siloah (iii. 15) or Siloam (John ix. 7), which received the "waters of Shiloah" (Is. viii. 6) [SILOAM], and is perhaps the King's Pool of Neh. ii. 14; and the "pool that was made" (Neh. iii. 16), apparently in the Kedron Valley below the Virgin's Fountain, where Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2) places Solomon's Pool. The only other pool mentioned in the Bible is BETHESDA, which appears to have been either the "Twin Pools," or the pool near the Church of St. Anne. Josephus adds to the above the Serpent's Pool (*B. J.* v. 3, § 2), now the *B. Mamilla*, which may have derived its name from the serpentine character of the High Level Aqueduct that discharged water into it; the Pool Amygdalon (*B. J.* v. 11, § 4), perhaps Tower (*Migdol*) Pool, from the three great towers in its immediate vicinity, which is now "Hezekiah's Pool"; and the pool Struthius[e] (*B. J.* v. 11, § 4), near Antonia, now the "Twin Pools" at the N.W. angle of the *Haram esh-Sherif*. The fountain (πηγή) held by Simon (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1) is apparently Siloam. Josephus alludes more than once to the conduits and subterranean reservoirs within and without the city; and it was probably into one of the latter in the Temple enclosure, the pit "in the court of the prison" (Jer. xxxviii. 6), that Jeremiah was let down.

Aristeas mentions subterranean reservoirs, supplied by a spring and rain-water, which occupied a space of 5 stadia round the Temple, and were connected by pipes of lead (Gallandii *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* ii. 805). Strabo (xvi. 2, § 40) describes Jerusalem as being well supplied with water within, but externally parched with drought; and Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 12) writes of the *fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montis; et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus.* There are several allusions in the Talmud to the plentiful supply of water in the Temple enclosure, and to the caverns, beneath the courts, in which it was stored. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 266, 72; p. 189, 14) mention a "pool of the fuller," probably *Birket el-Hamra*, near Tophet and Aceldama; and the λίμναι διδύμοι, or "twin pools" of Bethesda (*OS.*[2] p. 251, 15; p. 142, 9), which the Bordeaux Pilgrim places further in the city than two other large pools. Constantine constructed reservoirs, one of which still exists, near the basilica that he built at Jerusalem (*Itin. Hieros.*). All later pilgrims allude, with more or less fulness, to the numerous pools and cisterns; and Antoninus mentions (xxiii.) that in front of the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, under the street, water ran down to the fountain of Siloam.

It is evident, from what has been said, that every effort was made to ensure a plentiful supply of water; and in the many sieges that the city underwent, there are only two known instances in which the besieged suffered from want of water: that alluded to by Ezekiel (iv. 16, 17), and that by Antiochus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 2). The mean annual rainfall which is such an important element in the water supply is 22·76 inches (Dr. Chaplin in *PEFQy. Stat.* 1883, p. 9).

Streets, Houses, &c.—Of the nature of these in the ancient city we have only the most scattered notices. The "East street," R. V. the "broad place on the East" (2 Ch. xxix. 4); the "street of the city," R. V. the "broad place at the gate of the city" (xxxii. 6); the "street facing the water gate," R. V. "the broad place that was before the water gate" (Neh. viii. 1; 3, 16) or, according to the parallel account in 1 Esd. ix. 38, the "broad place (εὐρύχωρον) of the Temple towards the East" (cp. 2 Ch. xxix. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5, § 5), perhaps the same as the street of the house of God, R. V. the "broad place before the house of God" (Ezra x. 9); the "street of the gate of Ephraim," R. V. the "broad place of the gate of E." (Neh. viii. 16); and the "open place of the first gate towards the East" (1 Esd. v. 47), must have been not "streets" in our sense of the word, so much as the open spaces found in Eastern towns round the inside of the gates. This is evident, not only from the word used, *Rechob*, which has the force of breadth or room, but also from the nature of the occurrences related in each case. The same places are intended in Zech. viii. 5. Streets, properly so called (*Chutzoth*), there were (Jer. v. 1; xi. 13, &c.), but the name of only one, "the bakers' street" (Jer. xxxvii. 21), is preserved to us. This is conjectured, from the names, to have been near the tower of ovens (Neh. xii. 38; "furnaces" is incorrect). Jerusalem, like other ancient cities, was probably divided into quarters by main streets that passed out to the country through gates, one of which at least—the "Gate of Ephraim"—took its name from the district to which the road led. The principal streets must, from the nature of the ground, have run from north to south, and these must have been connected by cross-streets, forming *insulae*, which were no doubt intersected by numberless narrow winding lanes. Such in fact

[c] Can the "brook" be the stream passing through "Solomon's," the "Low Level" aqueduct, the only running water near Jerusalem?

[d] Siloam is also called a spring by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, §§ 1, 2; 9, § 4).

[e] According to Bonar (*Imp. Bib. Dict.* s. v. Jerusalem), "the Struthius" or "sparrow-pool" may be "flock-pool" or "sheep-pool" (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת, *Ashtoreth* = flock).

was the arrangement of the streets in the 3rd century B.C.; and in character they were not unlike those of Pompeii. There was a roadway for camels, beasts of burthen, and mounted persons; and on either side of it a high *trottoir* for the convenience of those on foot. Perhaps, as the words of Aristeas (see p. 1608) seem to suggest, the raised pavement was reserved for the use of certain classes of the population. The bazaars, always a prominent feature in an Oriental city, are mentioned by Aristeas; and Josephus states (*B. J.* v. 8, § 1) that Titus breached the second wall at the point where the cloth, brass, and wool bazaars abutted on the wall. Josephus frequently alludes to the maze of narrow lanes (*Ant.* xiv. 16, § 2;—*B. J.* ii. 14, § 9; v. 8, § 1; vi. 6, § 3, &c.), and mentions a market-place (*B. J.* i. 13, § 2) in which a fight took place between the adherents of Herod and those of Aristobulus; the "upper market-place" (ii. 14, § 9), plundered by the soldiers of Florus, which must have been on the western hill (v. 4, § 1); and the "timber market,"[f] apparently on the eastern hill (ii. 19, § 4), which was burnt by Cestius.

It may be inferred from the tendency of main streets to preserve their original direction and position through many centuries, and from the peculiarity of the topographical features, that the principal streets of the modern city represent those of Herodian, and perhaps in some measure those of pre-exilic, Jerusalem. The more important modern streets that appear to retain the lines of older ones are: (1) The street that follows the course of the Tyropoeon Valley from the Damascus Gate to the Dung Gate, and Siloam. (2) That which runs, almost in a straight line, from the Damascus Gate to the south wall of the city, and once passed through a gate to the Valley of Hinnom.[g] This street, there is some reason to believe, was at one period, possibly the Herodian, adorned with columns like the streets at Samaria, Gadara, Gerasa, &c. (3) That leading southward from the market-place, in front of the "Tower of David," which apparently separated Herod's palace and gardens from the remainder of the town, and ran to the postern and rock-hewn steps in the English cemetery. (4) The two streets leading northward from the Turkish barracks, at the N.E. angle of the *Haram*, to the *Bâb ez-Zahireh*. One of these marks the line of the road that, prior to the building of the third wall, ran northward from Antonia, without descending into the valley, and joined the lower road, up the Tyropoeon Valley, near the "Tombs of the Kings." This road may possibly be the true Via Dolorosa (see p. 1656). (5) The *Tarik Bâb es-Silsileh*, which passes into the *Haram* over "Wilson's Arch," and retains, in part, the line of the street leading from the Temple to Herod's palace; and (6) the street N. of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which apparently connected the tower Psephinus with Antonia.

To the houses we have even less clue. The ease with which they were burned, and the rapidity and extent of the fires during the Roman siege (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 7, § 4; v. 6, § 1; vi. 6, § 3, &c.), appear to indicate that they were largely built of wood. On the other hand the scarceness of timber, and the abundance of excellent stone in the quarries close at hand, seem to suggest houses of a more permanent character. Possibly, whilst the residences of the wealthy were substantially built, story upon story, like those of Tyre and Zabulon (*B. J.* ii. 18, § 9), the mass of the population lived in small rudely constructed houses clustered round the palaces and public buildings.[h] Such public buildings are frequently alluded to by Josephus; and one important point where the palace of Agrippa and Berenice, the house of the high-priest, and the Record Office were situated, is called by him the "nerves of the city" (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 6). The precise form and character of pre-exilic Jerusalem is unknown; but there is no reason to suppose that the general aspect of the city prior to its capture by Titus differed very materially from that of the modern town, shorn of the suburbs that have spread beyond the walls during the last twenty-five years. No doubt the ancient city did not exhibit that air of mouldering dilapidation which is now so prominent there—that *sooty* look which gives its houses the appearance of "having been burnt down many centuries ago" (Richardson in *S. & P.* p. 183), and which, as it is characteristic of so many Eastern towns, must be ascribed to Turkish neglect. In another respect, too, the modern city must present a different aspect from the ancient—the dull monotony of colour which, at least during autumn, pervades the slopes of the hills and ravines outside the walls. Not only is this the case on the west, where the city does not relieve the view, but also on the south. A dull leaden ashy hue overspreads all. No doubt this is due, wholly or in part, to the enormous quantities of *débris* of stone and mortar which have been shot over the precipices after the numerous demolitions of the city. The whole of the slopes south of the Haram area (the ancient Ophel), and the modern Zion, and the west side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, especially south of the St. Stephen's Gate and near the S.E. angle of the wall, are covered with these *débris*, lying as soft and loose as the day they were poured over, and presenting the appearance of gigantic mounds of rubbish.[i]

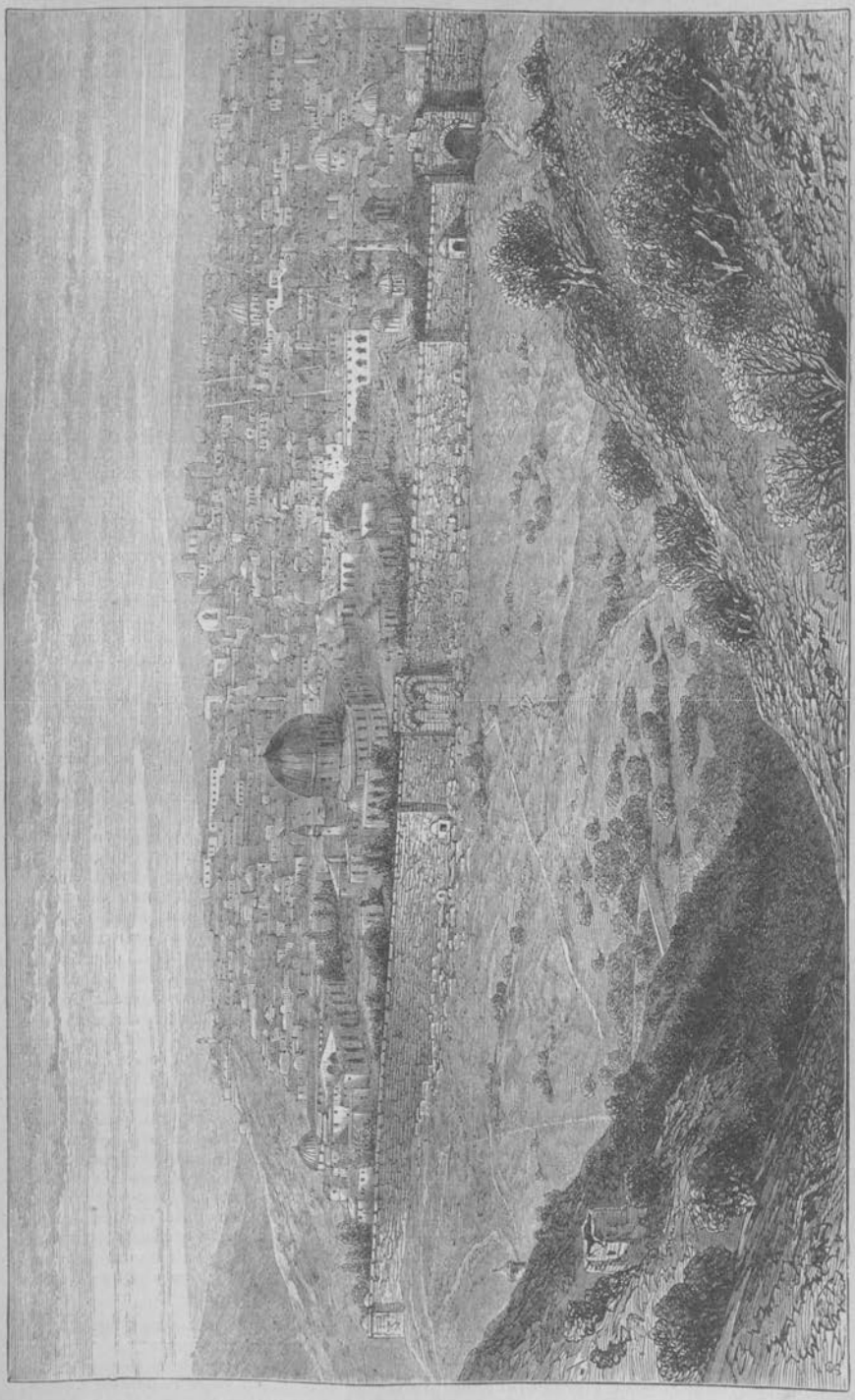
In this point at least the ancient city stood in favourable contrast with the modern, but in some others the resemblance must have been strong. The nature of the site compels the walls in several places to retain their old posi-

[f] The name δοκῶν ἀγορά, "Timber Market," is perhaps derived from *duchan*, the rabbinical word for the desk or pulpit from which the priests blessed and addressed the people. There is no other reference to a timber market in Jerusalem, but the Rabbins speak very frequently of the place called *Dukana*, where the priests blessed the people when assembled together (Bonar, in *Imp. Bib. Dict.*, s. v. Jerusalem).

[g] The present Zion Gate only dates from the rebuilding of the walls in the 16th century; the earlier Zion Gate was at the end of the street, mentioned above, which apparently led to the "Gate of the Essenes" in the old wall.

[h] The houses appear to have closely adjoined the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2; 13, § 3).

[i] The character of the *débris* as disclosed by Sir C. Warren's excavations varies in different localities (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 95–188).



Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives.

tions. The southern part of the summit of the Upper city and the slopes of Ophel are now bare, where previous to the final siege they were covered with houses; but, on the other hand, the West and East and the western corner of the North wall are approximately what they always were. And the look of the walls and gates, especially the Jaffa Gate, with the "Citadel" adjoining, is probably little changed from what it was. True, the minarets, domes, and spires, which give such a variety to the modern town, must have been absent; but their place was supplied by the four great towers at the north-west part of the wall, by the upper stories and turrets of Herod's palace, the palace of the Asmoneans, and the other public buildings; while the lofty fortress of Antonia, towering far above the neighbouring buildings,[k] and itself surmounted by the keep on its south-east corner, must have formed a feature in the view not altogether unlike (though more prominent than) the "citadel" of the modern town. The flat roofs and the absence of windows, which give an Eastern city so startling an appearance to a Western traveller, probably existed then as now.

But the greatest resemblance must have been on the south-east side, towards the Mount of Olives. Here the precinct of the *Haram esh-Sherif*, with its domes and sacred buildings, some of them clinging to the very spot formerly occupied by the Temple, must preserve what we may call the personal identity of this quarter of the city, but little changed in its general features from what it was when the Temple stood there. Nay, more: in the substructions of the enclosure, those massive and venerable walls, which once to see is never to forget, is the very masonry itself, its lower courses undisturbed, which was laid there by Herod the Great, and by Agrippa, possibly even by still older builders.

Climate.—The climate of Jerusalem differs in no respect from that of the hill-country of Judaea and Samaria. A long dry season, lasting from May to October, is regularly followed by a rainy season divided into three periods: the early rain, מורה; the heavy winter rain, גשם; and the latter rain, מלקוש. Snow falls two years out of three, but soon melts. The deepest fall in recent years was 17 in. in 1879. The prevailing winds are from the west, and are moist. The north winds are cold, the east dry, and the south warm. In summer, when the whole country is arid, the westerly winds discharge the moisture, with which they are laden, in copious dew. The *sirocco* blows from the S.E. and lasts from three to twenty or even thirty days. Earthquakes, but not of any great severity, are occasionally felt. The results of twenty-two years' continuous observations give:—

	Mean.	Max.	Min.
Bar. . . .	27·398	27·816	26·972
Temp. . .	62·8	112°	25°
Rain . . .	22·76 in.	42·93 in.	12·27 in.
No. of rainy days .	52	71	37

The mean monthly temperature is lowest in February and highest in August. The unhealthy period during which climatic diseases are most prevalent extends from May to October inclusive (Dr. Chaplin in *PEFQy. Stat.* 1883, pp. 8–40).

Environs of the City.—The various spots in the neighbourhood of the city will be described at length under their own names, and to them the reader is accordingly referred. See EN-ROGEL; HINNOM; KEDRON; OLIVES, MOUNT OF, &c. &c.

II. THE ANNALS OF THE CITY.

In considering the annals of the city of Jerusalem, nothing strikes one so forcibly as the number and severity of the sieges which it underwent. We catch our earliest glimpse of it in the brief notice of the 1st chapter of Judges, which describes how the "children of Judah smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire;" and almost the latest mention of it in the New Testament is contained in the solemn warnings in which Christ foretold how Jerusalem should be "compassed with armies" (Luke xxi. 20), and the abomination of desolation be seen standing in the Holy Place (Matt. xxiv. 15). In the fifteen centuries which elapsed between those two points the city was besieged no fewer than seventeen times; twice it was razed to the ground; and on two other occasions its walls were levelled. In this respect it stands without a parallel in any city ancient or modern. The fact is one of great significance. The number of the sieges testifies to the importance of the town as a key to the whole country, and as the depository of the accumulated treasures of the Temple, no less forcibly than do the severity of the contests and their protracted length to the difficulties of the position and the obstinate enthusiasm of the Jewish people. At the same time the details of these operations, scanty as they are, throw considerable light on the difficult topography of the place; and on the whole they are in every way so characteristic, that it has seemed not unfit to use them as far as possible as a framework for the following rapid sketch of the history of the city.

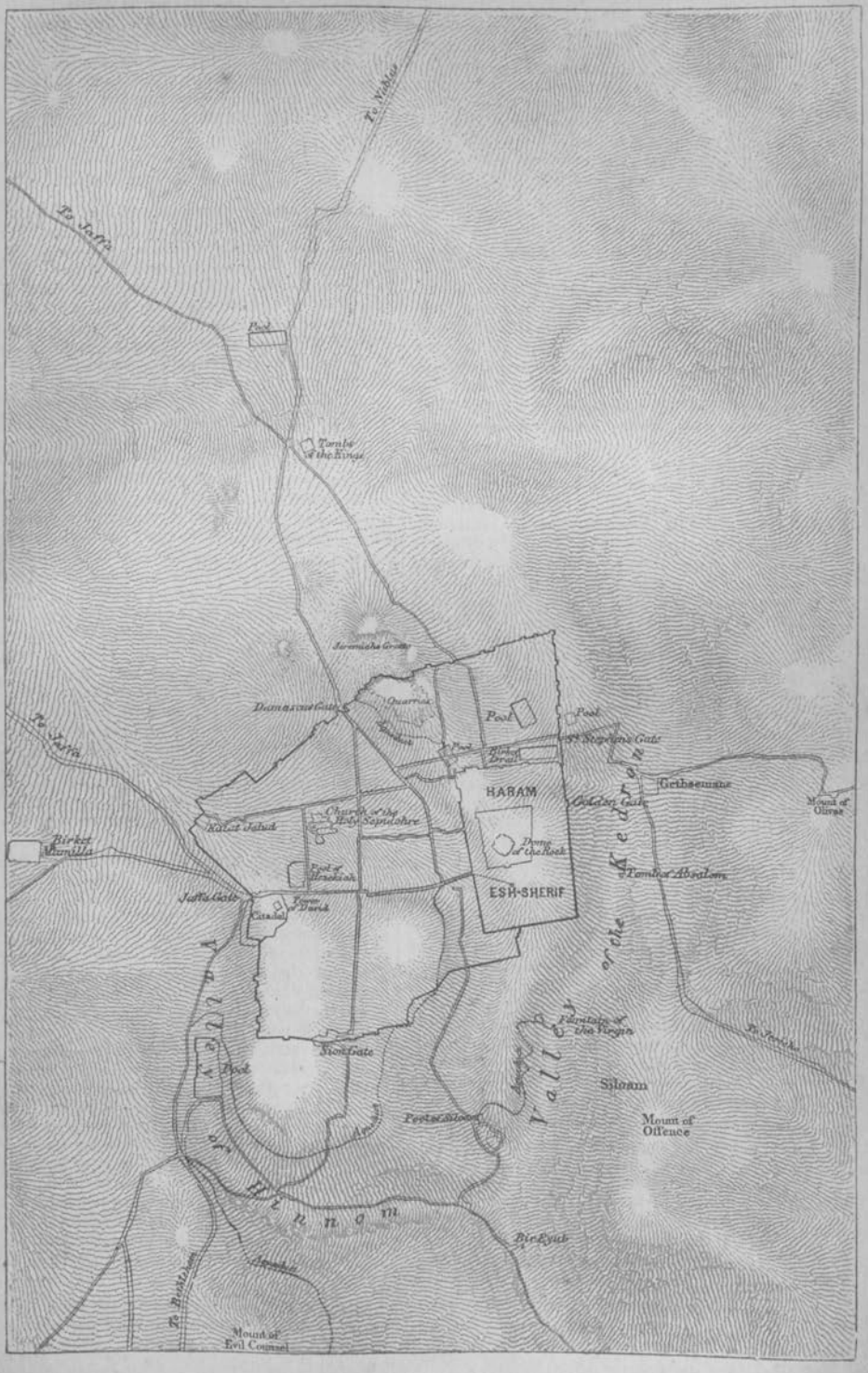
The first siege appears to have taken place almost immediately after the death of Joshua (*c.* 1400 B.C.). Judah and Simeon had been ordered by the divine oracle at Shiloh or Shechem to commence the task of actual possession of the portions distributed by Joshua. As they traversed the region south of these, they encountered a large force of Canaanites at Bezek. These they dispersed, took prisoner Adoni-bezek, a ferocious petty chieftain, who was the terror of the country, and swept on their southward road. Jerusalem was soon reached.[1] It was evidently too important, and also too near the actual limits of Judah, to be passed by. "They fought against it and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire" (Judg. i. 8). To this brief notice Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2, § 2) makes a material addition. He tells us that the siege lasted some time (*σὺν χρόνῳ*); that the part which was taken at last, and in which the slaughter was made, was the lower city; but that the upper city was so

[k] "Conspicuo fastigio turris Antonia" (Tac. *Hist.* v. 11).

[1] According to Josephus, they did not attack Jerusalem till after they had taken many other towns—πλείστας τε λαβόντες, ἐπολιόρκουν Ἰ.

JERUSALEM.

Scale—Twelve inches to a mile. PLATE I.



Plan of Site and Walls of Modern City. *To face p.* 1596.

strong, "by reason of its walls and also of the nature of the place," that they relinquished the attempt and moved off to Hebron (*Ant.* v. 2, §§ 2, 3). These few valuable words of the old Jewish historian reveal one of those topographical peculiarities of the place—the possession of an upper as well as a lower city—which differenced it so remarkably from the other towns of Palestine, which enabled it to survive so many sieges and partial destructions, and which in the former section we have endeavoured to explain. It is not to be wondered at that these characteristics, which must have been impressed with peculiar force on the mind of Josephus during the destruction of Jerusalem, of which he had only lately been a witness, should have recurred to him when writing the account of the earlier sieges.[m] There are, however, strong grounds for supposing that the city of the Jebusites was almost entirely confined to the eastern hill. This question is discussed in Section III. (p. 1648).

As long as the citadel remained in the hands of the Jebusites, they practically had possession of the whole; and a Jebusite city in fact it remained for a long period after this. The Benjamites followed the men of Judah to Jerusalem, but with no better result. They could not drive out the Jebusites, "but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day" (Judg. i. 21). At the time of the sad story of the Levite (Judg. xix.) —which the mention of Phinehas (xx. 28) fixes as early in the period of the Judges—Benjamin can hardly have had even so much footing as the passage just quoted would indicate; for the Levite refuses to enter it, not because it was hostile, but because it was "the city of a stranger, and not of Israel." And this lasted during the whole period of the Judges, the reign of Saul, and the reign of David at Hebron. Owing to several circumstances—the residence of the Ark at Shiloh; Saul's connexion with Gibeah, and David's with Ziklag and Hebron; the disunion of Benjamin and Judah, symbolised by Saul's persecution of David — the tide of affairs was drawn northwards and southwards, and Jerusalem, with the places adjacent, was left in possession of the Jebusites. But as soon as a man was found to assume the rule over all Israel, both north and south, so soon was it necessary that the seat of government should be moved from the remote Hebron nearer to the centre of the country, and the choice of David at once fell on the city of the Jebusites.

David advanced to the siege at the head of the men of war of all the tribes who had come to Hebron "to turn the kingdom of Saul to him." They are stated as 280,000 men, choice warriors of the flower of Israel (1 Ch. xii. 23–39). No doubt they approached the city from the south. The ravine of the Kedron, the Valley of Hinnom, the hills south and south-east of the town, the uplands on the west, must have swarmed with these hardy warriors. As before, the lower city was immediately taken, and, as before, the citadel held out. The undaunted Jebusites, believing in the impregnability of their fortress, manned the battlements "with lame and blind"[n] (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 3, § 1); or, according to 2 Sam. v. 6 (R. V. marg., cp. Luther's translation), taunted David, saying, "Thou shalt not come in hither, the blind and the lame shall drive thee away" (cp. 1 Ch. xi. 5, "Thou shalt not come hither"). But they little understood the temper of the king or of those he commanded. David's anger was thoroughly roused by the insult (ὀργισθείς, Joseph.), and he at once proclaimed to his host that the first man who would scale the rocky side of the fortress and kill a Jebusite should be made chief captain of the host. A crowd of warriors (πάντες, Joseph.) rushed forward to the attempt, but Joab's superior agility gained him the day,[o] and the citadel, the fastness of ZION, was taken (*c.* 1046 B.C.). It is the first time that that memorable name appears in the history.

David at once proceeded to secure himself in his new acquisition. He enclosed the whole of the city with a wall, and connected it with the citadel. In the latter he took up his own quarters, and the Zion of the Jebusites became "the city of David."[p] [ZION; MILLO.] The rest of the town was left to the more immediate care of the new captain of the host (*Ant.* vii. 3, § 2).

The sensation caused by the fall of this impregnable fortress must have been enormous. It reached even to the distant Tyre, and before long an embassy arrived from Hiram, the king of Phoenicia, with the characteristic offerings of artificers and materials to erect a palace for David in his new abode. The palace was built, and occupied by the fresh establishment of wives and concubines which David acquired. Two attempts were made—the one by the Philistines alone (2 Sam. v. 17–21; 1 Ch. xiv. 8–12), the other by the Philistines with all Syria and Phoenicia (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 4, § 1; 2 Sam. v. 22–25)—to attack David in his new situation, but they did not affect the city, and the actions were fought in the "Valley of Giants," apparently the open valley *el-Bukei'a*, west of Jerusalem, and extending towards Bethlehem. The arrival of the Ark, however, was an event of great importance. The old Tabernacle of Bezaleel and Aholiab being now pitched on the height of Gibeon, a new tent had been spread by David in the "city of David" for the reception of the Ark; and here, "in its place," it

[m] See this noticed and contrasted with the situation of the villages in other parts by Dean Stanley (*S. & P.* pp. 161, 577, &c.).

[n] The passage which forms the latter clause of 2 Sam. v. 8 is generally taken to mean that the blind and the lame were excluded from the Temple. But where is the proof that this was the fact? On one occasion at least we know that "the blind and the lame" came to Christ in the Temple, and He healed them (Matt. xxi. 14). And indeed what had the Temple, which was not founded till long after this, to do with the matter? The explanation, which is in accordance with the accentuation of the Masorets, would seem to be that it was a proverb used afterwards with regard to any impregnable fortress—"The blind and the lame are there; let him enter the place if he can."

[o] A romantic legend is preserved in the *Midrash Tehillim*, on Ps. xviii. 29, of the stratagem by which Joab succeeded in reaching the top of the wall (see it quoted in Eisenmenger, i. 476–7).

[p] In the N. T. "the city of David" means Bethlehem.

was deposited with the most impressive ceremonies, and Zion became at once the great sanctuary of the nation. It now perhaps acquired the name of Beth ha-har, the "house of the mount," of which we catch a glimpse in the LXX. addition to 2 Sam. xv. 24. In this tent the Ark remained, except for its short flight to the foot of the Mount of Olives with David (xv. 24–29), until it was removed to its permanent resting-place in the Temple of Solomon.

In the "city of David," too, was the sepulchre of David, which became also that of most of his successors.

The only works of ornament which we can ascribe to David are the "royal gardens," as they are called by Josephus, which appear to have been formed by him in the level space south-east of the city, formed by the confluence of the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom, screened from the sun during part of the day by the shoulders of the enclosing mountains, and irrigated by the Virgin's Fountain and the flood-waters of the Kedron stored in one or more pools (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 14, § 4; ix. 10, § 4).

Until the time of Solomon we hear of no additions to the city. His three great works were the Temple, with its east wall and cloister (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5, § 1), his own palace, and the Wall of Jerusalem. The two former will be best described elsewhere. [PALACE; SOLOMON; TEMPLE.] Of the last there is an interesting notice in Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 1; 6, § 1; 7, § 7), from which it appears that David's wall was a mere rampart without towers, and only of moderate strength and height. One of the first acts of the new king was to make the walls larger—probably extend them so as to include both the western and the eastern hills—and strengthen them (1 K. iii. 1, with the explanation of Josephus, viii. 2, § 1). But on the completion of the Temple he again turned his attention to the walls, and both increased their height and constructed very large towers along them (ix. 15, and Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, § 1). Another work of his in Jerusalem was the repair or fortification of Millo, whatever that strange term may signify (1 K. ix. 15, 24). It was in the works at Millo and the city of David—it is uncertain whether the latter consisted of closing breaches (as in A. V.) or filling a ditch round the fortress (the Vulg. and others)—that Jeroboam first came under the notice of Solomon (1 K. xi. 27; cp. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 7). Another was a palace for his Egyptian queen—of the situation of which all we know is that it was not in the city of David (1 K. vii. 8, ix. 24, with the addition in 2 Ch. viii. 11); and was therefore, presumably, on the western hill. But there must have been much besides these to fill up the measure of "all that Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem" (2 Ch. viii. 6): the vast harem for his 700 wives and 300 concubines, and their establishment—the colleges for the priests of the various religions of these women—the stables for the 1400 chariots and 12,000 riding horses. Outside the city, probably on the Mount of Olives, there remained, down to the latest times of the monarchy (2 K. xxiii. 13), the fanes which he had erected for the worship of foreign gods (1 K. xi. 7), and which have still left their name clinging to the "Mount of Offence."

His care of the roads leading to the city is the subject of a special panegyric from Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, § 4). They were, as before observed, paved with black stone, perhaps the hard basalt from the region of Argob, on the east of Jordan, where he had a special resident officer.

As long as Solomon lived, the visits of foreign powers to Jerusalem were those of courtesy and amity; but with his death this was changed. A city in the palaces of which all the vessels were of pure gold; where spices, precious stones, rare woods, and curious animals were accumulated in the greatest profusion; where silver was no more valued than the stones of the street, and considered too mean a material for the commonest of the royal purposes—such a city, governed by such a *fainéant* prince as Rehoboam, was too tempting a prey for the surrounding kings. He had only been on the throne four years (*c.* 970 B.C.) before Shishak, king of Egypt, invaded Judah with an enormous host, took the fortified places,[q] and advanced to the capital. Jerusalem was crowded with the chief men of the realm who had taken refuge there (2 Ch. xii. 5), but Rehoboam did not attempt resistance. He opened his gates apparently on a promise from Shishak that he would not pillage (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 10, § 3). However, the promise was not kept, the treasures of the Temple and palace were carried off, and special mention is made of the golden bucklers (מָגִנֵּי) which were hung by Solomon in the house of the forest of Lebanon (1 K. xiv. 25, 26; 2 Ch. xii. 9; cp. 1 K. x. 17).[r]

Jerusalem was again threatened in the reign of Asa (grandson of Rehoboam), when Zerah the Cushite, or king of Ethiopia (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 12, § 1) [CUSH], probably incited by the success of Shishak, invaded the country with an enormous horde of followers (2 Ch. xiv. 9). He came by the road through the low country of Philistia, where his chariots could find level ground. But Asa was more faithful and more valiant than Rehoboam had been. He did not remain to be blockaded in Jerusalem, but went forth and met the enemy at Mareshah, and repulsed him with great slaughter (*c.* 940). The consequence of this victory was a great reformation extending throughout the kingdom, but most demonstrative at Jerusalem. A vast assembly of the men of Judah and Benjamin, of Simeon, even of Ephraim and Manasseh — now "strangers" (גֵּרִים)—was gathered at Jerusalem. Enormous sacrifices were offered; a prodigious enthusiasm seized the crowded city, and amidst the clamour of trumpets and shouting, oaths of loyalty to Jehovah were exchanged, and threats of instant death denounced on all who should forsake His service. The Altar of Jehovah in front of the porch of the Temple, which had fallen into

[q] On the walls of the ruined Temple of Karnak are long rows of embattled shields, within each of which is the name of a vanquished Jewish city. One of the cities called Judah-Melek, or "Judah-King," may perhaps be intended for Jerusalem.

[r] According to Josephus, he also carried off the arms which David had taken from the king of Zobah; but these were afterwards in the Temple, and did service at the proclamation of king Joash. [ARMS, Shelet, p. 242.]

decay, was rebuilt; the horrid idol of the queen-mother—the mysterious Asherah, doubtless an abomination of the Syrian worship of her grand-mother—was torn down, ground to powder, and burnt in the valley (*nachal*) of the Kedron. At the same time the vessels of the Temple, which had been plundered by Shishak, were replaced from the spoil taken by Abijah from Ephraim, and by Asa himself from the Cushites (2 Ch. xv. 8–19; 1 K. xv. 12–15). This prosperity lasted for more than ten years, but at the end of that interval the Temple was once more despoiled, and the treasures so lately dedicated to Jehovah were sent by Asa, who had himself dedicated them, as bribes to Benhadad at Damascus, where they probably enriched the temple of Rimmon (2 Ch. xvi. 2, 3; 1 K. xv. 18). Asa was buried in a tomb excavated by himself in the royal sepulchres in the city of David.

The reign of his son Jehoshaphat, though of great prosperity and splendour, is not remarkable as regards the city of Jerusalem. We hear of a "new court" to the Temple, but have no clue to its situation or its builder (2 Ch. xx. 5). An important addition to the government of the city was made by Jehoshaphat in the establishment of courts for the decision of causes both ecclesiastical and civil (2 Ch. xix. 8–11).

Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram was a prince of a different temper. He began his reign (*c.* 887) by a massacre of his brethren and of the chief men of the kingdom. Instigated no doubt by his wife Athaliah, he re-introduced the profligate licentious worship of Ashtaroth and the high places (2 Ch. xxi. 11), and built a temple for Baal (2 Ch. xxiii. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 4). Though a man of great vigour and courage, he was overcome by an invasion of one of those huge hordes which were now almost periodical. The Philistines and Arabians attacked Jerusalem, broke into the palace, spoiled it of all its treasures, sacked the royal harem, killed or carried off the king's wives, and all his sons but one. This was the fourth siege. Two years after it the king died, universally detested, and so strong was the feeling against him that he was denied a resting-place in the sepulchres of the kings, but was buried without ceremony in a private tomb in the city of David (2 Ch. xxi. 20).

The next events in Jerusalem were the massacre of the royal children by Jehoram's widow Athaliah, and the six years' reign of that queen. During her sway the worship of Baal was prevalent, and that of Jehovah proportionately depressed. The Temple was not only suffered to go without repair, but was even mutilated by the sons of Athaliah, and its treasures removed to the temple of Baal (2 Ch. xxiv. 7). But with the increasing years of Joash, the spirit of the adherents of Jehovah returned, and the confederacy of Jehoiada the priest with the chief men of Judah resulted in the restoration of the true line. The king was crowned and proclaimed in the Temple. Athaliah herself was hurried out from the sacred precincts to the valley of the Kedron (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 3), and was executed at "the entry of the horse gate[s] to the king's house" (2 Ch. xxiii. 15, R. V.; cp. 2 K. xi. 16). The temple of Baal was demolished; his altars and images destroyed, his priests put to death, and the religion of Jehovah was once more the national religion. But the restoration of the Temple advanced but slowly, and it was not till three-and-twenty years had elapsed, that through the personal interference of the king the ravages of the Baal worshippers were repaired (2 K. xii. 6–16), and the necessary vessels and utensils furnished for the service of the Temple (2 Ch. xxiv. 14. But see 2 K. xii. 13; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 2). But this zeal for Jehovah soon expired. The solemn ceremonial of the burial of the good priest in the royal tombs, among the kings, can hardly have been forgotten before a general relapse into idolatry took place, and his son Zechariah was stoned with his family[t] in the very court of the Temple for protesting.

The retribution invoked by the dying martyr quickly followed. Before the end of the year (*c.* 838), Hazael, king of Syria, after possessing himself of Gath, marched against the much richer prize of Jerusalem. The visit was averted by a timely offering of treasure from the Temple and the royal palace (2 K. xii. 18; 2 Ch. xxiv. 23; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 8, § 4), but not before an action had been fought, in which a large army of the Israelites was routed by a very inferior force of Syrians, with the loss of a great number of the principal people and of a vast booty. Nor was this all. These reverses so distressed the king as to bring on a dangerous illness, in the midst of which he was assassinated by two of his own servants, sons of two of the foreign women who were common in the royal harems. He was buried in the city of David, though, like Jehoram, denied a resting-place in the royal tombs (2 Ch. xxiv. 25). The predicted danger to the city was, however, only postponed. Amaziah began his reign (B.C. 837) with a promise of good; his first act showed that while he knew how to avenge the murder of his father, he could also restrain his wrath within the bounds prescribed by the Law of Jehovah. But with success came deterioration. He returned from his victories over the Edomites, and the massacre at Petra, with fresh idols to add to those which already defiled Jerusalem—the images of the children of Seir, or of the Amalekites (Josephus), which were erected and worshipped by the king. His next act was a challenge to Joash, the king of Israel, and now the danger so narrowly escaped from Hazael was actually encountered. The battle took place at Bethshemesh of Judah, at the opening

[s] The horse-gate is mentioned again in connexion with Kedron by Jeremiah (xxxi. 40). Possibly the name was perpetuated in the gate Susan (*Sus* = horse) of the second Temple, the only gate on the east side of the outer wall, upon which, according to the Mishna (*Middoth*, i. 3), the palace of Shushan or Susan was portrayed (Lightfoot, *Prosp. of Temple*, iii.).

[t] From the expression in xxiv. 25, "sons of Jehoiada," we are perhaps warranted in believing that Zechariah's brethren or his sons were put to death with him. The LXX. and Vulg. have the word in the singular number, "son;" but, on the other hand, the Syr. and Arabic and the Targum all agree with the Hebrew text, and it is specially mentioned in Jerome's *Qu. Hebr.* It is perhaps supported by the special notice taken of the exception made by Amaziah in the case of the murderers of his father (2 K. xiv. 6; 2 Ch. xxv. 4). The case of Naboth is a parallel. [See ELIJAH, p. 910.]

of the hills, about 14½ miles west of Jerusalem. It ended in a total rout. Amaziah, forsaken by his people, was taken prisoner by Joash, who at once proceeded to Jerusalem and threatened to put his captive to death before the walls, if he and his army were not admitted. The gates were thrown open, the treasures of the Temple —still in the charge of the same family to whom they had been committed by David—and the king's private treasures were pillaged, and for the first time the walls of the city were injured. A clear breach was made in them of 400 cubits in length "from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate," and through this Joash drove in triumph, with his captive in the chariot, into the city.[a] This must have been on the north side of the first wall, and probably towards its eastern extremity.

The long reign of Uzziah (2 K. xv. 1–7; 2 Ch. xxvi.) brought about a material improvement in the fortunes of Jerusalem. He was a wise and good[x] prince (Joseph. ix. 10, § 3), very warlike, and a great builder. After some campaigns against foreign enemies, he devoted himself to the care of Jerusalem for the whole of his life (Josephus). The walls were thoroughly repaired, the portion broken down by Joash was rebuilt and fortified with towers at the corner gate; and other parts which had been allowed to go to ruin—as the gate opening on the Valley of Hinnom,[y] a spot called the "turning" (see Neh. iii. 19, 20, 24), and others—were renewed and fortified, and furnished for the first time with machines, then expressly invented for shooting stones and arrows against besiegers. Later in this reign happened the great earthquake, which, although unmentioned in the historical books of the Bible, is described by Josephus (ix. 10, § 4), and alluded to by the prophets (Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5) as a kind of era (see Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 184, 185). A serious breach was made in the Temple itself, and below the city a large fragment of rock, or landslip, rolling down from the hill at En-rogel[z] blocked up the roads, overwhelmed the king's gardens, and rested against the bottom of the slope of Olivet. After the leprosy of Uzziah, he left the sacred precincts, and resided in the hospital or lazar-house, outside the city, till his death.[a] He was buried in the city of David with the kings (2 K. xv. 7); not in the sepulchre itself, but in a garden or field attached to the spot.

Jotham (*c.* 756) inherited his father's sagacity, as well as his tastes for architecture and warfare. His works in Jerusalem were building the upper gateway to the Temple—apparently a gate communicating with the palace (2 Ch. xxiii. 20)—and also porticoes leading to the same (*Ant.* ix. 11, § 2). He also built much on Ophel—probably on the south of Moriah (2 K. xv. 35; 2 Ch. xxvii. 3)—repaired the walls wherever they were dilapidated, and strengthened them by very large and strong towers (Joseph.). Before the death of Jotham (B.C. 740) the clouds of the Syrian invasion began to gather. They broke on the head of Ahaz, his successor: Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, joined their armies and invested Jerusalem (2 K. xvi. 5), where there appears to have been a party in their favour (Is. viii. 6). The fortifications of the two previous kings enabled the city to hold out during a siege of great length (ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, Joseph.). During its progress Rezin made an expedition against the distant town of Elath on the Red Sea, from which he expelled the Jews, and handed it over to the Syrians, or (R. V. marg.) Edomites (2 K. xvi. 6; *Ant.* ix. 12, § 1). [AHAZ.] Finding on his return that the place still held out, Rezin ravaged Judaea and returned to Damascus with a multitude of captives, leaving Pekah to continue the blockade.

Ahaz, thinking himself a match for the Israelite army, opened his gates and came forth. A tremendous conflict ensued, in which the three chiefs of the government next to the king, and 120,000 of the able warriors of the army of Judah, are stated to have been killed, and Pekah returned to Samaria with a crowd of captives, and a great quantity of spoil collected from the Benjamite towns north of Jerusalem (Joseph.). Ahaz himself escaped, and there is no mention in any of the records, of the city having been plundered. The captives and the spoil were, however, sent back by the people of Samaria—a fact which, as it has no bearing on the history of the city, need here only be referred to, because from the narrative it may perhaps be inferred that the most convenient route from Samaria to Jerusalem at that time was not, as now, along the plateau of the country, but by the depths of the Jordan Valley, and through Jericho (2 K. xvi. 5; 2 Ch. xxviii. 5–15; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 12, § 2).

To oppose the confederacy which had so injured him, Ahaz had recourse to Assyria. He appears first to have sent an embassy to Tiglath-pileser with presents of silver and gold taken from the treasures of the Temple and the palace (2 K. xvi. 8), which had been recruited during the last two reigns, and with a promise of more if the king would overrun Syria and Israel (*Ant.* ix. 12, § 3). This Tiglath-pileser did. He marched to Damascus, took the city, and killed Rezin. While there, Ahaz visited him, to make his formal submission of vassalage,[b] and gave him the further presents. To collect these he went so far as to lay hands on part of the per-

[a] This is an addition by Josephus (ix. 9, § 9). Since the time of Solomon, chariots would seem to have become unknown in Jerusalem. At any rate we should infer, from the notice in 2 K. xiv. 20, that the royal establishment could not at that time boast of one.

[x] The story of his leprosy at any rate shows his zeal for Jehovah.

[y] 2 Ch. xxvi. 9. The word rendered "the valley" is הַגַּיְא, always employed for the valley on the west and south of the town, as נַחַל is for that on the east.

[z] This will be the eastern hill, or Ophel, south of the "Virgin's Fountain." Josephus calls the place *Broge* (Ἐρώγη), and it has been suggested (Bonar, *Imp. Bib. Dict.* s. v. Jerusalem) that this is the Hebrew עֵרוּגָה (*'Arūgāh*), a garden, or spice-bed, and not En-rogel.

[a] בֵּית הַחֻפְשׁוֹת. The interpretation given above is that of Kimchi, adopted by Gesenius, Fürst, and Bertheau. Keil (on 2 K. xv. 5) and Hengstenberg, however, contend for a different meaning.

[b] This follows from the words of 2 K. xviii. 7; and his name, under the form Jehoahaz, appears in the list of tributary princes in the Assyrian inscriptions (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.* p. 257; Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 113).

manent works of the Temple—the original constructions of Solomon, which none of his predecessors had been bold enough or needy enough to touch. He cut off the richly-chased panels which ornamented the brass bases of the cisterns, dismounted the large tank or "sea" from the brazen bulls, and supported it on a pedestal of stone, and removed the "cover for the sabbath," and the ornamental stand on which the kings were accustomed to sit in the Temple (2 K. xvi. 17, 18).

Whether the application to Assyria relieved Ahaz from one or both of his enemies, is not clear. From one passage it would seem that Tiglath-pileser actually came to Jerusalem (2 Ch. xxviii. 20). At any rate the intercourse resulted in fresh idolatries, and fresh insults to the Temple. A new brazen altar was made after the profane fashion of one he had seen at Damascus, and was set up in the centre of the court of the Temple, to occupy the place and perform the functions of the original Altar of Solomon, now removed to a less prominent position (see 2 K. xvi. 12–15, with the explanation of Keil); the very sanctuary itself (הֵיכָל), and הַמִּקְדָּשׁ) was polluted by idol-worship of some kind or other (2 Ch. xxix. 5, 16). Horses dedicated to the sun were stabled at the entrance to the court, with their chariots (2 K. xxiii. 11). Altars for sacrifice to the moon and stars were erected on the flat roofs of the Temple (ib. v. 12). Such consecrated vessels as remained in the House of Jehovah were taken thence, and either transferred to the service of the idols (2 Ch. xxix. 19) or cut up and re-manufactured; the lamps of the sanctuary were extinguished [a] (xxix. 7), and for the first time the doors of the Temple were closed to the worshippers (xxviii. 24), and their offerings seized for the idols (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 12, § 3). The famous sun-dial was erected at this time, possibly in the Temple.[b] When Ahaz at last died, it is not wonderful that a meaner fate was awarded him than that of even the leprous Uzziah. He was excluded not only from the royal sepulchres, but from the precincts of Zion, and was buried "in the city—in Jerusalem."[c] The very first act of Hezekiah (B.C. 724) was to restore what his father had desecrated (2 Ch. xxix. 3; and see v. 36, "suddenly").[d] The Levites were collected and inspirited; the Temple freed from its impurities both actual and ceremonial; the accumulated abominations being discharged into the valley of the Kedron. The full musical service of the Temple was re-organised, with the instruments and the hymns ordained by David and Asaph; and after a solemn sin-offering for the late transgressions had been offered in the presence of the king and princes, the public were allowed to testify their acquiescence in the change by bringing their own thank-offerings (2 Ch. xxix. 1–36). This was done on the 17th of the first month of his reign. The regular time for celebrating the Passover was therefore gone by. But there was a law (Num. ix. 10, 11) which allowed the Feast to be postponed for a month on special occasions, and of this law Hezekiah took advantage, in his anxiety to obtain from the whole of his people a national testimony to their allegiance to Jehovah and His laws (2 Ch. xxx. 2, 3). Accordingly at the special invitation of the king a vast multitude, not only from his own dominions, but from the northern kingdom, even from the remote Asher and Zebulun, assembled at the capital. Their first act was to uproot and efface all traces of the idolatry of the preceding and former reigns. High-places, altars, the mysterious and obscene symbols of Baal and Asherah, the venerable brazen serpent of Moses itself, were torn down, broken to pieces, and the fragments cast into the valley of the Kedron[e] (2 Ch. xxx. 14; 2 K. xviii. 4). This done, the Feast was kept for two weeks, and the vast concourse dispersed. The permanent service of the Temple was next thoroughly organised, the subsistence of the officiating ministers arranged, and provision made for storing the supplies (2 Ch. xxxi. 2–21). It was probably at this time that the decorations of the Temple were renewed, and the gold or other precious plating[f] which had been removed by former kings re-applied to the doors and pillars (2 K. xviii. 16).

And now approached the greatest crisis which had yet occurred in the history of the city: the dreaded Assyrian army was to appear before its walls. Hezekiah had apparently entered into an alliance with Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon (2 K. xx. 12; Is. xxxix. 1), and, with Edom and Moab, joined the Philistines in their revolt against Assyria, then ruled by Sargon. The Tartan was ordered to besiege Ashdod, and another army, perhaps led by the great king in person, pushed southwards through the mountain passes, and halted at Nob, within sight of the "daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem" (Is. x. 28–32). It has been suggested (Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Anct. Monts.* pp. 117, 118) that Jerusalem was taken in this the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign (*c.* 711 B.C.), and that its capture is referred to in Is. x. 6, 12, 22, 24, 34, and xxii. But this is in direct contradiction to the promise made to Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii. 6; cp. xxxix. 8), and there is no record of the conquest of the city by Sargon in the Assyrian inscriptions. Ten years later Jerusalem was again threatened by an Assyrian army. Trusting to the support of Tirhakah, king of Egypt, Hezekiah threw off his allegiance to Assyria, and re-asserted his supremacy over the cities of Philistia. Sennacherib advanced to quell the revolt (*c.* 701 B.C.), and from Lachish sent the Tartan or commander-in-chief, the Rab-shakeh or prime minister, and the Rabsaris or

[a] In the old Jewish Calendar the 18th of Ab was kept as a fast, to commemorate the putting out of the western light of the great candlestick by Ahaz.

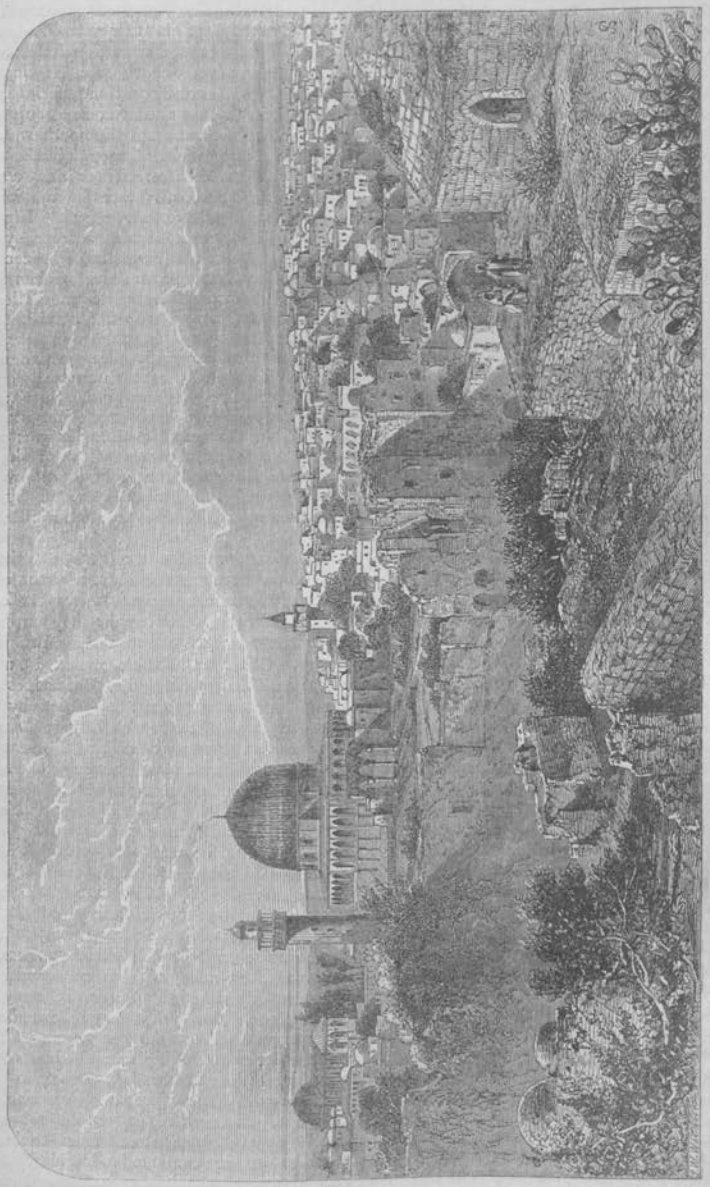
[b] There is an *à priori* probability that the dial would be placed in a sacred precinct; but may we not infer, from comparing 2 K. xx. 4 with 9, that it was in the "middle court," and that the sight of it there as he passed through had suggested to Isaiah the "sign" which was to accompany the king's recovery?

[c] Such is the express statement of 2 Ch. xxviii. 27. The Book of Kings repeats its regular formula. Josephus omits all notice of the burial.

[d] And yet it would seem, from the account of Josiah's reforms (2 K. xxiii. 11, 12), that many of Ahaz's intrusions survived even the zeal of Hezekiah.

[e] The word "gold" is supplied by our translators: but the word "overlaid" (צִפָּה) shows that some metallic coating is intended.

chamberlain, with a large army to Jerusalem. The details of the invasion will be found under the separate heads of HEZEKIAH and SENNACHERIB. The Assyrian king states in an inscription (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.*, pp. 288–294), that he shut up Hezekiah "like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem, his royal city;" and that he raised a line of forts against him, and prevented any exit from the chief gate of the city. This is probably an exaggeration, for it is in contradiction to the words of Isaiah (xxxvii. 33), that the king of Assyria should not



Jerusalem from the Wall near St. Stephen's Gate.

shoot an arrow against Jerusalem, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it. It is certain, however, that the Assyrian army was encamped before the walls, and that the Rabshakeh held a conversation with Hezekiah's chief officers, outside the walls—probably near the Turkish Barracks, on the eastern hill, or near the Jaffa Gate—while the wall above was crowded with the anxious inhabitants. At the time of Titus's siege the name of "the Assyrian Camp" was still attached to a spot north of the old wall of the city in remembrance either of this

or the subsequent visit of Nebuchadnezzar (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 12, § 2). But though untaken—though the citadel was still the "virgin-daughter of Zion"—yet Jerusalem did not escape unharmed. Hezekiah's treasures had to be emptied, and the costly ornaments he had added to the Temple were stripped off to make up the tribute.

It was previous to one of these invasions, or perhaps in the interval between them, that Hezekiah took steps to place the city in a thorough state of defence. The movement was made a national one. A great concourse came together. The springs round Jerusalem were stopped—that is, their outflow was prevented, and the water diverted underground to the interior of the city (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 4). This was particularly the case with the spring which perhaps formed the source of the stream of the Kedron,[h] elsewhere called the "upper spring of the waters of Gihon" (2 Ch. xxxii. 30; A. V. most incorrectly, "water-course"). It was led down by a subterraneous channel "through the hard rock" (2 Ch. xxxii. 30; Ecclus. xlviii. 17), to, or on, the west side of the city of David (2 K. xx. 20); that is, into the valley which separated the Mount Moriah and Zion from the Upper City (see *Water Supply*, p. 1593). This done, he carefully repaired the walls of the city, furnished them with additional towers, and built a second wall (2 Ch. xxxii. 5; Is. xxii. 10). The water of the reservoir, called the "old pool," was diverted to a new tank in the city between the two walls[i] (Is. xxii. 11). Nor was this all: as the struggle would certainly be one for life and death, he strengthened the fortifications of the citadel (2 Ch. xxxii. 5, "Millo;" Is. xxii. 9), and prepared abundance of ammunition. He also organised the people, and officered them, gathered them together in the open place at the gate, and inspired them with confidence in Jehovah (2 Ch. xxxii. 6).

The death of this good and great king was indeed a national calamity, and so it was considered. He was buried in "the chiefest (R. V. ascent) of the sepulchres of the sons of David," and a vast concourse from the country, as well as of the citizens of Jerusalem, assembled to join in the wailings at the funeral (2 Ch. xxxii. 33).

The reign of Manasseh (B.C. 696) must have been an eventful one in the annals of Jerusalem, though only meagre indications of its events are to be found in the documents. He began by plunging into all the idolatries of his grandfather—restoring all that Hezekiah had destroyed, and desecrating the Temple and the city with even more offensive idolatries than those of Ahaz (2 Ch. xxxiii. 2–9; 2 K. xxi. 2–9). In this career of wickedness he was stopped by an invasion of the Assyrian army, by whom he was taken prisoner and carried to Babylon, where he remained for some time.[k] The rest of his long reign was occupied in attempting to remedy his former misdoings, and in the repair and conservation of the city (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 3, § 2). He built an outer wall to the city of David, "from the west side of Gihon-in-the-valley to the Fish gate," *i.e.* apparently along the western side of the Kedron Valley. He also continued the works which had been begun by Jotham at Ophel, and raised that fortress or structure to a great height (2 Ch. xxxiii. 14). On his death he was buried in a private tomb in the garden attached to his palace, called also the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 18; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 20). Here also was interred his son Amon after his violent death, following an uneventful but idolatrous reign of two years (2 Ch. xxxiii. 21–25; 2 K. xxi. 19–26).

The reign of Josiah (B.C. 639) was marked by a more strenuous zeal for Jehovah than even that of Hezekiah had been. He began his reign at eight years of age, and by his 20th year (12th of his reign—2 Ch. xxxiv. 3) commenced a thorough removal of the idolatrous abuses of Manasseh and Amon, and even some of Ahaz, which must have escaped the purgations of Hezekiah[l] (2 K. xxiii. 12). As on former occasions, these abominations were broken up small and carried down to the bed of the Kedron—which seems to have served almost the purpose of a common sewer—and there calcined and dispersed. The cemetery, which still paves the sides of that valley, had already begun to exist, and the fragments of the broken altars and statues were scattered on the graves that they might be effectually defiled, and thus prevented from further use. On the opposite side of the valley, somewhere on the Mount of Olives, were the erections which Solomon had put up for the deities of his foreign wives. Not one of these was spared; they were all annihilated, and dead bones scattered over the places where they had stood. These things occupied six years, at the expiration of which, in the first month of the 18th year of his reign (2 Ch. xxxv. 1; 2 K. xxiii. 23), a solemn Passover was held, emphatically recorded to have been the greatest since the time of Samuel (2 Ch. xxxv. 18). This seems to have been the crowning ceremony of the purification of the Temple; and it was at once followed by a thorough renovation of the fabric (2 Ch. xxxiv. 8; 2 K. xxii. 5). The cost was met by offerings collected at the doors (2 K. xxii. 4), and also throughout the country (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 4, § 1), not only of Judah and Benjamin, but also of Ephraim and the other northern tribes (2 Ch. xxxiv. 9). It was during these repairs that the Book of the Law was found; and shortly after all the people

[h] The authority for this is the use here of the word *Nachal*, which is uniformly applied to the valley east of the city, as *Ge* is to that west and south; but see GIHON. Similar measures were taken by the Moslems on the approach of the Crusaders (Will. of Tyre, viii. 4, 7).

[i] The reservoir between the Jaffa Gate and the Church of the Sepulchre, now usually called the Pool of Hezekiah, cannot be either of the works alluded to above; but it is probably the Pool Amygdalon of Josephus.

[k] In the Assyrian inscriptions Manasseh is mentioned among the tributaries of both Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.* pp. 354–357).

[l] The narrative in Kings appears to place the destruction of the images after the king's solemn covenant in the Temple, *i.e.* after the completion of the repairs. But, on the other hand, there are the dates given in 2 Ch. xxxiv. 8, xxxv. 1, 19, which fix the Passover to the 14th of the 1st month of his 18th year, too early in the year for the repair which was begun in the same year to have preceded it.

were convened to Jerusalem to hear it read, and to renew the national covenant with Jehovah.[m] The mention of Huldah the prophetess (2 Ch. xxxiv. 22; 2 K. xxii. 14) introduces us to a part of the city called "the Mishneh" (הַמִּשְׁנֶה, A. V. "college," or R. V. "second quarter").[n] The name also survives in the Book of Zephaniah, a prophet of this reign (i. 10), who seems to recognise "the Fish gate," "the second quarter," and "the hills" as the three prominent features of the city.

Josiah's death took place at a distance from Jerusalem; but he was brought there for his burial, and was placed in "his own sepulchre" (2 K. xxiii. 30), or "in the sepulchre of his fathers" (2 Ch. xxxv. 24; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 5, § 1), perhaps that already tenanted by Manasseh and Amon. (See 1 Esd. i. 31.)

Josiah's rash opposition to Pharaoh-necho cost him his life, his son his throne, and Jerusalem much suffering. Before Jehoahaz (B.C. 608) had been reigning three months, the Egyptian king found opportunity to send to Jerusalem from Riblah, where he was then encamped, a force sufficient to depose and take him prisoner, to put his brother Eliakim on the throne, and to exact a heavy fine from the city and country, which was paid in advance by the new king, and afterwards extorted by taxation (2 K. xxiii. 33, 35).

The fall of the city was now rapidly approaching. During the reign of Jehoiakim—such was the new name which at Necho's order Eliakim had assumed—Jerusalem was visited by Nebuchadnezzar, with the Babylonian army lately victorious over the Egyptians at Carchemish. The visit was possibly repeated once, or even twice.[o] A siege there must have been; but of this we have no account. We may infer how severe was the pressure on the surrounding country, from the fact that the very Bedawîn were driven within the walls by "the fear of the Chaldeans and of the Syrians" (Jer. xxxv. 11). We may also infer that the Temple was entered, since Nebuchadnezzar carried off some of the vessels therefrom for his temple at Babylon (2 Ch. xxxvi. 7), and that Jehoiakim was treated with great indignity (*ib.* 6). In the latter part of this reign we discern the country harassed and pillaged by marauding bands from the east of Jordan (2 K. xxiv. 2).

Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin (B.C. 597). Hardly had his short reign begun before the terrible army of Babylon reappeared before the city, again commanded by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxiv. 10, 11). Jehoiachin's disposition appears to have made him shrink from inflicting on the city the horrors of a long siege (*B. J.* vi. 2, § 1), and he therefore surrendered in the third month of his reign. The treasures of the palace and Temple were pillaged; certain golden articles of Solomon's original establishment, which had escaped the plunder and desecrations of the previous reigns, were cut up (2 K. xxiv. 13); and the more desirable objects out of the Temple carried off (Jer. xxvii. 19). The first deportation that we hear of from the city now took place. The king, his wives, and the queen-mother, with their eunuchs and whole establishment, the princes, 7,000 warriors, and 1,000 artificers—in all 10,000 souls—were carried off to Babylon (2 K. xxiv. 14–16). The uncle of Jehoiachin was made king in his stead, by the name of Zedekiah, under a solemn oath ("by God") of allegiance (2 Ch. xxxvi. 13; Ezek. xvii. 13, 14, 18). Had he been content to remain quiet under the rule of Babylon, the city might have stood many years longer; but he was not. He appears to have been tempted with the chance of relief afforded by the accession of Pharaoh-hophra, and to have applied to him for assistance (Ezek. xvii. 15). Upon this Nebuchadnezzar marched in person to Jerusalem, arriving in the 9th year of Zedekiah, on the 10th day of the 10th month[p] (B.C. 588), and at once began a regular siege, at the same time wasting the country far and near (Jer. xxxiv. 7). The siege was conducted by erecting forts on lofty mounds round the city, from which, on the usual Assyrian plan,[q] missiles were discharged into the town, and the walls and houses in them battered by rams (Jer. xxxii. 24, xxxiii. 4, lii. 4; Ezek. xxi. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, § 1). The city was also surrounded with troops (Jer. lii. 7). The siege was once abandoned, owing to the approach of the Egyptian army (Jer. xxxvii. 5, 11), and during the interval the gates of the city were re-opened (*ib. v.* 13). But the relief was only temporary, and in the 11th of Zedekiah (B.C. 586), on the 9th day of the 4th month (Jer. lii. 6), being just a year and a half from the first investment, the city was taken. Nebuchadnezzar had in the meantime retired from Jerusalem to Riblah to watch the more important siege of Tyre, then in the last year of its progress. The besieged seem to have suffered severely both from hunger and disease (Jer. xxxii. 24), but chiefly from the former (2 K. xxv. 3; Jer. lii. 6; Lam. v. 10). But they would perhaps have held out longer had not a breach in the wall been effected on the day named. It was at midnight (Joseph.). The whole city was wrapt in the pitchy darkness[r] characteristic of an Eastern town, and nothing was known by the Jews of what had happened till the generals of the army entered the Temple (Joseph.) and took their seats in the middle gate[s] (Jer. xxxix. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, § 2). Then the alarm was given to Zedekiah, and collecting his remaining warriors, they stole out of the city by a gate at the south side, in the great bend of the wall above Siloam, passed by the royal

[m] This narrative has some interesting correspondences with that of Joash's coronation (2 K. xi.). Amongst these is the singular expression the king stood "on the pillar." In the present case Josephus understands this as an official spot—ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

[n] See Keil on 2 K. xxii. 14.

[o] It seems impossible to reconcile the accounts of this period in Kings, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, with Josephus and the other sources. For one view, see JEHOIAKIM. For an opposite one, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 509–514.

[p] According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, § 4), this date was the commencement of the final portion of the siege. But there is nothing in the Bible records to support this.

[q] For the sieges, see Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 366, &c.

[r] The moon being but nine days old, there can have been little or no moonlight at this hour.

[s] This was the regular Assyrian custom at the conclusion of a siege (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 375).

gardens, and took the road to the Jordan Valley. At break of day information of the flight was brought to the Chaldeans by some deserters. A rapid pursuit was made: Zedekiah was overtaken near Jericho, his people were dispersed, and he himself captured and reserved for a miserable fate at Riblah. Meantime the wretched inhabitants suffered all the horrors of assault and sack: the men were slaughtered, old and young, prince and peasant, the women violated in Mount Zion itself (Lam. ii. 4; v. 11, 12).

On the 7th day of the following month (2 K. xxv. 8), Nebuzaradan, the commander of the king's body-guard, who seems to have been charged with Nebuchadnezzar's instructions as to what should be done with the city, arrived. Two days were passed, probably in collecting the captives and booty; and on the 10th (Jer. lii. 12) the Temple, the royal palace, and all the more important buildings of the city were set on fire, and the walls thrown down and left as heaps of disordered rubbish on the ground (Neh. iv. 2). The spoil of the city consisted apparently of little more than the furniture of the Temple. A few small vessels in gold[t] and silver, and some other things in brass, were carried away whole—the former under the especial eye of Nebuzaradan himself (2 K. xxv. 15; cp. Jer. xxvii. 19). But the larger objects, Solomon's huge brazen basin or sea with its twelve bulls, the ten bases, the two magnificent pillars, Jachin and Boaz, too heavy and too cumbrous for transport, were broken up. The pillars were almost the only parts of Solomon's original construction which had not been mutilated by the sacrilegious hands of some Baal-worshipping monarch or other, and there is quite a touch of pathos in the way in which the Chronicler lingers over his recollections of their height, their size, and their ornaments—capitals, wreathen work, and pomegranates, "all of brass."

The previous deportations, and the sufferings endured in the siege, must to a great extent have drained the place of its able-bodied people, and thus the captives on this occasion were but few and unimportant. The high-priest and four other officers of the Temple, the commanders of the fighting men, five[u] people of the court, the mustering officer of the army, and sixty selected private persons, were reserved to be submitted to the king at Riblah. The daughters of Zedekiah, with their children and establishment (Jer. xli. 10, 16; cp. *Ant.* x. 9, § 4), and Jeremiah the Prophet (Jer. xl. 5), were placed by Nebuzaradan at Mizpah under the charge of Gedaliah ben-Ahikam, who had been appointed as superintendent of the few poor labouring people left to carry on the necessary husbandry and vine-dressing. In addition to these were some small bodies of men in arms, who had perhaps escaped from the city before the blockade, or in the interval of the siege, and who were hovering on the outskirts of the country watching what might turn up (Jer. xl. 7, 8). [ISHMAEL, 6.] The remainder of the population—numbering, with the seventy-two above named, 832 souls (Jer. lii. 29)—were marched off to Babylon. About two months after this Gedaliah was murdered by Ishmael, and then the few people of consideration left with Jeremiah went into Egypt. Thus the land was practically deserted of all but the very poorest class. Even these were not allowed to remain in quiet. Five years afterwards—the 23rd of Nebuchadnezzar's reign—the insatiable Nebuzaradan, on his way to Egypt (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, § 7), again visited the ruins, and swept off 745 more of the wretched peasants (Jer. lii. 30).

Thus Jerusalem at last had fallen, and the Temple, set up under such fair auspices, was a heap of blackened ruins.[x] The spot, however, was none the less sacred because the edifice was destroyed, and it was still the resort of devotees, sometimes from great distances, who brought their offerings—in strange heathenish guise indeed, but still with a true feeling—to weep and wail over the holy place (Jer. xli. 5). It was still the centre of hope to the people in Captivity, and the time soon arrived for their return to it. The decree of Cyrus authorizing the rebuilding of the "house of Jehovah, God of Israel, which is in Jerusalem," was issued B.C. 536. In consequence thereof a very large caravan of Jews arrived in the country. The expedition comprised all classes—the royal family, priests, Levites, inferior ministers, lay people belonging to various towns and families—and numbered 42,360[y] in all. They were well provided with treasure for the necessary outlay; and—a more precious burden still—they bore the vessels of the old Temple which had been preserved at Babylon, and were now destined again to find a home at Jerusalem (Ezra v. 14, vi. 5).

A short time was occupied in settling in their former cities, but on the 1st day of the 7th month (Ezra iii. 6) a general assembly was called together at Jerusalem in "the open place of the first gate towards the east" (1 Esd. v. 47); the Altar was set up, and the daily morning and evening sacrifices commenced.[z] Other festivals were re-instituted, and we have a record of the celebration of at least one anniversary of the day of the first assembly at Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 1, &c.). Arrangements were made for stone and timber for the fabric, and in the 2nd year after their return (B.C. 534), on the 1st day of

[t] Josephus (x. 8, § 6) says the candlestick and the golden table of shewbread were taken now; but these were doubtless carried off on the previous occasion.

[u] Jeremiah (lii. 25) says "seven."

[x] The events of this period are kept in memory by the Jews of the present day by various commemorative fasts, which were instituted immediately after the occurrences themselves. These are:—the 10th Tebeth, the day of the investment of the city by Nebuchadnezzar; the 10th Ab, destruction of the Temple by Nebuzaradan, and subsequently by Titus; the 3rd Tisri, murder of Gedaliah; 9th Tebeth, when Ezekiel and the other captives at Babylon received the news of the destruction of the Temple. The entrance of the Chaldees into the city is commemorated on the 17th Tamuz, the day of the breach of the Antonia by Titus. The modern dates will be found in the Jewish almanack for the year.

[y] Josephus says 42,462.

[z] The Feast of Tabernacles is also said to have been celebrated at this time (Ezra iii. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 4, § 1); but this is in direct opposition to Neh. viii. 17, which states that it was first celebrated when Ezra was present (cp. v. 13), which he was not on the former occasion.

the 2nd month (1 Esd. v. 57), the foundation of the Temple was laid amidst the songs and music of the priests and Levites (according to the old rites of David), the tears of the old men and the shouts of the young. But the work was destined to suffer material interruptions. The chiefs of the people by whom Samaria had been colonised, finding that the Jews refused their offers of assistance (Ezra iv. 2), annoyed and hindered them in every possible way; and by this and some natural drawbacks—such as violent storms of wind by which some of the work had been blown down (Hag. i. 9), drought and consequent failure of crops, and mortality amongst both animals and men—the work was protracted through the rest of the reign of Cyrus, and that of Ahasuerus, till the accession of Artaxerxes (Darius I.) to the throne of Persia (B.C. 522). The Samaritans then sent to the court at Babylon a formal memorial (a measure already tried without success in the preceding reign), representing that the inevitable consequence of the restoration of the city would be its revolt from the empire. This produced its effect, and the building entirely ceased for a time. In the meantime houses of some pretension began to spring up—"ceiled houses" (Hag. i. 4),—and the enthusiasm of the builders of the Temple cooled (ib. v. 9). But after two years the delay became intolerable to the leaders, and the work was recommenced at all hazards, amidst the encouragements and rebukes of the two Prophets, Zechariah and Haggai, on the 24th day of the 6th month of Darius' 2nd year. Another attempt at interruption was made by the Persian governor of the district west of the Euphrates[a] (Ezra v. 3), but the result was only a confirmation by Darius of the privileges granted by his predecessor (vi. 6–13), and an order to render all possible assistance. The work now went on apace, and the Temple was finished and dedicated[b] in the 6th year of Darius (B.C. 616) on the 3rd (or 23rd, 1 Esd. vii. 5) of Adar—the last month, and on the 14th day of the new year the first Passover was celebrated. The new Temple was 60 cubits less in altitude than that of Solomon (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 1); but its dimensions and form—of which there are only scanty notices—will be best considered elsewhere. [TEMPLE.] All this time the walls of the city remained as the Assyrians had left them (Neh. ii. 12, &c.). A period of 58 years now passed of which no accounts are preserved to us; but at the end of that time, in the year 457, Ezra arrived from Babylon with a caravan of priests, Levites, Nethinims, and lay people, among the latter some members of the royal family, in all 1777 persons (Ezra vii. viii.), and with valuable offerings from the Persian king and his court, as well as from the Jews who still remained in Babylonia (*ib.* vii. 14, viii. 25). He left Babylon on the 1st day of the year and reached Jerusalem on the 1st of the 5th month (Ezra vii. 9, viii. 32).

Ezra at once set himself to correct some irregularities into which the community had fallen. The chief of them was the practice of marrying the native women of the old Canaanite nations. The people were assembled at three days' notice, and harangued by Ezra—so urgent was the case—in the midst of a pouring rain, and in very cold weather, in the broad place, or court, before (*i.e.* east of) the Temple (Ezra x. 9; 1 Esd. ix. 6). His exhortations were at once acceded to, a form of trespass-offering was arranged, and no less than seventeen priests, ten Levites, and eighty-six laymen renounced their foreign wives, and gave up an intercourse which had been to their fathers the cause and the accompaniment of almost all their misfortunes. The matter took three months to carry out, and was completed on the 1st day of the new year: but the practice was not wholly eradicated (Neh. xiii. 23), though it never was pursued as before the Captivity.

We now pass another period of eleven years until the arrival of Nehemiah, about B.C. 445. He had been moved to come to Jerusalem by the accounts given him of the wretchedness of the community, and of the state of ruin in which the walls of the city continued (Neh. i. 3). Arrived there, he kept his intentions quiet for three days, but on the night of the third he went out by himself, and, as far as the ruins would allow, made the circuit of the place (ii. 11–16). On the following day he collected the chief people and proposed the immediate rebuilding of the walls. One spirit seized them. Priests, rulers, Levites, private persons, citizens of distant towns,[c] as well as those dwelling on the spot, all put their hand vigorously to the work. And notwithstanding the taunts and threats of Sanballat, the ruler of the Samaritans, and Tobiah the Ammonite, in consequence of which one-half of the people had to remain armed while the other half built, the work was completed in fifty-two days, on the 25th of Elul. The wall thus rebuilt was that of the city of Jerusalem as well as the city of David or Zion, as will be shown in the next section, where the account of the rebuilding is examined in detail (Section III.). At this time the city must have presented a forlorn appearance; but few houses were built, and large spaces remained unoccupied, or occupied but with the ruins of the Assyrian destructions (Neh. vii. 4). In this respect it was not unlike much of the modern city. The solemn dedication of the wall, recorded in Neh. xii. 27–43, probably took place at a later period, when the works had been completely finished.

Whether Ezra was here at this time is uncertain.[d] [EZRA, p. 1041.] But we meet him during the government of Nehemiah, especially on one interesting occasion—the anniversary, it would appear, of the first return of Zerubbabel's caravan—on the 1st of the 7th month (Neh.

[a] עבר נהרה = beyond the river, but in A.V. rendered "on this side," as if speaking from Jerusalem (see Ewald, iv. 110, n.).

[b] Psalm xxx. by its title purports to have been used on this occasion (Ewald, *Dichter*, i. 210, 223). Ewald also suggests that Ps. lxviii. was finally used for this festival (*Gesch.* iv. 127, n.).

[c] Among these we find Jericho, Bethzur, near Hebron, Gibeon, Bethhoron, perhaps Samaria, and the other side of Jordan (see iv. 12, referring to those who lived near Sanballat and Tobiah).

[d] The name occurs among those who assisted in the dedication of the wall (xii. 33); but so as to make us believe that it was some inferior person of the same name.

viii. 1). He there appears as the venerable and venerated instructor of the people in the forgotten Law of Moses, amongst other reforms re-instituting the Feast of Tabernacles, which we incidentally learn had not been celebrated since the time that the Israelites originally entered on the land (viii. 17).

Nehemiah remained in the city for twelve years (v. 14, xiii. 6), during which time he held the office and maintained the state of governor of the province (v. 14) from his own private resources (v. 15). He was indefatigable in his regulation and maintenance of the order and dignity both of the city (vii. 3, xi. 1, xiii. 15, &c.) and Temple (x. 32, 39, xii. 44); abolished the excessive rates of usury by which the richer citizens had grievously oppressed the poor (v. 6–12); kept up the genealogical registers, at once so characteristic of, and important to, the Jewish nation (vii. 5, xi., xii.); and in various other ways showed himself an able and active governor, and possessing a complete ascendency over his fellow-citizens. At the end of this time he returned to Babylon; but it does not appear that his absence was more than a short one,[e] and he was soon again at his post, as vigilant and energetic as ever (xiii. 7). Of his death we have no record.

The foreign tendencies of the high-priest Eliashib and his family had already given Nehemiah some concern (xiii. 4, 28); and when the checks exercised by his vigilance and good sense were removed, they quickly led to serious disorders, unfortunately the only occurrences which have come down to us during the next epoch. Eliashib's son Joiada, who succeeded him in the high-priesthood (apparently a few years before the death of Nehemiah), had two sons, the one Jonathan (Neh. xii. 11) or Johanan (Neh. xii. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 7, § 1), the other Joshua (Joseph. *ibid.*). Joshua had made interest with the general of the Persian army that he should displace his brother in the priesthood: the two quarrelled, and Joshua was killed by Johanan in the Temple (B.C. *c.* 336): a horrible occurrence, and even aggravated by its consequences; for the Persian general made it the excuse not only to pollute the sanctuary (*ναὸς*) by entering it, on the ground that he was certainly less unclean than the body of the murdered man—but also to extort a tribute of 50 darics on every lamb offered in the daily sacrifice for the next seven years (Joseph. *Ant. ibid.*).

Johanan in his turn had two sons, Jaddua (Neh. xii. 11, 22) and Manasseh (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 7, § 2). Manasseh married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite,[f] and eventually became the first priest of the Samaritan temple on Gerizim (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 2, 4). But at first he seems to have been associated in the priesthood of Jerusalem with his brother (Joseph. *μετέχειν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης*), and to have relinquished it only on being forced to do so on account of his connexion with Sanballat. The foreign marriages against which Ezra and Nehemiah had acted so energetically had again become common among both the priests and laymen. A movement was made by a reforming party against the practice; but either it had obtained a firmer hold than before, or there was nothing to replace the personal influence of Nehemiah, for the movement only resulted in a large number going over with Manasseh to the Samaritans (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 2, 4). During the high-priesthood of Jaddua occurred the famous visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem. Alexander had invaded the north of Syria, beaten Darius's army at the Granicus, and again at Issus, and then, having besieged Tyre, sent a letter to Jaddua inviting his allegiance, and desiring assistance in men and provisions. The answer of the high-priest was, that to Darius his allegiance had been given, and that to Darius he would remain faithful while he lived. Tyre was taken in July B.C. 331 (Kenrick's *Phoenicia*, p. 431), and then the Macedonians moved along the flat strip of the coast of Palestine to Gaza, which in its turn was taken in October. The road to Egypt being thus secured, Alexander had leisure to visit Jerusalem, and deal in person with the people who had ventured to oppose him. This he did apparently by the route through Beth-horon and Gibeon. The "Sapha" at which he was met by the high-priest must be Scopus—the high ridge to the north of the city, which is crossed by the northern road, and from which the first view—and that a full one—of the city and Temple is procured. The result to the Jews of the visit was an exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year: a privilege which they retained for long.[g]

We hear nothing more of Jerusalem until it was taken by Ptolemy Soter, about B.C. 320, during his incursion into Syria. The account given by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1; *c. Apion.* i. § 22), partly from Agatharchides, and partly from some other source, is extremely meagre, nor is it quite consistent with itself. But we can discern one point to which more than one parallel is found in the later history—that the city fell into the hands of Ptolemy because the Jews would not fight on the Sabbath. Great hardships seem to have been experienced by the Jews after this conquest, and a large number were transported to Egypt and to Northern Africa.

A stormy period succeeded, that of the struggles between Antigonus and Ptolemy for the possession of Syria, which lasted until the defeat of the former at Ipsus (B.C. 301), after which

[e] Prideaux says five years; but his reasons are not satisfactory, and would apply to ten as well as to five.

[f] According to Neh. xiii. 28, the man who married Sanballat's daughter was "son of Joiada;" but this is in direct contradiction to the circumstantial statements of Josephus, followed in the text; and the word "son" is often used in Hebrew for "grandson," or even a more remote descendant (see, *e.g.*, CARMI).

[g] The details of this story, and the arguments for and against its authenticity, are given under ALEXANDER; see also HIGH-PRIEST. It should be observed that the part of the Temple which Alexander entered, and where he sacrificed to God, was not the *ναός*, into which Bagoas had forced himself after the murder of Joshua, but the *ἱερόν*—the court only (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, § 5). The Jewish tradition is that he was induced to put off his shoes before treading the sacred ground of the court, by being told that they would slip on the polished marble (*Meg. Taanith*, in Reland, *Antiq.* i. 8, 5).

the country came into the possession of Ptolemy. The contention, however, was confined to the maritime region of Palestine,[h] and Jerusalem appears to have escaped. Scanty as is the information we possess concerning the city, it yet indicates a state of prosperity; the only outward mark of dependence being an annual tax of twenty talents of silver payable by the high-priests. Simon the Just, who followed his father Onias in the high-priesthood (*c.* B.C. 300), is one of the favourite heroes of the Jews. Under his care the sanctuary (*vaḥs*) was repaired, and some retaining walls of great height added round the Temple, possibly to gain a larger surface on the top of the hill (Ecclus. l. 1, 2). The large cistern or "sea" of the Temple, which hitherto would seem to have been but temporarily or roughly constructed, was sheathed in brass[i] (ib. *v.* 3); the walls of the city were more strongly fortified to guard against such attacks as those of Ptolemy (ib. *v.* 4); and the Temple service was maintained with great pomp and ceremonial (ib. *vv.* 11–21). His death was marked by evil omens of various kinds presaging disasters[k] (Otho, *Lex. Rab.* "Messias"). Simon's brother Eleazar succeeded him as high-priest (B.C. 291), and Antigonus of Socho as president of the Sanhedrin[l] (Prideaux). The disasters presaged did not immediately arrive, at least in the grosser forms anticipated. The intercourse with Greeks was fast eradicating the national character, but it was at any rate a peaceful intercourse during the reigns of the Ptolemies who succeeded Soter, viz. Philadelphus (B.C. 285) and Euergetes (B.C. 247). It was Philadelphus who, according to the story preserved by Josephus, had the translation of the Septuagint[m] made, in connexion with which he sent Aristeas to Jerusalem during the priesthood of Eleazar. He also bestowed on the Temple very rich gifts, consisting of a table for the shewbread, of wonderful workmanship, basins, bowls, phials, &c., and other articles both for the private and public use of the priests (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 2, §§ 5–10, 15). A description of Jerusalem at this period under the name of Aristeas still survives,[n] which supplies a lively picture of both Temple and city. The Temple was "enclosed with three walls 70 cubits high, and of proportionate thickness. . . . . The spacious courts were paved with marble, and beneath them lay immense reservoirs of water, which by mechanical contrivance was made to rush forth, and thus wash away the blood of the sacrifices." The city was "of moderate extent, being about 40 stadia in circuit." The main streets appear to have run north and south; some "along the brow . . . others lower down but parallel, following the course of the valley, with cross streets connecting them." They were "furnished with raised pavements," such as may still be seen in some Oriental towns, either for the convenience of those on foot, or, if we may believe Aristeas, to enable the passengers to avoid contact with persons or things ceremonially unclean. The bazaars were then, as now, a prominent feature of the city. There were to be found gold, precious stones, and spices brought by caravans from the East, and other articles imported from the West by way of Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais, which served as its commodious harbour. It is not impossible that among these Phoenician importations from the West may have figured the dyes and the tin of the remote Britain.

Eleazar was succeeded (*c.* B.C. 276) by his uncle Manasseh, brother to Onias I.; and he again (*c.* 250) by Onias II. Onias was a son of the great Simon the Just; but he inherited none of his father's virtues, and his ill-timed avarice at length endangered the prosperity of Jerusalem. The payment of the annual tax to the court of Egypt having been for several years evaded, Ptolemy Euergetes, about 226, sent a commissioner to Jerusalem to enforce the arrears (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 1; Prideaux). Onias, now in his second childhood (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 3), was easily prevailed on by his nephew Joseph to allow him to return with the commissioner to Alexandria, to endeavour to arrange the matter with the king. Joseph, a man evidently of great ability,[o] not only procured the remission of the tax in question,[p] but also persuaded Ptolemy to grant him the lucrative privilege of farming the whole revenue of Judaea, Samaria, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia—a privilege which he retained till the province was taken from the Ptolemies by Antiochus the Great. Hitherto the family of the high-priest had been the most powerful in the country; but Joseph had now founded one able to compete with it, and the contention and rivalry between the two — manifesting itself at one time in enormous bribes to the court, at another in fierce quarrels at home—at last led to the interference of the chief power with the affairs of a city which, if wisely and quietly governed, might never have been molested.

Onias II. died about 217, and was succeeded by Simon II. In 221 Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Euergetes on the throne of Egypt. He had only been king three years when Antiochus

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[h] Diod. Sic. xix.; Hecataeus in Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 22.

[i] So the A. V., apparently following a different text from either LXX. or Vulgate, which state that the reservoir was made smaller. But the passage is probably corrupt.

[k] One of the chief of these was that the scapegoat was not, as formerly, dashed in pieces by his fall from the rock, but got off alive into the desert, *where he was eaten by the Saracens.*

[l] Simon the Just was the last of the illustrious men who formed "the Great Synagogue." Antigonus was the first of the *Tanaim*, or expounders of the written law, whose *dicta* are embodied in the Mishna. From Sadoc, one of Antigonus's scholars, is said to have sprung the sect of the Sadducees (Prideaux, ii. 2; Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 313). It is remarkable that Antigonus is the first Jew we meet with bearing a Greek name.

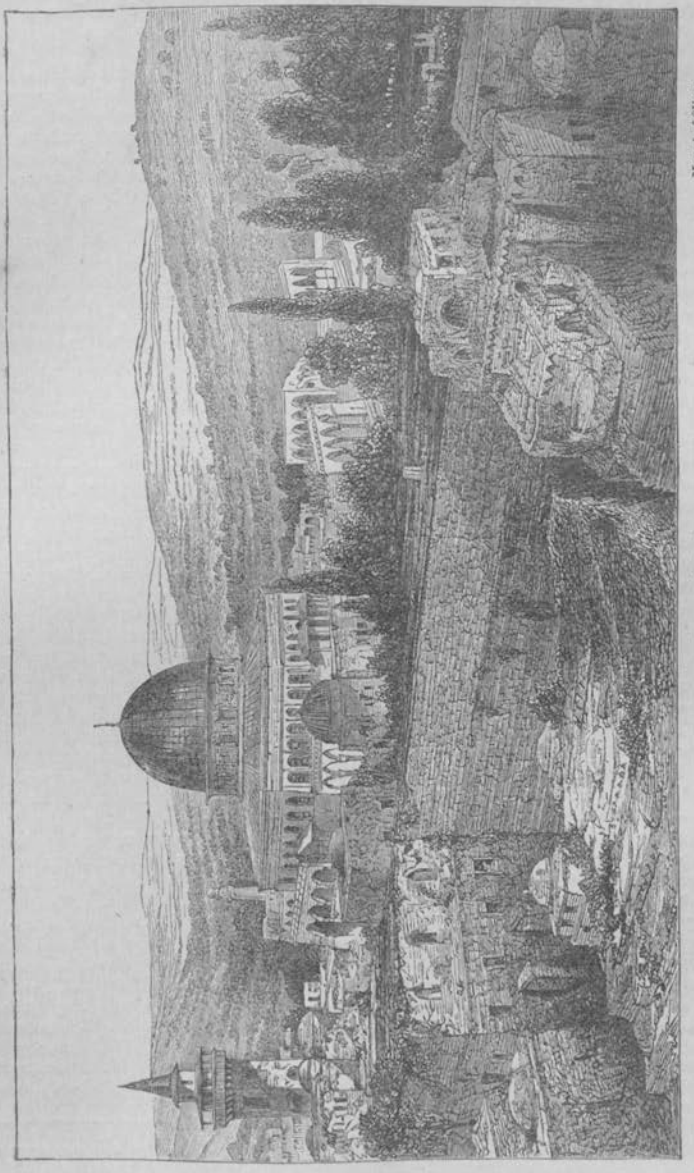
[m] The legend of the translation by seventy-two interpreters is no longer believed; but it probably rests on some foundation of fact. The sculpture of the table and bowls (lilies and vines, without any figures) seems to have been founded on the descriptions in the Law. In 5 Macc. ii. 14, &c., it is said to have had also a map of Egypt upon it.

[n] It is to be found in the Appendix to Havercamp's *Josephus*, and in Gallandii *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* ii. 805. An extract is given in article "Jerusalem" (*Dict. of Geogr.* ii. 25, 26).

[o] The story of the stratagem by which he made his fortune is told in Prideaux (anno 226), and in Milman's *Hist. of the Jews* (ii. 34).

[p] At least we hear nothing of it afterwards.

the Great attempted to take Syria from him. Antiochus partly succeeded, but in a battle at Raphia, south of Gaza, fought in the year 217 (the same as that of Hannibal at Thrasymene), he was completely routed and forced to fly to Antioch. Ptolemy shortly after visited Jerusalem. He offered sacrifice in the court of the Temple, and would have entered the sanctuary, had he not been prevented by the firmness of the high-priest Simon, and also by a supernatural terror which struck him and stretched him paralysed on the pavement of the court (3 Macc. ii. 22).[q] This



repulse Ptolemy never forgave, and the Jews of Alexandria suffered severely in consequence.

Like the rest of Palestine, Jerusalem now became alternately a prey to each of the contending parties (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, § 3). In 203 it was taken by Antiochus. In 199 it was retaken by Scopas, the Alexandrian general, who left a garrison in the citadel. In the following year Antiochus again beat the Egyptians, and then

[q] The Third Book of the Maccabees, though so called, has no reference to the Maccabean heroes, but is taken up with the relation of this visit of Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and its consequences to the Jews.

the Jews, who had suffered most from the latter, gladly opened their gates to his army, and assisted them in reducing the Egyptian garrison. This service Antiochus requited by large presents of money and articles for sacrifice, by an order to Ptolemy to furnish cedar and other materials for cloisters and other additions to the Temple, and by material relief from taxation. He also published a decree affirming the sacredness of the Temple from the intrusion of strangers, and forbidding any infractions of the Jewish law (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §§ 3, 4).

Simon was followed in 195 by Onias III. In 187 Antiochus the Great died, and was succeeded by his son Seleucus Soter (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 10). Jerusalem was now in much apparent prosperity. Onias was greatly respected, and governed with a firm hand; and the decree of the late king was so far observed, that the whole expenditure of the sacrifices was borne by Seleucus (2 Macc. iii. 1–3). But the city soon began to be much disturbed by the disputes between Hyrcanus, the illegitimate son of Joseph the collector, and his elder and legitimate brothers, on the subject of the division of the property left by their father. The high-priest Onias, after some hesitation, seems to have taken the part of Hyrcanus, whose wealth —after the suicide of Hyrcanus (about B.C. 180) —he secured in the treasury of the Temple. The office of governor (προστάτης) of the Temple was now held by one Simon, who is supposed to have been one of the legitimate brothers of Hyrcanus. By this man Seleucus was induced to send Heliodorus to Jerusalem to get possession of the treasure of Hyrcanus. How the attempt failed, and the money was for the time preserved from pillage, may be seen in 2 Macc. iii. 24–30, and in the well-known picture of Raffaelle Sanzio.

In 175 Seleucus Soter died, and the kingdom of Syria came to his brother, the infamous Antiochus Epiphanes. His first act towards Jerusalem was to sell the office of high-priest—still filled by the good Onias III.—to Onias' brother Joshua (2 Macc. iv. 7; *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1). Greek manners had made many a step at Jerusalem, and the new high-priest was not likely to discourage their further progress. His first act was to Grecise his own name, and to become "Jason;" his next to set up a gymnasium—that is, a place where the young men of the town were trained naked—to introduce the Greek dress, Greek sports, and Greek appellations. Now (1 Macc. i. 13, &c.; 2 Macc. iv. 9, 12) for the first time we hear of an attempt to efface the distinguishing mark of a Jew—again to "become uncircumcised." The priests quickly followed the example of their chief (2 Macc. iv. 14), and the Temple service was neglected. A special deputation of the youth of Jerusalem —"Antiochians" they were now called—was sent with offerings from the Temple of Jehovah to the festival of Hercules at Tyre. In 172 Jerusalem was visited by Antiochus. He entered the city at night by torch-light and amid the acclamations of Jason and his party, and after a short stay he returned[r] (2 Macc. iv. 22). And now the treachery of Jason was to be requited to him. His younger brother, also called Onias, who had assumed the Greek name of Menelaus, in his turn bought the high-priesthood from Antiochus, and drove Jason out to the other side of the Jordan (2 Macc. iv. 26). To pay the price of the office, Menelaus had laid hands on the consecrated plate of the Temple. This became known, and a riot was the consequence (2 Macc. iv. 32, 39, 40).

During the absence of Antiochus in Egypt, Jason suddenly appeared before Jerusalem with a thousand men, and whether by the fury of his attack, or from his having friends in the city, he entered the walls, drove Menelaus into the citadel, and slaughtered the citizens without mercy. Jason seems to have failed to obtain any of the valuables of the Temple, and shortly after retreated beyond Jordan, where he miserably perished (2 Macc. v. 7–10). But the news of these tumults reaching Antiochus on his way from Egypt brought him again to Jerusalem (B.C. 170). He appears to have entered the city without much difficulty.[s] An indiscriminate massacre of the adherents of Ptolemy followed, and then a general pillage of the contents of the Temple. Under the guidance of Menelaus, Antiochus went into the Sanctuary, and took from thence the golden altar, the candlestick, the magnificent table of shewbread, and all the vessels and utensils, with 1800 talents out of the treasury. These things occupied three days. He then quitted for Antioch, carrying off, besides his booty, a large train of captives, and leaving, as governor of the city, a Phrygian named Philip, a man of a more savage disposition than himself (1 Macc. i. 20–24; 2 Macc. v. 11–22; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 3; *B. J.* i. 1, § 1). But something worse was reserved for Jerusalem than pillage, death, and slavery, worse than even the pollution of the presence of this monster in the holy place of Jehovah. Nothing less than the total extermination of the Jews was resolved on, and in two years (B.C. 168) an army was sent under Apollonius to carry the resolve into effect. He waited till the Sabbath, and then for the second time the entry was made while the people were engaged in their devotions. Another great slaughter took place; the city was now in its turn pillaged and burnt, and the walls destroyed (2 Macc. v. 24–26).

The foreign garrison took up its quarters in what had from the earliest times been the strongest part of the place—the ancient city of David (1 Macc. i. 33, vii. 32), and built a citadel on an eminence adjoining[t] the North wall of the Temple, and so high as to overlook it (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 4). This hill was now fortified with a very strong wall with towers, and within it the garrison secured their booty, cattle, and

[r] This visit is omitted in 1 Macc. Josephus mentions it, but says that it was marked by a great slaughter of the Jewish party and by plunder (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 3). This, however, does not agree with the festal character given to it in 2 Macc., and followed above.

[s] There is a great discrepancy between the accounts of 1 Macc., 2 Macc., and Josephus.

[t] This may be inferred from many of the expressions concerning this citadel; but Josephus expressly uses the word ἐπέκειτο (*Ant.* xii. 9, § 3), and says it was on an eminence in the lower city, i.e. the Eastern hill, as contradistinguished from the Western hill or upper city.

other provisions, the women of their prisoners, and a certain number of the inhabitants of the city friendly to them.

Antiochus next issued an edict to compel heathen worship in all his dominions, and one Athenaeus was sent to Jerusalem to enforce compliance. As a first step, the Temple was reconsecrated to Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. vi. 2). The worship of idols (1 Macc. i. 47), with its loose and obscene accompaniments (2 Macc. vi. 4), was introduced there—an altar to Zeus was set up on the brazen altar of Jehovah, pig's-flesh offered thereon, and the broth or liquor sprinkled about the Temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 2). And while the Jews were compelled not only to tolerate, but to take an active part in these foreign abominations, the observance of their own rites and ceremonies—sacrifice, the sabbath, circumcision—was absolutely forbidden. Many no doubt complied (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 4); but many also resisted, and the torments inflicted, and the heroism displayed in the streets of Jerusalem at this time, almost surpass belief. But though a severe, it was a wholesome discipline, and under its rough teaching the old spirit of the people began to revive.

The battles of the Maccabees were fought on the outskirts of the country, and it was not till the defeat of Lysias at Bethzur that they thought it safe to venture into the recesses of the central hills. Then they immediately turned their steps to Jerusalem. On ascending the Mount Moriah, and entering the quadrangle of the Temple, a sight met their eyes, which proved at once how complete had been the desecration, and how short-lived the triumph of the idolaters; for while the altar still stood there with its abominable burden, the gates in ashes, the priests' chambers in ruins, and, as they reached the inner court, the very sanctuary itself open and empty—yet the place had been so long disused that the whole precincts were full of vegetation, "the shrubs grew in the courts as in a forest." The precincts were at once cleansed, the polluted altar put aside, a new one constructed, and the holy vessels of the sanctuary replaced, and on the third anniversary of the desecration—the 25th of the month Chisleu, in the year B.C. 165—the Temple was dedicated with a feast which lasted for eight days.[a] After this the outer wall of the Temple[x] was very much strengthened (1 Macc. iv. 60), and it was in fact converted into a fortress (cp. vi. 26, 61, 62), and occupied by a garrison (iv. 61). The Acra was still held by the soldiers of Antiochus. One of the first acts of Judas on entering the Temple had been to detach a party to watch them, and two years later (B.C. 163) so frequent had their sallies and annoyances become —particularly an attempt on one occasion to confine the worshippers within the Temple enclosure[y] (1 Macc. vi. 18)—that Judas collected his people to take it, and began a siege with banks and engines. In the meantime Antiochus had died (B.C. 164), and was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, a youth. The garrison in the Acra, finding themselves pressed by Judas, managed to communicate with the king, who brought an army from Antioch and attacked Bethzur, one of the fortified positions of the Maccabees. This obliged Judas to give up the siege of the Acra, and to march southwards against the intruder (1 Macc. vi. 32; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 4). Antiochus's army proved too much for his little force; his brother Eleazar was killed, and he was compelled to fall back on Jerusalem and shut himself up in the Temple. Thither Lysias, Antiochus's general—and later, Antiochus himself — followed him (vi. 48, 51, 57, 62) and commenced an active siege. How long it lasted we are not informed, but the provisions of the besieged were rapidly becoming exhausted, and famine had driven many to make their escape (vi. 54), when news of an insurrection elsewhere induced Lysias to advise Antiochus to offer terms to Judas (vi. 55–58). The terms, which were accepted by him, were liberty to live after their own laws, and immunity to their persons and their fortress. On inspection, however, Antiochus found the place so strong that he refused to keep this part of the agreement; and before he left, the walls were pulled down (vi. 62; *Ant.* xii. 9, § 7). Judas apparently remained in Jerusalem for the next twelve months. During this time Antiochus and Lysias had been killed, and the throne seized by Demetrius (B.C. 162), and the new king had dispatched Bacchides and Alcimus, the then high-priest—a man of Grecian principles—with a large force, to Jerusalem. Judas was again within the walls of the Temple, which in the interval he must have rebuilt. He could not be tempted forth, but sixty of the Assideans were treacherously murdered by the Syrians, who then moved off, first to a short distance from the city, and finally back to Antioch (1 Macc. vii. 1–25; *Ant.* xii. 10, §§ 1–3). Demetrius then sent another army under Nicanor, but with no better success. An action was fought at Caphar-salama, an unknown place not far from the city. Judas was victorious, and Nicanor escaped and took refuge in the Acra at Jerusalem. Shortly after Nicanor came down from the fortress and paid a visit to the Temple, where he insulted the priests (1 Macc. vii. 33, 34; 2 Macc. xiv. 31–33). He also caused the death of Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem, a man greatly esteemed, who killed himself in the most horrible manner, rather than fall into his hands (2 Macc. xiv. 37–46). He then procured some reinforcements, met Judas at Adasa, now *Kh. 'Adaseh*, 8 miles south of Gophna, was killed, and his army thoroughly beaten. Nicanor's head and right arm were brought to Jerusalem. The head was nailed on the wall of the Acra, and the hand and arm on a conspicuous spot facing the Temple (2 Macc. xv. 30–35), where their memory was perhaps perpetuated in the name of the gate Nicanor, the eastern entrance to the Great Court (Reland, *Antiq.* i. 9, 4).

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[a] The Feast of the Dedication is alluded to in John x. 22. Chisleu was the mid-winter month.

[x] In 1 Macc. iv. 60 it is said that they builded up "Mount Sion;" but in the parallel passages, vi. 7, 26, the word used is "sanctuary," or rather "holy places," ἁγίασμα. The meaning probably is the entire enclosure. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 7, § 7) says "the city."

[y] συγκλείοντες τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κύκλῳ τῶν ἁγίων. The E. V., "shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary," does not here give the sense, which seems to be as above.

The death of Judas took place in 161. After it Bacchides and Alcimus again established themselves at Jerusalem in the Acra (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1, § 3), and, in the intervals of their contests with Jonathan and Simon, added much to its fortifications, furnished it with provisions, and confined there the children of the chief people of Judaea as hostages for their good behaviour (1 Macc. ix. 50–53). In the second month (May) of 160 the high-priest Alcimus began to make some alterations in the Temple, apparently doing away with the enclosure between one court and another, and in particular demolishing some wall or building to which peculiar sanctity was attached as "the work of the prophets" (1 Macc. ix. 54). The object of these alterations was doubtless to lessen the distinction between Jew and Gentile. But they had hardly been commenced before he was taken suddenly ill and died.

Bacchides now returned to Antioch, and Jerusalem remained without molestation for a period of seven years. It does not appear that the Maccabees resided there; part of the time they were at Michmash, in the entangled country about 8 miles north of Jerusalem, and part of the time fighting with Bacchides at Beth-basi in the Jordan Valley near Jericho. All this time the Acra was held by the Macedonian garrison (*Ant.* xiii. 4, § 9) and the malcontent Jews, who still held the hostages taken from the other part of the community (1 Macc. x. 6). In the year 153 Alexander Balas, the real or pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, having landed at Ptolemais, Demetrius sent a communication to Jonathan with the view of keeping him attached to his cause (1 Macc. x. 1, &c.; *Ant.* xiii. 2, § 1). Upon this Jonathan moved up to Jerusalem, rescued the hostages from the Acra, and began to repair the city. The destructions of the last few years were remedied, the wall round Mount Zion particularly being rebuilt in the most substantial manner, as a regular fortification (x. 11). From this time forward Jonathan received privileges and professions of confidence from both sides. First, Alexander authorized him to assume the office of high-priest, which had not been filled up since the death of Alcimus (cp. *Ant.* xx. 10, § 1). This he took at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn of the year 153, and at the same time collected soldiers and ammunition (1 Macc. x. 21). Next, Demetrius, amongst other immunities granted to the country, recognised Jerusalem and its environs as again "holy and free," relinquished all right to the Acra—which was henceforward to be subject to the high-priest (x. 31, 32)—endowed the Temple with the revenues of Ptolemais, and also with 15,000 shekels of silver charged in other places, and ordered not only the payment of the same sum, in regard to former years, but the release of an annual tax of 5,000 shekels hitherto exacted from the priests. Lastly, he authorized the repairs of the holy place, and the building and fortifying of the walls of Jerusalem to be charged to the royal accounts, and gave the privilege of sanctuary to all persons, even mere debtors, taking refuge in the Temple or in its precincts (1 Macc. x. 31, 32, 39–45).

The contentions between Alexander and Demetrius, in which he was actively engaged, prevented Jonathan from taking advantage of these grants till the year 145. He then began to invest the Acra (xi. 20; *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 9), but, owing partly to the strength of the place, and partly to the constant dissensions abroad, the siege made little progress during fully two years. It was obvious that no progress could be made so long as the inmates of the Acra could get into the city or the country, and there buy provisions (xiii. 49), as hitherto was the case; and, therefore, at the first opportunity, Jonathan built a wall or bank at the base of the citadel-hill, so as to cut off all communication with the city, and completed the investment on all sides (xii. 36; cp. xiii. 49). At the same time the wall of the Temple enclosure was repaired and strengthened, especially on the east side, towards the valley of Kedron. In the meantime Jonathan was killed at Ptolemais, and Simon succeeded him both as chief and as high-priest (xiii. 8, 42). The investment of the Acra proved successful, but three years still elapsed before this enormously strong place could be reduced, and at last the garrison capitulated only from famine (xiii. 49; cp. *v.* 21). Simon entered it on the 23rd of the 2nd month B.C. 142. The fortress was then entirely demolished, and the eminence on which it stood lowered, so that the Temple might be higher than it. The last operation occupied three years (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7). The valley between Acra and the "third hill" was probably filled up at this time (*B. J.* v. 4, § 1). A fort was then built on the north side of, and in close proximity to,[a] the Temple, so as directly to command the site of the Acra, and here Simon and his immediate followers resided (xiii. 52). This was the Baris—so called after the Hebrew word Birah—which, after having been rebuilt by Herod and called Antonia, became so prominent a feature of the city. Simon's other achievements, and his alliance with the Romans, must be reserved for another place. We hear of no further occurrences at Jerusalem during his life except the placing of two brass tablets, commemorating his exploits on Mount Zion, in the precinct of the sanctuary (xiv. 27, 48). In 135 Simon was murdered at Docus, *'Ain Dûk*, near Jericho, and then all was again confusion in Jerusalem (xvi. 15, 16).

One of the first steps of his son John Hyrcanus was to secure both the city and the Temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 4). The people were favourable to him, and repulsed Ptolemy, Simon's murderer, when he attempted to enter (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 4; *B. J.* i. 2, § 3). Hyrcanus was made high-priest. Shortly after this, Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, brought an army into Southern Palestine, ravaged and burnt the country, and attacked Jerusalem. To invest the city, and cut off all chance of escape, it was encircled by a girdle of seven camps. The active operations of the siege were carried on as usual at the north, where the ground within and without the walls was on nearly the same level. Here a hundred towers of attack were erected, each of three stories, from which projectiles were cast into the city, and a double

[a] It was perhaps joined to the north wall of the Temple (*B. J.* i. 5, § 4).

ditch, broad and deep, was excavated before them to protect them from the sudden sallies which the besieged were constantly making. On one occasion the wall of the city was undermined, the supporting timber burnt, and thus a temporary breach effected (5 Macc. xxi. 5). For the first and last time we hear of a want of water inside the city, but from this a seasonable rain relieved them. In other respects the besieged seem to have been very well off. Hyrcanus however, with more prudence than humanity, anticipating a long siege, turned out of the city all the infirm and non-fighting people. The Feast of Tabernacles had now arrived, and, at the request of Hyrcanus, Antiochus, with a moderation which gained him the title of "the Pious," agreed to a truce. This led to further negotiations, which ended in the siege being relinquished. Antiochus wished to place a garrison in the city, but this the late experience of the Jews forbade, and hostages and a payment were substituted. The money for this subsidy was obtained by Hyrcanus from the sepulchre of David, the outer chamber of which he is said to have opened, and to have taken 3000 talents of the treasure which had been buried with David and had hitherto escaped undiscovered (*Ant.* vii. 15, § 3; xiii. 8, § 4; *B. J.* i. 2, § 5). After Antiochus's departure Hyrcanus carefully repaired the damage done to the walls (5 Macc. xxi. 18); and it may have been at this time that he enlarged the Baris or fortress adjoining the Temple, which had been founded by his father, and which he used for his own residence and for the custody of his sacred vestments worn as high-priest (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3).

During the rest of his long and successful reign John Hyrcanus resided at Jerusalem, ably administering the government from thence, and regularly fulfilling the duties of the high-priest (see 5 Macc. xxiii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10, § 3). The great sects of Pharisees and Sadducees first appear in prominence at this period. Hyrcanus, as a Maccabee, had belonged to the Pharisees, but an occurrence which happened near the end of his reign caused him to desert them and join the Sadducees, and even to persecute his former friends (see the story in Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10, § 5; 5 Macc. xxv. 7–11; Milman, ii. 73). He died in peace and honour (*Ant.* xiii. 10, § 7). There is no mention of his burial, but it is nearly certain that the "monument of John the high-priest," which stood near the north-west corner of the city and is so frequently referred to in the account of the final siege, was his tomb; at least no other high-priest of the name of John is mentioned. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 1368.]

Hyrcanus was succeeded (B.C. 107) by his son Aristobulus.[a] Like his predecessors, he was high-priest; but, unlike them, he assumed the title as well as the power of a king (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 11, § 1; 5 Macc. xxvii. 1). Aristobulus resided in the Baris (*Ant.* xiii. 11, § 2). A passage, or vaulted gateway, dark and subterraneous (*B. J.* i. 3, § 3), led from the Baris to the Temple; this passage, or gateway, was called "Strato's Tower," and here Antigonus, brother of Aristobulus, was murdered by his order.[b] Aristobulus died very tragically immediately after, having reigned but one year. His brother Alexander Jannaeus (B.C. 105), who succeeded him, was mainly engaged in wars at a distance from Jerusalem, returning thither however in the intervals (*Ant.* xiii. 12, § 3, *ad fin.*). About the year 95 the animosities of the Pharisees and Sadducees came to an alarming explosion. Like his father, Alexander belonged to the Sadducees. The Pharisees had never forgiven Hyrcanus for having deserted them, and at the Feast of Tabernacles, as the king was officiating, they invited the people to pelt him with the citrons which they carried in the feast (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5; cp. 10, § 5; Reland, *Ant.* iv. 5, § 9). Alexander retaliated, and 6,000 persons were at that time killed by his orders. But the dissensions lasted for six years, and no fewer than 50,000 are said to have lost their lives (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5; 5 Macc. xxix. 2). These severities made him extremely unpopular with both parties, and led to their inviting the aid of Demetrius Euchaerus, king of Syria, against him. The actions between them were fought at a distance from Jerusalem; but the city did not escape a share in the horrors of war; for when, after some fluctuations, Alexander returned successful, he crucified publicly 800 of his opponents, and had their wives and children butchered before their eyes, while he and his concubines feasted in sight of the whole scene (*Ant.* xiii. 14, § 2). Such an iron sway as this was enough to crush all opposition, and Alexander reigned till the year 79 without further disturbances. He died while besieging a fortress called Ragaba, somewhere beyond Jordan. He is commemorated as having, at the time of his disputes with the people, erected a wooden screen round the altar and the sanctuary (*ναός*), as far as the parapet of the priests' court, to prevent access to him as he was ministering[c] (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5). The "monument of king Alexander" was doubtless his tomb. It stood somewhere near, but outside, the north wall of the Temple (*B. J.* v. 7, § 3). In spite of opposition the Pharisees were now by far the most powerful party in Jerusalem, and Alexander had therefore before his death instructed his queen, Alexandra—whom he left to succeed him with two sons—to commit herself to them. She did so, and the consequence was that though the feuds between the two great parties continued at their height, yet the government, being supported by the strongest, was always secure. The elder of the two sons, Hyrcanus, was made high-priest, and Aristobulus had the command of the army. The queen lived till the year 70. On her death, Hyrcanus attempted to take the crown, but was opposed by his brother, to whom in three months he yielded its possession, Aristobulus becoming

[a] The adoption of Greek names by the family of the Maccabees, originally the great opponents of everything Greek, shows how much and how unconsciously the Jews were now departing from their ancient standards.

[b] For the story of his death, and the accomplishment of the prediction that he should die in Strato's Tower—*i.e.* Caesarea—compare the well-known story of the death of Henry IV. in Jerusalem, *i.e.* the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

[c] Josephus's words are not very clear:—*δρύφακτον ξύλινον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν βαλλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θριγκοῦ, εἰς ὃν μόνοις ἐξῆν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιέναι.*

king in the year 69. Before Alexandra's death she had imprisoned the family of Aristobulus in the Baris (*B. J.* i. 5, § 4). There too Hyrcanus took refuge during the negotiations with his brother about the kingdom, and from thence had attacked and vanquished his opponents who were collected in the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 1, § 2). Josephus here speaks of it as the Acropolis,[4] and (xiii. 16, § 5) as being above the Temple (ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ). After the reconciliation Aristobulus took possession of the royal palace (τὰ βασίλεια). This can hardly be other than the "palace of the Asmoneans," of which Josephus gives some notices at a subsequent part of the history (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11; *B. J.* ii. 16, § 3). From these it appears that it was situated west of the Temple, on the east side of the upper city (the modern Zion), immediately facing the Temple enclosure, and at the west end of the bridge which led from the Temple to the Xystus.

The brothers soon quarrelled again, when Hyrcanus called to his assistance Aretas, king of Damascus. Before this new enemy Aristobulus fled to Jerusalem and took refuge within the fortifications of the Temple. And now was witnessed the strange anomaly of the high-priest in alliance with a heathen king besieging the priests in the Temple. Suddenly a new actor appears on the scene; the siege is interrupted and eventually raised by the interference of Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, to whom Aristobulus paid 400 talents for the relief. This was in the year 65. Shortly after Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Both the brothers came before him in person (*Ant.* xiv. 3, § 2), and were received with moderation and civility. Aristobulus could not make up his mind to submit, and after a good deal of shuffling betook himself to Jerusalem and prepared for resistance. Pompey advanced by way of Jericho. As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided for effectual resistance, met him and offered a large sum of money and surrender. Pompey sent forward Gabinius to take possession of the place; but the bolder party among the adherents of Aristobulus had meantime gained the ascendency, and he found the gates closed. Pompey on this threw the king into chains and advanced on Jerusalem. Hyrcanus was in possession of the city and received the invader with open arms. The Temple on the other hand was held by the party of Aristobulus, which included the priests (xiv. 4, § 3). They cut off the bridges and causeways which connected the Temple with the town, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Pompey put a garrison into the palace of the Asmoneans, and into other positions in the upper city, and fortified the houses adjacent to the Temple. The north side was the most practicable, and there he commenced his attack. But even there the Temple was protected by an artificial ditch in addition to a very deep natural valley, above which rose a wall defended by lofty towers (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2; *B. J.* i. 7, § 1).

Pompey appears to have stationed some part of his force on the high ground south-west of the city (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 12, § 2), but he himself commanded in person at the north. The first efforts of his soldiers were devoted to filling up the ditch* and the valley, and to constructing the banks on which to place the military engines, for which purpose they cut down all the timber in the environs. These had in the meantime been sent for from Tyre, and as soon as the banks were sufficiently raised the balistae were set to work to throw stones over the wall into the crowded courts of the Temple; and lofty towers were erected, from which to discharge arrows and other missiles. But these operations were not carried on without great difficulty, for the wall of the Temple was thronged with slingers, who most seriously interfered with the progress of the Romans. Pompey, however, remarked that on the seventh day the Jews regularly desisted from fighting (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2; Strab. xvi. p. 763), and this afforded the Romans a great advantage, for it gave them the opportunity of moving the engines and towers nearer the walls, filling up the trenches, adding to the banks, and in other ways making good the damage of the past six days without the slightest molestation. In fact Josephus gives it as his opinion, that but for the opportunity thus afforded, the necessary works never could have been completed. In the Temple itself, however fierce the attack, the daily sacrifices and other ceremonials, down to the minutest detail, were never interrupted, and the priests pursued their duties undeterred, even when men were struck down near them by the stones and arrows of the besiegers. At the end of three months the besiegers had approached so close to the wall that the battering-rams could be worked, and a breach was effected in the largest of the towers, through which the Romans entered, and, after an obstinate resistance and loss of life, remained masters of the Temple. Many Jews were killed by their countrymen of Hyrcanus's party who had entered with the Romans; some in their confusion set fire to the houses which abutted on a portion of the Temple walls, and perished in the flames, while others threw themselves over the precipices (*B. J.* i. 7, § 4). The whole number slain is reported by Josephus at 12,000 (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4). During the assault the priests maintained the same calm demeanour which they had displayed during the siege, and were actually slain at their duties while pouring their drink-offerings and burning their incense (*B. J.* i. 7, § 4). It should be observed that in the account of this siege the Baris is not once mentioned; the attack was on the Temple alone, instead of on the fortress, as in Titus's siege. The inference is that at this time it was either in the hands of the followers of Hyrcanus, or was a small and unimportant adjunct to the main fortifications of the Temple.

Pompey and many of his people explored the recesses of the Temple, and the distress of the Jews was greatly aggravated by their holy places being thus exposed to intrusion and profanation (*B. J.* i. 7, § 6). In the sanctuary were found the great golden vessels—the table of shewbread, the candlestick, the censers, and other articles proper to that place. But what

[4] He also here applies to it the term φρούριον (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 5; *B. J.* i. 5, § 4), which he commonly uses for smaller fortresses.

* The size of the ditch is given by Strabo as 60 feet deep and 250 wide (xvi. p. 763).

most astonished the intruders, on passing beyond the sanctuary, and exploring the total darkness of the Holy of Holies, was to find in the adytum neither image nor shrine. It evidently caused much remark ("inde vulgatum"), and was the one fact regarding the Temple which the historian thought worthy of preservation—"nulla intus deum effigie; vacuam sedem et inania arcana" (Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9). Pompey's conduct on this occasion does him great credit. He left the treasures thus exposed to his view—even the spices and the money in the treasury—untouched; and his examination over, he ordered the Temple to be cleansed and purified from the bodies of the slain, and the daily worship to be resumed. Hyrcanus was continued in his high-priesthood, but without the title of king (*Ant.* xx. 10); a tribute was laid upon the city, the walls were entirely demolished (καταςπάσαι .... τὰ τείχη πάντα, Strabo, xvi. p. 763), and Pompey took his departure for Rome, carrying with him Aristobulus, his sons Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters. The Temple was taken in the year 63, in the 3rd month (Sivan), on the day of a great fast (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 3); probably that for Jeroboam, which was held on the 23rd of that month.

During the next few years nothing occurred to affect Jerusalem, the struggles which desolated the unhappy Palestine during that time having taken place away from its vicinity. In 56 it was made the seat of one of the five senates or Sanhedrin, to which under the constitution of Gabinius the civil power of the country was for a time committed. Two years afterwards (B.C. 54) the rapacious Crassus visited the city on his way to Parthia, and plundered it not only of the money which Pompey had spared, but of a considerable treasure accumulated from the contributions of Jews throughout the world, in all a sum of 10,000 talents, or about 2,000,000*l.* sterling. The pillage was aggravated by the fact of his having first received from the priest in charge of the treasure a most costly beam of solid gold, on condition that everything else should be spared (*Ant.* xiv. 7, § 1).

During this time Hyrcanus remained at Jerusalem, acting under the advice of Antipater the Idumean, his chief minister. The assistance which they rendered to Mithridates, the ally of Julius Caesar, in the Egyptian campaign of 48–47, induced Caesar to confirm Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, and to restore him to the civil government under the title of Ethnarch (*Ant.* xiv. 10). At the same time he rewarded Antipater with the procuratorship of Judaea (*Ant.* xiv. 8, § 5), and allowed the walls of the city to be rebuilt (*Ant.* xiv. 10, § 5). The year 47 is also memorable for the first appearance of Antipater's son Herod in Jerusalem, when, a youth of fifteen (or more probably [f] twenty-five), he characteristically overawed the assembled Sanhedrin. In B.C. 43 Antipater was murdered in the palace of Hyrcanus by one Malichus, who was very soon after himself slain by Herod (*Ant.* xiv. 11, §§ 4, 6). The tumults and revolts consequent on these murders kept Jerusalem in commotion for some time (*B. J.* i. 12). But a more serious danger was at hand. Antigonus, the younger and now the only surviving son of Aristobulus, suddenly appeared in the country supported by a Parthian army. Many of the Jews of the district about Carmel and Joppa[s] flocked to him, and he instantly made for Jerusalem, giving out that his only object was to pay a visit of devotion to the Temple (5 Macc. xlix. 5). So sudden was his approach, that he got into the city and reached the king's palace without resistance. Here however he was met by Hyrcanus and Phasaelus (Herod's brother) with a strong party of soldiers. A fight ensued in the market-place, which ended in Antigonus being driven over the bridge into the Temple, where he was constantly harassed and annoyed by Hyrcanus and Phasaelus from the city. Pentecost arrived, and the city and the immediate environs of the Temple were crowded with peasants and others who had come up to keep the feast. Herod too arrived, and with a small party occupied the palace. Phasaelus kept the wall. Some of Antigonus' people seem (though the account is very obscure) to have got into the suburbs to the north of the city. Here Herod and Phasaelus attacked, dispersed, and cut them up. At the earnest request of Antigonus, Pacorus, the Parthian general, and 500 horse were admitted, ostensibly to mediate. The result was, that Phasaelus and Hyrcanus were outwitted, and Herod overpowered, and the Parthians got possession of the place. Antigonus was made king, and as Hyrcanus knelt a suppliant before him, the new king—with all the wrongs which his father and himself had suffered full in his mind—bit off the ears of his uncle, so as effectually to incapacitate him from ever again taking the high-priesthood. Phasaelus killed himself in prison. Herod alone escaped (*Ant.* xiv. 13).

Thus did Jerusalem (B.C. 40) find itself in the hands of the Parthians.

In a few months Herod returned from Rome king of Judaea, and in the beginning of 39 appeared before Jerusalem with a force of Romans, commanded by Silo, and pitched his camp on the west side of the city (*B. J.* i. 15, § 5). Other occurrences, however, called him away from the siege at this time, and for more than two years he was occupied elsewhere. In the meantime Antigonus held the city, and had dismissed his Parthian allies. In 37 Herod appeared again, now driven to fury by the death of his favourite brother, Joseph, whose dead body Antigonus had shamefully mutilated (*B. J.* i. 17, § 2). He came, as Pompey had done, from Jericho, and, like Pompey, he pitched his camp and made his attack on the north side of the Temple. The general circumstances of the siege seem also very much to have resembled the former, except that there were now apparently two walls north of the Temple, and that the driving of mines was a great feature in the siege operations (*B. J.* i. 18, § 1; *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 2). The Jews distinguished themselves by the same reckless courage as before; and although it is not expressly said that the services of the Temple were carried on with such minute regularity as when they excited the astonish-

[f] See the reasons urged by Prideaux, *ad loc.*

[s] At that time, and even as late as the Crusades, called the Woodland or the Forest country (Δρυμοί, Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13, § 3).

ment of Pompey, yet we may infer it from the fact that, during the hottest of the operations, the besieged desired a short truce in which to bring in animals for sacrifice (*Ant.* xiv. 16, § 2). In one respect—the factions which raged among the besieged—this siege somewhat foreshadows that of Titus.

For a short time after the commencement of the operations Herod absented himself for his marriage at Samaria with Mariamne. On his return he was joined by Sosius, the Roman governor of Syria, with a force of from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and the siege was then resumed in earnest (*Ant.* xiv. 16).

The first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more.[h] Then the outer court of the Temple and the lower city were taken, and the Jews were driven into the inner parts of the Temple and to the upper city. At this point some delay seems to have arisen, as the siege is distinctly said to have occupied in all five months (*B. J.* i. 18, § 2; see also *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 2). At last, losing patience, Herod allowed the place to be stormed; and an indiscriminate massacre ensued, especially in the crowded narrow streets, which was only terminated at his urgent and repeated solicitations.[i] Herod and his men entered first, and, in his anxiety to prevent any plunder and desecration of the Temple, he himself hastened to the entrance of the sanctuary, and there, standing with a drawn sword in his hand, threatened to cut down any of the Roman soldiers who attempted to enter.

Through all this time the Baris had remained impregnable: there Antigonus had taken refuge, and thence, when the whole of the city was in the power of the conquerors, he descended, and in an abject manner craved his life from Sosius. It was granted, but only to be taken from him later at the order of Antony.

Antigonus was thus disposed of, but the Asmonean party was still strong both in numbers and influence. Herod's first care was to put it down. The chiefs of the party, including the whole of the Sanhedrin but two,[k] were put to death, and their property, with that of others whose lives were spared, was seized. The appointment of the high-priest was the next consideration. Hyrcanus returned from Parthia soon after the conclusion of the siege; but even if his mutilation had not incapacitated him for the office, it would have been unwise to appoint a member of the popular family. Herod therefore bestowed the office (B.C. 36) on one Ananel, a former adherent of his and a Babylonian Jew (*Ant.* xv. 3, § 1), a man without interest or influence in the politics of Jerusalem (xv. 2, § 4). Ananel was soon displaced through the machinations of Alexandra, mother of Herod's wife Mariamne, who prevailed on him to appoint her son Aristobulus, a youth of sixteen. But the young Asmonean was too warmly received by the people (*B. J.* i. 22, § 2) for Herod to allow him to remain. Hardly had he celebrated his first feast before he was murdered at Jericho, and then Ananel resumed the office (*Ant.* xv. 3, § 3).

The intrigues and tragedies of the next thirty years are too complicated and too long to be treated of here. A general sketch of the events of Herod's life will be found under his name, and other opportunities will occur for noticing them. Moreover, a great part of these occurrences have no special connexion with Jerusalem, and therefore have no place in a brief notice like the present of those things which more immediately concern the city.

In many respects this period was a repetition of that of the Maccabees and Antiochus Epiphanes. True, Herod was more politic, and more prudent, and also probably had more sympathy with the Jewish character than Antiochus. But the spirit of stern resistance to innovation and of devotion to the Law of Jehovah burnt no less fiercely in the breasts of the people than it had done before; and it is curious to remark how every attempt on Herod's part to introduce foreign customs was met by outbreak, and how futile were all the benefits which he conferred both on the temporal and ecclesiastical welfare of the people when these obnoxious intrusions were in question.[l]

In the year 34 the city was probably visited by Cleopatra, who, having accompanied Antony to the Euphrates, was now returning to Egypt through her estates at Jericho (*Ant.* xv. 4, § 2).

In the spring of 31, the year of the battle of Actium, Judaea was visited by an earthquake, the effects of which appear to have been indeed tremendous: 10,000 (*Ant.* xv. 5, § 2) or, according to another account (*B. J.* i. 19, § 3), 20,000 persons were killed by the fall of buildings, and an immense quantity of cattle. The panic at Jerusalem was very severe; but it was calmed by the arguments of Herod, then departing to a campaign on the east of Jordan for the interests of Cleopatra.

The following year was distinguished by the death of Hyrcanus, who, though more than eighty years old, was killed by Herod, ostensibly for a treasonable correspondence with the Arabians, but really to remove the last remnant of the Asmonean race, who, in the fluctuations of the times, and in Herod's absence from his kingdom, might have been dangerous to him. He appears to have resided at Jerusalem since his return; and his accusation was brought before the Sanhedrin (*Ant.* xv. 6, §§ 1–3).

Mariamne was put to death in the year 29, whether in Jerusalem or in the Alexandreion, in which she had been placed with her mother when Herod left for his interview with Octavius, is not certain. But Alexandra was now in Jerusalem again; and in Herod's absence, ill, at Samaria (Sebaste), she began to plot for possession of the Baris, and of another fortress situated in the city. The attempt, however, cost her her life. The same year saw the execu-

[h] These periods probably date from the return of Herod with Sosius, and the resumption of more active hostilities.

[i] True, he was one of the same race who at a former sack of Jerusalem had cried, "Down with it, down with it even to the ground!" But times had altered since then.

[k] These two were Hillel and Shammai, renowned in the Jewish literature as the founders of the two great rival schools of doctrine and practice.

[l] The principles and results of the whole of this later period are ably summed up in Merivale's *Romans*, iii. ch. 29.

tion of Costobarus, husband of Herod's sister Salome, and of several other persons of distinction (*Ant.* xv. 7, §§ 8–10).

Herod now began to encourage foreign practices and usages, probably with the view of "counterbalancing by a strong Grecian party the turbulent and exclusive spirit of the Jews." Amongst his acts of this description was the building of a theatre[m] at Jerusalem (*Ant.* xv. 8, § 1). Of its situation no information is given, nor have any certain indications yet been discovered. It was ornamented with the names of the victories of Octavius, and with trophies of arms conquered in the wars of Herod. Quinquennial games in honour of Caesar were instituted on the most magnificent scale, with racing, boxing, musical contests, fights of gladiators and wild beasts. The zealous Jews took fire at these innovations, but their wrath was specially excited by the trophies round the theatre at Jerusalem, which they believed to contain figures of men. Even when shown that their suspicions were groundless, they remained discontented. The spirit of the old Maccabees was still alive, and Herod only narrowly escaped assassination, while his would-be assassins endured torments and death with the greatest heroism. At this time he occupied the old palace of the Asmoneans, which crowned the eastern face of the upper city, and stood adjoining the Xystus at the end of the bridge which formed the communication between the north part of the Temple and the upper city (xv. 8, § 5; cp. xx. 8, § 11, and *B. J.* ii. 16, § 3). This palace was not yet so magnificent as he afterwards made it, but it was already most richly furnished (xv. 9, § 2). Herod had now also completed the reconstruction of the Baris—the fortress built by John Hyrcanus on the foundations of that of Simon Maccabaeus—which he had enlarged and strengthened at great expense, and named Antonia, after his friend Mark Antony.[n] A description of this celebrated fortress will be given in treating of the TEMPLE, with which, as reconstructed by Herod, it was closely connected. It stood near the N.W. corner of the Temple, with which it was connected by cloisters. See Section III. p. 1643.

The year 25—the next after the attempt on Herod's life in the theatre—was one of great misfortunes. A long drought, followed by unproductive seasons, involved Judaea in famine, and its usual consequence, a dreadful pestilence (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 1). Herod took a noble and at the same time a most politic course. He sent to Egypt for corn, sacrificing for the purchase the costly decorations of his palace and his silver and gold plate. He was thus able to make regular distribution of corn and clothing, on an enormous scale, for the present necessities of the people, as well as to supply seed for the next year's crop (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 2). The result of this was to remove to a great degree the animosity occasioned by his proceedings in the previous year.

In this year or the next Herod took another wife, the daughter of an obscure priest of Jerusalem named Simon. Shortly before the marriage Simon was made high-priest in the room of Joshua, or Jesus, the son of Phaneus, who appears to have succeeded Ananel, and was now deposed to make way for Herod's future father-in-law (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 3). It was probably on the occasion of this marriage that he built a new and extensive palace[o] immediately adjoining the old wall, at the north-west corner of the upper city (*B. J.* v. 4, § 4), about the spot now occupied by the Citadel and Barracks, in which, as memorials of his connexion with Caesar and Agrippa, a large apartment—superior in size to the Sanctuary of the Temple—was named after each (*B. J.* i. 21, § 1). This palace was very strongly fortified; it communicated with the three great towers on the wall erected shortly after, and it became the citadel, the special fortress (ἴδιον φρούριον, *B. J.* v. 5, § 8), of the upper city. A road led to it from one of the gates in the west wall of the Temple enclosure (*Ant.* xv. 14, § 5). But all Herod's works in Jerusalem were eclipsed by the rebuilding of the Temple in more than its former extent and magnificence. He announced his intention in the year 19, probably when the people were collected in Jerusalem at the Passover. At first it met with some opposition from the fear that what he had begun he would not be able to finish, and the consequent risk involved in demolishing the old Temple. This he overcame by engaging to make all the necessary preparations before pulling down any part of the existing buildings. Two years appear to have been occupied in these preparations—among which Josephus mentions the teaching of some of the priests and Levites to work as masons and carpenters—and then the work began (xv. 11, § 2). Both Sanctuary and Cloisters—the latter double in extent and far larger and loftier than before—were built from the very foundations (*B. J.* i. 21, § 1; *Ant.* xv. 11, § 3). [TEMPLE.] The Holy House itself (ναός)—*i.e.* the Porch, Sanctuary, and Holy of Holies—was finished in a year and a half (xv. 11, § 6). Its completion on the anniversary of Herod's inauguration, B.C. 16, was celebrated by lavish sacrifices and a great feast. Immediately after this Herod made a journey to Rome to fetch home

[m] The theatre is perhaps the hippodrome (*B. J.* ii. 3, § 1) which lay to the south of the Temple, and of which there appear to be traces to the south of the "Double Gate." The remains of a theatre, which faced the Temple, have been found on the steep slope of a hill on the right bank of the *Wâdy en-Nâr*, below *Bîr Eyûb*, *PEFQy. Stat.* 1887, p. 161; but this can scarcely be one of those mentioned by Josephus.

The amphitheatre "in the plain" mentioned in this passage is commonly supposed to have been also at Jerusalem (Barclay, *City of Great King*, p. 174, and others); but this is not a necessary inference. The word πεδίον is generally used of the plain of the Jordan near Jericho, where we know there was an amphitheatre (*B. J.* i. 33, § 8). From another passage (*B. J.* i. 21, § 8) it appears there was one at Caesarea. Still the comparatively level ground north of Jerusalem is called "the plain" in *B. J.* ii. 1, § 3; and even as late as the 15th century it was apparently known as the *Meidân* (F. Fabri), or as the plain of the *Sâhirah* (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 220).

[n] The name was probably not bestowed later than B.C. 34 or 33—the date of Herod's closest relations with Antony: and we may therefore infer that the alterations to the fortress had been at least seven or eight years in progress.

[o] The old palace of the Asmoneans continued to be known as "the royal palace," τὸ βασίλειον (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11).

his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus—with whom he returned to Jerusalem, apparently in the spring of 15 (*Ant.* xvi. 1, § 2). In the autumn of this year he was visited by his friend Marcus Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus. Agrippa was well received by the people of Jerusalem, whom he propitiated by a sacrifice of a hundred oxen and by a magnificent entertainment (*Ant.* xvi. 2, § 1). Herod left again in the beginning of 14 to join Agrippa in the Black Sea. On his return, in the autumn or winter of the same year, he addressed the people assembled at Jerusalem—for the Feast of Tabernacles—and remitted them a fourth of the annual tax (xv. 2, § 4). Another journey was followed by a similar assembly in the year 11, at which time Herod announced Antipater as his immediate successor (xvi. 4, § 6; *B. J.* i. 23, § 4).

About B.C. 9—eight years from the commencement—the court and cloisters of the Temple were finished (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5), and the bridge leading to the south cloister was doubtless now built with that massive masonry of which some remains still survive (see the woodcut, p. 1638). At this time equally magnificent works were being carried on in another part of the city, viz. in the old wall at the north-west corner, contiguous to the palace, where three towers of great size and magnificence were erected on the wall, and one as an outwork to the north. The latter was called Psephinus (*B. J.* v. 4, §§ 2, 3, 4); the three former were Hippicus, after one of his friends—Phasaelus, after his brother—and Mariamne, after his queen (*Ant.* xvi. 5, § 2; *B. J.* v. 4, § 3). For their positions, see Section III. p. 1644. Phasaelus appears to have been erected first of the three (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 2), though it cannot have been begun at the time of Phasaelus's death, as that took place some years before Jerusalem came into Herod's hands.

About this time occurred—if it occurred at all, which seems more than doubtful (Prideaux, *Anno* 134)—Herod's unsuccessful attempt to plunder the sepulchre of David of the remainder of the treasures left there by Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 7, § 1).

In or about the year 7 occurred the affair of the golden eagle,—a parallel to that of the theatre, and, like that, important, as showing how strongly the Maccabean spirit of resistance to innovations on the Jewish Law still existed, and how vain were any concessions in the other direction in the presence of such innovations. Herod had fixed a large golden eagle, the symbol of the Roman empire, of which Judaea was now a province, over the entrance to the Sanctuary, probably at the same time that he inscribed the name of Agrippa on the gate (*B. J.* i. 21, § 8). As a breach of the second commandment—not as a badge of dependence—this had excited the indignation of the Jews, and especially of two of the chief rabbis, who instigated their disciples to tear it down. A false report of the king's death was made the occasion of doing this in open day, and in the presence of a large number of people. Being taken before Herod, the rabbis defended their conduct and were burnt alive. The high-priest Matthias was deposed, and Joazar took his place.

This was the state of things in Jerusalem when Herod died, in the year 4 B.C. of the common chronology (Dionysian era), but really a few months after the birth of Christ (see p. 1663).

The government of Judaea, and therefore of Jerusalem, had by the will of Herod been bequeathed to Archelaus. He lost no time after the burial of his father in presenting himself in the Temple, and addressing the people on the affairs of the kingdom—a display of confidence and moderation, strongly in contrast to the demeanour of the late king. It produced an instant effect on the excited minds of the Jews, still smarting from the failure of the affair of the eagle, and from the chastisement it had brought upon them; and Archelaus was besieged with clamours for the liberation of the numerous persons imprisoned by the late king, and for remission of the taxes. As the people collected for the evening sacrifice the matter became more serious, and assumed the form of a public demonstration, of lamentation for the two martyrs, Judas and Matthias, and indignation against the intruded high-priest. So loud and shrill were the cries of lament that they were heard over the whole city. Archelaus meanwhile temporised and promised redress when his government should be confirmed by Rome. The Passover was close at hand, and the city was fast filling with the multitudes of rustics and of pilgrims (*ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας*), who crowded to the great Feast (*B. J.* ii. 1, § 3; *Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3). These strangers not being able or willing to find admittance into the houses, pitched their tents (*τοὺς αὐτόθι ἐσκηνωκότας*) on the open ground around the Temple (*Ant.* ibid.). Meanwhile the tumult in the Temple itself was maintained and increased daily; a multitude of fanatics never left the courts, but continued there, incessantly clamouring and imprecating.

Longer delay in dealing with such a state of things would have been madness; a small party of soldiers had already been roughly handled by the mob (*B. J.* ii. 1, § 3), and Archelaus at last did what his father would have done at first. He despatched the whole garrison, horse and foot, the foot-soldiers by way of the city to clear the Temple, the horse-soldiers by a detour round the level ground north of the town, to surprise the pilgrims on the eastern slopes of Moriah, and prevent their rushing to the succour of the fanatics in the Temple. The movement succeeded: three thousand were cut up and the whole concourse dispersed over the country.

During Archelaus' absence at Rome, Jerusalem was in charge of Sabinus, the Roman procurator of the province, and the tumults—ostensibly on the occasion of some exactions of Sabinus, but doubtless with the same real ground as before—were renewed with worse results. At the next Feast, Pentecost, the throng of strangers was enormous. They formed regular encampments round the Temple and on the western hill of the upper city, and besieged the Romans, who appear to have occupied Antonia [p] and Herod's palace with its

[p] Sabinus, who was no doubt living in Herod's palace when the outbreak occurred, appears to have been taken by surprise and to have been unable to reach the

three towers (*Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3; 10, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 2, § 2). At last the soldiers in the Antonia made a sally and cut their way into the Temple. The struggle was desperate, a great many Jews were killed, the cloisters of the outer court burnt down, and the sacred treasury plundered of immense sums. But no reverses could quell the fury of the insurgents, and matters were not appeased till Varus, the prefect of the province, arrived from the north with a large force and dispersed the strangers. On this quiet was restored.

In the year 3 B.C. Archelaus returned from Rome ethnarch of the southern province. He immediately displaced Joazar, whom his father had made high-priest after the affair of the eagle, and put Joazar's brother Eleazar in his stead. This is the only event affecting Jerusalem that is recorded in the ten years between the return of Archelaus and his summary departure to trial at Rome (A.D. 6).

Judaea was now reduced to an ordinary Roman province; the procurator of which resided, not at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea on the coast (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 3, § 1). The first appointed was Coponius, who accompanied Quirinus to the country immediately on the disgrace of Archelaus. Quirinus (the CYRENIUS of the N. T.)—now for the second time prefect of Syria—was charged with the unpopular measure of the enrolment or assessment of the inhabitants of Judaea. Notwithstanding the riots which took place elsewhere, at Jerusalem the enrolment was allowed to proceed without resistance, owing to the prudence of Joazar (*Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1), again high-priest for a short time. One of the first acts of the new governor had been to take formal possession of the state vestments of the high-priest, worn on the three Festivals and on the Day of Atonement. Since the building of the Baris by the Maccabees these robes had always been kept there, a custom continued since its reconstruction by Herod. But henceforward they were to be put up after use in an underground stone chamber, under the seal of the priests, and in charge of the captain of the guard. Seven days before use they were brought out, to be consigned again to the chamber after the ceremony was over (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3).

Two incidents at once most opposite in their character, and in their significance to that age and to ourselves, occurred during the procuratorship of Coponius. First, in the year 8, the finding of Christ in the Temple. Annas had been made high-priest about a year before. The second occurrence must have been a most distressing one to the Jews, unless they had become inured to such things. But of this we cannot so exactly fix the date. It was nothing less than the pollution of the Temple by some Samaritans, who secretly brought human bones and strewed them about the cloisters during the night of the Passover.[q] Up to this time the Samaritans had been admitted to the Temple; they were henceforth excluded.

In or about A.D. 10, Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, and he by Annius Rufus. In 14 Augustus died, and with Tiberius came a new procurator—Val. Gratus, who held office till 26, when he was replaced by Pontius Pilate. During this period the high-priests had been numerous,[r] but it is only necessary here to say that when Pilate arrived at his government the office was held by Joseph Caiaphas, who had been appointed but a few months before. The freedom from disturbance which marks the preceding twenty years at Jerusalem, was probably due to the absence of the Roman troops, who were quartered at Caesarea out of the way of the fierce fanatics of the Temple. But Pilate transferred the winter quarters of the army to Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 1), and the very first day there was a collision. The offence was given by the Roman standards—the images of the emperor and of the eagle—which by former commanders had been kept out of the city. A representation was made to Pilate; and so obstinate was the temper of the Jews on the point, that he yielded, and the standards were withdrawn (*Ant.* ibid.). He afterwards, as if to try how far he might go, consecrated some gilt shields—not containing figures, but inscribed simply with the name of the deity and of the donor—and hung them in the palace at Jerusalem. This act again aroused the resistance of the Jews; and on appeal to Tiberius they were removed (Philo, *πρὸς Γαΐον*, Mangey, ii. 589).

Another riot was caused by his appropriation of the Corban—a sacred revenue arising from the redemption of vows—to the cost of an aqueduct which he constructed for bringing water to the city from a distance of 200 (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 2) or 400 (*B. J.* ii. 9, § 4) stadia. This aqueduct is that leading from *Wâdy Arrûb* to "Solomon's Pools" at *Urtâs*, and thence to the Temple hill (*Water Supply*, p. 1591).

A.D. 29. At the Passover of this year our Lord made His first recorded visit to the city since His boyhood (John ii. 13).

A.D. 33. At the Passover of this year, occurred His Crucifixion and Resurrection.

In A.D. 37, Pilate having been recalled to Rome, Jerusalem was visited by Vitellius, the prefect of Syria, at the time of the Passover. Vitellius conferred two great benefits on the city. He remitted the duties levied on produce, and he allowed the Jews again to have the free custody of the high-priest's vestments. He removed Caiaphas from the high-priesthood, and gave it to Jonathan son of Annas. He then departed, apparently leaving a Roman officer (*φρούραρχος*) in charge of the Antonia (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3). Vitellius was again at Jerusalem this year, probably in the autumn, with Herod the tetrarch (xviii. 5, § 3); while there he again changed the high-priest, substituting for Jonathan, Theophilus his brother. The news of the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula reached Jerusalem at this time. Marcellus was appointed procurator by the new

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Antonia where the legion was quartered. He consequently ascended the tower Phasaelus, which adjoined the palace, and thence gave the signal for the attack on the Temple.

[q] The mode of pollution adopted by Josiah towards the idolatrous shrines (see p. 1603).

[r] Their names and succession will be found under HIGH PRIEST, pp. 1368–9. See also ANNAS.

emperor. In the following year Stephen was stoned. The Christians were greatly persecuted, and all, except the Apostles, driven out of Jerusalem (Acts viii. 1, xi. 19).

In A.D. 40 Vitellius was superseded by P. Petronius, who arrived in Palestine with an order to place in the Temple a statue of Caligula. This order was ultimately, by the intercession of Agrippa, countermanded, but not until it had roused the whole people as one man (*Ant.* xviii. 8, §§ 2–9; and *see* the admirable narrative of Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, bk. x.).

With the accession of Claudius in 41 came an edict of toleration to the Jews. Agrippa arrived in Palestine to take possession of his kingdom, and one of his first acts was to visit the Temple, where he offered sacrifice and dedicated the golden chain which the late emperor had presented him after his release from captivity. It was hung over the treasury (*Ant.* xix. 6, § 1). Simon was made high-priest; the house-tax was remitted.

Agrippa resided very much at Jerusalem, and added materially to its prosperity and convenience. The city had for some time been extending itself towards the north, and a large suburb had come into existence on the high ground north of the Temple, and outside of the "second wall," which enclosed the portion of the city immediately west of the street *el-Wad*. Hitherto the outer portion of this suburb—which was called Bezetha, or "New town," and had grown up very rapidly—was unprotected by any formal wall, and practically lay open to attack.[a] This defenceless condition attracted the attention of Agrippa, who, like the first Herod, was a great builder, and he commenced enclosing it in so substantial and magnificent a manner as to excite the suspicions of the Prefect, at whose instance it was stopped by Claudius (*Ant.* xix. 7, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 11, § 6; v. 4, § 2). Subsequently the Jews seem to have purchased permission to complete the work (Tac. *Hist.* v. 12; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2 *ad fin.*). This new wall, the outermost of the three which enclosed the city on the north, started from the old wall at the Tower Hippicus, close to the *Jaffa Gate*. It ran northward, bending by a large circuit to the east, and at last, returning southward, joined the old wall at the "valley called Kedron." Thus it enclosed not only the new suburb, but also the valley north-east of the Temple, which up to the present date had lain open to the country.

The year 43 is memorable as that of St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. The year 44 began with the murder of St. James by Agrippa (Acts xii. 1), followed at the Passover by the imprisonment and escape of St. Peter. Shortly after Agrippa himself died. Cuspius Fadus arrived from Rome as procurator, and Longinus as prefect of Syria. An attempt was made by the Romans to regain possession of the pontifical robes; but on reference to the emperor the attempt was abandoned. In 45 commenced a severe famine which lasted two years (Ewald, *Gesch.* vi. 409, note). To the people of Jerusalem it was alleviated by the presence of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to the Jewish faith, who visited the city in 46 and imported corn and dried fruit, which she distributed to the poor (*Ant.* xx. 2, § 5; 5, § 2). During her stay Helena constructed, at a distance of three stadia from the city, a tomb, marked by three pyramids, to which her remains, with those of her son, were afterwards brought (*Ant.* xx. 4, § 3). It was situated to the north, and is one of the points referred to by Josephus in his description of the course of the third wall (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2). At the end of this year St. Paul arrived in Jerusalem for the second time.

A.D. 48. Fadus was succeeded by Ventidius Cumanus. A frightful tumult happened at the Passover of this year, caused, as on former occasions, by the presence of the Roman soldiers in the Antonia and in the courts and cloisters of the Temple during the Festival. Ten (or, according to another account, twenty) thousand are said to have met their deaths, not by the sword, but trodden to death in the crush through the narrow lanes which led from the Temple down into the city (*Ant.* xx. 5, § 3; *B. J.* ii. 12, § 1). Cumanus was recalled, and FELIX appointed in his room (*Ant.* xx. 7, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 12, § 8), partly at the instance of Jonathan, the then high-priest (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 5). A set of ferocious fanatics, whom Josephus calls *Sicarii*, had lately begun to make their appearance in the city, whose creed it was to rob and murder all whom they judged hostile to Jewish interests. Felix, weary of the remonstrances of Jonathan on his vicious life, employed some of these wretches to assassinate him. He was killed in the Temple, while sacrificing. The murder was never inquired into, and, emboldened by this, the Sicarii repeated their horrid act, thus adding, in the eyes of the Jews, the awful crime of sacrilege to that of murder (*B. J.* ii. 13, § 3; *Ant.* ibid.). The city, too, was filled with impostors pretending to inspiration, but inspired only with hatred to all government and order. Nor was the disorder confined to the lower classes: the chief people of the city, the very high-priests themselves, robbed the threshing-floors of the tithes common to all the priests, and led parties of rioters to open tumult and fighting in the streets (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 8). In fact, not only Jerusalem, but the whole country far and wide, was in the most frightful confusion and insecurity.

At length a riot of the most serious description at Caesarea caused the recall of Felix, and in the end of 60 or the beginning of 61 PORCIUS FESTUS succeeded him as procurator. Festus was an able and upright officer (*B. J.* ii. 14, § 1), and at the same time conciliatory towards the Jews (Acts xxv. 9). In the brief period of his administration he kept down the robbers with a strong hand, and gave the province a short breathing time. His interview with St. Paul (Acts xxv., xxvi.) took place, not at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea. On one occasion both Festus and Agrippa came into collision with the Jews at Jerusalem. Agrippa—who had been appointed king by Nero in 52—had added an apartment to the old Asmonean palace on the eastern brow of the upper city, which commanded a full view into the interior of the

[a] The statements of Josephus are not quite reconcilable. In one passage he says distinctly that Bezetha lay quite naked (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2), in another that it had some kind of wall (*Ant.* xix. 7, § 2).

courts of the Temple (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11). This view the Jews intercepted by building a wall on the *exhedra* of the western wall of the inner court of the Temple.[t] But the wall not only intercepted the view of Agrippa, it also interfered with the view from the western cloisters of the outer court where the Roman guard was stationed during the festivals. Both Agrippa and Festus interfered, and required it to be pulled down; but the Jews pleaded that once built it was a part of the Temple, and entreated to be allowed to appeal to Nero. Nero allowed their plea, but retained as hostages the high-priest and treasurer, who had headed the deputation. Agrippa appointed Joseph, called Cabi, to the vacant priesthood. In 62 (probably) Festus died, and was succeeded by Albinus; and very shortly afterwards Joseph was replaced in the high-priesthood by Annas or Ananus, son of the Annas before whom our Lord was taken. Before the arrival of Albinus a persecution was commenced against the Christians at the instance of the new high-priest, a rigid Sadducee, and St. James and others were arraigned before the Sanhedrin (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9, § 1). They were "delivered to be stoned," but St. James at any rate appears not to have been killed till a few years later. The act gave great offence to all, and cost Annas his office after he had held it but three months. Jesus (Joshua), the son of Damneus, succeeded him. Albinus began his rule by endeavouring to keep down the Sicarii and other disturbers of the peace; and indeed he preserved throughout a show of justice and vigour (*Ant.* xx. 11, § 1), though in secret greedy and rapacious. But before his recall he pursued his end more openly, and priests, people, and governors alike seem to have been bent on rapine and bloodshed: rival high-priests headed bodies of rioters, and stoned each other, and in the words of Josephus, "all things grew from worse to worse" (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 4). The evils were aggravated by two occurrences—first, the release by Albinus, before his departure, of all the smaller criminals in the prisons (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 5); and secondly, the sudden discharge of an immense body of workmen, on the completion of the repairs to the Temple (xx. 9, § 7). An endeavour was made to remedy the latter by inducing Agrippa to rebuild the eastern cloister; but he refused to undertake a work of such magnitude, though he consented to pave the city with white stone. The repairs of a part of the sanctuary that had fallen down, and the renewal of the foundations of some portions, were deferred for the present, but the materials were collected and stored in one of the courts (*B. J.* v. 1, § 5).

Bad as Albinus had been, Gessius Florus, who succeeded him in 65, was worse. In fact, even Tacitus admits that the endurance of the oppressed Jews could last no longer—*duravit patientia Judaeis usque ad Gessium Florum* (*Hist.* v. 10). So great was his rapacity, that whole cities and districts were desolated, and the robbers openly allowed to purchase immunity in plunder. At the Passover, probably in 66, when Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, visited Jerusalem, the whole assembled people[u] besought him for redress; but without effect. Florus' next attempt was to obtain some of the treasure from the Temple. He demanded 17 talents in the name of the emperor. The demand produced a frantic disturbance, in the midst of which he approached the city with both cavalry and foot-soldiers. That night Florus took up his quarters in the royal palace—that of Herod near the "Jaffa Gate." On the following morning he took his seat on the Bema, and the high-priest and other principal people being brought before him, he demanded that the leaders of the late riot should be given up. On their refusal he ordered his soldiers to plunder the upper city. This order was but too faithfully carried out; every house was entered and pillaged, and the Jews driven out. In their attempt to get through the narrow streets many were caught and slain, others were brought before Florus, scourged, and then crucified. No grade or class was exempt. Jews who bore the Roman equestrian order were among the victims treated with most indignity. Queen Bernice herself (*B. J.* ii. 15, § 1)—residing at that time in the Asmonean palace, in the very midst of the slaughter—was so affected by the scene, as to intercede in person and barefoot before Florus, but without avail, and in returning she was herself nearly killed, and only escaped by taking refuge in her palace and calling her guards about her. The further details of this dreadful tumult must be passed over.[x] Florus was foiled in an attempt to force his way through the city to the Antonia—whence he would have had nearer access to the treasures—and finding that the Jews had broken down the cloisters which joined the fortress to the Temple, and so destroyed the means of communication between them, he relinquished the attempt and withdrew to Caesarea (*B. J.* ii. 15, § 6).

Cestius Gallus, the prefect, now found it necessary to visit the city in person. He sent one of his lieutenants to announce him, but before he himself arrived events had become past remedy. Agrippa had shortly before returned from Alexandria, and had done much to calm the people. At his instance they rebuilt the part of the cloisters which had been demolished, and collected the tribute in arrear, but the mere suggestion from him that they should obey Florus until he was replaced, produced such a storm that he was obliged to leave the city (*B. J.* ii. 16, § 5; 17, § 1). The seditious party in the Temple, led by young Eleazar, son of Ananias, rejected the offerings of the Roman emperor, which since the time of Julius Caesar had been regularly made. This, as a direct renunciation of allegiance, was the true beginning of the war with Rome (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 2). Such acts were not done without resistance from the older and wiser people. But remonstrance was unavailing; the innovators would listen to no representations. The peace party, therefore, despatched some of their number to Florus and

[t] No one in Jerusalem might build so high that his house could overlook the Temple. It was the subject of a distinct prohibition by the Doctors. See Maimonides, quoted by Otho, *Lex. Rab.* 266. Probably this furnished one reason for so hostile a step to so friendly a person as Agrippa.

[u] Josephus says three millions in number! But this must be a great exaggeration.

[x] The whole tragic story is most forcibly told by Milman (ii. 219–224).

to Agrippa, and the latter sent 3,000 horse-soldiers to assist in keeping order.

Hostilities at once began. The peace party, headed by the high-priest, and fortified by Agrippa's soldiers, threw themselves into the upper city. The insurgents held the Temple and the lower city. In the Antonia was a small Roman garrison. Fierce contests lasted for seven days, each side endeavouring to take possession of the part held by the other. At last the insurgents, who behaved with the greatest ferocity, and were reinforced by a number of Sicarii, were triumphant. They gained the upper city, driving all before them—some of the high-priests and leaders into vaults and subterranean passages; others, amongst whom were Ananias, the high-priest, with the soldiers, into Herod's palace. The Asmonean palace, the high-priest's house, and the repository of the Archives—in Josephus's language, "the nerves of the city" (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 6)—were set on fire. Antonia was next attacked, and in two days they had effected an entrance, sabred the garrison, and burnt the fortress. The balistae and catapults found there were preserved for future use (v. 6, § 3). The soldiers in Herod's palace were next besieged; but so strong were the walls, and so stout the resistance, that it was three weeks before an entrance could be effected. The soldiers were at last forced from the palace into the three great towers on the adjoining wall with great loss; and ultimately were all murdered in the most treacherous manner. The high-priest and his brother were discovered hidden in the aqueduct of the palace; they were instantly put to death. Thus the insurgents were now completely masters of both city and Temple. But they were not to remain so long. After the action at Gabao (Gibeon), which checked the advance of the Roman army under Cestius Gallus, dissensions began to arise, and it soon became known that there was still a large moderate party. Cestius took advantage of this to move his camp to Scopus, whence, after waiting three days in the vain hope that the Jews would submit, he advanced upon the city. He made his way through Bezetha, the new suburb north of the Temple,[y] and through the wood-market, δοκῶν ἀγορα (see p. 1594), burning everything as he went (*B. J.* ii. 19, § 4; v. 7, § 2), and at last encamped in the upper city, opposite the palace, and close to the second wall. The Jews retired to the inner part of the city and to the Temple. For five days Cestius assaulted the wall without success; on the sixth he resolved to make one more attempt, this time at a different spot—the north wall of the Temple, east of and behind the Antonia. The Jews, however, fought with such fury from the top of the cloisters, that he could effect nothing, and when night came he drew off to his camp at Scopus. Thither the insurgents followed him, and in three days gave him one of the most complete defeats that a Roman army had ever undergone. His catapults and balistae were taken from him, and reserved by the Jews for the final siege (v. 6, § 3). This occurred on the 8th of Marchesvan (beginning of November), 66.

The war with Rome was now inevitable, and it was evident that the siege of Jerusalem was only a question of time. Ananus, the high-priest, a moderate and prudent man, took the lead; the walls were repaired, arms and warlike instruments and machines of all kinds fabricated, and other preparations made. In this attitude of expectation—with occasional diversions, such as the expedition to Ascalon (*B. J.* iii. 2, §§ 1, 2), and the skirmishes with Simon Bar-Gioras (ii. 22, § 2)—the city remained while Vespasian was reducing the north of the country, and till the fall of Giscala (Oct. or Nov. 67), when John, the son of Levi, escaped thence to Jerusalem, to become one of the most prominent persons in the future conflict.

From the arrival of John, two years and a half elapsed till Titus appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. The whole of that time was occupied in contests between the moderate party, whose desire was to take such a course as might yet preserve the nationality of the Jews and the existence of the city, and the Zealots or fanatics, the assertors of national independence, who scouted the idea of compromise, and resolved to regain their freedom or perish. The Zealots, being utterly unscrupulous, and resorting to massacre on the least resistance, soon triumphed, and at last reigned paramount, with no resistance but such as sprang from their own internal factions. For the repulsive details of this frightful period of contention and outrage, the reader must be referred to other works.[z] It will be sufficient to say that at the beginning of 70, when Titus made his appearance, the Zealots themselves were divided into two parties: that of John of Giscala and Eleazar, who held the Temple and its courts, the Antonia, Ophla, and the "valley called Kedron," in which the *Birket Israîl* is situated—8,400 men; that of Simon Bar-Gioras, whose head-quarters were in the tower Phasaelus (v. 4, § 3), and who held the upper city, from the present Coenaculum to the *Kal'at Jalûd*, the third wall, and Bezetha, the fountain of Siloam, and the lower city on the eastern hill—10,000 men, and 5,000 Idumeans (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1), in all a force of between 23,000 and 24,000 soldiers trained in the civil encounters of the last two years to great skill and thorough recklessness.[a] The numbers of the other inhabitants, swelled as they were by the strangers and pilgrims who flocked from the country to the Passover, it is extremely difficult to decide. Tacitus, doubtless from some Roman source, gives the whole at 600,000. Josephus states that 1,100,000 perished during the siege

[y] It is remarkable that nothing is said of any resistance to his passage through the great wall of Agrippa, which encircled Bezetha. Apparently there were breaches in it which were afterwards repaired by Ananus (*B. J.* ii. 20, § 3; 22, § 1).

[z] Dean Milman's *History of the Jews*, bks. xiv., xv., xvi.; and Merivale's *History of the Romans*, vi. ch. 59. To both of these works the writer begs leave to express his obligations throughout the above meagre sketch of "the most soul-stirring struggle of all ancient history." Of course the materials for all modern accounts are in Josephus only, excepting the few touches—strong, but not always accurate—in the 5th book of Tacitus' *Histories*.

[a] These are the numbers given by Josephus; but it is probable that they are greatly exaggerated.

(*B. J.* vi. 9, § 3; cp. v. 13, § 7), and that more than 40,000 were allowed to depart into the country (vi. 8, § 2), in addition to an "immense number" sold to the army, and who of course form a proportion of the 97,000 "carried captive during the whole war" (vi. 9, § 3). We may therefore take Josephus's computation of the numbers at about 1,200,000. Reasons are given in the third section of this article for believing that even the smaller of these numbers is very greatly in excess, and that the population cannot have exceeded 70,000 (see p. 1647).

Titus's force consisted of four legions, and

View of Jerusalem and the Upper Kedron Valley from Mount of Olives.

some auxiliaries—probably about 30,000 men (*B. J.* v. 1, § 6). These were disposed on their first arrival in three camps—the 12th and 15th legions at Scopus, seven stadia north of the city; the 5th, three stadia to the rear; and the 10th on the top of the Mount of Olives (v. 2, §§ 3, 5), to guard the road to the Jordan Valley. The army was well furnished with artillery and machines of the latest and most approved invention—"cuncta expugnandis urbibus, reperta apud veteres, aut novis ingeniis," says Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13); and those of the 10th legion are specially mentioned for their excellence (*B. J.* v. 6, § 3). The first operation was to level the

ground between Scopus and the north wall of the city—fell the timber, destroy the fences of the gardens which fringed the wall, and cut away the rocky protuberances. This occupied four days. After it was done the three legions were marched forward from Scopus, and encamped near the north-west corner of the walls, stretching from the Tower Psephinus to opposite Hippicus. The first step was to get possession of the outer wall. The point of attack chosen was in Simon's portion of the city, at a low and comparatively weak place near the monument of John Hyrcanus (v. 6, § 2), and close to the junction of the three walls. Round this spot the three legions erected banks, from which they opened batteries, pushing up the rams and other engines of attack to the foot of the wall. One of the rams, more powerful than the rest, went among the Jews by the sobriquet of Nikôn,[b] "the conqueror." Three large towers, 75 feet high, were also erected, overtopping the wall. Simon and his men did not suffer these works to go on without molestation. The catapults, both those taken from Cestius and those found in the Antonia, were set up on the wall, and constant desperate sallies were made. At last the Jews began to tire of their fruitless assaults. They saw that the wall must fall, and, as they had done during Nebuchadnezzar's siege, they left their posts at night and went home. A breach was made by the redoubtable Nikôn on the 7th Artemisius (*c.* April 15); and here the Romans entered, driving the Jews before them to the second wall. A great length of the wall was then broken down; such parts of Bezetha as had escaped destruction by Cestius were levelled, and a new camp was formed within the city, on the spot formerly occupied by the Assyrians, and still known as the "Assyrian camp."[c]

This was a great step in advance. Titus now occupied the ground within the third wall, from the neighbourhood of John's monument to the valley of the Kedron; and was in a position to attack the second wall. A battering-ram was pushed forward to the middle tower of the north side of the wall; and a war of missiles raged almost continuously from the Temple on the east to the Tower Hippicus on the west. Simon was no less reckless in assault, and no less fertile in stratagem, than before; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, in five days a breach was again effected. The district into which the Romans had now penetrated was that between the wall of the Haram and Christian street, occupied then, as it is still, by an intricate mass of narrow and tortuous lanes, and containing the markets of the city—no doubt very like the present bazaars. Titus's breach was where the wool, cloth, and brass bazaars came up to the wall (v. 8, § 1). This district was held by the Jews with the greatest tenacity. Knowing, as they did, every turn of the lanes and alleys, they had an immense advantage over the Romans, and it was only after four days' incessant fighting, much loss, and one thorough repulse, that the Romans were able to make good their position. However, at last Simon was obliged to retreat, and then Titus demolished the wall. This was the second step in the siege.

Meantime some shots had been interchanged in the direction of the Antonia, but no serious attack was made. Before beginning there in earnest, Titus resolved to give his troops a few days' rest, and the Jews a short opportunity for reflection. He therefore called in the 10th legion from the Mount of Olives, and reviewed the whole army on the ground within the third wall—full in view of both the Temple and the upper city, every wall and house in which were crowded with spectators (*B. J.* v. 9, § 1). But the opportunity was thrown away upon the Jews, and after four days orders were given to recommence the attack. Hitherto the assault had been almost entirely on the city: it was now to be simultaneous on city and Temple. Accordingly four banks were constructed for the battering-rams, two in front of Antonia and two in front of the first wall, near the monument of John Hyrcanus. The first two were erected by the 5th and 12th legions near the pool Struthius—probably the present *souterrains* at the N.W. corner of the Haram; the remaining two by the 10th and 15th, at the pool called Amygdalon—apparently that now known as the Pool of Hezekiah—and at the high-priest's monument (v. 11, § 4). These banks seem to have been constructed in the usual manner with earth, stones, and wood. They absorbed the incessant labour of seventeen days, and were completed on the 29th Artemisius (*c.* May 7). John in the meantime had not been idle; he had employed the seventeen days' respite in driving mines, through the solid limestone of the hill,[d] from within the fortress (v. 11, § 4; vi. 1, § 3) to below the banks. The ground above the mines was supported with beams of wood, and the galleries partially filled with inflammable materials. When the banks were quite complete, and the engines placed upon them, the timber of the galleries was fired, the superincumbent ground gave way, and the labour of the Romans was totally destroyed. At the other point Simon had maintained a resistance with all his former intrepidity, and more than his former success. He had now greatly increased the number of his machines, and his people were much more expert in handling them than before, so that he was able to impede materially the progress of the works. And when they were completed, and the battering-rams had begun to make a sensible impression on the wall, he made a furious assault on them, and succeeded in firing the rams, with their protecting framework of hurdles, seriously damaging the

[b] ὁ Νίκων ... ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα νικᾶν (*B. J.* v. 7, § 2). It has been suggested (Bonar, *Imp. Bib. Dict.* s. v. Jerusalem) that in this case, as in some others, Josephus has translated inaccurately. It is possible that the Jews named the battering-ram "the smiter," from נָכָה (to smite). So also they probably cried out בֵּא אֶבֶן, "the *stone* cometh," and not בֵּא זֹהֵן, "the son cometh" (υἱὸς ἔρχεται, *B. J.* v. 6, § 3) at the approach of the formidable missile from the Roman balista.

[c] Compare Mahaneh-Dan, "camp of Dan" (Judg. xviii. 12).

[d] The thin strata of hard limestone (*missek*) overlying the thick stratum of softer stone (*melekeh*) offered peculiar facilities for mining operations at this point (see *Geology*, p. 1588).

other engines, and destroying the banks (v. 11, §§ 5, 6).

It now became plain to Titus that some other measures for the reduction of the place must be adopted. It would appear that hitherto the southern and western parts of the city had not been closely invested, and on that side a certain amount of communication was kept up with the country, which, unless stopped, might prolong the siege indefinitely (*B. J.* v. 12, § 1; 10, § 3; 11, § 1; 12, § 3). The number who thus escaped is stated by Josephus at more than five hundred a day (v. 11, § 1). A council of war was therefore held, and it was resolved to encompass the whole place with a wall, and then recommence the assault. The wall began at the Roman camp—probably in the N.W. quarter of the present city. From thence it went to the lower part of Bezetha—about St. Stephen's Gate; then across Kedron to the Mount of Olives; thence south by a rock called Peristereon, the "Pigeon's rock,"—possibly in the modern village of Siloam—to the Mount of Offence. It then turned to the west; again crossed the Kedron, ascended its right bank, by the tomb of Ananus, the high-priest, to the Mount of Evil Counsel, and then, passing by a village called *ἐρεβίνθων οἰκός* (perhaps Beth-Rabinoth in the Hebrew), ran outside of Herod's monument to its starting-point at the camp. Its entire length was 39 furlongs,—very near 5 miles; and it contained thirteen stations or guard-houses. The whole strength of the army was employed on the work, and it was completed in the short space of three days. The siege was then vigorously pressed. The attack on the first wall was abandoned, and the whole force concentrated on the Antonia (12, § 4). Four new banks of greater size than before were constructed; and as all the timber in the neighbourhood had been already cut down, the materials had to be procured from a distance of 11 miles (vi. 1, § 1). Twenty-one days were occupied in completing the banks. Their position is not specified, but it is evident, from the allusion to John's mining operations, that they were erected at, or near the site of, those which had been destroyed by the Jews during the previous attack (vi. 1, § 3). At length, on the 1st Panemus or Tamuz (*c.* June 7), the fire from the balistae and catapults commenced, under cover of which the rams were set to work, and that night a part of the wall fell at a spot where the foundations had been weakened by the mines employed against the former attacks. Still this was but an outwork, and between it and the fortress itself a new wall was discovered, which John had taken the precaution to build. At length, after two desperate attempts, this wall and that of the inner fortress were scaled by a bold surprise, and on the 5th* Panemus (June 11) the Antonia was in the hands of the Romans (vi. 1, § 7). Another week was occupied in breaking down the outer walls of the fortress for the passage of the machines, and a further delay took place in erecting new banks, on the fresh level, for the bombardment and battery of the Temple. During the whole of this time—the miseries of which are commemorated in the traditional name of *yomin deëka*, "days of wretchedness," applied by the Jews to the period between the 17th Tamuz and the 9th Ab—the most desperate hand-to-hand encounters took place, some in the cloisters connecting the Antonia with the Temple, some in the Temple cloisters themselves, the Romans endeavouring to force their way in, the Jews preventing them. But the Romans gradually gained ground. First the western, and then the whole of the northern external cloister was burnt (27th and 28th Pan.), and then the wall enclosing the court of Israel and the Holy House itself. In the interval, on the 17th Panemus, the daily sacrifice had failed, owing to the want of officiating priests; a circumstance which had greatly distressed the people, and was taken advantage of by Titus to make a further though fruitless invitation to surrender. At length, on the 10th day of Lous or Ab (July 15), by the wanton act of a soldier, contrary to the intention of Titus, and in spite of every exertion he could make to stop it, the sanctuary itself was fired (vi. 4, §§ 5–7). It was, by one of those rare coincidences that sometimes occur, the very same month and day of the month that the first Temple had been burnt by Nebuchadnezzar (vi. 4, § 8). John, and such of his party as escaped the flames and the carnage, made their way to the upper city. The whole of the cloisters that had hitherto escaped, including the magnificent triple colonnade of Herod on the south of the Temple, the treasury chambers, and the rooms round the outer courts, were now all burnt and demolished. Only the edifice of the sanctuary itself still remained. On its solid masonry the fire had had comparatively little effect, and there were still hidden in its recesses a few faithful priests who had contrived to rescue the most valuable of the utensils, vessels, and spices of the sanctuary (vi. 6, § 1; 8, § 3).

The Temple was at last gained; but it seemed as if half the work remained to be done. The upper city, higher than Moriah, enclosed by the first wall, and on all sides precipitous except at the north, where it was defended by the wall and towers of Herod, was still to be taken. Titus first tried a parley—he standing on the east end of the bridge between the Temple and the upper city, and John and Simon on the west end. His terms, however, were rejected, and no alternative was left him but to force on the siege. The whole of the lower city—the crowded lanes of which we have so often heard—was burnt, in the teeth of a frantic resistance from the Zealots (vi. 7, § 1), together with the council-house, the repository of the records (doubtless occupied by Simon since its former destruction), the palace of Helena, the place called Ophlas, and the houses as far as Siloam on the lower slopes of the Temple mount.

It took eighteen days to erect the necessary works for the siege; the four legions were once more stationed at the west or north-west corner where Herod's palace abutted on the wall, and where the three magnificent and impregnable

* Josephus contradicts himself about this date, since in vi. 2, § 1, he says that the 17th Panemus was the "very day" that Antonia was entered. The date given in the text agrees best with the narrative. But, on the other hand, the 17th is the day commemorated in the Jewish Calendar.

towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne rose conspicuous (vi. 8, § 1, and § 4 *ad fin.*). This was the main attack. Opposite the Temple, the precipitous nature of the slopes of the upper city rendered it unlikely that any serious attempt would be made by the Jews, and this part accordingly, between the bridge and the Xystus, was left to the auxiliaries.

Coin (sestertius) of Vespasian, recording the capture of Jerusalem.
Obv. Head of Vespasian, laureate: IMP. CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG. P. M. TR. P.P.P. COS. III. *Rev.* Palm-tree: on left captive (Simon), on right woman (Judaea) weeping: IVDAEA CAPTA. S. C.

The attack was commenced on the 7th of Gorpiaeus (c. Aug. 11), and by the next day a breach was made in the wall, and the Romans at last entered the city. During the attack John and Simon appear to have stationed themselves in the towers just alluded to; and had they remained there, they would probably have been able to make terms, as the towers were considered impregnable (vi. 8, § 4). But on the first signs of a breach, they took flight, and, traversing the city, descended into the valley of Hinnom below Siloam, and endeavoured to make their escape. On being repulsed they took refuge apart in some of the subterraneous caverns or sewers of the city. John shortly after surrendered himself; but Simon held out for several weeks, and did not make his appearance until after Titus had quitted the city. They were reserved for the Triumph at Rome.

The city being taken, such parts as had escaped the former conflagrations were burned, and the whole of both city and Temple was ordered to be demolished, excepting the west wall of the upper city, and Herod's three great towers at the north-west corner, which were left standing as memorials of the massive nature of the fortifications.

Of the Jews, the aged and infirm were killed; the children under seventeen were sold as slaves; the rest were sent, some to the Egyptian mines, some to the provincial amphitheatres, and some to grace the Triumph of the Conqueror.[f] Titus then departed, leaving the 10th legion under the command of Terentius Rufus to carry out the work of demolition. Of this Josephus assures us that "the whole[g] was so thoroughly levelled and dug up that no one visiting it would believe it had ever been inhabited" (*B. J.* vii. 1, § 1). [G.] [W.]

From its destruction by Titus to the present time.—For more than fifty years after its destruction by Titus, Jerusalem disappears from history. During the revolts of the Jews in Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, which disturbed the latter years of Trajan, the recovery of their city was never attempted. There is indeed reason to believe that Lucuas, the head of the insurgents in Egypt, led his followers into Palestine, where they were defeated by the Roman general Turbo, but Jerusalem is not once mentioned as the scene of their operations. Of its annals during this period we know nothing. Three towers and part of the western wall alone remained of its strong fortifications to protect the cohorts who occupied the conquered city, and the soldiers' huts were long the only buildings on its site. But in the reign of Hadrian it again emerged from its obscurity, and became the centre of an insurrection, which the best blood of Rome was shed to subdue. In despair of keeping the Jews in subjection by other means, the Emperor had formed a design to restore Jerusalem, and thus prevent it from ever becoming a rallying-point for this turbulent race. In furtherance of his plan he had sent thither a colony of veterans, in numbers sufficient for the defence of a position so strong by nature against the then known modes of attack. To this measure Dio Cassius (lxix. 12) attributes a renewal of the insurrection, while Eusebius asserts that it was not carried into execution till the outbreak was quelled. Be this as it may, the embers of revolt, long smouldering, burst into a flame soon after Hadrian's departure from the East in A.D. 132. The contemptuous indifference of the Romans, or the secrecy of their own plans, enabled the Jews to organise a wide-spread conspiracy. Bar Cocheba, their leader,—the third, according to Rabbinical writers, of a dynasty of the same name, princes of the Captivity,—was crowned king at Bether by the Jews who thronged to him, and by the populace was regarded as the Messiah. His armour-bearer, R. Akiba, claimed descent from Sisera, and hated the Romans with the fierce rancour of his adopted nation. All the Jews in Palestine flocked to his standard. At an early period in the revolt they became masters of Jerusalem, and attempted to rebuild the Temple. The exact date of this attempt is uncertain, but the fact is inferred from allusions in Chrysostom (*Or.* 3 *in Judaeos*), Nicephorus (*H. E.* iii. 24), and George Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.* 249), and the collateral evidence of a coin of the period. Hadrian, alarmed at the rapid spread of the in-

[f] The prisoners were collected for this final partition in the Court of the Women. Josephus states that during the process 11,000 died! It is a good instance of the exaggeration in which he indulges on these matters; for taking the largest estimate of the Court of the Women (Lightfoot's), it contained 35,000 square feet, i.e. little more than 3 square feet for each of those who died, not to speak of the living.

[g] The word used by Josephus—περίβολος τῆς πόλεως—may mean either the whole place, or the enclosing walls, or the precinct of the Temple. The statements of the Talmud perhaps imply that the foundations of the Temple only were dug up (see the quotations in Schwarz, p. 385); and even these seem to have been in existence in the time of Chrysostom (*Ad Judaeos*, iii. 431). That the demolition of the walls was in many places only partial is attested by existing remains.

surrection, and the ineffectual efforts of his troops to suppress it, summoned from Britain Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time, to take the command of the army of Judaea. Two years were spent in a fierce guerilla warfare before Jerusalem was taken, after a desperate defence in which Bar Cocheba perished. The courage of the defenders was shaken by the falling in of the vaults on Mount Zion, and the Romans became masters of the position (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 122). But the war did not end with the capture of the city. The Jews in great force had occupied the fortress of Bether, and there maintained a struggle with all the tenacity of despair against the repeated onsets of the Romans. At length, worn out by famine and disease, they yielded on the 9th of the month Ab, A.D. 135, and the grandson of Bar Cocheba was among the slain. The slaughter was frightful. The Romans, say the Rabbinical historians, waded to their horse-bridles in blood, which flowed with the fury of a mountain torrent. The corpses of the slain, according to the same veracious authorities, extended for more than thirteen miles, and remained unburied till the reign of Antoninus. Five hundred and eighty thousand are said to have fallen by the sword, while the number of victims to the attendant calamities of war was countless. On the side of the Romans the loss was enormous, and so dearly bought was their victory, that Hadrian, in his letter to the Senate, announcing the conclusion of the war, did not adopt the usual congratulatory phrase. Bar Cocheba has left traces of his occupation of Jerusalem in coins which were struck during the first two years of the war. Four silver coins, three of them undoubtedly belonging to Trajan, have been discovered, restamped with Samaritan characters. But the rebel-leader, amply supplied with the precious metals by the contributions of his followers, afterwards coined his own money. The mint was probably during the first two years of the war at Jerusalem; the coins struck during that period bearing the inscription "to the freedom of Jerusalem," or "Jerusalem the holy." They are mentioned in both Talmuds.

Hadrian's first policy, after the suppression of the revolt, was to obliterate the existence of Jerusalem as a city. The ruins which Titus had left were razed to the ground, and the plough passed over the foundations of the Temple. A colony of Roman citizens occupied the new city which rose from the ashes of Jerusalem, and their number was afterwards augmented by the Emperor's veteran legionaries. A temple to the Capitoline Jupiter was erected on the site of the sacred edifice of the Jews, and among the ornaments of the new city were a theatre, two market-places (*δημόσια*), a building called *τετράνυμφον*, and another called *κόδρα*.[h] The city was divided into seven quarters, each of which had its own warden. Mount Zion lay without the walls (Jerome, *Mic.* iii. 12; *Itin. Hieros.* p. 592, ed. Wesseling). That the northern wall enclosed the so-called sacred places, though asserted by Deyling, is regarded by Münter as a fable of a later date. A temple to Astarte, the Phoenician Venus, on the site afterwards identified with the Sepulchre, appears on coins, with four columns and the inscription C. A. C., *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, but it is doubtful whether it was erected at this time. The worship of Serapis was introduced from Egypt. A statue of the emperor was raised on the site of the Holy of Holies (Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 24); and it must have been near the same spot that the Bordeaux Pilgrim saw two statues of Hadrian, not far from the "lapis pertusus" which the Jews of his day yearly visited and anointed with oil (*Itin. Hieros.* p. 591).

It was not, however, till the following year, A.D. 136, that Hadrian, on celebrating his Vicennalia, bestowed upon the new city the name of Aelia Capitolina, combining with his own family title the name of Jupiter of the Capitol, the guardian deity of the colony. Christians and pagans alone were allowed to reside. Jews were forbidden to enter on pain of death, and this prohibition, though occasionally relaxed, remained in force in the time of Tertullian. But the conqueror, though stern, did not descend to wanton mockery. The swine sculptured by the Emperor's command over the gate leading to Bethlehem (Euseb. *Chron.* Hadr. *Ann.* xx.), was not intended as an insult to the conquered race to bar their entrance to the city of their fathers, but was one of the *signa militaria* of the Roman army. About the middle of the 4th century the Jews were allowed to visit the neighbourhood, and afterwards, once a year, to enter the city itself, and weep over it on the anniversary of its capture. Jerome (on *Zeph.* i. 15) has drawn a vivid picture of the wretched crowds of Jews who in his day assembled at the wailing-place by the west wall of the Temple to bemoan the loss of their ancestral greatness. On the 9th of the month Ab might be seen the aged and decrepit of both sexes, with tattered garments and dishevelled hair, who met to weep over the downfall of Jerusalem, and purchased permission of the soldiery to prolong their lamentations ("et miles mercedem postulat ut illis flere plus liceat").

So completely were all traces of the ancient city obliterated that its very name was in process of time forgotten. It was not till after Constantine built the *Martyrion* on the supposed site of the Crucifixion, that its ancient appellation was revived. In the 7th canon of the Council of Nicaea the Bishop of Aelia is mentioned; but Macarius, in subscribing to the canons, designated himself bishop of Jerusalem. The name Aelia occurs as late as Adamnanus (A.D. 697), and is even found in Edrîsi and Mejr ed-Din about 1495.

After the inauguration of the new colony of Aelia the annals of the city again relapse into an obscurity which is only represented in history by a list of twenty-three Christian Bishops, who filled up the interval between the election of Marcus, the first of the series, and Macarius in the reign of Constantine. Already in the 3rd century the Holy Places had become objects of enthusiasm, and the pilgrimage of Alexander, a Bishop in Cappadocia, and afterwards of Jerusalem, is matter of history. In the following century such pilgrimages became more common.

[h] The *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (p. 254) mentions *τὰ δύο δημόσια, καὶ τὸ θέατρον, καὶ τὸ τρικάμερον, καὶ τὸ τετράνυμφον, καὶ τὸ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀναβαθμοί, καὶ τὴν κόδραν.*

The aged Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, visited Palestine in A.D. 326, and, according to tradition, erected magnificent churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives. Her son, fired with the same zeal, swept away the shrine of Astarte, which occupied the supposed site of the Resurrection, and founded in its stead a "house of prayer on a scale of rich and imperial costliness." On the east of this was a large court, the eastern side being formed by the *Basilica*, erected on the spot where the Cross was said to have been found. The latter of these buildings is that known as the *Martyrion*; the former was the church of the *Anastasis*, or Resurrection: their locality will be considered in the following section (p. 1653). The Martyrion was completed A.D. 335, and its dedication celebrated by a great Council of Bishops, first at Tyre and afterwards at Jerusalem, at which Eusebius was present. In the reign of Julian (A.D. 362) the Jews, with the permission and at the instigation of the Emperor, made an abortive attempt to rebuild the Temple. From whatever motive, Julian had formed the design of restoring the Jewish worship on Mount Moriah to its pristine splendour, and during his absence in the East the execution of his project was entrusted to his favourite, Alypius of Antioch. Materials of every kind were provided at the Emperor's expense, and so great was the enthusiasm of the Jews that their women took part in the work, and in the laps of their garments carried off the earth which covered the ruins of the Temple. But a sudden whirlwind and earthquake shattered the stones of the former foundations; the workmen fled for shelter to one of the neighbouring churches (*ἐπί τι τῶν πλήσιον ἱερῶν*, Greg. Naz. *Or.* iv. 111), the doors of which were closed against them by an invisible hand, and a fire issuing from the Temple-mount raged the whole day and consumed their tools. Numbers perished in the flames. Some who escaped took refuge in a portico near at hand, which fell at night and crushed them as they slept (Theodor. *H. E.* iii. 15; Sozomen, v. 21; see also Ambros. *Epist. ad Theodosium*, lib. ii. ep. 17). Whatever may have been the colouring which this story received as it passed through the hands of the ecclesiastical historians, the impartial narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 1), the friend and companion in arms of the Emperor, leaves no reasonable doubt of the truth of the main facts that the work was interrupted by fire, which all attributed to supernatural agency. In the time of Chrysostom the foundations of the Temple still remained, to which the orator could appeal (*Ad Judaeos*, iii. 431; Paris, 1636). The event was regarded as a judgment of God upon the impious attempt of Julian to falsify the predictions of Christ: a position which Bishop Warburton defends with great skill in his treatise on the subject.

During the 4th and 5th centuries Jerusalem became the centre of attraction for pilgrims from all regions[i]; and its bishops contended with those of Caesarea for the supremacy; but it was not till after the Council of Chalcedon (451–453) that it was made an independent patriarchate. In the theological controversies which followed the decision of that Council with regard to the two natures of Christ, Jerusalem bore its share with other Oriental churches, and two of its Bishops were deposed by Monophysite fanatics. The Synod of Jerusalem in A.D. 536 confirmed the decree of the Synod of Constantinople against the Monophysites.

In A.D. 438 the Empress Eudocia visited Jerusalem, and there, when exiled from Constantinople, she passed the last sixteen years of her life. She founded churches, monasteries, and almshouses, and rebuilt the walls of the city (Soc. *H. E.* vii. 47; Evag. *H. E.* i. 20–22); and two of her works—the basilica of St. Stephen, in which she was buried, and the city wall enclosing the Fountain of Siloam—are mentioned by Antoninus (xxv.). To this period, one of great building activity, may perhaps be assigned the Church of St. Sophia, or of the Praetorium, and the Churches of St. Mary (*in probatica*), the pinnacle of the Temple, Siloam, &c., which are mentioned by writers in the 6th century (see the Breviarium, Theodosius, and Antoninus).

In 529 the Emperor Justinian founded at Jerusalem a splendid church in honour of the Virgin, which has been identified by some writers with the building known in modern times as the Mosque el-Aksa, but of which probably no remains now exist (see p. 1657). Procopius, the historian, ascribes to the same emperor the erection of ten or eleven monasteries in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and Jericho. Eutychius adds that he built a hospital for strangers in Jerusalem, and that the church above mentioned was begun by the patriarch Elias, and completed by Justinian. Later in the same century Gregory the Great (590–604) sent the abbot Probus to Jerusalem with a large sum of money, and endowed a hospital for pilgrims, which Robinson suggests is the same as that now used by the Muslims for the like purpose, and called by the Arabs *et-Takîyeh*. It was however, more probably, close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, perhaps on the site afterwards granted to the merchants of Amalfi.

For nearly five centuries the city had been free from the horrors of war. The merchants of the Mediterranean sent their ships to the coasts of Syria, and Jerusalem became a centre of trade as well as of devotion. But this rest was roughly broken by the invading Persian army under Chosroes II., who swept through Syria, drove the imperial troops before them, and, after the capture of Antioch and Damascus, marched upon Jerusalem. A multitude of Jews from Tiberias and Galilee followed in their train. The city was invested, and taken by assault in June 614; thousands of the monks and clergy were slain; the suburbs were burnt, churches demolished, and that of the Holy Sepulchre injured, if not consumed, by fire.[k] The invading army in their retreat carried with them the patriarch Zacharias, and the wood of the true Cross, besides multitudes of captives. During

[i] One of these pilgrims, S. Silvia, *c.* 385 A.D., gives a most interesting picture of the ritual of the Church at Jerusalem towards the close of the 4th century (see *Pilgrimage of S. Silvia*, translated by Rev. J. H. Bernard for P. P. Text Society).

[k] *Ἐμπίπραται τὸ Δεσποτικὸν μνῆμα καὶ οἱ περιβόητοι τοῦ θεοῦ ναοί* (*Chron. Alex.* p. 385).

the exile of the patriarch, his vicar Modestus, supplied with money and workmen by the munificent John Eleemon, patriarch of Alexandria, restored the churches of the Resurrection and Calvary, and also that of the Assumption.[1] After a struggle of fourteen years the imperial arms were again victorious, and in 628 Heraclius entered Jerusalem on foot, at the head of a triumphal procession, bearing the true Cross on his shoulder. The restoration of the churches is with greater probability attributed by William of Tyre to the liberality of the emperor (*Hist.* i. 1).

The dominion of the Christians in the Holy City was now rapidly drawing to a close. After an obstinate defence of four months, in the depth of winter, against the impetuous attacks of the Arabs, the patriarch Sophronius surrendered to the Khalif Omar in person A.D. 637. The valour of the besieged extorted unwilling admiration from the victors, and obtained for them terms unequalled for leniency in the history of Arab conquest. The Khalif, after ratifying the terms of capitulation, which secured to the Christians liberty of worship in the churches which they had, but prohibited the erection of more, entered the city, and was met at the gates by the patriarch. Sophronius received him with the uncourteous exclamation, "Verily this is the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!" and the chronicler does not forget to record the ragged dress and "satanic hypocrisy" of the hardy Khalif (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* 426). Omar then, in company with the patriarch, visited the Church of the Resurrection, and at the Muslim time of prayer knelt down on the eastern steps of the Basilica, refusing to pray within the buildings, in order that the possession of them might be secured to the Christians. Tradition relates that he requested a site whereon to erect a mosque for the Muhammadan worship, and that the patriarch assigned him the spot occupied by the reputed stone of Jacob's vision: over this he is said to have built the mosque afterwards known by his name (Eutych. *Chron.* ii. 285; Ockley, *Hist. of Sar.* pp. 205–214, Bohn), and which tradition still points out in the S.E. corner of the Aksa. Henceforth Jerusalem became for Muslims, as well as Christians, a sacred place, and the Mosque of Omar shared the honours of pilgrimage with the renowned Kaaba of Mecca.

Towards the close of the 7th century the Khalif Abd ul-Melik, wishing, from political motives, to set up another place of pilgrimage to replace the Kaaba, brought the Sakhrah within the precincts of the Moslem Sanctuary, and either built the existing "Dome of the Rock" over it, or, more probably, restored and covered by a dome a previously existing church. His son El-Walid completed the work by extending the Haram to the north so as to bring the Dome of the Rock into the centre of the sacred area (Eutychius, *Annal.* ii. 365, 373).

In the reign of Charlemagne (771–814) ambassadors were sent by the emperor of the West to distribute alms in the Holy City, and on their return were accompanied by envoys from the enlightened Khalif Hârûn er-Rashîd, bearing to Charlemagne the keys of Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre. But these amenities were not of long continuance. The dissensions which ensued upon the death of the Khalif spread to Jerusalem, and churches and convents suffered in the general anarchy. About the same period the feud between the Joktanite and Ishmaelite Arabs assumed an alarming aspect. The former, after devastating the neighbouring region, made an attempt upon Jerusalem, but were repulsed by the signal valour of its garrison. In the reign of the Khalif El-Mamûn the buildings of the Haram esh-Sherif were thoroughly restored at great cost; and in that of El-Motasem Jerusalem was held for a time by the rebel chief Tamûn Abu-Hareb.

With the fall of the Abassides the Holy City passed into the hands of the Fatimite conqueror Muez, who fixed the seat of his empire at Musr el-Kâhirah, the modern Cairo (A.D. 969). Under the Fatimite dynasty the sufferings[m] of the Christians in Jerusalem reached their height, when el-Hâkim, the third of his line, ascended the throne (A.D. 996). The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been twice dismantled and burnt within the previous seventy years (Eutych. *Ann.* ii. 529, 530; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* p. 661), was again demolished (Ademari *Chron.* A.D. 1010), and its successor was not completed till A.D. 1048. A small chapel ("oratoria valde modica," Will. Tyr. viii. 3) supplied the place of the magnificent Basilica on Golgotha.

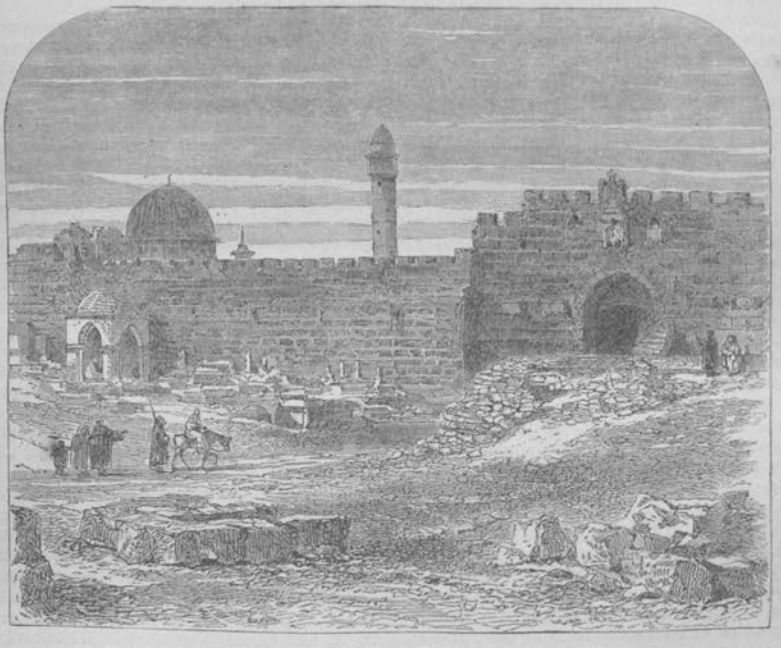
The pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the 11th century became a source of revenue to the Muslims, who exacted a tax of a byzant from every visitor to the Holy Sepulchre. Among the most remarkable pilgrimages of this century were those of Robert of Normandy (1035), Liethert of Cambray (1054), and the German Bishops (1065).

In 1077 Jerusalem was pillaged by Atsiz the Kharezmian, commander of the army sent by Melik Shah against the Syrian dominions of the Khalif. About the year 1084 it was bestowed by Tutush, the brother of Melik Shah, upon Urtuk, chief of a Turkman horde under his command. From this time till 1091 Urtuk was Emir of the city, and on his death it was held as a kind of fief by his sons el-Ghâzi and Sukmân, whose severity to the Christians became the proximate cause of the Crusades. Rudhwân, son of Tutush, made an ineffectual attack upon Jerusalem in 1096. The city was ultimately taken, after a siege of forty days, by Afdal, vizîr of the Khalif of Egypt, and for eleven months had been governed by the Emir Iftikar ed-Dauleh, when, on the 7th of June, 1099, the Crusading army appeared before the walls. After the fall of Antioch in the preceding year the remains of their numerous host marched along between Lebanon and the sea, passing

[1] According to Eutychius (*Annal.* ii. 219) the churches restored were those of the Resurrection, of the Sepulchre, of the Calvary, and of St. Constantine. A description of the churches is given by Arculfus, who visited Jerusalem towards the close of the 7th century.

[m] It is worthy of notice that Mukaddasi (A.D. 985) describes the Christians and Jews as having the upper hand at Jerusalem; and it was probably about this period that the merchants of Amalfi were allowed to found a monastery near the Holy Sepulchre (*William of Tyre*, xviii. 4, 5).

Byblos, *Beirût*, and Tyre on their road, and so through Lydda, *Ramleh*, and the ancient Emmaus-Nicopolis, to Jerusalem. The Crusaders, 40,000 in number, but with little more than 20,000 effective troops, reconnoitred the city, and determined to attack it on the north. Their camp extended from the Gate of St. Stephen (*Damascus Gate*) to that beneath the Tower of David. Godfrey of Lorraine occupied the extreme left (East); next him was Count Robert of Flanders; Robert of Normandy held the third place; and Tancred was posted at the N.W. corner tower, afterwards called by his name. Raymond of Toulouse originally encamped against the west gate, but afterwards withdrew half his force to the part between the city and the church of Zion. At the tidings of their approach the Khalif of Egypt gave orders for the repair of the towers and walls; the fountains and wells for five or six miles round (Will. Tyr. vii. 23), with the exception of Siloam, were stopped, as in the days of Hezekiah, when the city was invested by the Assyrians. On the fifth day after their arrival the Crusaders attacked the city and drove the Saracens from the outworks, but were compelled to suspend their operations till the arrival of the Genoese engineers. Another month was consumed in constructing engines to attack the walls, and meanwhile the besiegers suffered all the horrors of thirst in a burning sun. At length the engines were completed and the day fixed for the assault. On the night of the 13th of July Godfrey had changed his plan of attack, and removed his engines to a weaker part of the wall between the Gate of St. Stephen (*Damascus Gate*) and the



St. Stephen's Gate.

corner tower overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat on the north. At break of day the city was assaulted in three points at once. Tancred and Raymond of Toulouse attacked the walls opposite their own positions. Night only separated the combatants, and was spent by both armies in preparations for the morrow's contest. Next day, after seven hours' hard fighting, the drawbridge from Godfrey's tower was let down. Godfrey was first upon the wall, followed by the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Normandy; the northern gate was thrown open, and at 3 o'clock on Friday the 15th of July Jerusalem was in the hands of the Crusaders. Raymond of Toulouse entered without opposition by the Zion gate. The carnage was terrible: 10,000 Muslims fell within the sacred enclosure. Order was gradually restored, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected king (Will. Tyr. viii.). Churches were established, and for eighty-eight years Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Christians. In 1187 it was retaken by Saladin after a siege of several weeks. Five years afterwards (1192), in anticipation of an attack by Richard of England, the fortifications were strengthened and new walls built, and the supply of water again cut off (Barhebr. *Chron.* p. 421). During the winter of 1191–2 the work was prosecuted with the utmost vigour. Fifty skilled masons, sent by Alaeddin of Mosul, rendered able assistance, and two thousand Christian captives were pressed into the service. The Sultan rode round the fortifications each day encouraging the workmen, and even brought them stones on his horse's saddle. His sons, his brother el-Melik el-Adil, and the Emirs ably seconded his efforts, and within six months the works were completed, solid and durable as

a rock (Wilken, *Kreuzzüge*, iv. 457, 458). The walls and towers were demolished by order of the Sultan el-Melik el-Mo'azzem of Damascus in 1219, and in this defenceless condition the city was ceded to the Christians by virtue of the treaty with the Emperor Frederick II. An attempt to rebuild the walls in 1239 was frustrated by an assault by David of Kerak, who dismantled the city anew. In 1243 it again came into the hands of the Christians, and in the following year sustained a siege by the wild Kharezmian hordes, who slaughtered the priests and monks who had taken refuge in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and after plundering the city withdrew to Gaza. After their departure Jerusalem again reverted to the Muhammadans, in whose hands it still remains. The defeat of the Christians at Gaza was followed by the occupation of the Holy City by the forces of the Sultan of Egypt.

In 1277 Jerusalem was nominally annexed to the kingdom of Sicily. In 1517 it passed under the sway of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I., whose successor Suleiman built the present walls of the city in 1542. Muhammad Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, took possession of it in 1832. In 1834 it was seized and held for a time by the Fellahîn during the insurrection, and in 1840, after the bombardment of Acre, was again restored to the Sultan.

Such in brief is a sketch of the chequered fortunes of the Holy City since its destruction by Titus. The details will be found in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall;* Prof. Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* i. 365–407; the Rev. G. Williams' *Holy City*, vol. i.; Wilken's *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge;* Deyling's *Diss. de Aeliae Capitolinae orig. et historia;* Bp. Münter's *History of the Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, translated in Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 393–455; Besant and Palmer's *Jerusalem the City of Herod and Saladin;* and Le Strange's *Palestine under the Moslems.* [W. A. W.] [W.]

III. Topography of the City.

There is perhaps no city in the ancient world the topography of which ought to be so easily determined as that of Jerusalem. In the first place, the city was always small, and surrounded by deep valleys; whilst the form of the ground within its limits was so strongly marked that there should apparently be no great difficulty in ascertaining its general extent, or in fixing its more prominent features. On the other hand we have in the works of Josephus a more full and complete topographical description of this city than of almost any other in the ancient world. It is certain that he was intimately acquainted with the localities he describes; and as his copious descriptions can be tested by comparing them with the details of the siege by Titus which he afterwards narrates, there ought to be no difficulty in settling at least all the main points. Nor would there ever have been any, but for the circumstance that, for a long period after the destruction of the city by Titus, the place was practically deserted by its original inhabitants, and the continuity of tradition consequently broken; and that after this, when it again appears in history, it is as a sacred city, and at a period the most uncritical of any known in the modern history of the world. During at least ten centuries of what are called most properly the Dark ages, it was thought necessary to find a locality for every event mentioned in the sacred Scriptures which had taken place within or near its walls. These were in most instances fixed arbitrarily, there being no constant tradition to guide the topographer, so that the confusion which has arisen has become perplexing, to a degree that can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to unravel the tangled thread; and now that long centuries of constant tradition have added sanctity to the localities, it is extremely difficult to shake oneself free from its influence, and to investigate the subject in that critical spirit which is necessary to elicit the truth so long buried in obscurity. The question is further complicated by the enormous quantity of rubbish, the *débris* of ancient Jerusalem, which has turned the deep Tyropoeon ravine into a shallow depression, has completely covered the "Upper Market Place" and the "Via Dolorosa," and has obliterated many of the ancient landmarks.

It is only by piecing together the results of excavation, and by a careful comparison of the ample historical materials with the local indications, that we can hope to arrive at a solution of the many difficult problems connected with the topography of ancient Jerusalem. Much has already been done, but there are still no satisfactory data for the determination of some of the most important points at issue. It is true that we now know within very narrow limits the position of the Tower Hippicus, and the course of the walls leading thence eastward to the Temple enclosure, and southward above the Valley of Hinnom. But the sites of the Temple, of the Tombs of the Kings, and of the Tower Psephinus, as well as the courses of the second and third walls, and of the first wall above Siloam, are still uncertain, and will remain so until the excavations carried out by Sir C. Warren[a] for the Palestine Exploration Fund are resumed.

Numerous attempts have been made to solve the disputed questions, but so uncertain are the data available that the views advanced differ widely from each other in many essential features. The two sites of greatest interest are those of the Temple, and of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Temple, according to Messrs. Fergusson, Thrupp and Lewin, Prof. Robertson Smith, and others, occupied a square of about 600 ft. at the S.W. angle of the *Haram esh-Sherif*, and this is the view adopted in the present article. On the other hand, Dr. Robinson, Rev. G. Williams, Sir C. Warren, Major Conder, and all French and German authorities, maintain that it was near the centre of that enclosure. Four distinct views have been advanced with regard to the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

1. The first of these theories is the most obvious, and has at all events the great merit of simplicity. It consists in the belief that all the sacred localities were correctly ascertained in the early ages of Christianity; and, what is

[a] The final results of Sir C. Warren's excavations are given in *PEF. Mem.*, Jerusalem vol., with the portfolio of plans and sections.

still more important, that none have been changed during the dark ages that followed, or in the numerous revolutions to which the city has been exposed: consequently inferring that all which the traditions of the Middle Ages have handed down to us may be implicitly relied upon. The advantages of this theory are so manifest, that it is little wonder that it should be so popular and find so many advocates.

The first person who ventured publicly to express his dissent from this view was Korte, a German printer, who travelled in Palestine about the year 1728. On visiting Jerusalem, he was struck with the apparent impossibility of reconciling the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the exigencies of the Bible narrative, and on his return home he published a work denying the authenticity of the so-called sacred localities. His heresies excited very little attention at the time, or for long afterwards; but the spirit of enquiry which has sprung up during the present century has revived the controversy which has so long been dormant, and many pious and earnest men, both Protestant and Catholic, have expressed with more or less distinctness the difficulties they feel in reconciling the assumed localities with the indications in the Bible. The arguments in favour of the present localities being the correct ones, were well summed up by the Rev. George Williams in his work on the Holy City, and with the assistance of Professor Willis all was said that could be urged in favour of their authenticity. The admitted difficulties of the case were explained with great ingenuity; but no new facts were brought forward to counterbalance the significance of those urged on the other side.

2. Dr. Robinson, on the other hand, in his elaborate works on Palestine, brought together all the arguments which existed in his day against the authenticity of the mediaeval sites and traditions. The result of his researches was the conclusion that the site of the Holy Sepulchre was now, and must in all probability for ever remain, a mystery. The effect was, that those who were opposed to his views clung all the more firmly to those they before entertained, preferring a site and a sepulchre which had been hallowed by the tradition of ages rather than launch forth on the shoreless sea of speculation which Dr. Robinson's negative conclusion opened out before them.

3. The third theory is that which was put forward by Mr. James Fergusson.[o] It agrees generally with the views urged by all those, from Korte to Robinson, who doubt the authenticity of the present site of the sepulchre; but instead of acquiescing in the view taken by the latter, it goes on to assert, that the building within the *Haram esh-Sherif*, known as the *Kubbet es-Sakhrah*, "Dome of the Rock," is the identical church which Constantine erected over the Rock that contained the Tomb of Christ; and that the site of the Holy Sepulchre was transferred from the eastern to the western hill after the death of el-Hakem in the first half of the 11th century. Mr. Fergusson supported his views by arguments drawn from the architectural details of the "Dome of the Rock," and his great reputation as a writer upon architecture gave them an importance which they would not otherwise have possessed. They were never received with much favour, and, when first enounced, gave rise to bitter controversy.

4. The fourth theory is that the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is that which Constantine believed to be the scene of Christ's Crucifixion and burial, and the one upon which he built his churches; but that the true site of the Crucifixion must be looked for outside the north wall of the modern city, either on the hill above "Jeremiah's Grotto," or on the hill to the east. The first of these views has been brought prominently to notice by Major Conder and the late General Gordon; the second, and perhaps the more correct view, is that which was held by Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem.

The most satisfactory way of investigating the subject will probably be to commence at the time of the greatest prosperity of Jerusalem, immediately before its downfall, which also happens to be the period when we have the greatest amount of knowledge regarding its features. If we can determine what was then its extent, and fix the more important localities at that period, there will be no great difficulty in ascertaining the proper sites for the events which may have happened either before or after. All that now remains of the ancient city of course existed then; and the descriptions of Josephus, in so far as they are to be trusted, apply to the city as he then saw it; so that the evidence is at that period more complete and satisfactory than at any other time, and the city itself being then at its greatest extent, it necessarily included all that existed either before or afterwards.

It will not be necessary here to dwell upon the much disputed point of the veracity of the historian on whose testimony we must principally rely in this matter. It will be sufficient to remark that every new discovery, every improved plan that has been made, has served more and more to confirm the testimony of Josephus, and to give a higher idea of the accuracy of his local knowledge. In no one instance has he yet been convicted of any material error in describing localities in *plan*. Many difficulties which were thought at one time to be insuperable have disappeared with a more careful investigation of the data; and now that the city has been carefully mapped[p] and partially explored by excavation, there seems a greater probability of our being able to reconcile all his descriptions with the appearance of the existing localities. So much indeed is this the case that one cannot help suspecting that, though writing at Rome, Josephus had before him data which checked and guided him in all that he said as to horizontal dimensions. This becomes more probable when we consider how moderate all these are, and how consistent with existing remains, and compare them with his exaggerated statements whenever he speaks of heights or de-

[o] In his "Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem;" his "Temples of the Jews," his article in the first edition of this Dictionary, and other works.

[p] The results of the most recent surveys are embodied in the plans of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem (Revised edition).

scribes the arrangement of buildings which had been destroyed in the siege, and of which it may be supposed no record or correct description then existed. He seems to have felt himself at liberty to indulge his national vanity in respect to these, but to have been checked when speaking of what still existed, and could never be falsified. The consequence is, that in almost all instances we may rely on anything he says with regard to the *plan* of Jerusalem, and as to anything that existed or could be tested at the time he wrote, but must receive with the greatest caution any assertion with regard to what did not then remain, or respecting which no accurate evidence could be adduced to refute his statement.

In attempting to follow the description of Josephus it is necessary, in the first place, to consider how far his remarks on the topographical features are in accordance with local indications; and in the next to fix the positions of the Temple and the Tower Hippicus.

1. *Topography.*—Jerusalem stands, as already stated (p. 1585), on the southern extremity of a small plateau which is intersected by two ravines, and almost encircled by the valleys of the Kedron and of Hinnom. Within the limits of the city walls the ravines are almost filled with, and their slopes, where not precipitous, are completely covered by, the ruins of ancient Jerusalem; whilst, even at the higher levels, the rubbish has in places accumulated to a height of more than 30 feet. The natural features of the ground are thus partially concealed; and their true forms and relative importance to each other can only be ascertained by excavation. Thus far excavation has thrown much light on the character of the larger features; but the original form of the ground is still undetermined at several important points, and little is yet known of those minor features which must have influenced the trace of the fortifications, the selection of sites for important buildings, and the direction of the streets.[q] The most marked feature of the Jerusalem plateau is the ravine, the larger of the two, which breaks it up into two spurs of unequal size. The western spur is broad-backed, and much straighter and higher than the eastern spur,—a narrow rocky ridge, with steep almost precipitous sides,—which sweeps round in a bold curve (Joseph. ἀμφίκυρτος) facing the west. The ravine itself rises as a broad shallow depression outside the Damascus Gate, and, gradually contracting as it descends, runs in a south-east direction to Wilson's Arch. Hereabouts it is joined by a small ravine[r] or gully, which, rising near the Jaffa Gate on the west, indicates very clearly the line of the first or old wall, and the limits of that portion of the western hill called by Josephus "the Upper Market Place." A little below Wilson's Arch the ravine changes its direction to the south, and falls rapidly to its junction with the Kedron Valley below the Pool of Siloam. It was this well-marked topographical feature, and not the little gully running down from the Jaffa Gate, which Josephus had in his mind when he wrote (*B. J.* v. 4, § 1) that Jerusalem "was built on two hills opposite to one another, but divided in the middle by a ravine"; and that this ravine, called the Tyropoeon, extended as far as Siloam, and "separated the hill of the Upper City from that of the Lower." Of these hills he writes (see Plate II. and Plan No. 2, sections 1, 2, 3, p. 1637) that externally, except on the north, they were bounded by inaccessible ravines, and that the one which "contained the Upper City was much higher, and in length more direct," whilst the other, "which was called Acra, and supported the Lower City, was curved like the moon in her third quarter" (ἀμφίκυρτος). The language could scarcely be more precise. The *second* ravine rises in the eastern half of the plateau, to the N. of "Jeremiah's Grotto," and pursuing a S.E. course enters the Valley of the Kedron to the north of the Golden Gate. This ravine, of which the exact form has not yet been ascertained, is apparently the "Valley called Kedron" (τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα), which is mentioned by Josephus as having, with the Temple and Ophla, been occupied during the Roman siege by John, and which must therefore have been within the walls (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1); as the point at which the wall of Agrippa joined the old wall (4, § 2); and as being below the N.E. angle of the Temple cloisters (vi. 3, § 2).

The *western* hill or spur is divided into two parts, which differ somewhat in character, by the gully running eastward from the Jaffa Gate. The ground south of the gully falls abruptly on the W. and S. to the Valley of Hinnom, and on these sides the hill was made practically inaccessible by cutting the rock vertically downwards so as to leave cliffs or scarps with here and there narrow flights of rock-hewn steps. On the east side there is a natural cliff, and at its foot, bordering the Tyropoeon Valley, lies a strip of comparatively level ground. Above the cliff stood the Palace of the Asmoneans, in which Agrippa lived (*B. J.* ii. 16, § 3; 17, § 5); and along its edge, perhaps, ran a wall for the defence of the Upper City. On the lower ground at the foot of the cliff, possibly the Parbar of 1 Ch. xxvi. 18 and "the suburbs" of Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5), was the Xystus (*B. J.* ii. 16, § 3; v. 4, § 2; vi. 6, § 2). On the north side lay the gully, which was apparently rugged and deep towards the east, and connected with the Valley of Hinnom, on the west, by a rock-hewn ditch, which is now, in part, represented by the ditch of the citadel near the Jaffa Gate. This portion of the western hill was thus protected on all sides by natural or artificial scarps of rock, and it was, as Josephus correctly states (*B. J.* vi. 8, § 1), "so precipitous that it could not possibly be taken without raising earthworks." The ground immediately to the north of the gully falls sharply, but not abruptly, to the Valley of Hinnom on the west, and more gradually towards the Tyropoeon Valley on the east; its form is that of a small spur projecting eastward between the gully and the Tyropoeon. Near the middle of the spur stands the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and some authorities maintain that at its eastern extremity there was at one time a large knoll, or *mamelon*, upon which the Macedonian Acra was

[q] The plan of Jerusalem represents the original form of the ground as nearly as it can be reconstructed from existing data.

[r] The character of this ravine is not yet clearly known.

built. There is, however, no conclusive evidence of the existence of a knoll at this spot, and the lower portion of the spur would rather seem to be the "third hill," which, according to Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 1), was opposite to (ἀντικρύ), but naturally lower than Acra, and formerly parted from it by a broad valley. This valley, filled up by the Asmoneans when they levelled the Acra, is apparently that part of the Tyropoeon immediately west of the *Bab en-Nâzir* of the Haram. The high ground to the west, between the Jaffa Gate and *Kal'at Jalûd*, is called by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 19, § 4) "the Upper City," whilst the lower ground to the east, or "third hill," was probably occupied by "the other city,"[s] to which one of the gates of the Temple enclosure led (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5). All the higher ground of the western hill was thus called "the Upper City," whilst the lower slopes were known on the S. as "the suburbs," and on the N. as "the third hill." At *Kal'at Jalûd* the wall is protected by a shallow rock-hewn ditch which runs eastward towards the Damascus Gate, and southwards towards the Jaffa Gate; but it is evident, as indeed may be inferred from Josephus, that the defences on this side of the city were weak, and not to be compared with those of the "Upper Market Place" to the south.

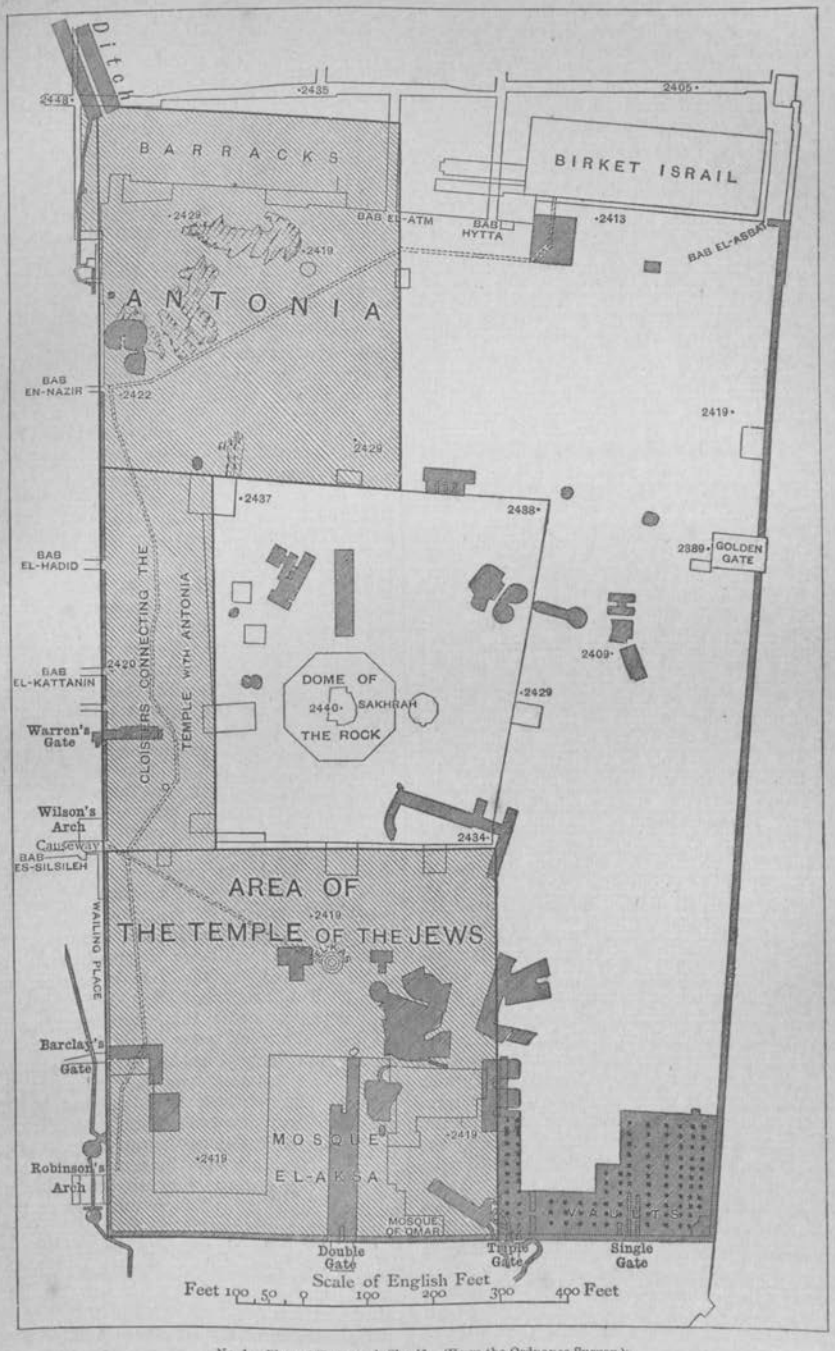
The *eastern* hill runs in a S.E. direction from the knoll above "Jeremiah's Grotto" to the Triple Gate of the Haram, and thence southerly to its termination near the Pool of Siloam. Its crest was originally continuous, but the rock has been cut away in several places, and this has given an appearance of prominence and isolation to certain points, such as the *Sakhrah*, which they did not at one time possess. On the east the ground falls abruptly to the "Valley called Kedron," and to the Kedron itself, and on the west it falls no less steeply to the Tyropoeon; whilst on the south, in the vicinity of Siloam, the rock has apparently been scarped for purposes of defence. The exact form of the hill, however, is not known at several important points, and this is more especially the case where the features are concealed by the massive masonry of the sacred enclosure of the Muslims,—the *Haram esh-Sherif*. Between "Jeremiah's Grotto," on the north, and the city wall there is a broad and deep rock-hewn ditch, which is connected with and originally formed part of the extensive subterranean quarries known as the "Cotton Grotto," and called by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2) "the Royal caverns" (Plan No. 2, section 2). To the south of the ditch lies that part of the hill named Bezetha, which extends southwards to the "Ecce Homo Arch," where the continuity of the ridge is again broken by the rock-hewn ditch that separated Bezetha from the Castle of Antonia. About 90 ft. south of this ditch the rock has been cut away to a depth of some 23 ft., leaving an isolated mass of rock upon which the Turkish Barracks now stand. Further south there are traces of a third ditch, which was cut across the ridge at its narrowest point, and is perhaps alluded to by Josephus in his account of the attack upon the Temple by Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2; *B. J.* i. 7, § 2). The space between the second and third ditches was occupied by the Macedonian Acra, and later by the Castle of Antonia. About 600 ft., or, according to some views, directly south of the third ditch, lay the Temple, and beyond its southern cloisters the hill was thickly covered with houses as far as Siloam. The position of *Bezetha*, which Josephus calls "the fourth hill" of Jerusalem, is clearly defined. It was opposite to the Castle of Antonia, and separated from it by a rock-hewn ditch; the Antonia lay between it and the Temple, and it was the highest of all the hills, and the only one that shut out the view of the Temple from the north (*B. J.* ii. 15, § 5; 19, § 4; v. 4, § 2; 5, § 8). This description can only apply to the northern part of the eastern hill; it would appear, however, that in a wider sense Bezetha was held to include the quarter called Coenopolis or "New Town," enclosed by the wall of Agrippa, which spread beyond the limits of the hill. *Acra* is the name given by Josephus (*B. J.* i. 1, § 4; v. 4, § 1; 6, § 1) to the hill upon which the Lower City was built; and it was no doubt so called from the Macedonian fortress (Acra) which stood upon it, in close proximity to the Temple (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 4). The hill was gibbous in form, and separated from the Upper City by a valley which reached as far as Siloam,—a description that applies perfectly to the eastern hill (see Plate II.). Although the term Acra included that portion of the hill upon which the Macedonian fortress and the Temple stood, it was more especially applied to the quarter of the city lying between the Temple cloisters and Siloam (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1; vi. 6, § 3; 7, § 2). Josephus may possibly include the low-lying ground, elsewhere called "the suburbs," within the limits of the Lower City; but there is no single instance in which he speaks of that portion of the city which occupied the "third" hill, and lay between the second and first walls,[t] as Acra, or the Lower City.

The hill to the east of the "Valley called Kedron," on which the Church of St. Anne now stands, is not mentioned by Josephus. It can never have been of much importance, and the wall was apparently extended in this direction for the protection of the two large pools in the valley, and not with the object of enclosing the hill.

2. *Site of the Temple.*—Without any exception all topographers are agreed that the Temple stood within the limits of the great enclosure now known as the *Haram esh-Sherif*, though few are agreed as to the portion of that space which it covered. It is certain that the Holy House and Altar in the times of Zerubbabel and Herod occupied the site of the Temple and altar of Solomon (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 4, § 1; Maimonides, *Beth Hab.* ii. 2); and that if the position of the outer court of the Temple, as rebuilt by Herod, could be determined, there would be no difficulty in fixing, within narrow limits, the sites of the original Temple and Altar of the Jews. Of Herod's Temple there are two independent descriptions: one in the works

[s] Probably so called because it lay between the second and the first walls, and formed a separate quarter of the city.

[t] The omission of any allusion to Acra, or to the Lower City, in the account of the capture of the second wall, and the events which immediately followed it, is inexplicable if Acra were in the position assigned to it by some authorities.



No. 1.—Plan of Haram esh-Sherif. (From the Ordnance Survey.)

of Josephus, the other in the treatise *Middoth*. There are also remains of Herodian and, perhaps, of older masonry in the retaining walls of the Haram, and many rock-hewn tanks and conduits. Josephus, who was personally familiar with the Temple and its precincts, treats fully of the arrangement and dimensions of the several courts and buildings. In so far as the plan of the Temple is concerned, he appears to be singularly accurate; but when he has to describe elevation, he shows a marked tendency to exaggeration. The writers of the Mishna made a special study of the Temple measurements, and quote the recollections of men who had taken part, as Levites, in the Temple services. But they wrote long after the fall of Jerusalem; none of them had seen the Temple, and their description of it, in the Middoth, is less full in several particulars than that of the Jewish historian. They may be more accurate in matters of detail, such as the height and breadth of steps; but in all that relates to the general arrangement and external dimensions of the sacred buildings, their evidence cannot have the same weight as the direct testimony of Josephus.

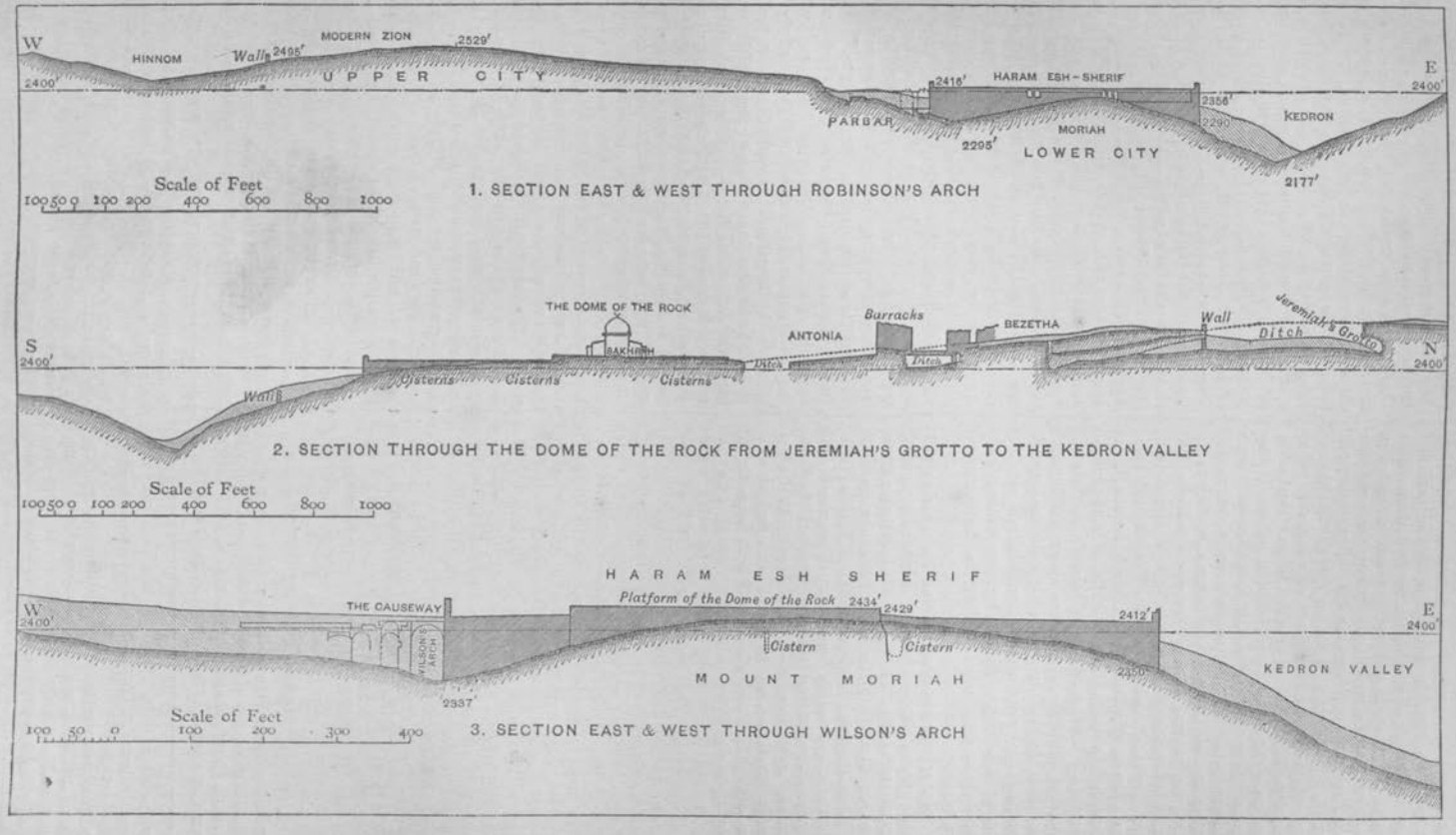
The *Haram esh-Sherif* (Plan No. 1) is a quadrangular enclosure, with walls of massive masonry, within which lies the central portion of the eastern hill. The sides are unequal, but two of the angles, at the S.W. and N.E. corners, are right angles. The west side measures 1590 feet, the east 1525 feet, the south 921 feet, and the north 1036 feet. The included area is about 35 acres. The surface has been roughly levelled, partly by filling up hollows, partly by cutting away the rock, and partly by building supporting vaults of masonry. The general level is 2,419 feet above the Mediterranean; but in front of the Golden Gate there is a deep hollow; and in the centre there is a raised platform, above which the *Sakhrah* rises to an altitude of 2,440 feet. The crest of the hill runs southward across the Haram from a point about 60 feet east of the N.W. angle, where its altitude is 2,462 feet, to the Triple Gate in the south wall, where it has an altitude of 2,378 feet. If the hill were stripped of the mask that conceals it, and restored to its original form, it would appear as a ridge of bare rock, with abrupt slopes on either side. The narrowest point would be a little east of *Bab en-Nazîr*, and the broadest part that covered by the platform. At the N.W. corner of the Haram the rock has been cut away so as to leave a scarp 23 feet high beneath the Turkish Barracks, and the upper strata have been completely removed as far as the raised platform. This excavation is no doubt that made by the Asmoneans, when they levelled the hill upon which the Acra stood (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7). About 90 feet north of the scarp is the ditch, 165 feet wide, that separated Antonia from Bezetha; and 280 feet south of it, where the ridge is narrowest, there appears to have been a ditch, 153 feet wide, which may possibly have formed part of the defences of the Acra, and have been filled up by Herod when he built the Castle of Antonia.

The raised platform probably dates from the erection of the "Dome of the Rock," above the *Sakhrah*, as it was evidently designed to give additional importance to that building. It is quadrilateral in form, and has unequal sides.[a] Its surface is from 15 feet to 19 feet above the general level, and its area is about 5¾ acres. The rock is visible on the surface at the N.W. corner, and the *Sakhrah*, which is a portion of the ridge, rises 4 feet 9 inches above the platform. The length of the *Sakhrah* is about 56 feet, and its breadth about 40 feet; and beneath it is a small cave, under the floor of which, according to Muslim tradition, there is a well, the *Bîr el-Arwah*, or "Well of the Spirits." The "Dome of the Rock" is generally considered to be the work of the Khalif Abd ul-Melik: but it seems rather to be the "Church of St. Sophia" which, in the 6th century, stood upon the supposed site of the Praetorium (Ant. Mart. xxiii.; Theodosius, vii.; *Brev. de Hierosol.*). Possibly the church was built at the close of the 5th or commencement of the 6th century, and was restored and turned into a mosque in the 7th century, when Abd ul-Melik enlarged the precincts of the Muslim sanctuary, and brought the *Sakhrah* within its limits (Eutych. *Ann.* ii. 365).

The N.E. corner of the Haram has been formed by filling up a deep ravine, "the ravine called Kedron" of Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2; 6, § 1; vi. 3, § 2), which here crosses the enclosure. There are several indications, such as the accumulation of rubbish on the N. side of the Golden Gate, that the ravine was wholly or partially filled up at a comparatively recent date—perhaps by El-Walid, son of Abd ul-Melik, when he enlarged the Haram so as to bring the Sakhrah into the centre of the sacred area (Eutych. *Ann.* ii. 373). The bed of the ravine is 144 feet below the present surface, and its sides must be steep and rocky. The S.W. corner is also made ground, and its surface is from 82 feet to 129 feet above the bed of the Tyropoeon valley which runs beneath it. Here there is every reason to believe that the hollow space was filled up solidly when Herod enlarged the Temple enclosure. At the S.E. corner, on the other hand, the ground is supported by a series of weak vaults of masonry, which may possibly be as old as the time of Justinian. Amongst the most remarkable features of the Haram are the rock-hewn cisterns in which the water required for the Temple services was stored. They are from 25 feet to 50 feet deep, and it is estimated that more than twelve million gallons of water could be stored in them. The largest, called the "Great Sea," would hold between two and three million gallons. The cisterns were supplied by the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, which crossed the Tyropoeon Valley on the causeway, and then ran in a S.E. direction towards the fountain *El-Kas*. The cisterns were connected with each other by conduits, and there was apparently an overflow beneath the Triple Gate. It may be remarked, as bearing upon the site of the Temple, that all the large rock-hewn cisterns except one are situated to the south of the raised platform.

The retaining walls of the Haram have a height of from 30 feet to 170 feet, and they are

[a] The north side 516 feet, the south 419 feet, the west 552 feet, and the east 528 feet.



No. 2.—Sections from *PEF. Atlas*, "Excavations at Jerusalem."

perhaps the finest examples of mural masonry in the world. Partially concealed as they are, here by 60 feet, there by 130 feet of rubbish, they still fill the traveller with admiration; and their great height and the magnificence of their masonry almost justify the glowing terms in which they are described by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, §§ 1–5; *B. J.* v. 5, § 1). The stones are of great size,[x] and set so closely together that the blade of a pen-knife can hardly be inserted between them. Those of the older masonry have a chiselled draft round their margins, and their faces are either finely dressed, or, when not intended to be seen, left rough. The grey stones of to-day were originally white, and the massive masonry of the Temple platform, when fresh from the builder's hands, must, under the brilliant sun of Palestine, have presented a most imposing and dazzling appearance. The *west* wall (Plan No. 3, Elevation 6, p. 1642) has only been examined for 600 feet from the S.W. angle, but it is apparently of one building period throughout, and is probably the work of Herod. The architect conceived the bold scheme of extending the Temple area westward across the bed of the Tyropoeon; and, in laying the foundations of the massive retaining wall, he cut through an ancient rock-hewn conduit (p. 1591). The wall formed the western limit of the Temple enclosure and of the Antonia; and above the level of the Haram it appears to have been ornamented with pilasters similar to those of the wall of the Haram at Hebron.[y] It also closed the west end of the ditch within the Haram, which was probably filled in when the wall was built. The remains of four ancient approaches to the

Robinson's Arch. (S.W. angle of Haram.)

enclosure have been discovered in connexion with the west wall—over "Robinson's Arch," through the passage from "Barclay's Gate," over the causeway and "Wilson's Arch," and through the passage from "Warren's Gate." The first and third must have been on a level with the outer court of the Temple; the second and fourth pierced the retaining wall at a lower level, and reached the surface by steps or a ramp. In the *south* wall (Plan No. 3, Section 4) the older masonry is of two, if not three, different periods. From the S.W. angle to the "Double Gate" it is probably Herodian; beyond this point it is marked by a course of stones of double height, and is supposed by Sir C. Warren to be the work of Solomon, but by others to be possibly as late as the reign of Justinian. The wall is pierced by two ancient gateways: the "Double Gate," which opens into a vestibule, whence a passage leads to the surface of the Haram; and the "Triple Gate," which, in its original form, was a double gate with a passage to the enclosure similar to that from the "Double Gate." Beneath the "Triple Gate" are rock-hewn passages through which the blood from the Altar and the overflow from the cisterns may have passed to the Kedron Valley (see *Middoth*, iii. 2).[z] At the S.E. angle there appears to have been a massive tower, 108 feet square, of older date than the adjoining portions of the wall, and it was on the stones at the base of this tower that Sir C. Warren found the Phoenician letters which were considered by Mr. E. Deutsch to be "partly letters, partly numerals, and partly special mason's or quarry signs." At this point a small vase[a] was found in a hole cut out of the rock, where it may possibly have been placed when the wall was built. The *east* wall (Plan No. 3, Elevation 5) has only been examined for 161 feet from the S.E. angle, and 179 feet from the N.E. angle; between these two points, or for a distance of 1185 feet, the masonry has nowhere been seen below the surface of the ground. There is, however, some reason to suppose that between the S.E. angle and a point 50 feet or 60 feet north of the Golden Gate the wall is older than it is to the north of the latter point. About 132 feet south of the N.E. angle the wall is carried across the bed of the "ravine called Kedron," and it is here 168 feet high. The only entrance to the Haram on the east side, of which traces remain, is the "Golden Gate,"[b]—a Byzantine structure of uncertain date, which has been closed for several centuries. Its floor is from 30 feet to 40 feet above the natural surface of the ground, and it appears to have had in front of it a terrace whence there was a descent to the Kedron by steps. The *north* boundary of the Haram is formed partly by the rock-scarp at the N.W. angle, and partly by the wall, of unknown but presumably late date, that forms the southern side of the *Birket Israil*. The *Haram esh-Sherif* is thus girt on three sides by walls which, if entirely exposed to view, would

[x] One stone 38 ft. 9 in. long, 4 ft. high, and 10 ft. deep, has been built into the wall at a height of 85 ft. from the surface.

[y] The close resemblance between the masonry of the Haram at Hebron, and that of the west wall of the Haram at Jerusalem, seems to indicate that they were built by the same person—Herod. Pilasters are shown in the Comte de Vogüé's restoration of the Temple (*Le Temple de Jérusalem*, Planch. xvi.).

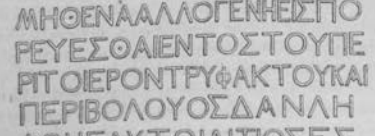
[z] According to Rabbi Obadiah of Bartenora, the blood and water was sold to the gardeners for use as manure.

[a] This vase is said by various authorities to be of "a common Graeco-Phoenician type," to be possibly "as old as the 4th or 5th century B.C.," and to date from the period of the Jewish monarchy.

[b] There was, apparently, a second gate in the east wall before it was remodelled by Sultan Suleiman, but its position is unknown.

present unbroken faces of solid masonry from 920 feet to 1590 feet long, and, for a large portion of those distances, from 100 feet to 160 feet in height.[c] On the north side alone there is no imposing mass of masonry, but here, in the time of Josephus, lay the deep, rugged "ravine called Kedron," unfilled by the accumulations of centuries, and the great Castle of Antonia rising high above the surrounding buildings.

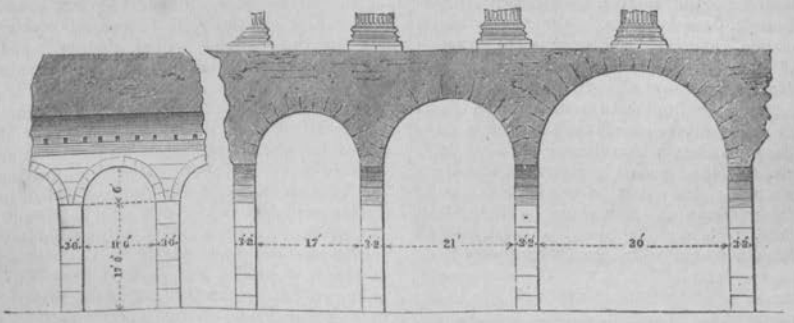
The difficulty experienced in fixing the exact position of the Temple (*ἱερὸν*) arises from the fact that it has completely disappeared,[d]—not



Inscription from Herod's Temple.

one stone has been left upon another. The local indications have been so differently interpreted by the numerous writers on the subject, that it is maintained on the one hand that the Temple occupied the S.W. corner of the Haram, and on the other that it stood near the centre of the enclosure. Both views are surrounded by difficulties that can only be completely solved by excavation.

(1.) According to Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 3; *B. J.* vi. 5, § 4) and the Mishna (*Middoth*, ii. 1), the Temple was a square, and the only right angles in the ancient masonry of the Haram are the S.W. and N.E. angles. The masonry of the S.W. angle, and of the wall for some distance to the north and east, is generally admitted to be Herodian, and it must have formed part of the west and south walls of the Temple enclosure. If the Temple was in the centre of the Haram, Herod's object in building this massive wall at great cost and labour, and in the face of considerable engineering difficulties, is not clear; but it is easily explained on the supposition that the Temple (*ναὸς*) stood near the S.W. angle, and that he could not otherwise obtain a firm foundation for the cloisters that he added on its west and south sides. Josephus states directly and indirectly that each side of the Temple was a stadium (*Ant.* xv. 11, §§ 3, 5), or 400 cubits (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 7). Now 588 feet east of the S.W. angle is the "Triple Gate," where the ground commences to fall rapidly towards the east, and the solid character of the area gives place to a series of vaults erected in comparatively recent times (Plan No. 3, Section 4); and 586 feet north of the same point is "Wilson's Arch," which marks the position of one of the principal approaches to the Temple. These dimensions differ, it is true, from a stadium; but it is impossible to suppose, as some contend, that the statement of Josephus refers to the whole Haram area, which is approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ stadia wide and $2\frac{3}{4}$ long. Further, Josephus mentions (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5) that on the south front of the Temple stood the Royal Cloister, *Stoa Basilica*, with three aisles, which reached "from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any further" (westward). This cloister was 1 stadium long, and had "pillars that stood in four rows, one over against the other all along;" the number of pillars was 162, and their capitals were of the Corinthian order. The breadth of each side aisle was 30 feet, and of the central aisle 45 feet; and these dimensions agree very closely with the position and width of "Robinson's Arch," which must have led to the central aisle. It is quite certain that the Stoa terminated at the "Triple Gate," for, as shown in the annexed diagram,



Section of vaults in S.E. angle of Haram.

it could never have extended over the weak, irregularly spaced vaults at the S.E. angle of the Haram. "Had it done so, some piers or foundations must have remained to indicate how it was supported, but there is absolutely nothing." It may convey some idea of the dimensions of this the most remarkable feature of Herod's Temple, "if we compare it with

[c] Detailed descriptions of the masonry of the Haram wall will be found in *PEF. Mem.*, Jerusalem vol.; and in *The Masonry of the Haram Wall*, by Sir C. Wilson, *PEFQy. Stat.* 1880, pp. 9–65.

[d] The only authentic relic of Herod's Temple is the tablet with a Greek inscription forbidding strangers, under pain of death, to pass the balustrade (*τρύφακτος*) round the Temple (*ἱερόν*), which was discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau in 1871 (*Une stèle du Temple de Jérusalem; PEFQy. Stat.* 1871, p. 132). This inscription affords strong evidence of the general accuracy of Josephus.

York, the largest of our English cathedrals. If the transepts of that church were removed from the centre and added to the ends, we should have a building of about the same length, and nearly also of the same section, and, barring the style, not differing much in material and construction" (Fergusson, *Temples of the Jews*, pp. 75, 83). Again, Josephus states (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5) that on the west side of the enclosure there were four gates, and this agrees with the existing remains. The first gate, which "led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley," must have been above Wilson's Arch, which connects the Haram with the remains of the old causeway across the valley (Plan No. 2, Section 3). The road from Herod's palace, now represented by "David's Street," which passed over the causeway and bridge, must have been one of the principal approaches to the Temple; and the tradition that places the "Beautiful Gate" at the *Báb es-Silsileh*, above Wilson's Arch, may perhaps be correct. This may also be the Gate Kipunus, the only entrance on the west side mentioned in the Mishna (*Middoth*, i. 3). Two other gates led to the suburbs, or Parbar, apparently the strip of low-lying and comparatively level ground which lay between the cliff of the Upper City and the wall of the Temple enclosure (Plan No. 2, Section 1; No. 3, Section 4). These gates are represented by Barclay's Gate, at the entrance of a subway leading, apparently, to the Court of the Gentiles; and the gate above Robinson's Arch, whence there was probably a descent to the valley, partly by a viaduct, and partly by steps or a ramp. The fourth gate leading "to the other city (*εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν*), where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent," was apparently Warren's Gate, through which the "other city" lying between the causeway and the second wall could be easily reached from the cloisters connecting Antonia with the Temple. The south front of the Temple, Josephus says, had "gates at about the middle," and these still exist as the "Double Gate," from which a double passage leads up to the Haram area by a gentle incline. It is certain that the Double Gate and the vestibule within are really parts of the substructures of the Stoa Basilica which Herod added to the Temple, and they probably represent the Gate Huldah, which led direct to the Water Gate of the Inner Temple, and thence to the Altar (*Middoth*, i. 3, 4; Lightfoot, p. 350). If, as the Mishna seems to indicate, there were two Huldah or "Mole" Gates[a] in the south wall, the second must have been at the Triple Gate, whence a passage leads upwards at an angle that would have brought it to the surface in front of the central point of the eastern cloister of the Temple. The gates Shushan in the east and Tadi in the north wall (*Middoth*, i. 3) are not mentioned by Josephus, possibly because they did not lead to the inhabited quarters of the city.

The south-west corner of the Haram has a perfectly level surface, and is solid throughout except where pierced by gateways, and where hollowed out into cisterns such as are known to have existed beneath the Temple courts (*Water Supply*, p. 1591). A large proportion of it is made ground, and within its limits are nearly all the large cisterns. This agrees with the description which Josephus gives (*Ant.* viii. 3, § 9; xv. 11, § 3; *B. J.* v. 5, § 1) of the construction of the Temple platform; and the statement in the Mishna (*Parah*, iii. 3), that "the mountain of the house and the courts were hollow underneath," lest there should be a hidden grave beneath. Josephus also writes (*B. J.* v. 3, § 1) of the "subterranean caverns of the Temple."

The Temple was connected with the Upper City by a bridge, which also led to the Xystus (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2;—*B. J.* i. 7, § 2; ii. 16, § 3; vi. 6, § 2), at or close to the point at which the first wall joined the western cloister (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2). This bridge must have been that connecting the Temple with the causeway at Wilson's Arch, where the first wall ended, and the Xystus was apparently commensurate with the west side of the Temple.

It may be inferred from the absence of any indication in Josephus that the Antonia, which stood on a higher level than the Temple, ever served as a vantage-ground for the discharge of missiles against the defenders of the Temple cloisters, that the Castle and the Temple were at least a bow-shot distant from each other. It would also appear (*B. J.* i. 7, § 4) that, at the time of Pompey's siege, there was an interval of open ground between the Temple and the north wall of the enclosure, which, at that time, seems to have run along the north side of the platform on which the "Dome of the Rock" stands, and above the "Valley called Kedron" (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2; *B. J.* i. 7, § 3). Josephus, moreover, states (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11) that the Jews erected a high wall upon the *exhedra* of the west wall of the inner Temple, to shut out the view of the sacrifices from Agrippa's palace, on the brow of the western hill; and it may be added that the aqueduct from "Solomon's Pools," which passes over the causeway to the Haram,

Jews' wailing place.

[a] According to Lightfoot (i. 1054), the Huldah Gates were so placed as to be at equal distances from each other and from the two ends of the walls. This is only approximately correct of the Double and Triple Gates, which divide the south wall of the Haram into three sections, respectively 352 feet, 256 feet, and 312 feet.

runs towards the S.E. after its entrance. All that has been said above is in favour of the position assigned to the Temple at the S.W. angle; and it may be remarked that, in this case, the present "Wailing Place" of the Jews would be opposite to the site of the Holy of Holies, and in closer proximity to it than any other spot outside the enclosure.

The earlier pilgrims mention the site of the Temple without distinct reference to its position; but it may be inferred from Antoninus (xxiii.) that the "Dome of the Rock," which he identifies with the Praetorium, was not considered to be within the Temple area. It is known from Arculfus (i.) and Theophanes (*Chron.* 281) that the first Muslim mosque was built on what was pointed out to Omar as the site of the Temple, and from Eutychius (ii. 289) that that mosque lay to the south of the *Sakhrah*, "which was not embraced in the precincts of the Muslim sanctuary till the reign of Abd ul-Melik" (ii. 365). In accordance with this, is the modern Muslim tradition which points to the Mosque of Omar, above the south wall of Haram, as the spot where Omar first prayed.

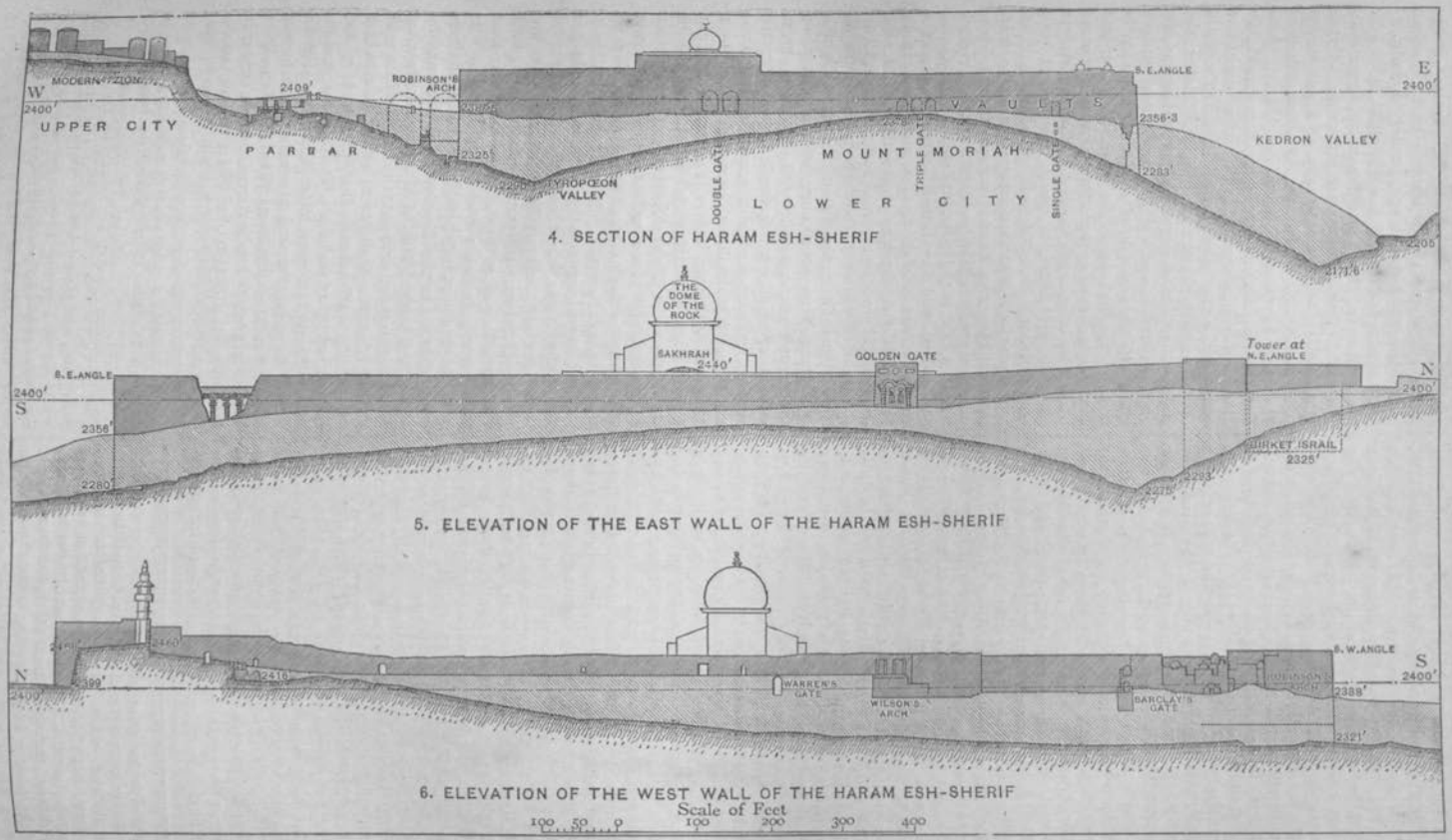
According to the above view, the Temple enclosure occupied a square of about 588 feet in the S.W. corner of the Haram. On the west there were approaches over Wilson's and Robinson's Arches to the northern and southern cloisters, and through "Barclay's Gate" to the Court of the Gentiles. On the south there was an ascent from the old City of David to the Temple enclosure by the passage from the "Double Gate," and to the central gate of the eastern cloister by the ancient passage from the Triple Gate.[f] It has been objected to this conclusion, that if the Temple were only 600 feet square, it would be impossible to find space within its walls for all the courts and buildings mentioned by Josephus and in the Talmud. This difficulty, however, has no real foundation in fact, and the mode in which the interior may have been arranged so as to meet all the exigencies of the case will be explained in treating of the TEMPLE. It has also been urged that the S.W. corner is the lowest part of the Haram; but it is nowhere stated that the Temple was built upon a mount or isolated eminence. Josephus says (*B. J.* v. 5, § 1) that it was erected upon a strong hill (*ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ*, where *λόφος* simply refers to the eastern hill, Moriah); and the Antonia certainly stood on higher ground (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 5; xv. 11, § 4;—*B. J.* v. 5, § 8) and on the "top of the hill" (*B. J.* vi. 1, § 5). It is more important to notice that Josephus states that the eastern cloister of the outer court was situated in a deep valley (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 7), and (*B. J.* vi. 3, § 2) that the N.E. angle of the cloisters was above the "Valley called Kedron," apparently the ravine that crosses the N.E. angle of the Haram. These statements cannot easily be reconciled with the view that the Temple was at the S.W. corner of the Haram; unless we may suppose that Josephus refers here to the outer enclosure (Plate II.).

According to the Mishna (*Middoth*, ii. 1), the "mountain of the house" was 500 cubits by 500 cubits, but it is possible that these dimensions are due to a misconception of the statement of Ezekiel (xlii. 16–20), that the boundaries of the sanctuary were 500 reeds each way. It is further stated that "the mount was far larger than 500 cubits square, but only so much was taken in for the holy ground" (*Pisk. Tesaph ad Midd.* quoted by Lightfoot, i. 1050). The Temple, it is evident, only occupied a portion of the area enclosed by Herod. There was open ground upon which the people pitched their tents at the time of the Passover (*Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3); and even at an earlier period there was a "broad place," or open space, to the east of the Temple (2 Ch. xxix. 4, Ezra x. 9; cp. *Ant.* xi. 5, § 5), and in front of the Water Gate (Neh. viii. 1). Some portions of the enclosure appear to have been built over, as houses are mentioned in close proximity to the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2; 13, § 3;—*B. J.* i. 13, § 2; v. 1, § 4: cp. Ezek. xliii. 8); and the "Valley called Kedron," where the outcrop of the *melekeh* stratum must have offered great facilities for the excavation of tombs, was possibly used as a place of burial (*B. J.* v. 7, § 3).

(2.) The alternative view that the Temple was situated near the centre of the Haram, on the ground now covered by the platform of the "Dome of the Rock," is maintained by many authorities, but opinion differs widely as to the exact position that it occupied. Robinson, Thomson, Williams, Tobler, Furrer, Perrot, and Guérin place the Altar on the *Sakhrah*; Sepp and Conder identify the *Sakhrah* with the "stone of foundation"; and whilst De Vogüé places the Altar to the north of the *Sakhrah*, Warren places it to the south. It has been urged that, as the Temple courts descended in terraces round the Holy House, the Temple and Altar must have been on the top of the hill, and that the levels of the various courts, ascertained by the number of steps leading to them, can be brought into accordance with the actual levels of the rock in this part of the Haram, and nowhere else; that, from the description of the sacrifice of the red heifer (*Mid.* ii. 4), the Temple must have been opposite the summit of the Mount of Olives; that the *Sakhrah* is either the "stone of foundation" upon which the Ark rested (*Yoma*, v. 2), or the site of the Altar; that the cistern immediately north of the "Dome of the Rock" is part of the passage running under the Chel, from the Gate-house Moked to the Gate Tadi; and that Muslim tradition has always associated the *Sakhrah* with the sacred site of the Jews.

The principal objections to these arguments are that the Temple is nowhere stated to have been on the top of a hill, except possibly in Ezek. xliii. 12; that the rock being everywhere near the surface of the platform, there is ample space for the erection of a small building like the Temple without great foundations such as those indicated by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 3; *B. J.* v. 5, § 1); that there is no such complete accordance between the levels of the several

[f] The distance from the S.W. angle to the north side of "Wilson's Arch," and to the east side of the ancient passage from the "Triple Gate," is, in each case, 630 feet; and, if we may suppose the Temple to have been a square of 630 feet, the roadway over "Wilson's Arch" would have led directly to the northern cloister, and the passage from the "Triple Gate" would have risen to the surface near the centre of the eastern cloister.



No. 3.—Section a.d Elevations from *PEF. Atlas*, "Excavations at Jerusalem."

courts and the actual level of the rock as has been suggested;[g] and that there is little trace in this part of the Haram of the substructures, vaults, cisterns, &c., which are said (*Parah*, iii. 3; Maimonides, *Beth Hab.* v. 1) to have existed beneath the Temple and its courts. The omission of any allusion by Josephus to such a remarkable work as the viaduct which is supposed to have connected Mount Moriah with the Mount of Olives is calculated to raise a doubt as to the accuracy of the description of the sacrifice of the red heifer; but, in any case, a building on the platform would not be more directly opposite the summit of the Mount of Olives, than one at the S.W. angle. The "stone of foundation" was not a portion of the rocky ridge of Moriah, but was a movable stone (אֶבֶן), and it was so regarded by Jewish tradition;[h] besides, the Holy of Holies, only 20 cubits square, could scarcely have included the *Sakhrah*, which is 56 feet long and 40 feet wide. There is no indication in Josephus or the Mishna that the Altar was erected over a cave such as that beneath the *Sakhrah*; and there is no evidence that the cistern, north of the "Dome of the Rock," was ever part of a subterranean passage. According to Professor Robertson Smith (*Encyc. Brit.* s.v. Temple) the first person to identify the *Sakhrah* with the "stone of foundation," or to associate it with the Temple, was the Muslim Jew Wahb ibn Monabbih, who enriched Islam with so many Jewish fables, and died a century after Jerusalem was taken by the Arabs (Tabari, p. 571; Ibn al-Fakih, p. 97). It may be added that if the Temple were on the platform it would have been within easy range of and completely commanded by the Castle of Antonia, and its situation with reference to the approaches to the enclosure from the, south and west would have been awkward and inartistic.

3. *Antonia.*—The Tower or Castle (φρούριον) of Antonia, which replaced the citadel of the Asmoneans, was on the north side of the Temple, but did not cover the whole of it (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 4;—*B. J.* i. 5, § 4; 21, § 1; v. 7, § 3). It is more particularly defined as having been at the north-west corner of the Temple; and it was connected with the cloisters of the Temple by two parallel cloisters, called "limbs" or "legs," by which the Roman guards went down, fully armed, to their posts during the Jewish festivals. One of the two cloisters was a continuation of the western cloister of the Temple, and the demolition of both of them made the Temple a square (*B. J.* ii. 15, § 6; 16, § 5; v. 5, § 8; vi. 2, § 9; 5, § 4). The Antonia was near the Temple, but there was a certain space between them which was the scene of some hard fighting between the Jews and the Romans during the siege. The distance between the two buildings was greater than the effective range of the darts and stones thrown by the Roman engines of war; and it was possibly a stadium[i] (*Ant.* xv. 8, § 5; xviii. 4, § 3;—*B. J.* v. 5, § 2; vi. 2, §§ 5–7). The Castle was at a higher level than the Temple, and, being built on "the top of the hill," on a precipitous rock 50 cubits high, was very conspicuous (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 5; xv. 11, § 4;—*B. J.* v. 5, § 8; vi. 1, § 5;—Acts xxi. 30–40; Tacitus, v. 11). It occupied the whole ridge so completely that the walls had to be partially thrown down before Titus could bring up his engines of war and attack the Temple; and it was generally regarded as the most important feature in the defences of the city (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 8;—*B. J.* ii. 15, §§ 5, 6; v. 5, § 8; vi. 2, §§ 1–7). It adjoined Bezetha, and the "New Town," from which it was separated by a deep ditch; was near the Pool Struthion, and was the point at which the second wall terminated (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2; 5, § 8; 11, § 4). The Antonia must have covered a large area. It is said to have resembled both "a city" and "a royal palace," and to have contained rooms, cloisters, places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; and the Roman garrison of Jerusalem, an entire legion, was quartered in it. The Castle was rectangular in form, and at each angle there was a tower. The walls were 40 cubits high, whilst three of the towers were 50 cubits, and that at the S.E. corner, which appears to have been more particularly called the "Tower of Antonia," was 70 cubits high. The construction was similar to that of the still existing Tower of Phasaelus (Tower of David),—a sloping scarp of smooth stone surmounted by a breastwork, and behind the breastwork a *chemin des rondes*, and the solid masonry of the walls and towers. A secret subterranean passage led from the Castle to a tower over the eastern gate of the inner Temple (*Ant.* xv. 11, §§ 4, 7;—*B. J.* i. 21, § 1; v. 5, § 8).

The citadel (ἀκρόπολις) which Herod enlarged and named Antonia, in honour of Antony, was called by the Asmoneans the Baris. It was originally built by Hyrcanus, possibly on or near the site of the earlier "castle (Birah) that appertaineth to the house" (Neh. ii. 8, R. V.); and was used as a royal residence, and sometimes as a prison. The Baris was well fortified, and of extraordinary strength; and it was approached from the Temple side by the dark passage or gateway know as Strato's Tower,[k] in which Antigonus was killed. The vestments of the high-priest were kept in it; and this custom was continued in the later Antonia. Herod's object in enlarging and strengthening the old citadel was to "secure and guard the Temple"; and the greatest importance was afterwards attached, by friend and foe alike, to the possession of the new fortress (*Ant.* xiii. 11, § 2; xiv.

[g] Isolated levels are taken to indicate the general level of the rock over large spaces hidden from view; and in the outer court the rock rises, in places, from 9 feet to 15 feet above the assumed level.

[h] See the traditions as given by Dr. Chaplin in *PEFQy. Stat.* 1885, pp. 50, 51. There is no instance in which the term "Eben" is applied to solid rock, and the Eben Shithiah, "stone of foundation," may be compared with the "Ebens" mentioned in the Bible; though whether it stood upright, or lay on its face, is uncertain. It was possibly the *lapis pertusus* mentioned in the *Itin. Hierosol.*

[i] The meaning of Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, § 2) appears to be that the cloisters which enclosed the square of the Temple were four stadia, and that with the addition of the two cloisters joining the Temple to Antonia they were six stadia. The two connecting cloisters would therefore be a stadium each.

[k] It has been suggested (*Imp. Bib. Dict.*, s. v. Jerusalem) that there was here an old tower called *Ashtoreth*, or flock tower; and that "Ashtoreth" was confounded with "Strato."

16, § 2; xv. 11, § 4; xviii. 4, § 3;—*B. J.* i. 3, § 3; 5, § 4).

The Antonia was certainly situated in the N.W. corner of the Haram area; but no trace of its foundations has yet been found, and the space that it occupied is unknown. Its western limit is defined by the line of the western wall, and its northern by the rock-hewn ditch that separated it from Bezetha; its southern and eastern limits must for the present remain conjectural.

4. The *Acra* (A. V. "stronghold," "fortress," "tower") was built or restored by Antiochus Epiphanes, *c.* B.C. 168–7, and was situated in the "Lower City," *i.e.* on the eastern hill, upon a rocky height that was afterwards cut down and levelled (1 Macc. i. 33; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 4; xiii. 6, § 7). It was in close proximity to and overlooked the Temple (1 Macc. iv. 41, xiii. 52; *Ant.* xii. 5, § 4; 9, § 3; 10, § 5); and was within the limits of the "City of David" (1 Macc. i. 33; xiv. 36; vii. 32; cp. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 4). Its walls and towers were originally great and strong (1 Macc. i. 33; *Ant.* xii. 5, § 4); and they were afterwards specially strengthened by Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 52; *Ant.* xiii. 1, § 3). The Acra, until it was destroyed by Simon Maccabaeus, was regarded as the Citadel or Acropolis of Jerusalem[l] (1 Macc. vi. 26, ix. 53, x. 32, xi. 41; *Ant.* xii. 6, § 2; xiii. 2, § 1); and it is frequently mentioned, often in connexion with the Temple, in the history of the wars of the Maccabees (1 Macc. iii. 45; iv. 2; vi. 18, 24–27, 32; ix. 52, 53; x. 6, 7, 9, 32; xi. 20, 21, 23, 41; xii. 36; xiii. 49, 50, 52; xiv. 7, 36; 2 Macc. xv. 31–35). The gymnasium built by Antiochus Epiphanes was "under the Acra" (2 Macc. iv. 12; cp. 1 Macc. i. 14; *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1); and it was apparently in the same locality that Jonathan Maccabaeus afterwards built a wall or mound to shut off the Macedonian garrison in the Acra from the market-place (ἀγορά) in the city (1 Macc. xii. 36; *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 11).

With very few exceptions[m] writers on the topography of Jerusalem place the Acra in the N.W. corner of the Haram, where there is abundant evidence of the levelling operations of Simon Maccabaeus (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7). This position, strong by nature and improved by art, was, prior to the construction of the Acra, occupied by a fortress which is described by Aristeas as standing on a commanding eminence to the N. of the Temple, fortified with towers to the summit of the hill, and constructed with enormous stones (Williams, *Holy City*, i. 73, 74); and this fortress again was probably built on the foundations of the citadel of Pre-Exilic Jerusalem, and of the Acropolis of the Jebusites.[n] After the destruction of the Acra, Simon Maccabaeus fortified the "hill of the Temple" near it, and there "dwelt with his company" (1 Macc. xiii. 52). At a later date, Hyrcanus built the Baris, near the Temple, and made it his place of residence (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3). The Baris is called by Josephus the fortress (τὸ φρούριον) that was above the Temple (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 5), and the Acropolis (xiv. 1, § 2; xv. 11, § 4); and after its reconstruction by Herod, it received the name of Antonia.

The view suggested is that the Acropolis of the Jebusites was situated at the N.W. corner of the Haram, and that it was enlarged and strengthened by David and his successors. After the return from the Captivity the citadel was rebuilt in the form in which it was seen by Aristeas, and it was afterwards more strongly fortified by Antiochus Epiphanes. When the Macedonians were finally expelled from Jerusalem, Simon Maccabaeus demolished the citadel and cut away the higher part of the ridge on which it stood. At the same time he built a new, or restored an existing, wall (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 4) that ran along the northern end of the platform of the "Dome of the Rock" (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §§ 1, 2; *B. J.* i. 7, §§ 1, 3, 4), and protected it by towers, in one of which he lived (1 Macc. xiii. 52). During the prosperous reign of Hyrcanus a portion of the site of the Acra was re-occupied and the Baris built, and in this condition the defences on the N. side of the Temple remained until they were remodelled by Herod. That king threw down the wall erected by Simon, filled up the ditch to the north of the platform, built the west wall of the Haram, and included the north-west corner of the Haram within the walls of the Castle of Antonia, which thus formed part of the Temple precincts. It may be observed that until the reign of Herod only one citadel, that on the eastern hill, is mentioned in connexion with Jerusalem; but after the erection of the three towers and the palace, near the Jaffa Gate, a distinction is made between the citadel belonging to the city and that belonging to the Temple (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 8; *B. J.* ii. 3, § 1). The latter—the Antonia—was always occupied by the garrison of Jerusalem; the only soldiers in Herod's palace and the towers were those forming the guard of the Procurator or Roman governor.

5. *Hippicus.*—The position of the Tower Hippicus—the point at which Josephus commences his description of the fortifications of Jerusalem (*B. J.* v. 4, §§ 1, 2)—is a question of great importance, and one fortunately to which there can be but one answer. It was close to the Jaffa Gate, and its site is now occupied by one of the towers of the citadel. Hippicus[o] was one of the three royal towers (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 8)—the others being Phasaelus and Mariamne—which Herod built in connexion with his palace, and together they formed the citadel (τὸ φρούριον) of the western hill (*B. J.* ii. 3, § 2; v. 5, § 8). The towers stood in the line of the old wall that ran along the northern face of that portion of the western hill which is called by

[l] Josephus calls it indifferently "the Acra" and "the Acropolis."

[m] Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 54, and Conder, *Hdbk. to Bible*, p. 346, place the Acra on a presumed knoll between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Tyropoeon Valley.

[n] Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 3, §§ 1, 2) uses the word Ἄκρα for the citadel which David took; and the LXX. in every case except 2 Ch. xxxii. 5 render "Millo" by ἡ ἄκρα.

[o] The Chaldee Paraphrast gives *Migdal-Pikus* as another name for the tower of Hananeel in Jer. xxxi. 38 and Zech. xiv. 10 (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chorogr.*); and according to Schwarz (*H. L.* p. 206) the targumist Jonathan ben Usiel renders Hananeel by *Migdal-Pikus*, which "is certainly Hippicus." Hananeel, however, was on the eastern hill.

Josephus the "Upper Market Place;" and adjoining them, on the south, was the Royal Palace (*B. J.* v. 4, § 4). They were built with great magnificence, and were "for largeness, beauty, and strength, beyond all that were in the habitable earth" (v. 4, § 3). Hippicus was 25 cubits square and 80 cubits high; Phasaelus was 40 cubits square and 90 cubits high, and resembled in appearance the Pharos at Alexandria (*Ant.* xvi. 5, § 2); and Mariamne was 20 cubits square and 50 cubits high. The stones used in their construction were of great size, and so perfect was the masonry that the joints between the stones were scarcely visible, and each tower looked like a mass of rock fashioned by the hand of a sculptor (*B. J.* v. 4, § 4; vi. 9, § 1). After the capture of the city, the towers were left standing by Titus, "as a monument of his good fortune" (vi. 9, § 1; viii. 1, § 1); but only one, the well-known "Tower of David," now remains. This tower corresponds, in size and construction, very closely to Phasaelus, and the beautiful masonry at its base is distinctly Herodian in character. During the siege one of the legions camped two stadia from Hippicus (v. 3, § 5); and it was through a postern close to that tower that the Jews made a desperate sally at the commencement of the siege, and attempted to destroy the siege works thrown up by the Romans against the third or outer wall (v. 6, § 5). The cisterns of Hippicus, which were supplied by an aqueduct that entered the city at a neighbouring gate (vi. 7, § 3), are still used. Thev lie beneath the tower at the Jaffa Gate, and traces of the conduit, which conveyed water to them, have been found (*O.S. Notes*, p. 47). The position of Mariamne is uncertain; if Josephus be taken literally, it must have been east of the "Tower of David," but it is possibly represented by the existing tower to the south.

6. *The Walls, &c.*—Josephus states (*B. J.* v. 4, § 1) that where Jerusalem was girt by impassable ravines it was defended by only one wall, and that on those sides which had no natural defences it was protected by three walls. The *first* or old wall (Plate II.), which Josephus (§ 2) ascribes to David and his successors, began at the Tower Hippicus, and, extending to the Xystus, joined the council house, and ended at the west cloister of the Temple. That is, starting from the Jaffa Gate, it ran eastward along the northern face of modern Sion, where traces of it have been found (Lewin, *Siege of J.*, pp. 215–17), crossed the Tyropoeon Valley, possibly on the causeway, and ended at the Haram wall, at or near "Wilson's Arch." Its southern course from Hippicus is described as passing through Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes; then, facing the south, it made a bend above the Fountain of Siloam, where it again turned, facing the east, at Solomon's Pool, and, extending as far as a certain place called Ophlas, it united itself to the cloister of the Temple which faces the east. The line of this wall, south of the Jaffa Gate, is marked by the scarped rock in the Protestant cemetery, at the S.W. corner of modern Sion, where there appears to have been a descent to the Valley of Hinnom, by flights of rock-hewn steps. This spot may possibly be Bethso, "the dung place"; which we may perhaps identify with Bethson, "the place of the scarp." The next point, the "Gate of the Essenes," was probably at the southern end of the long street which, commencing at the Damascus Gate, runs southward, almost in a straight line, through and beyond the city to the brink of the Valley of Hinnom. This street, a continuation of the great road from the north, must always have been one of the principal thoroughfares of Jerusalem, and it is possible that the name of the sect of the Essenes has been confounded with the Hebrew word Yeshanah, "Old," which the LXX., in Neh. iii. 6, give as a proper name, Ἰασανά. The "Gate of the Essenes" would thus be "the old gate" or "the gate of the old wall." Above the Fountain of Siloam, which was outside the fortifications (*B. J.* v. 9, § 4), the wall curved inwards so as to cross the Tyropoeon Valley at a more convenient altitude.[p] This loop or bend is perhaps referred to by Tacitus in the expression, "muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati" (*Hist.* v. 11); and between its walls ran "the way of the king's garden" (Jer. xxxix. 4, lii. 7; 2 K. xxv. 4). The place called Ophlas (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 9; v. 6, § 1), which may have given the name of Ophel (2 Ch. xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 26, 27, xi. 21) to that part of the eastern hill immediately south of the Haram, was a public building, close to but distinct from the Temple, that was burnt by the Romans during the siege (*B. J.* vi. 6, § 3). It appears to have been at the S.E. corner of the Haram, and the city wall,[q] on reaching this point, was connected with the east cloister of the Temple by the south wall of the Haram.

The *second* wall commenced at the Gate Gennath, which was in the first wall, and, encircling the quarter that lay to the north, went up to Antonia. No certain trace of this wall has yet been found, and it is matter of dispute whether the ground now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was included or excluded. The wall must have run along the S. side of the ditch that separated Antonia from Bezetha, and the point at which it ended is therefore known within narrow limits. Another point of the wall is perhaps indicated by the ruined gateway seen by Felix Fabri (A.D. 1483) between the Damascus Gate and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and called the *Porta Judiciaria* (p. 136*b*; Eng. Trans., p. 440). The position of the Gate Gennath[r] is uncertain, but it was

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[p] The wall probably ran along the edge of the cliff above the Pool of Siloam; and, instead of crossing the valley in a straight line, kept northwards, on the same level, until it met the bed of the Tyropoeon, where it turned southwards and passed along the eastern face of modern Sion. The Pools of Siloam were first included within the limits of the city by the Empress Eudocia, between A.D. 438–450 (Ant. Mart. xxv.).

[q] The city wall, or "wall of Ophel," which has been partially traced by Sir C. Warren (*PEF. Mem.* Jerusalem, 226 sq.) and Prof. H. Guthe (*ZDPV.* vol. v.), is at a much lower level than that of the Haram, and there is a straight joint between the two walls, indicating that they belong to two distinct building periods. This may perhaps account for the obscurity in the description of Josephus.

[r] It has been suggested that Gennath is equivalent to Ge-hennath, and that the gate led to the valley of Hinnom; but the usual explanation that it derived its name from the rose garden mentioned in the Mishna (*Maaseroth*, ii. § 5), or from the fact of its leading to gardens

evidently to the east of Herod's three towers, and not far from them. It may also, perhaps, be inferred from *B. J.* v. 11, § 4, compared with 6, § 2, and 7, § 3, that the Pool Amygdalon and John's monument were situated between the second wall and the third, which commenced at Hippicus. In this case the Gate Gennath must have been near the south end of "Christian street," and Plate II. shows the wall running along that street and including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The alternative view is that the wall excluded the church, and that traces of its ditch exist in the great cistern of Constantine and other excavations near it. In the quarter of the town between the second and first walls—the "other city" of Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5)—were the bazaars (*B. J.* v. 8, § 1), occupying the same position, near the middle of the second wall (7, § 4), that they do now.

The *third* wall was not commenced till twelve years after the Crucifixion, when it was undertaken by king Herod Agrippa. It was intended to enclose the suburbs that had grown out on the northern sides of the city, which before this had been left exposed (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2). It began at the Tower Hippicus and ran towards the north quarter of the city as far as the Tower Psephinus; it then passed opposite the monuments of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and, running across the Royal Caverns, turned at the corner tower, near the spot known as the Monument of the Fuller, and joined the old wall at the valley called Kedron. The wall was constructed of large stones, so fitted to each other that they could scarcely have been undermined by iron tools or shaken by engines; and had it been completed, the city would have been impregnable. Agrippa, however, left off building through fear of Claudius Caesar, and the wall was hurriedly finished before the siege. Various opinions have been expressed with regard to the direction of this wall. Robinson, Schultz, Fergusson, Thrupp, and Tobler, carry it so far north as to pass close to the "Tombs of the Kings." Warren and Conder place Psephinus near the Russian Cathedral beyond the N.W. angle of the city, and carry the wall thence, eastward and southward, to join the existing wall at the Quarries, near the Damascus Gate. Krafft, Lewin, Sepp, De Vogüé, De Saulcy, Menke, Caspari, Furrer, and Wilson, identify the third wall with the present north wall of the city. The principal, and almost conclusive, argument against the first two theories is that, although the ground supposed to have been included has been largely built over during the last twenty-five years, no trace of a city wall or of a rock-hewn ditch has been found to the north of the existing fortifications.

The Tower Psephinus was at the N.W. corner of the wall, and opposite to Hippicus. It was octagonal, and was 70 cubits high, and from it could be seen Arabia, and the utmost limits of the land of the Hebrews as far as the sea (*B. J.* v. 3, § 5; 4, § 3). The view is exaggerated, but the description is otherwise applicable to a tower at or near *Kal'at Jalûd*, in the N.W. angle of the city. The name is perhaps derived from צָפוֹן, "north," or צָפָה, "to watch," thus meaning the "watch tower," rather than from ψῆφος, "a pebble," because it was built of rubble masonry. The monuments of Helena were three stadia from Jerusalem (*Ant.* xx. 4, § 3), and opposite to a gate protected by the "women's towers" (*B. J.* v. 2, § 2). They were well known to Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 12); were on the left-hand side of a traveller approaching the city from the north (Jerome, *Ep. Paul.* vi.); and the tomb was closed by a stone door that could only be opened by a concealed mechanical contrivance (Paus. viii. 16, § 5). The στῆλαι that surmounted the sepulchre have disappeared, but the "Tombs of the Kings," although four and not three stadia from the wall, is no doubt the place intended. The gate (*B. J.* v. 2, § 2) would be that by which the great road from the north entered the city,—the Damascus Gate,—and the Women's Towers (γυναικεῖοι πύργοι, either an altered form or an attempted translation of a Hebrew word) were the flanking towers on either side. The Royal Caverns were the great quarries, near the Damascus Gate; and they were probably so called from their vast extent, as the Royal Cloister south of the Temple was so named from its superior size and magnificence.[a] The corner tower was that at the N.E. angle of the city, and the existence near it of a fuller's monument may be explained by the proximity of the large pool near the Church of St. Anne, and possibly of the aqueduct that supplied it. The valley called Kedron was evidently within the walls (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1), and must have been the ravine running across the N.E. corner of the Haram. The point at which the third joined the old wall is, however, uncertain. It would appear from Sir C. Warren's excavations to have been south of the St. Stephen's Gate, but may have been on the other side of the ravine near the Golden Gate.[b] Josephus, it may be observed, does not mention the east wall of the Haram, which he appears to have regarded as the outer wall of the Temple precincts, and not as a portion of the city wall proper.

After describing the three walls, Josephus adds that the third had 90 towers, 200 cubits apart, the second 14, and the first 60 towers; and that the city was 33 stadia in circumference. Taking the distance of the towers as 150 feet, or 100 cubits, from centre to centre, which is probably near the truth on the average, the extent of the first wall would be 9,150 feet, and this is roughly the length of the wall from "Wilson's Arch" to the Jaffa Gate, and thence round by Siloam to the S.E. corner of the Haram, as shown on Plate II. In the same way the extent of the second wall would be 2,250 feet, which corresponds with the length shown on Plate II. The third wall with its 90 towers would be 13,650 feet, and

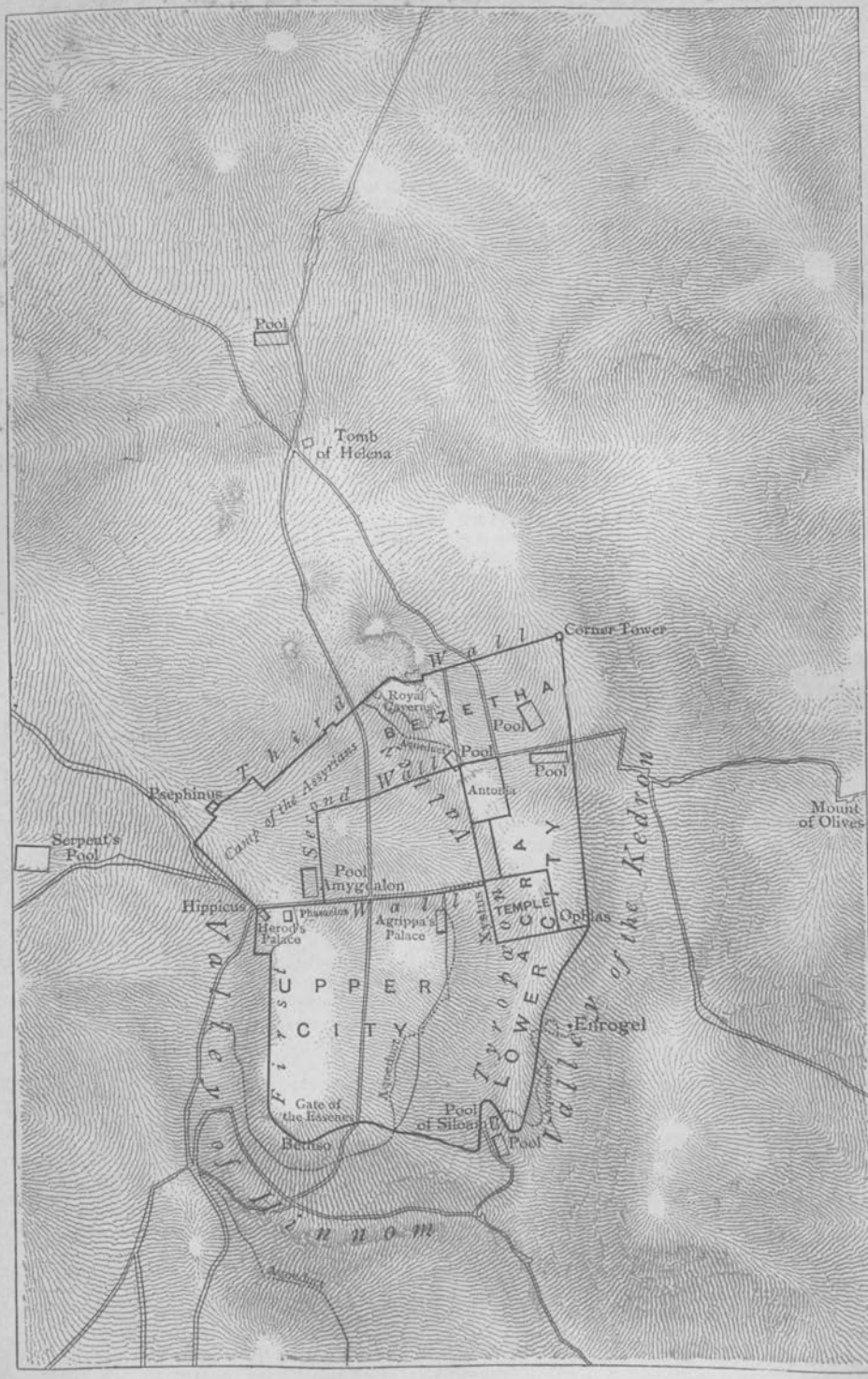
between the second and third walls, is probably more accurate.

[a] The stone from this quarry is known as *melekeh*, "royal" stone.

[b] Possibly the great wall, 166 feet high, which closes the gorge of the "valley called Kedron," at the N.E. angle of the Haram (*PEF. Mem.* Jerusalem, pp. 134 sq.), was that which was built by Agrippa, and attracted the notice of Claudius Caesar. In this case the junction of the third with the old wall must have been about 50 feet north of the Golden Gate.

JERUSALEM.

Scale—Twelve inches to a mile. PLATE II.



Topography of Josephus.

To face p. 1646.

this distance is so nearly equal to the combined lengths of the third wall from the N.E. corner of the Haram to the Jaffa Gate and of the first wall thence to the S.E. corner of the Haram, that it is reasonable to suppose that Josephus has here given the total number of towers in the whole circuit of the outer wall. If the statement of Josephus (*B. J.* v. 12, § 1) be correct, that the wall of circumvallation, which ran along the further sides of the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom, was only 39 stadia, the circumference of the city, which lay within those valleys, could not have been as much as 33 stadia, and was probably not more than 25 stadia.

Several places of interest are mentioned by Josephus as being within or near the city. The *palace* built by Herod (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 3; *B. J.* i. 21, § 1), sometimes called the "royal palace" (*B. J.* ii. 19, § 4; vi. 8, § 1), was situated immediately to the south of the three great towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne (v. 4, § 4), and formed with them the citadel of the upper city (v. 5, § 8; vi. 8, § 4). It was constructed with great magnificence (v. 4, § 4), and two of its spacious chambers were named Caesarium and Agrippium (i. 21, § 1). After the death of Herod, it became the residence of the Roman governor (ii. 3, § 2; 14, § 8). The *palace of Agrippa*, originally built by the Asmomean princes (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11; *B. J.* ii. 16, § 3), and sometimes distinguished as the "King's palace" (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5; xvii. 10, § 2), was situated on the western hill (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 3, § 2), on an eminence whence there was a fine view of the city, and whence the Temple courts and the Altar were visible (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11). The palace, which was burnt by the insurgents under Eleazar (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 6), was near and above the Xystus, at the street leading to the upper city where the bridge joined the Xystus to the Temple (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11; *B. J.* ii. 16, § 3), and one of the west gates of the Temple led to it by a causeway (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5). From these indications it is clear that the palace stood on the brow of the cliff above the Tyropoeon Valley a little S. of "David's Street." The *palace of Helena* was S. of the Temple, in the middle of Acra (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1; vi. 6, § 3). In the lower part of the same quarter, not far from Siloam, was the *palace of Monobazus* (v. 6, § 1); and in the upper part, apparently close to the Temple, was the *palace of Grapte* (iv. 9, § 1). In the vicinity of Agrippa's palace were the *house of Ananias*,[u] the high-priest, the *Record Office* (ii. 17, § 6), the *Council House* (v. 4, § 2; vi. 6, § 3), and the *Xystus*, which appears to have stretched southwards from the causeway that leads to Wilson's Arch (ii. 16, § 3; iv. 9, § 12; v. 4, § 2; vi. 3, § 2; 6, § 2). Closely connected with the Temple were the *Treasury* (John viii. 20; *Ant.* xix. 6, § 1; *B. J.* v. 5, § 2) and the *Pastophoria* (iv. 9, § 12). The *Hippodrome*, perhaps the same place as the *Theatre* (*Ant.* xv. 8, § 1), was south of the Temple (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 3, § 1), apparently below the mosque *el* [illegible] and the *Camp of the Assyrians*, where Titus pitched his camp, was within the third wall (v. 7, § 3), between the N.W. angle of the city and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The *tomb of King Alexander*, near the Antonia and the north cloister of the Temple (v. 7, § 3), was possibly in the valley called Kedron; that of *John the High Priest* was 30 cubits from the Pool Amygdalon, between the second and third walls, and close to the first wall and Hippicus (v. 6, § 2; 7, § 3; 9, § 2; 11, § 4); and that of *Ananus the High Priest* was on the west side of the Kedron ravine (v. 12, § 2). The *tomb of Herod*, possibly that prepared for Aristobulus (*Ant.* xv. 3, § 4), and that in which Pheroras was afterwards buried (*Ant.* xvii. 3, § 3), was near the Serpent's Pool (*B. J.* v. 3, § 2), and included in the wall of circumvallation thrown up by Titus (12, § 2). It is clear from the context that the tomb must have been close to the *Birket Mamilla*, but no trace of it has yet been found.

7. *Population.*—There is no point in which the exaggeration in which Josephus occasionally indulges is more apparent than in speaking of the population of the city. The inhabitants were dead; no record remained; and to magnify the greatness of the city was a compliment to the prowess of the conquerors. Still the assertions that the numbers assembled at the Passover were sometimes 2,700,000 (*B. J.* vi. 9, § 3), and sometimes 3,000,000 (ii. 14, § 3); that 600,000 dead bodies were cast out of the gates (v. 13, § 7); that 1,100,000 perished during the siege; that 97,000 were taken captive (vi. 9, § 3), besides 40,000 set at liberty (8, § 2), are so childish that it is surprising that anyone could ever have repeated them. Even the more moderate calculation of Tacitus (v. 13) of 600,000 inhabitants is far beyond the limits of probability.[x]

No town in the East can be pointed out where each inhabitant has not at least 50 square yards on an average allowed to him. In some of the crowded cities of the West, such as parts of London, Liverpool, Hamburg, &c., the space is reduced to about 30 yards, and in very limited areas to 9½ yards, to each inhabitant; but this only applies to the poorest and more crowded places, with houses many stories high, not to cities containing palaces and public buildings. The area of the plateau upon which Jerusalem stands, does not exceed 5,000,000 square yards; and this, allowing 30 square yards for each inhabitant, only gives a population of 166,666. At the time of the Roman siege, however, when the city covered a greater extent of ground than it did before or afterwards, its area did not exceed 1,379,980 square yards; this gives a population of 46,000, and if a deduction be made for the space occupied by the Temple, the palaces and the gardens, the total may be reduced to 40,000. The population of Jerusalem, in its days of greatest prosperity, may thus have

[u] Possibly this was the official residence of the high-priest, and the same place as the house of Caiaphas (Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark xiv. 54; Luke xxii. 54; John xviii. 5).

[x] It is instructive to compare these with the moderate figures of Jeremiah (lii. 28–30), where he enumerates the number of persons carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar in three deportations from both city and province as only 4,600.

amounted to at most 46,000 souls; and assuming that in times of Festival there was an addition of one-half to these numbers, which is an extreme estimate, there may have been about 70,000 in the city when Titus came up against it. As no one would stay in a beleaguered city who had a home to flee to, it is hardly probable that the men who came up to fight for the defence of the city would equal the number of women and children who would seek refuge elsewhere; so that the probability is that about the usual population of the city were in it at that time.

It may also be mentioned that the army which Titus brought up against Jerusalem did not exceed from 25,000 to 30,000 effective men of all arms, which, taking the probabilities of the case, is about the number that would be required to attack a fortified town defended by from 8,000 to 10,000 men capable of bearing arms. Had the garrison been more numerous, the siege would have been improbable. Josephus indeed states (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1) that the number of fighting men was 23,400, but, taking the whole incidents of his narrative, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that the Jews could ever have mustered 10,000 combatants at any period of the siege; 7,000 or 8,000 is probably nearer the truth. Had the besieged been more numerous, Titus would never have broken up his army into three divisions, and posted them at such widely spaced intervals as he did (v. 3, § 5); nor would the Jews have been unable to break through the long wall of circumvallation.

8. *Pre-exilic Jerusalem*, according to Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, §§ 1, 2), covered the eastern and western hills, and this is the generally accepted view. It has, however, been contested by Prof. Robertson Smith (*Encyc. Brit.* s. v. Jerusalem) and by Prof. Sayce (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1883, p. 215 sq.), who maintain that, prior to the Captivity, the city had not spread beyond the limits of the eastern hill. This theory is open to the objections that the area of the eastern hill[y] is insufficient for the population that must have been present in Jerusalem during the prosperous reigns of Solomon and some of his successors; and that there is no indication in the books of Maccabees, or in Josephus, that any important additions were made to the city between the rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah and the reign of Herod.

Jerusalem, when it first comes into view, bears the name Jebus (Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 28; Judg. xix. 10). It was then a royal city of the Canaanites (Josh. x. 1, 23); but, excepting that its king, who was nearest to the point of danger, took the lead in the league against the Gibeonites, there is no indication that it was of more importance, or of greater size, than the other towns whose chiefs, or kinglets, opposed the advance of the Israelites. In fact the Jebusites are always mentioned last, as if of least importance, in the formula by which the Promised Land is designated; and they appear to have occupied a very limited tract of country.

[y] The eastern hill has an area of 255,939 square yards, which at 50 square yards for each inhabitant, a low estimate when the nature of the ground is considered, would give a population of 5,100.

There is no reason to suppose that the growth of Jerusalem differed, in any material respect, from that of other ancient cities. The first colony would naturally settle on the eastern hill, in close proximity to the spring at its foot, and the western hill would be gradually occupied as wealth and population increased. The view adopted in the present article is that when the Israelites entered Palestine Jebus was confined to the eastern hill, and that it then consisted of an acropolis, and of a walled town covering the rocky slopes of the hill above Siloam. Perhaps too, as some ancient rock-hewn chambers seem to suggest, there was a small suburb on the S.E. slope of the western hill; but it is improbable that the whole of that hill was covered with buildings at such an early period. Jebus was attacked by Judah, and by Benjamin, and, upon one occasion, the lower or walled town was captured and burned (Judg. i. 8). The Acropolis, however,—the stronghold or mountain fortress (מְצָדָה) of Zion,—held out and resisted all attempts at capture, until David carried it by storm (2 Sam. v. 7; 1 Ch. xi. 5). David strengthened the Acropolis with new walls, and made it his place of residence. Hence it was called the "city of David" (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Ch. xi. 7), a name originally confined to the Acropolis, but afterwards, as in the similar case of the Macedonian Acra, applied to all that portion of the city that lay on the eastern hill.[z]

After its capture Jerusalem became the religious and political centre of the Jews; and during the reign of Solomon it was enlarged and fortified (1 K. iii. 1, ix. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, § 1; 6, § 1), and adorned with a Temple and palace (1 K. vii.; *Ant.* viii. 5, §§ 1, 2). It was probably during this period, one of great commercial activity, when there was a large and rapid increase of wealth and prosperity, that the western hill was enclosed by walls and joined to the "City of David." This new quarter was no doubt, at first, largely composed of the houses and gardens of the wealthy; and here, apparently, was the house built by Solomon for the daughter of Pharaoh (1 K. ix. 24; 2 Ch. viii. 11). The fortifications were afterwards repaired and strengthened by Uzziah, Jotham, Hezekiah, and Manasseh; and the two last kings added new walls to the city (2 Ch. xxvi. 9, xxvii. 3, xxxii. 5, xxxiii. 14; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, § 3; 11, § 2; x. 3, § 2). Hezekiah greatly improved the water supply (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 30); and it was possibly during his reign that the "second wall" (p. 1603) was built (2 Ch. xxxii. 5).

Pre-exilic Jerusalem, according to the above view, occupied the same area that the city did in the time of Christ,—that is, before Agrippa added the third wall; and the division into two quarters, corresponding apparently to the upper and lower cities, was already recognised (2 K.

[z] The passages in which the City of David is mentioned are: 2 Sam. vi. 12, 16; 1 K. ii. 10, iii. 1, viii. 1, ix. 24, xi. 27, 43, xiv. 31, xv. 8, 24, xxii. 50; 2 K. viii. 24, ix. 28, xii. 21, xiv. 20, xv. 7, 38, xvi. 20; 1 Ch. xiii. 13, xv. 1, 29; 2 Ch. v. 2, viii. 11, ix. 31, xii. 16, xiv. 1, xvi. 14, xxi. 1, 20, xxiv. 16, 25, xxvii. 9, xxxii. 5, 30, 33, xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 15, xii. 37; 1 Macc. i. 33, vii. 32, xiv. 36; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 3, § 2.

xxii. 14; Zeph. i. 10: cp. 2 K. xx. 4; Neh. iii. 9). There is no indication in the Bible of the character of the fortifications or of the architectural features of the houses; but the walls were provided with towers, especially at the gates and corners, and with battlements (2 Ch. xxvi. 9, 15, xxxii. 5; Ps. xlviii. 12, 13; *Ant.* x. 3, § 2). One tower only, Hananeel (R. V. Hananel), is specially mentioned (Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10); and this, from the later description in Nehemiah (iii. 1, xii. 39), appears to have been to the north of and close to the Temple (see Plate III.). Closely connected with the fortifications was MILLO (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 K. ix. 15, 24, xi. 27; 2 K. xii. 20; 1 Ch. xi. 8; 2 Ch. xxxii. 5), an archaic word, perhaps of Canaanite origin, which, except in one case (2 Ch. xxxii. 5), is translated by the LXX. ἡ ἄκρα,—a word that they employ nowhere else in the O. T., and that is used throughout the books of Maccabees for the fortress on Mount Zion (p. 1644). Some authorities suppose Millo to have been a place of assembly, others an embankment, a tower on a mound, or a valley (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chor.* xxiv.). The view taken here is that it was either the Acropolis or one of its towers, and that it stood on or near the site of the later Acra. In close proximity to the south wall of the Temple was the place or quarter called "the OPHEL," which derived its name from, or gave it to, an important tower in the line of fortifications above the Kedron (2 Ch. xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 14; Is. xxxii. 14 [Heb.]; Mic. iv. 8 [Heb.]; cp. Tal. Jer. *Taanith*, iii. 11). Ophel was the residence of the Nethinim (Neh. iii. 26, 27); and it is mentioned by Josephus in his account of the last days of Jerusalem as "the Ophla" (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 9; v. 4, § 2; 6, § 1; vi. 6, § 3).

The gates, those important features of an Oriental city, are referred to generally in Ps. ix. 14, lxxxvii. 2; Jer. xvii. 19. They would naturally be at the ends of the principal streets, and the names of several of them are specially mentioned. (1) The Gate of Ephraim was 400 cubits from the Corner Gate (2 K. xiv. 13; 2 Ch. xxv. 23), and, according to Nehemiah (viii. 16, xii. 39), was between the Old Gate and the broad wall, and at the end of a street of the same name. Jerome (*Quaest. Heb.*) identifies it with the Valley Gate; but there can be little doubt that it was the gate, on the north side of the city, through which the road to the north ran, and it may be placed with some degree of certainty near the junction of the "Via Dolorosa," with the street from the Damascus Gate, where the *porta judiciaria* was shown in the Middle Ages. (2) The Gate of Benjamin, by which Jeremiah left the city (Jer. xxxvii. 13), must also have been in the north wall. It is mentioned again (Zech. xiv. 10), and was perhaps the same as the Gate of Ephraim.[a] There was a Temple gate of the same name (Jer. xx. 2, xxxviii. 7; cp. *v.* 14), apparently the Miphkad of Nehemiah (iii. 31); and there was to be a Gate of Benjamin on the east side of the restored, holy Jerusalem (Ezek. xlviii. 32). (3) The First Gate is mentioned, apparently in order, between the Gate of Benjamin and the Corner Gate (Zech. xiv. 10), and is perhaps the same as (4) the Middle Gate, in which the princes of Babylon sat after the capture of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3), and as the Old Gate (Neh. iii. 6). In this case the First Gate would be at the north end of the street running up the Tyropoeon Valley. (5) The Fish Gate (2 Ch. xxxiii. 14), which occupied a prominent position (Zeph. i. 10), was between the Tower of Hananeel and the Old Gate (Neh. iii. 1–6, xii. 39); and if the position assigned to the Tower of Hananeel, at the N.W. corner of the Haram, be correct, it must have been the gate through which the direct road from the eastern hill to the north, now *Tarîk bâb ez-Zahire*, passed. It was perhaps so called from its vicinity to the fish market where the Tyrian merchants sold their fish (Neh. xiii. 16); Jerome (*Quaest. Heb.*) identifies it with the Jaffa Gate, but this is inadmissible if he refers to the modern gate of that name. (6) The Corner Gate (2 K. xiv. 3; 2 Ch. xxv. 23, xxvi. 9; Zech. xiv. 10) is mentioned in connexion with the Tower of Hananeel (Jer. xxxi. 38), and was possibly the same as the Fish Gate. (7) The Horse Gate, by which horses entered "the king's house," was near the Temple (2 K. xi. 16; 2 Ch. xxiii. 15), close to a corner of the east wall (Jer. xxxi. 40) and to the wall of Ophel (Neh. iii. 27, 28), and according to Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 7, § 3) it opened on to the Kedron Valley. It must have been near the S.E. corner of the Haram area. (8) The gate between the two walls was close to the king's gardens (2 K. xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4), and is apparently identical with the Fountain Gate (Neh. iii. 15), which was near the same place. (9) The Gate Harsith, which led to the Valley of Hinnom (Jer. xix. 2), was perhaps the later Dung Gate (Neh. iii. 14), and Gate of the Essenes (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2), at the end of the main street running southward, over the western hill, from the Gate of Ephraim. (10) The Valley Gate, or Gate of the Ravine, *gâi* (2 Ch. xxvi. 9), which, from its name, must have led to the Valley of Hinnom, was between the Tower of the Furnaces and the Dung Gate, and apparently opposite to or near the "dragon's well" (Neh. ii. 13–15, iii. 11–13). It was possibly a gate in the west wall to the south of the present citadel. (11) The Gate of Joshua, the governor of the city, is mentioned (2 K. xxiii. 8), without any indication of position. Other gates are referred to in connexion with the king's house and the Temple (2 K. xi. 6, 19, xv. 35; 1 Ch. ix. 18, xxvi. 16; 2 Ch. xxiii. 5, 20; Jer. xxvi. 10, xxxvi. 10; Ezek. ix. 2), but no traces of them now exist. There were open spaces and bazârs in the city (2 Ch. xxxii. 6; Jer. xxxvii. 21); reservoirs, or tanks supplied by conduits (p. 1591); and, in the valley below Siloam, gardens kept green and fresh by irrigation.

The pre-exilic Temple and its courts covered a much smaller area than the Temple of Herod, but the altars of both temples were erected on the same spot, near the S.W. corner of the Haram (p. 1641). The position of the royal palaces is uncertain. David, who at first resided in the Acropolis, moved afterwards to a "house of cedar" built for him by Tyrian

[a] Some of the earlier pilgrims, probably from Ezek. xlviii. 32, place the Gate of Benjamin on the east side of Jerusalem. (Theodosius, i.; Arculfus, i. 1.)

workmen (2 Sam. v. 9–11; 1 Ch. xiv. 1), which appears to have been in sight of, and at a lower level than, the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 18; 1 K. viii. 1, 6). In the time of Nehemiah the traditional house of David stood on the eastern hill, not far from the Temple (Neh. xii. 37); and in the same quarter was the Armoury (iii. 19), which was no doubt the "tower of David builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all the shields of the mighty men" (Cant. iv. 4). It is possible that the more magnificent house of Solomon (1 K. vii. 1–12) was an enlargement or reconstruction of David's "house of cedar," and that it afterwards became the "king's house," or royal palace. This "king's house" was in close proximity to the Temple (2 K. xi. 5, 16, 19, 20; 2 Ch. xxiii. 15, 20; Ezek. xliii. 7, 8), and apparently within its precincts (2 K. xxiii. 11). It was connected by a covered way with the outer court (2 K. xvi. 8), and lay partly under the treasury (Jer. xxxviii. 11), which, as at a later period (John viii. 10; Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 6, § 1; *B. J.* v. 5, § 2), appears to have been an adjunct of the Temple. The same palace is probably alluded to as the "king's high house" (Neh. iii. 25), which was near the wall of Ophel. There was also a "winter house" (Jer. xxxvi. 22), and a "house" for the daughter of Pharaoh (p. 1598). According to the Mishna (*Parah*, iii. 2) it was the custom to bury inside the walls at the time of the first Temple, *i.e.* during the pre-exilic period; and this accords with the statements in the Bible with regard to the burial of David and most of his successors (1 K. ii. 10, xi. 43, xv. 24, xxii. 50, &c.). At a later date all the tombs, *i.e.* the bones in them, excepting those of the family of David, and that of Huldah, appear to have been removed outside the city (Tosefta *Baba Bathra*, i.). The position of the tomb of David, which became the burial-place of the kings of Judah, is uncertain. It is distinctly stated to have been in the "City of David" (*l. c.*), that is, on the eastern hill; and this is not only confirmed by Nehemiah, who mentions it (iii. 15, 16) after Siloam in a description proceeding from west to east, but by a curious Jewish tradition that the tombs of the kings were connected by a hollow way or tunnel with the Kedron Valley (quoted by Dr. Chaplin, *PEFQy. Stat.* 1885, p. 192, note). The locality seems to have been well known up to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (Acts ii. 29; Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 7, § 1); and it was apparently within the walls when the city was besieged by Antiochus (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 15, § 3; xiii. 8, § 4; *B. J.* i. 2, § 5). Many suggestions have been made with regard to the position of the tomb, and of these the most plausible is perhaps that of M. Clermont-Ganneau. He supposes that the sepulchre of David was a pit-tomb of the Phoenician type,—a sepulchral chamber or chambers, reached from the surface by a shaft,—and that it was at the southern extremity of the eastern hill, in the bend made by the rock-hewn conduit between the Fountain of the Virgin and the Pool of Siloam. The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* xvi. 7, § 1) that Herod built a monument on the mouth, ἐπὶ τῷ στομίῳ, of David's tomb seems to favour the view that it was a pit-tomb; and Epiphanius, Theodoret, Nicolas of Damascus, and the Paschal Chronicle connect the Siloam conduit with the tomb (*Revue Critique*, 1887). Eusebius and Jerome, on what authority is not stated, place the tomb of David at Bethlehem (*OS.*[2] p. 246, 22; p. 135, 5). It is now shown, outside the Sion Gate, on the western hill of Jerusalem.

9. *Zion.*—One of the most difficult points connected with the topography of ancient Jerusalem is the correct fixation of the locality of the sacred Mount of Zion. Unfortunately the name Zion is not found in the works of Josephus, so that we have not his assistance, which would be invaluable in this case, and there is no passage in the Bible which directly asserts the identity of the hills Moriah and Zion, though many that cannot well be understood without this assumption. The cumulative proof, however, is such as almost to supply this want.

From the passages in 2 Sam. v. 7, 9, 1 K. viii. 1, 1 Ch. xi. 5, 7, and 2 Ch. v. 2, it is quite clear that Zion and the City of David were identical, for it is there said, "David took the strong hold of Zion; the same is the City of David" (R. V.); "and David dwelt in the strong hold, and called it the City of David" (R. V.). When David moved from the stronghold to the palace of cedar which the Tyrian craftsmen built for him, the names Zion and City of David were no doubt, as in the parallel case of the Macedonian Acra, applied both to the Acropolis and to the town beneath its walls. Mount Zion originally, and in a narrow sense, was the hill upon which Zion, the City of David, was built; and, as the Temple apparently stood above the City of David (2 Sam. xxiv. 18; 1 K. viii. 1, 4; 2 Ch. v. 2), it follows that Mount Zion must have been the lower or eastern, and not the higher or western hill of Jerusalem. The name Zion is, it is true, often applied to the whole of the city (Ps. liii. 6, cxxvi. 1, cxlvi. 10; Is. i. 27, xiv. 32; Lam. i. 4), and is sometimes a mere reduplication of Jerusalem; but, as a rule, a distinction is made between the two places. In the following passages, for instance, Zion is apparently spoken of as a different city, or quarter, from Jerusalem: "For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of Mount Zion" (2 K. xix. 31). "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem" (Ps. li. 18). "For the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem" (Is. xxx. 19). "Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation" (Is. lxiv. 10). "Zion shall be plowed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps" (Jer. xxvi. 18; Mic. iii. 12). "The Lord shall roar out of Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem" (Joel iii. 16; Amos i. 2). "The Lord shall get comfort in Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem" (Zech. i. 17).[b] This quality of designation indicates precisely the twofold character of the city,—the Acropolis (Zion) with the houses and palaces (Ps. xlviii. 3) clustering round it,—the "lower city" of Josephus,—on

[b] See also 1 K. viii. 1; 2 K. xix. 21; Ps. cxxviii. 5, cxlvii. 12; Is. ii. 3, xxiv. 23, xxxi. 4, 5, xxxvii. 32, lii. 1; Mic. iv. 2, xxiv. 10, 11; and after the Captivity, Ecclus. xxxvi. 13, 14.

the eastern hill; and the town itself (Jerusalem)—the "upper city" of the same author—on the western hill. There are also numerous passages in which Zion is spoken of as a Holy place in such terms as are never applied to Jerusalem, and which can only be understood on the supposition that they apply to the Holy Temple Mount. As, for instance, "I set my king on my holy hill of Zion" (Ps. ii. 6). "The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob" (Ps. lxxxvii. 2). "The Lord has chosen Zion" (Ps. cxxxii. 13). "The city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel" (Is. lx. 14). "Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion to the Lord" (Jer. xxxi. 6). "Thus saith the Lord, I am returned to Zion" (Zech. viii. 3). "I am the Lord thy God, dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain" (Joel iii. 17). "For the Lord dwelleth in Zion" (Joel iii. 21); and other passages[c] which will occur to every one at all familiar with the Scriptures. Though these cannot be taken as absolute proof, they certainly amount to strong presumptive evidence that Zion and the Temple hill were one and the same place. There is one curious passage, however, which is scarcely intelligible on any other hypothesis than this. It is known that the sepulchres of David and his successors were on Mount Zion, or in the City of David, but the wicked king Ahaz for his crimes was buried in Jerusalem, "in the city," and "not in the sepulchres of the kings" (2 Ch. xxviii. 27). Jehoram (2 Ch. xxi. 20) narrowly escaped the same punishment, and the distinction is so marked that it cannot be overlooked. It also follows from Neh. iii. 15, 16, that the name Zion was applied to the eastern hill.

When from the Old Testament we turn to the books of the Maccabees, we find passages, written by persons who certainly were acquainted with the localities, which seem to *fix* the site of Zion with a considerable amount of certainty; as, for instance, "(They) went up into Mount Zion. And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest" (1 Macc. iv. 37, 38; cp. *v.* 60). "After this went Nicanor up to Mount Zion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain of the priests" (1 Macc. vii. 33; cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 31). "They went up to Mount Zion with joy and gladness, where they offered burnt offerings" (1 Macc. v. 54). See also 1 Macc. vi. 48, 51, xiv. 27; cp. *v.* 48, &c. These passages leave no doubt that at that time Zion and the Temple Hill were considered one and the same place. In agreement with this are also the references in Ecclus. xxiv. 10; 1 Esd. viii. 81; 2 Esd. v. 25; Judith ix. 13. Josephus, it is true, places the "City of David" and the citadel stormed by Joab on the western hill, and clearly identifies them with the "Upper City" (*Ant.* vii. 3, §§ 1, 2; cp. *B. J.* v. 4, § 1); but the statements of the Jewish historian cannot be regarded as equal in authority to those of the writers of the books of Maccabees, Esdras, and Ecclesiasticus.

The question whether the stronghold of Zion was to the north or to the south of the Temple cannot be solved with our present knowledge. Lightfoot (*Op.* i. 553; ii. 187) is in favour of the former, and refers to the words, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king" (Ps. xlviii. 2), and also to Is. xiv. 13 and Ezek. xl. 2. Reland (*Pal.* p. 846 sq.) controverts this view, and argues in favour of the identification of Zion with the "Upper City" of Josephus. The more probable view seems to be that the author of the First Book of Maccabees was right in identifying Zion with the Temple Mount and its stronghold with the Acra (i. 31–33, 36; iii. 45; vii. 32).

During the first four centuries after Christ the name Zion was applied sometimes to the eastern and sometimes to the western hill. From the 5th century inclusive the latter only has been known as Zion. The Rabbis with one accord place the Temple on Mount Zion; and though their authority in matters of doctrine may be valueless, still their traditions ought to have been sufficiently distinct to justify their being considered as authorities on a merely topographical point of this sort. Lightfoot (*Fall of Jerusalem*, § 1) quotes from the Talmud: "The wicked Turnus Rufus ploughed up the place of the Temple, and the places about it, to accomplish what is said, Zion shall become a ploughed field." Origen (*in Joan.* iv. 19, 20) clearly identifies Zion with the Temple Mount, and so do Eusebius (*in Is.* xxii. 1) and apparently Jerome (*in Is.* xxii. 1, 2). On the other hand, Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 257, 21; p. 162, 25; p. 134, 20) and in other places refer to the western hill as Zion, and so does the Bordeaux Pilgrim (*Itin. Hieros.*).

It has been suggested that the name Zion was originally applied to the western hill, that after the return from Captivity it was transferred to the eastern hill, and that in the 4th century A.D. it was retransferred to the western hill; but this theory is quite untenable. A more probable view is that the eastern hill was regarded as Zion until Christianity became the religion of the State, and that, when Constantine built "New Jerusalem" (*i.e.* the Church of the Anastasis, and the Basilica) over against the one celebrated of old (*i.e.* the Jewish Temple), the name Zion was transferred to the western hill. It may be added that, the Antonia having been completely demolished, the great towers attached to Herod's palace, which were left standing by Titus, would naturally become in the eyes of an uncritical age the ancient Acropolis of Jerusalem,—the stronghold of Zion.

10. *Topography of the Book of Nehemiah.*—The only description of the ancient city of Jerusalem which exists in the Bible, so extensive in form as to enable us to follow it as a topographical description, is that found in the Book of Nehemiah; and although it is hardly sufficiently distinct to enable us to settle all the moot points, it contains such valuable indications that it is well worthy of the most attentive examination.

The easiest way to arrive at any correct conclusion regarding it, is to take first the

[c] Ps. ix. 11, l. 2, lxxiv. 2, 3, lxxvi. 2, lxxviii. 68, 69, lxxxiv. 7, xcix. 2, cxxxiv. 3; Is. viii. 18, xviii. 7; Jer. viii. 19, l. 28; Obad. *v.* 17. It should be remembered, with reference to the expressions in some of the Psalms, that the Ark was in the City of David, on Mount Zion, for many years during David's reign.

description of the Dedication of the Walls in ch. xii. (31–40), and, drawing such a diagram as this, we easily get at the main features of the old wall at least.

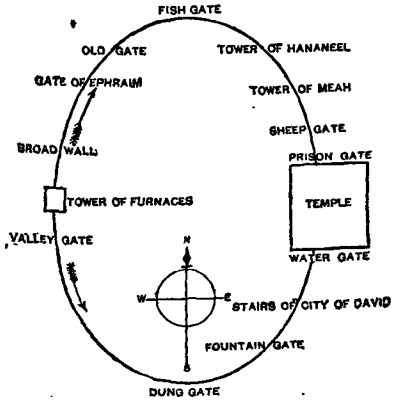


Diagram of places mentioned in dedication of walls.

The order of procession was that the princes of Judah went up upon the wall at some point as nearly as possible opposite to the Temple, and one half of them, turning to the right, went towards the Dung Gate, "and at the fountain gate, which was over against them" ("by the fountain gate, and straight before them," R. V.), or, in other words, on the opposite or Temple side of the city, "went up by the stairs of the city of David at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward." The Water Gate, therefore, was one of the southern gates of the Temple (iii. 26; viii. 1, 3, 16), and the stairs that led up towards it are here identified with those of the city of David, and consequently with Zion.

The other party turned to the left, or northwards, and passed from beyond ("above," R. V.) the Tower of the Furnaces even "unto the broad wall," and passing the Gate of Ephraim, the Old Gate, the Fish Gate, the towers of Hananeel and Meah, to the Sheep Gate, "stood still in the prison-gate" ("gate of the guard," R. V.), as the other party had in the Water Gate. "So stood the two companies of them that gave thanks in the house of God."

If from this we turn to the 3rd chapter, which gives a description of the repairs of the wall, we have no difficulty in identifying all the places mentioned in the first sixteen verses with those enumerated in the 12th chapter. The repairs began at the Sheep Gate on the north side, and in immediate proximity to the Temple, and all the places named in the dedication, excepting the Gate of Ephraim, are again named, but in the reverse order, till we come to the Tower of the Furnaces, which must have stood on or near the site afterwards occupied by the Tower Hippicus (p. 1644). Mention is then made, but now in the direct order of the dedication, of "the valley-gate," the "dung-gate," "the fountain-gate;" and lastly, the "stairs that go down from the city of David." Between these last two places we find mention made of the Pool of Siloah and the king's garden, so that we have long passed the so-called sepulchre of David on the modern Zion, and have crossed the valley that separates it from the hill upon which the Temple stood. What follows is most important (*v.* 16), "After him repaired Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Bethzur, unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." This passage, when taken with the context, seems in itself quite sufficient to set at rest the question of the position of the city of David, of the sepulchres of the kings, and consequently of Zion, all which could not be mentioned after Siloah if placed where modern tradition has located them.

In the enumeration of the places repaired, in the last part of the chapter, we have two which we know, from the description of the dedication, really belonged to the Temple. The prison-court ("court of the guard," R. V., iii. 25), which must have been connected with the prison-gate ("gate of the guard," R. V.), and which, as shown by the order of the dedication, must have been on the north side of the Temple, is here also connected with the king's high or upper house; all this apparently referring to the Castle of David, which originally occupied the site of the Turris Antonia. We have on the opposite side the "water-gate," mentioned in the next verse to Ophel, and consequently as clearly identified with the southern gate of the Temple. We have also the Horse Gate, that by which Athaliah was taken out of the Temple (2 K. xi. 16; 2 Ch. xxiii. 15), which Josephus states led to the Kedron (*Ant.* ix. 7, § 3), and which is here mentioned as connected with the priests' houses, and probably, therefore, in close proximity to the Temple. Mention is also made of the house of Eliashib, the high-priest, and of the eastern gate, probably that of the Temple. In fact, no place is mentioned in these last verses which cannot be more or less directly identified with the localities on the Temple hill, and not one which can be located in Jerusalem, on the western hill. The whole of the City of David, however, was so completely rebuilt and remodelled by Herod, that there are no local indications to assist us in ascertaining the line which the order of description of the places mentioned after *v.* 16 follows. It is enough to know that the description in the last seventeen verses applies to Zion, or the City of David; as this is sufficient to explain almost all the difficult passages in the Old Testament which refer to the ancient topography of the city.

11. *Site of the Holy Sepulchre.*—Three important questions have to be considered in connexion with the site of the Holy Sepulchre. First, did Constantine, and those who acted with him, possess sufficient information to enable them to ascertain exactly the precise localities of the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ? Second, does the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre stand upon the ground once occupied by the Churches of Constantine? Third, where should the site of Christ's tomb be sought?

Eusebius, who was present at the consecration of Constantine's churches, A.D. 335, states that, in order to hide the "Divine cave" from the eyes of men, and so conceal the truth, certain ungodly and impious persons had covered up the

whole place with earth, paved it with stone, and erected above it a temple dedicated to Aphrodite. Constantine, "inspired by the Divine Spirit," ordered the temple to be destroyed, and the soil to be dug up to a considerable depth. When this was done, the cave, "contrary to all expectation," became visible. This discovery the emperor regarded as a miracle which it was beyond the capacity of man to understand (*Vit. Const.* iii. 25–28). Elsewhere Eusebius writes (*Theophania*, Lee's Translation, p. 199): "It is astonishing to see even the rock standing out erect and alone on a level land, and having only one cave in it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame death might have been obscured." No other writer in the 4th century alludes to the circumstances attending the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, but all the historians of the following century describe the discovery of the Tomb and the Cross as having been miraculous, and the act of the Empress Helena. The erection of the temple of Aphrodite is at the same time generally ascribed to the enemies of Christianity (Soc. *H. E.* i. 17; Theod. *H. E.* i. 18; Soz. *H. E.* ii. 1).

With regard to the "Invention of the Cross" which is so intimately connected with the discovery of the Tomb by historians of the 5th and succeeding centuries, Eusebius, who mentions (*Orat. de Laud. Const.* ix.) that the Basilica was dedicated to the Cross, and the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 333, are silent. Yet twenty years later Cyril speaks of its existence as a well-known fact, and before the close of the century it played an important part in the ritual of the Church at Jerusalem[d] (*S. Silviae Aq. Per. ad L. S.*, pp. 66, 67).

It has been urged (Chateaubriand, *Itin.* 2e *Mém.*, i. p. 122 sq.) that the members of the first Christian Church must have been well acquainted with the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and that, as there was a regular succession of bishops from the Apostle James to Hadrian's reign, the tradition could not have been lost. Also that the erection of a temple by Hadrian on the site is a proof that it was well known in his time. That the early Christians knew the position of the tomb is true, but there is no evidence in the N. T., or in the history of the primitive Church, that they attached the slightest importance to it. The regular succession of bishops from James to Hadrian's time rests on the authority of Eusebius, who states (*H. E.* iv. 5) that he wrote from report, and not from documentary evidence.[e] Jerome, it is true, hints (*Ep.* 49, *ad Paul.*) that the temple was one of the many buildings with which Hadrian adorned Aelia; but there is no certainty that he built it, that he did so at the place known as Golgotha in his day, or that he intentionally erected a temple above the tomb of Christ. As Dean Stanley well says (*S. and P.* p. 458), "It is hardly conceivable that Hadrian could have had any motive in such a purpose, when his whole object in establishing his new city of Aelia was to insult, not the Christians, but the Jews, from whom, in Palestine at that time, the Christians were emphatically divided."

It has been suggested (Finlay, *On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*) that, as the Romans made accurate maps and plans of the principal localities in their conquered provinces, Constantine could have had no difficulty in ascertaining the exact position of Golgotha. To this it may be objected that, unless Golgotha were the public place of execution, the spot at which three men were crucified would not have been of sufficient importance to be shown on a map; and that if the finders of the Tomb had been guided by a map, they would not have spoken of its discovery as miraculous. Possibly a tradition may have lingered as to the general direction, but that the exact spot was unknown seems to follow from the silence of Eusebius with regard to the place of Christ's burial in his earlier writings.[f]

The view (Conder, *PEFQy. Stat.*, 1883, p. 69 sq.) that the cave beneath the temple of Aphrodite was a natural cavern,[g] connected with the mysteries of Venus, which was adopted by Macarius as the Sepulchre of Christ, and reconsecrated as a Christian Holy Place, derives some support from the statement of Jerome that from the time of Hadrian onwards Adonis had been worshipped in the Grotto at Bethlehem (*Ep.* xlix. *ad Paulin.*), and from the manner in which the "three holy caves" are alluded to by Eusebius (*de Laud. Const.* ix.). On the other hand, if there had been any doubt as to the authenticity of the site, Julian would probably have brought it forward as an instance of Christian duplicity. It is only natural to suppose that those who discovered the Tomb of Christ made every effort to ascertain the true site; yet it is difficult to resist the conclusion that they were guided by no definite tradition and by no trustworthy historical evidence.

The identity of the traditional Holy Sepulchre with the cave discovered by Constantine may be regarded as certain. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 257, 22; p. 162, 25) place Golgotha to the north of Mount Zion, evidently the western hill; the Bordeaux Pilgrim passing from Zion, along the main street of the ancient city, to the "Gate of Neapolis," at or near the Damascus Gate, had Golgotha on his left hand and the Praetorium on his right (*Itin. Hieros.*); and S. Paula, after leaving the Sepulchre, ascends Zion (*Ep. Paul.*

[d] It appears that special precautions had to be taken to prevent pilgrims biting pieces out of the cross when kissing it on Good Friday (S. Sil. *l. c.*).

[e] The arguments for and against the existence of any tradition respecting the site of the Tomb are given by Robinson (ii. 70 sq.).

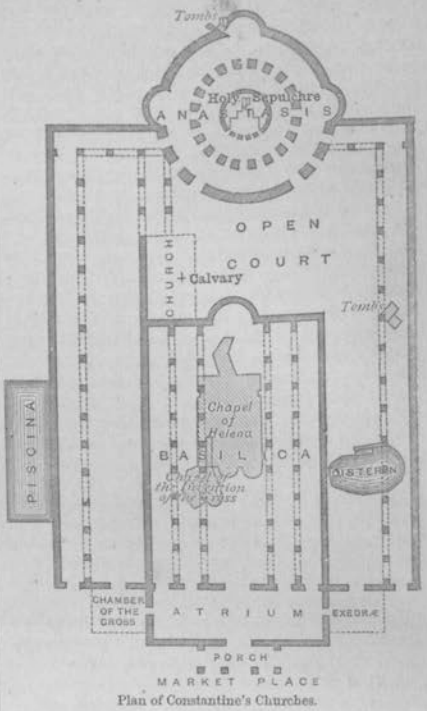
[f] Eusebius, writing ten or more years before the journey of Helena, refers to pilgrimages to the cave on the Mount of Olives in which Christ taught His disciples, and mentions the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem (*Demonst. Ev.* vi. 18, p. 288; vii. 2, p. 343); and it is difficult to believe that he would not have alluded to the Tomb if its site had been known.

[g] It is to be observed that Eusebius always speaks of the sepulchre as τὸ ἄντρον, which usually implies a natural cavern, rather than an excavated tomb (*Vit. Const.* iii. 25–33); and that he uses the same word when writing of the grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and the cave of the Apostles on the Mount of Olives (iii. 43; *Orat. de Laud. Const.* ix.). The word used in the N. T. is generally μνημεῖον. Matt. xxvii. 61, xxviii. 1, has also τάφος.

vii.). Eucherius, c. A.D. 530 (§§ 1–5), distinctly places Golgotha to the north of modern Zion, and no other position is assigned to it by subsequent writers.

The Tomb was richly decorated by Constantine, who, in A.D. 326–335, erected over and near it two great churches: one, the Anastasis or Church of the Resurrection, contained the Sepulchre; the other, the Basilica or Martyrium, was dedicated to the Cross. There was also a smaller church of Golgotha or Calvary, which, though not mentioned by Eusebius, must have been built at the same time or soon afterwards. The Basilica stood in an open court with cloisters on three sides, and to the east of it were an atrium, with *exedrae*, and a porch. These buildings remained intact until 614, when they are said to have been destroyed or greatly injured by the Persians. They are described by Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iii. 25–42), who was present at their dedication, and they were seen, whilst in a perfect state, by several pilgrims who have left records, more or less full, of what they saw (*Itin. Hieros.*; *S. Silviae Aq. Per.*; Jerome, *Per. S. Paulae*; Eucherius, *De Loc. Sanct.* i.-viii.; *Brev. de Hieros.*; Theodosius, *De Sit. T. S.* §§ 1–14; Antoninus, *De Loc. Sanct.* xvi.–xxvii.). After the Persian invasion and before the capture of the city by the Arabs, A.D. 637, the churches were repaired or rebuilt by Modestus, and in this state they were seen by Arculfus, c. 670–80, who, besides giving a detailed description of the buildings, is the first pilgrim to furnish a plan (*De Loc. Sanct.* i. 2–13); by Willibald (*Hodoep.*); and by Bernard (*Itin.*).

It is clear from a careful comparison of these ancient records, and especially of the plan of Arculfus, with the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its adjuncts, that many traces of the original churches remain. The relative position of the churches is the same; the circular Church of the Anastasis has preserved its form; the south wall of the Basilica can be traced from "Calvary" eastward; portions of the paved court have been brought to light; and one of the large cisterns constructed by Constantine has been discovered. The original surface of the ground inclined to the S.E., and a level platform was obtained by cutting away the rock at the western end to a depth of about 30 ft. below the level of Christian Street. At the same time the rock masses of the Tomb and "Calvary" were isolated so as to stand out prominently above the general level. This explains the remark of Dositheus (ii. 1, § 7), that on account of the hill there was only the wall of the enclosure on the west side of the Sepulchre; and it is probable that the isolation of the rock at "Calvary" gave rise to the term "Mount" (*Monticulus*) Calvary. The existence of two rock-hewn tombs, one to the west, the other to the north-east of the Holy Sepulchre, shows that this locality was used by the Jews as a place of burial, and that the Sepulchre may well have formed part of an ancient tomb. Cyril expressly states (*Cat.* xiv. 9) that the outer cave was cut away to facilitate the decoration of the Tomb itself, and there would have been no difficulty in doing this (Willis, *Holy Sepulchre*; Wilson, *PEFQy. Stat.*, 1877, p. 130 sq.), though it is somewhat surprising that Eusebius does not mention an excavation of such magnitude. Many attempts have been made to restore the plan upon which Constantine's



Plan of Constantine's Churches.

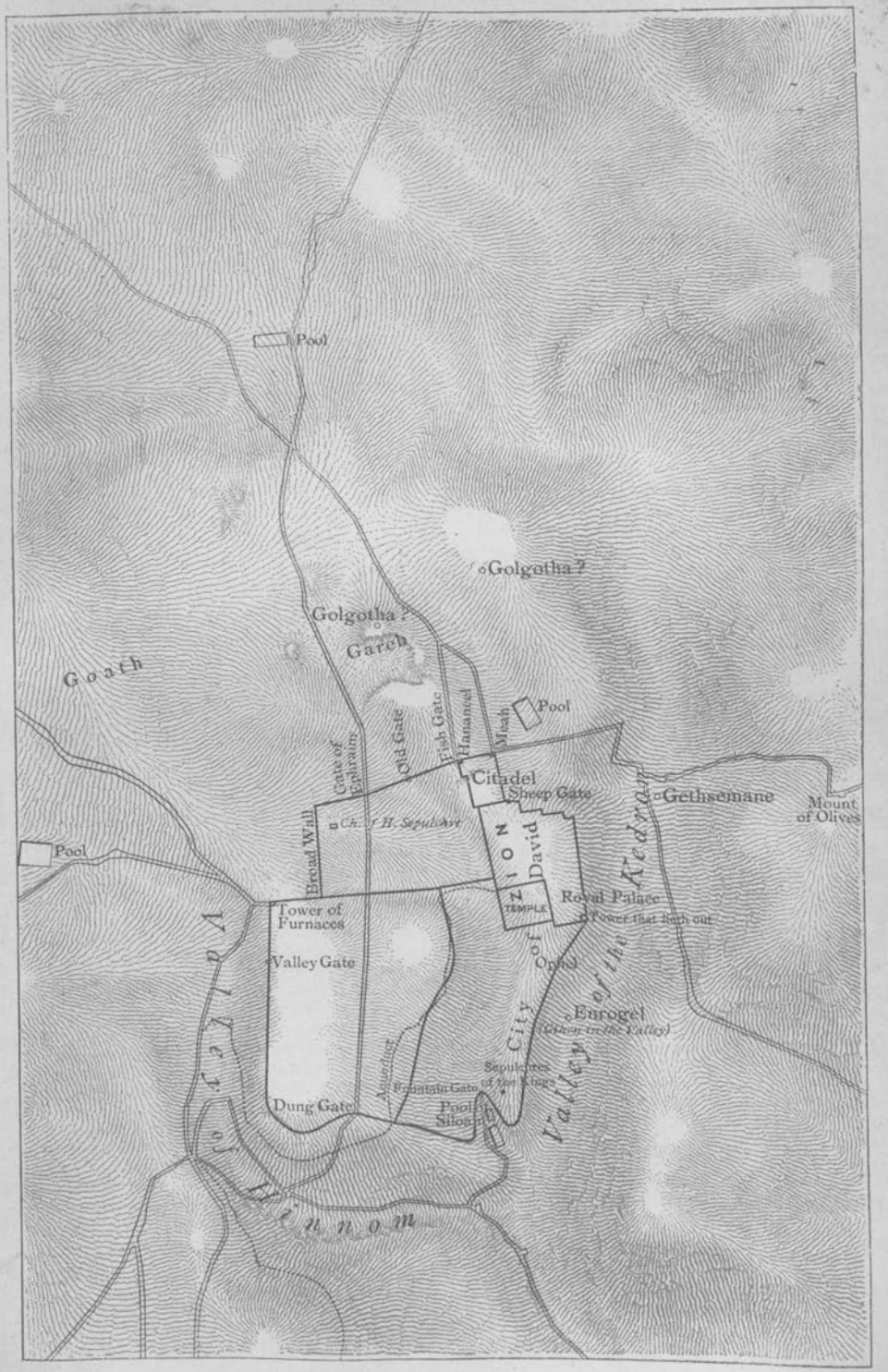
churches were originally built, and very different views have been advanced on the subject;[h] but no successful restoration can be made until the ground round the existing church has been examined by excavation.

The view that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands upon the site once occupied by Constantine's churches was contested by the late Mr. James Fergusson, who maintained, chiefly upon architectural grounds, that the original churches were situated within the Haram area, that the "Dome of the Rock" was the Church of the Resurrection, and that there was a transference of site during the first half of the 11th century (*Essay*, p. 154; *D. of B.* 1st ed. s. v. *Jerusalem*, Sect. x.; *Temples of the Jews*, p. 258 sq.) This theory, which from its novelty and from the heat imparted to the controversy by its originator and his opponents attracted much attention at the time, was not very favourably received, and the fuller information of the present day shows it to be quite untenable.

The history of the churches since their restoration by Modestus may be briefly told. About A.D. 1010 the Church of the Sepulchre was razed to its foundations (*usque ad solum diruta*, W. of Tyre, *Hist.* i. 4), and an attempt made to

[h] The plan in the text is an attempt to reconcile the various descriptions with the existing remains. A good summary of the subject will be found in Hayter Lewis' *Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem*, P. P. Text Society Series; and Hayter Lewis' *Holy Places at Jerusalem*.

Scale—Twelve inches to a mile. PLATE III.



destroy the Tomb itself by order of the Fatimite Khalif el-Hâkim. The restoration of the churches was completed in A.D. 1048, and a few years after the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders the buildings were seen and described by Saewulf (P. P. Text Soc. Series) and Abbot Daniel (the same series). During the Latin occupation of the city the church was reconstructed so as to bring all the Holy Places under one roof; and this building, of which there are many detailed descriptions, existed until it was partially destroyed by fire in 1808.[1] The restoration of the church in its present form was completed in 1810.

The determination of the true sites of Golgotha and the Tomb of Christ must rest chiefly on topographical considerations, and unfortunately the information to be obtained from the Bible on this head is most meagre. We are told that Jesus was led away from Gethsemane to the house of the High Priest, possibly his official residence, and the same as that mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 6); and that at daybreak next morning He was questioned by the Sanhedrin (Luke xxii. 66), which probably sat in the "Council House," between the Xystus and the western cloister of the Temple (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2), close to "Wilson's Arch." From the council chamber Jesus was taken to the Praetorium, and brought before Pilate (John xviii. 28, 29), who, after judgment, delivered Him to the Roman soldiers to be crucified. He was then led away to Golgotha and crucified with two malefactors.

The Praetorium could only have been one of two places,—the palace of Herod, on the western hill, or the Castle of Antonia, north of the Temple. The first was certainly occupied by Gessius Florus, who, Josephus says, in words that are almost an echo of the Gospels, "had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the High Priests, and the principal people, and all those of the greatest eminence in the city, came before his tribunal" (*B. J.* ii. 14, § 8). How long previously the palace had been the residence of the Roman Procurators is uncertain, but it is scarcely probable that Pilate, whose wife was with him, would have lived with the soldiers of the garrison in the Antonia, when Herod's palace, with its gardens and banqueting halls, was at his disposal. On the other hand, a tradition at least as old as the 4th cent. (*Itin. Hieros.*) places the Praetorium to the east of the Sepulchre; Theodosius and Antoninus in the 6th century mention that the Church of St. Sophia occupied the site of the Praetorium, apparently that on which the "Dome of the Rock" now stands; and later tradition identifies it with the Antonia, which stood at the N.W. angle of the Haram. A possible explanation is that Jesus was in the first place taken to Herod's palace,—the Praetorium, in which Pilate resided; that after judgment He was taken by the Roman soldiers to the Antonia, which was at once the head-quarters of the garrison and the state prison; and that from thence He was led out with the two thieves to be crucified.

The place of the Crucifixion was in a garden (John xix. 41), without the gate (Heb. xiii. 12: cp. Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 20; John xix. 17), and nigh to the city (John xix. 20), yet not necessarily close to it, for the Mount of Olives is said (Acts i. 12) to have been "nigh" to the city, and the transference of the cross, and the visits of the disciples and the women, give the idea of distance. It was near a frequented thoroughfare leading from one of the city gates to the country (Matt. xxvii. 39; Mark xv. 21, 29; Luke xxiii. 26), and was visible from afar off (Mark xv. 40; Luke xxiii. 49), and presumably from the Temple, or some point of vantage whence the high priests could look on without the risk of ceremonial defilement (Matt. xxvii. 41; Mark xv. 31; cp. John xviii. 28). Possibly also, as the sin offering was to be burned some distance from the camp, and to the north of the Altar (Lev. i. 10, 11; iv. 21: cp. Heb. xiii. 11, 12), Christ the Antitype suffered in the same position. In the garden in which He was crucified was the rock-hewn tomb in which "never man had yet lain" (Matt. xxvii. 60; Mark xv. 46; Luke xxiii. 53; John xix. 41).

In discussing the site of Golgotha, it is necessary to bear in mind that, at the time of the Crucifixion, the third wall, or that of Agrippa (as shown on Plate II.), had not been built; and that of the main roads entering the city, the one from the north, after passing the "Tombs of the Kings," probably led by three separate ways to the Antonia, to the principal gate of the second wall, and to the Gate Gennath and Herod's palace. The sites that have been suggested are:—

(i.) The traditional spot is now well within the city, and has not yet been proved to have been without the walls at the time of the Crucifixion. Nothing is yet certainly known of the course of the second wall; and the question whether it ran so as just to exclude or just to include the present site, can only be solved by excavation. The discoverers of the Sepulchre apparently believed that it was outside the walls, and that it was brought within their limits by Hadrian when he rebuilt the city. Amongst the arguments in favour of the site are the early tradition, the existence of rock-hewn tombs in the immediate vicinity, and the easy access, through the Gate Gennath, from Herod's palace, supposing that building to have been the Praetorium and the starting-point of the way to Golgotha. On the other hand, the tradition is not wholly reliable, the presence of tombs does not necessarily imply that the spot was outside the wall, and the position is west rather than north of the *Haram esh-Sherif*, in which the Temple stood.

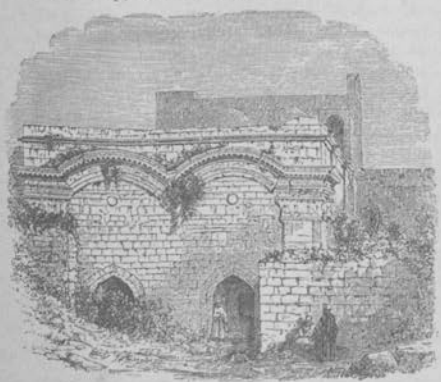
(ii.) The site in the Haram advocated by Mr. Fergusson is too close to the position he assigned to the Temple, and it was apparently within the wall of Herod. The historical evidence is decisive against it, and there is no evidence that the cave beneath the *Sakhrah* was ever used as a place of burial.

(iii.) M. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, p. 269) considers that the site of the Crucifixion must have been to the north or north-west of the city, on the plateau between the Kedron and the Hinnom valleys; and he is inclined to place it near the N.W. angle of the present wall, or on the hill side above the *Birket Mamilla*. This position, suitable in many respects, is too far to the west to meet the requirements of Lev. i. 10, 11.

[1] In the British Museum there is an interesting model of the church made prior to the fire of 1808.

(iv.) The proximity of the knoll above "Jeremiah's Grotto" to the great road from the north, its prominence, and its northerly position with regard to the Temple led Otto Thenius, as early as 1849, to identify it with Golgotha; and this view has since been strongly advocated by Felix Howe (1871), the late General Gordon, Major Conder, and other English and American writers. The principal argument in its favour, in addition to those just mentioned, is that according to modern Jewish tradition it is the place of execution by stoning, called in the Talmud the Beth has-Sekilah, or "House of Stoning." The existence of a cliff, the legends connected with the valley to the east, and the very early belief that St. Stephen suffered martyrdom outside the Damascus Gate, support the view that this spot was the "House of Stoning;" and if Christ had been condemned by the Sanhedrin for an offence against the religious law, He would probably have suffered death here. It must, however, be remembered that He was condemned by Pilate and crucified by Roman soldiers; and there is not the least evidence that the Roman place of crucifixion and the Jewish "House of Stoning" were identical. The contrary seems the more reasonable supposition. The Roman custom was to carry out executions beside a public highway, and the soldiers would scarcely have selected a place of execution so peculiarly Jewish. It is hardly probable either that the garden of Joseph of Arimathea included the "House of Stoning," or that Joseph would have made a new tomb in such close proximity to the common Jewish place of execution.

(v.) There are now no means of ascertaining the true site of the Crucifixion, but it may well be that Christ, having been brought from Herod's palace to the Antonia, was led out, with the two thieves, along that branch of the north road which kept to the eastern hill without descending into the Tyropoeon valley. The line of this road is clearly marked, within and without the city, and somewhere close to it the



Interior of Golden Gateway. (From a photograph.)

three crosses were possibly erected. The hill of Bezetha, forming as it does a prolongation of the ridge of Mount Moriah, would appear to be a suitable spot, but it must at that time have been covered with the "new town," which soon afterwards necessitated the construction of the third wall. Perhaps the view which best meets all the requirements of the case is that which was held by the late Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem, who maintained that Christ suffered directly to the north of the Temple, on the hill or spur to the east of Jeremiah's Grotto.

12. *Buildings: Constantine to Godfrey.*—The attempt of Julian, "the Apostate," to rebuild the Temple of the Jews was commenced about six months before his death; and according to

Frontispiece of Julian in south wall of Haram.

Mr. Fergusson, traces of his work may still be seen in the south wall of the Haram. "The great tunnel-like vault under the Mosque el-Aksa, with its four-domed vestibule, is almost certainly part of the temple of Herod [see TEMPLE], and coeval with his period; but externally to this, certain architectural decorations have been added (see above), and that so slightly, that daylight can be perceived between the old walls and the subsequent decorations, except at the points of attachment." From their classical forms these adjuncts cannot be so late as the time of Justinian; and they may with very tolerable certainty be ascribed to the age of Julian. Above them an inscription bearing the name of Hadrian has been inserted in the wall, but turned upside down; and the whole of the masonry being of an intermediate character between that which we know to be ancient, and that which we easily recognise as the work of the Muhammadans, there can be little doubt but that it belongs to this period.

The principal bearing of Julian's attempt on the topography of Jerusalem consists in the fact of its proving not only that the site of the Jewish temple was perfectly well known at this period—A.D. 362—but that the spot was then,

as always, held accursed by the Christians, and as doomed by the denunciation of Christ Himself never to be re-established.

During the reign of Constantine two churches were erected on the Mount of Olives, and there was a church on Mount Zion, which was called the *mater omnium ecclesiarum*, and was said to date from the time of Hadrian [k] (Epiphanius, *De M. et P.* 15; Theodosius, § 6). The tract of Eucherius (*c.* A.D. 440) mentions no other churches, but the visit of the Empress Eudocia to Jerusalem, A.D. 439, appears to have initiated a period of great building activity. To this period belonged the Church of St. Stephen, outside the Damascus Gate, and many of the churches mentioned by writers in the 6th century. The most important of these were St. Peter's, once the house of Caiaphas; St. Mary's, at the Pool of Bethesda; and the churches of the Tomb of the Virgin, Siloam, and the pinnacle of the Temple. The Church of St. Sophia or of the Praetorium, which, from the description given of it, must have stood on the site now occupied by "the Dome of the Rock," was apparently built towards the close of the 5th or commencement of the 6th century. It is only mentioned in documents of the 6th century (*Brev. de Hieros.*; Theodosius; and Antoninus), and was probably, with the Mary Church of Justinian close to it, destroyed during the Persian invasion.

Nearly two centuries after the attempt of Julian to rebuild the Temple, Justinian, according to Mr. Fergusson, "erected a church at Jerusalem; of which, fortunately, we have so full and detailed an account in the works of Procopius (*de Aedificiis Const.*) that we can have little difficulty in fixing its site, though no remains (at least above ground) exist to verify our conjectures. The description given by Procopius is so clear, and the details he gives with regard to the necessity of building up the substructure point so unmistakably to the spot near to which it must have stood, that almost all topographers have jumped to the conclusion that the Mosque el-Aksa is the identical church referred to. The architecture of that building is, however, alone sufficient to refute any such idea. No seven-aisled basilica was built in that age, and least of all by Justinian, whose favourite plan was a dome on pendentives, which in fact, in his age, had become the type of an Oriental Church. Besides, the Aksa has no apse, and, from its situation, never could have had either that or any of the essential features of a Christian basilica. Its whole architecture is that of the end of the 7th century, and its ordinance is essentially that of a mosque. It is hardly necessary to argue this point, however, as the Aksa stands on a point which was perfectly known at the time to be the very centre of the site of Solomon's Temple. Not only is this shown from Julian's attempt, but all the historians, Christian and Muhammadan, who refer to Omar's visit to Jerusalem, relate that the Sakhrah was covered with filth and abhorred by the Christians; and more than this, we have the direct testimony of Eutychius, writing in the 9th century, from Alexandria (*Annales*, ii. 289), 'That the Christians had built no church within the area of the Temple on account of the denunciations of the Lord, and had left it in ruins.'

"Notwithstanding this, there is no difficulty in fixing on the site of this church, inasmuch as the vaults that fill up the south-eastern angle of the Haram area are almost certainly of the age of Justinian (woodcuts, pp. 1635, 1639), and are just such as Procopius describes; so that if it were situated at the northern extremity of the vaults, all the arguments that apply to the Aksa equally apply to this situation." After a careful re-examination of the whole question, Prof. Hayter Lewis has come to the same conclusion with regard to the position of the church (*Holy Places*, p. 88).

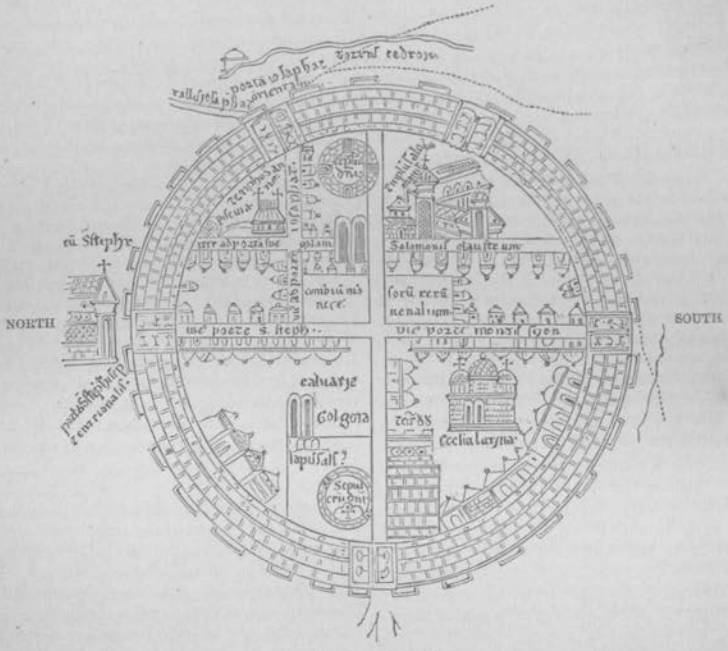
The "Hostel" and Church of St. Mary founded by Charlemagne in the first years of the 9th century complete the list of Christian buildings of interest.

The Muslims are said to have built two important mosques at Jerusalem—the *Kubbet es-Sakhrah*, "Dome of the Rock," and the Mosque *el-Aksa*. The erection of the first is ascribed by Arab historians to the Khalif Abd ul-Melik, and a Cufic inscription in the mosque states that it was built A.H. 72, or A.D. 691. The building is so perfect in form, and so classical in detail, that doubts have, from time to time, arisen with regard to its Arab origin. Mr. Fergusson believed that it was the original church of the Anastasis erected by Constantine (*Temples of the Jews*, p. 192 sq.); whilst Prof. Sepp considers it to be the work of Justinian (*Die Felsenkuppell eine Just. Sophien Kirche*). The supporters of the Arab origin of the mosque maintain that it was designed for the Arabs by a Byzantine or Persian architect, and built by Persian or Byzantine workmen, before the Arabs had developed any definite style of art of their own (Hayter Lewis, *Holy Places*, p. 72). The fact that the Arabs never erected a building so purely classical in feeling elsewhere gives rise to the suspicion that Abd ul-Melik did nothing more than restore a Christian church. There is probably no more foundation for the assertion that he was the builder of the "Dome of the Rock" than there is for the statement that el-Walîd built the mosque at Damascus when he only restored and enlarged a church. It may be suggested that the "Dome of the Rock" was originally the Church of St. Sophia, built on the supposed site of the Praetorium; that it was destroyed by the Persians; that it was rebuilt with the old material by Abd ul-Melik, who covered it with a dome; and that it was again repaired and redecorated by el-Mamûn. The Mosque *el-Aksa* was built, *c.* 690, on the site of the Mosque of Omar, by Abd ul-Melik, on a scale of great grandeur out of the ruins of Justinian's Church of St. Mary. In 746 or 755 it was partly thrown down by an earthquake, and it was afterwards rebuilt by el-Mahdi (775–785) with fifteen aisles, of which seven

[k] Possibly there was also a church near the site of the Temple, the ἱερὸν to which Julian's workmen fled when driven from their works by the globes of fire that issued from the foundations of the Temple (Gregory Nazianzen, *ad Jud. et Gent.* 7, 1, and confirmed by Sozomen). It is a question, however, whether the building referred to was not that mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim as standing on the site of the Temple, possibly the temple erected by Hadrian.

only now remain (Hayter Lewis, *H. P.* p. 82 sq.; Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 91 sq.).

13. *Mediaeval Jerusalem.*—There are so many descriptions of Jerusalem during the Latin occupation that it is possible to construct a plan of the city at that time with considerable accuracy. The walls, afterwards partly remodelled by Suleiman the Magnificent, did not differ greatly from those of the present day. The Gate of David is now the Jaffa Gate; the Postern of St. Lazarus was in the north wall to the west of the Damascus (then called St. Stephen's) Gate; the Madeleine Postern is now "Herod's Gate," and the Gate of Jehoshaphat that of St. Stephen. The Golden Gate was open, and processions passed through it to the Holy Places on the slopes of Olivet; the Postern of the Tannery is the present Dung Gate, and the Zion Gate was to the east of the modern gate of the same name. From David's Gate a street in part called David Street and in part Temple Street ran eastward to the *Haram*, which it entered by the "Beautiful Gate," now *Báb es-Silsileh*. From St. Stephen's Gate a street of the same name ran southward to the "Syrian Exchange"



Plan of Jerusalem in the 12th century.

at the north end of the bazaars, which, then as now, were three covered streets; at the south end of the bazaars was the "Latin Exchange," whence Mount Zion Street led directly to the Zion Gate. Parallel to and east of Mount Zion Street was the Street of the Arch of Judas, in which Judas was said to have hanged himself; and further east was the Street of the Germans. An unnamed street ran from St. Stephen's Gate down the valley and under "Wilson's Arch" to the Postern of the Tannery, and this was joined near the Austrian Consulate by the Street of Jehoshaphat. From David Street, the Street of the Patriarch (now Christian Street) led northward past the gate of the Hospital, the west end of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the house of the Patriarch to the Street of the Sepulchre. To the south of the great church, with its cloisters and dormitories, were the Hospital of the Knights of St. John, and the churches of St. Mary the Latin and St. Mary the Great, occupying, with their adjuncts, the *Muristán*. Within the Haram enclosure were the "Templum Domini," *Kubbet es-Sakhrah*, the "Templum Salomonis," Mosque *el-Aksa*, the Chapel of St. James (now the "Dome of the Chain"), and, at the S.E. angle, the Chapel of "the Cradle." Outside the walls on the north were the Church of St. Stephen, the Lepers' Hospital, and the Anerie, in which the asses and horses of the Hospitallers and pilgrims were stabled; on the south were the Coenaculum, the Church of St. Saviour, and the Church of St. Peter *in Gallicante;* and on the east Gethsemane and the Church of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat. Within the city were also the churches of St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, St. James of Galicia, St. Caristo, St. Peter *ad Vincula*, and St. Martin.

Descriptions of *Modern Jerusalem* will be found in Murray's and Baedeker's *Handbooks to Syria and Palestine.* [W.]

JERU'SHA (יְרוּשָׁא = *taken in possession;* Ἰερουσά, B. Ἐρούς, A. Ἰερούς; *Jerusa*), daughter of Zadok, queen of Uzziah, and mother of Jotham king of Judah (2 Kings xv. 33). In

Chronicles the name is given under the altered form of

JERU'SHAH (יְרֻשָּׁה; Ἰερουσά, B. Ἰερουσσά; *Jerusa*), 2 Ch. xxvii. 1. See the preceding article.

JESAI'AH, R. V. JESHAI'AH (יְשַׁעְיָה; B. Ἰσαβδά, A. Ἰεσειά; *Jeseias*). **1.** Son of Hananiah, brother of Pelatiah, and grandson of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. iii. 21). But according to the LXX. and the Vulgate, he was the son of Pelatiah. For an explanation of this genealogy, and the difficulties connected with it, see Lord A. Hervey's *Genealogies of our Lord*, ch. iv. § v.

2. (יְשַׁעְיָה, *i.e.* Jeshaiah, as in R. V.; Ἰεσία, A. Ἰεσσεία, ℵ. Ἰεσσιά; *Isaïa.*) A Benjamite, whose descendants were among those chosen by lot to reside in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 7).

JESHAI'AH. 1. (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ = *salvation of Jehovah*: B. Σαιὰ καὶ Σεμεεί in 1 Ch. xxv. 3, and Ἰωσία, B. Ἰωσειὰ in *v.* 15; in the former A. has Ἰεσία καὶ Σεμεί, and in the latter Ἰσίας: the Vulg. has *Jeseias* and *Jesaias.*) One of the six sons of Jeduthun, set apart for the musical service of the Temple, under the leadership of their father, the inspired minstrel: he was the chief of the eighth division of the singers. The Hebrew name is identical with that of the prophet Isaiah.

2. (BA. Ὠσαΐας; *Isaïas.*) A Levite in the reign of David, eldest son of Rehabiah, a descendant of Amram through Moses (1 Ch. xxvi. 25). He is called Isshiah (יִשִּׁיָּה) in 1 Ch. xxiv. 21, in A. V. and R. V., though the Hebrew is merely another form of the name. Shebuel, one of his ancestors, appears among the Hemanites in 1 Ch. xxv. 4, and is said in Targ. on 1 Ch. xxvi. 24 to be the same as Jonathan the son of Gershom, the priest of the idols of the Danites, who afterwards returned to the fear of Jehovah.

3. (יְשַׁעְיָה; B. Ἰοσειά, A. Ἡσαΐα; *Isaïas.*) The son of Athaliah and chief of the house of the Bene Elam who returned with Ezra (Ezra viii. 7). In 1 Esd. viii. 33 he is called Josias.

4. (B. Ὠσαΐας; *Isaïas.*) A Merarite, who returned with Ezra (Ezra viii. 19). He is called Osaias in 1 Esd. viii. 48.

JESHA'NAH (יְשָׁנָה = *ancient*; B. Καινά, A. Ἀνά, Joseph. ἡ Ἰσανά, Euseb. Ἰασανά; *Jesana*), a town which, with its dependent villages (Heb. and LXX. A. "daughters"), was one of the three taken from Jeroboam by Abijah (2 Ch. xiii. 19; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 11, § 3). The other two were Bethel and Ephrain (R. V. Ephron), and Jeshanah is named between them. A place of the same name (ἡ Ἰσάνας) was the scene of an encounter between Herod and Pappus, the general of Antigonus' army, related by Josephus with curious details (*Ant.* xiv. 15, § 12), which however convey no indication of its position. It is not mentioned in the *Onomasticon*, unless we accept the conjecture of Reland (*Pal.* p. 861) that Jerome's "Jethaba, urbs antiqua Judaeae" (*OS.*[2] p. 166, 30), is at once a corruption and a translation of the name Jeshana, which signifies "old." It has been identified by M. Clermont-Ganneau with the village of *'Ain Sinia*, which stands on an ancient site about 3½ miles N. of Bethel (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1877, p. 206). There are here abundant springs, and many rock-hewn tombs, on the door of one of which there is an inscription in ancient Hebrew character (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 291, 302). [G.] [W.]

JESHARE'LAH (יְשַׁרְאֵלָה; B. Ἰσεριήλ, A. Ἰσρηλά; *Isreela*), head of the seventh of the twenty-four wards into which the musicians of the Levites were divided (1 Ch. xxv. 14). [HEMAN; JEDUTHUN.] He belonged to the house of Asaph, and had twelve of his house under him. In *v.* 2 his name is written Asarelah, with an initial ℵ instead of י; in the LXX. B. Ἐραήλ, A. Ἰεσιήλ. [A. C. H.]

JESHEB-E-AB (יְשֵׁבְאָב = *the Father bringeth back*; B. Γελβά, A. Ἰσβαάλ; *Isbaab*), head of the fourteenth course of priests (1 Ch. xxiv. 13). [JEHOIARIB.] [A. C. H.]

JE'SHER (יֶשֶׁר = *uprightness*; BA. Ἰωάσαρ; *Jaser*), one of the sons of Caleb the son of Hezron by his wife Azubah (1 Ch. ii. 18). In two of Kennicott's MSS. it is written יתר, *Jether*, from the preceding verse, and in one MS. the two names are combined. The Peshitto Syriac has *Oshir*, the same form in which *Jasher* is represented in 2 Sam. i. 18.

JESHI'MON (הַיְשִׁימֹן = *the waste*: in Num. ἡ ἐρήμος; in Sam. ὁ Ἰεσσαιμός and Ἰεσσεμός; A. Εἰεσσαιμός: *desertum, solitudo, Jesimon*), a name which occurs in Num. xxi. 20 and xxiii. 28, in designating the position of Pisgah and Peor: both described as "facing (עַל־פְּנֵי) the Jeshimon"; R. V. "that looketh down upon the desert." Not knowing more than the general locality of either Peor or Pisgah, this gives us no clue to the situation of Jeshimon. But it is elsewhere used in a similar manner with reference to the position of two places very distant from both the above—the hill of Hachilah, "on the south of" or "facing the Jeshimon" (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1, 3), and the wilderness of Maon, also south of it (xxiii. 24). Ziph (xxiii. 15) and Maon are known at the present day. They lie a few miles south of Hebron, so that the district strictly north of them is the hill-country of Judah. But a line drawn between Maon and the probable position of Peor—on the high country opposite Jericho—passes over the dreary, barren waste of the hills lying immediately on the west of the Dead Sea. To this district the name, if interpreted as a Hebrew word, would be not inapplicable. It would also suit as to position, as it would be full in view from an elevated point on the highlands of Moab, and not far from north of Maon and Ziph. On the other hand, the use of the word *hā-'Arābāh*, in 1 Sam. xxiii. 24, must not be overlooked, meaning, as that elsewhere does, the sunk district of the Jordan and Dead Sea, the modern *Ghor*. Beth-Jeshimoth too, which by its name ought to have some connexion with Jeshimon, would appear to have been on the lower level, somewhere near the mouth of the Jordan. [BETH-JESHIMOTH.] In R. V. the word is always translated "the desert;" and it is doubtful whether it should be taken to be a proper name.

In that case the particular desert mentioned in Numb. would not be the same as that referred to in 1 Samuel xxiii. The passages in which it is first mentioned are indisputably of very early date, and it is quite possible that it is an archaic name found and adopted by the Israelites (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 299; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 535). [G.] [W.]

JESHI'SHAI (יִשִׁישַׁי, (?) = *old (gray)*; B. Ἰσαί, A. Ἰεσσαί; *Jesisi*), one of the ancestors of the Gadites who dwelt in Gilead, and whose genealogies were made out in the days of Jotham king of Judah (1 Ch. v. 14). In the Peshitto Syriac the latter part of the verse is omitted.

JESHOHA'IAH (יְשׁוֹחָיָה, (?) = *bowing before Jehovah*; BA. Ἰασουιά; *Isuhaïa*), a chief of one of the families of that branch of the Simeonites which was descended from Shimei, and was more numerous than the rest of the tribe (1 Ch. iv. 36). He was concerned in the raid upon the Hamites in the reign of Hezekiah.

JESHU'A (יֵשׁוּעַ; Ἰησοῦς; *Jeshue* and *Joshue*), a later Hebrew pronunciation of *Joshua*, implied by Jehoshua. [JEHOSHUA.]

1. Joshua, the son of Nun, is called Jeshua in one passage (Neh. viii. 17). [JOSHUA.]

2. R. V. A priest in the reign of David, to whom the ninth course fell by lot (1 Ch. xxiv. 11). He is called Jeshuah in the A. V. One branch of the house, viz. the children of Jedaiah, returned from Babylon (Ezra ii. 36; but see JEDAIAH).

3. One of the Levites in the reign of Hezekiah, after the reformation of worship, placed in trust in the cities of the priests in their classes, to distribute to their brethren of the offerings of the people (2 Ch. xxxi. 15).

4. Son of Jehozadak, first high-priest of the third series, viz. of those after the Babylonish Captivity, and ancestor of the fourteen high-priests his successors down to Joshua or Jason, and Onias or Menelaus, inclusive. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Jeshua, like his contemporary Zerubbabel, was probably born in Babylon, whither his father Jehozadak had been taken captive while young (1 Ch. vi. 15, A. V.). He came up from Babylon in the first year of Cyrus with Zerubbabel, and took a leading part with him in the rebuilding of the Temple, and in the restoration of the Jewish Commonwealth. Everything we read of him indicates a man of earnest piety, patriotism, and courage. One of less faith and resolution would never have surmounted all the difficulties and opposition he had to contend with. His first care on arriving at Jerusalem was to rebuild the Altar, and restore the daily sacrifice, which had been suspended for some fifty years. He then, in conjunction with Zerubbabel, hastened to collect materials for rebuilding the Temple, and was able to lay the foundation of it as early as the second month of the second year of their return to Jerusalem (B.C. 536). The services on this occasion were conducted by the priests in their proper apparel, with their trumpets, and by the sons of Asaph, the Levites, with their cymbals, according to the ordinance of king David (Ezra iii.). However, the progress of the work was hindered by the enmity of the Samaritans, who bribed the counsellors of the kings of Persia so effectually to obstruct it that the Jews were unable to proceed with it till the second year of Darius Hystapes—an interval of about fourteen years. In that year, B.C. 520, at the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah (Ezra v. 1, vi. 14; Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 1–9; Zech. i.–viii.), the work was resumed by Jeshua and Zerubbabel with redoubled vigour, and was happily completed on the third day of the month Adar (= March), in the sixth of Darius (B.C. 516). The dedication of the Temple, and the celebration of the Passover, in the next month, were kept with great solemnity and rejoicing (Ezra vi. 15–22), and especially "twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel," were offered as a sin-offering for all Israel. Jeshua's zeal in the work is commended by the Son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlix. 12). Besides the great importance of Jeshua as a historical character, from the critical times in which he lived, and the great work which he accomplished, his name (= Jesus), his restoration of the Temple, his office as high-priest, and especially the two prophecies concerning him in Zech. iii. and vi. 9–15, point him out as an eminent type of Christ. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Nothing is known of Jeshua later than the seventh year of Darius, with which the narrative of Ezra i.–vi. closes. Josephus, who says that the Temple was seven years in building, and places the dedication of it in the ninth year of Darius, contributes no information whatever concerning him: his history here, with the exception of the 9th sect. of b. xi. ch. 4, being merely a paraphrase of Ezra and 1 Esdras, especially the latter. [ZERUBBABEL.] Jeshua had probably conversed often with Daniel and Ezekiel, and may or may not have known Jehoïachin at Babylon in his youth. He probably died at Jerusalem (see Hunter, *After the Exile*, ch. iii. sq.). His name is written *Jeshoshua* in Zech. iii. 1, 3, &c.; Hagg. i. 1, 12, &c.

5. Head of a Levitical house, one of those which returned from the Babylonish Captivity, and took an active part under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The name is used to designate either the whole family or the successive chiefs of it (Ezra ii. 40, iii. 9; Neh. iii. 19,[a] viii. 7, ix. 4, 5, xii. 8, &c.). Jeshua, and Kadmiel, with whom he is frequently associated, were both "sons of Hodaviah" (called Judah, Ezra iii. 9), but Jeshua's more immediate ancestor was Azaniah (Neh. x. 9). In Neh. xii. 24 "Jeshua the son of Kadmiel" should probably be "Jeshua (and) Kadmiel." The LXX. read καὶ υἱοὶ Καδμιήλ. It is more likely that בְּנֵי is an accidental error for וּ.

6. A branch of the family of Pahath-Moab, one of the chief families, probably, of the tribe of Judah (Neh. vii. 11, x. 14, &c.; Ezra x. 30). His descendants were the most numerous of all the families which returned with Zerubbabel. Neh. vii. 11, "The children of Pahath-Moab,

[a] The connexion with Bani, Hashabiah (or Hashabniah), Henadad, and the Levites (vv. 17–19), indicates that Jeshua, the father of Ezer, is the same person as in the other passages cited.

of the children of Jeshua and Joab," represents Pahath-Moab (*i.e.* governor of Moab) as the head of the family. [A. C. H.]

JESHU'A (יֵשׁוּעַ; Ἰησοῦ; *Jesue*), one of the towns re-inhabited by the people of Judah after the return from Captivity (Neh. xi. 26). Being mentioned with Moladah, Beersheba, &c., it was apparently in the extreme south. It does not, however, occur in the original lists of Judah and Simeon (Josh. xv., xix.), nor is there any name in those lists of which this would be probably a corruption. It is not mentioned elsewhere. Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. pp. 404, 409) has suggested *Kh. S'aweh*, an important site on the edge of the Beersheba desert. [G.] [W.]

JESHU'AH (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, contr. form of יְהוֹשֻׁעַ; Ἰησοῦς; *Jesua*), a priest in the reign of David (1 Ch. xxiv. 11), the same as JESHUA, No. 2.

JESHU'RUN, and once by mistake in A. V. JESU'RUN, Is. xliv. 2 (יְשֻׁרוּן; ὁ ἠγαπημένος, once with the addition of Ἰσραήλ, which the Arabic of the Lond. Polyglot adopts to the exclusion of the former; *dilectus, rectissimus*), a symbolical name for Israel in Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xliv. 2. The Targum and Peshitto Syriac uniformly render Jeshurun by "Israel."[a] The termination ־ון is intensive, as the Vulgate takes it, and not an affectionate diminutive (see Dillmann[2] on Deut. xxxii. 15, and Delitzsch[4] on *Is. l. c.*). [F.]

JESI'AH, R. V. ISSHIAH (יְשַׁעְיָה, יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, *i.e.* Yishshiyahu = *whom Jehovah lends;* B. Ἰησουνεί, A. Ἰεσιά; *Jesia*). **1.** A Korhite, one of the mighty men, "helpers of the battle," who joined David's standard at Ziklag during his flight from Saul (1 Ch. xii. 6).

2. (יְשַׁעְיָה; B. Ἰσεια, A. Ἰεσσιά.) The second son of Uzziel, the son of Kohath (1 Ch. xxiii. 20). He is the same as Isshiah, whose representative was Zechariah (1 Ch. xxiv. 25); but in A. V. the translators in the present instance followed the Vulg., as they have too often done in the case of proper names.

JESI-MI'EL (יְשִׁימִאֵל; T'. Ἰσμαήλ, B. omits; *Ismiel*), a Simeonite, descended from the prolific family of Shimei, and a prince of his own branch of the tribe, whom he led against the peaceful Hamites in the reign of Hezekiah (1 Ch. iv. 36).

JES'SE (יִשַׁי, *i.e.* Yishai;[b] Ἰεσσαί, Joseph. Ἰεσσαῖος; *Isai:* in the margin of 1 Ch. x. 14, the A.V. translators have given the Vulgate form), the father of David, and thus the immediate progenitor of the whole line of the kings of Judah, and ultimately of Christ. He is the only one of his name who appears in the sacred records. Jesse was the son of OBED, who again was the fruit of the union of Boaz and the Moabitess Ruth. Nor was Ruth's the only foreign blood that ran in his veins; for his great-grandmother was no less a person than Rahab the Canaanite, of Jericho (Matt. i. 5). Jesse's genealogy[c] is twice given in full in the Old Testament,—viz. Ruth iv. 18–22, and 1 Ch. ii. 5–12. We there see that long before David had rendered his family illustrious, it belonged to the greatest house of Judah, that of Pharez, through Hezron his eldest son. One of the links in the descent was Nahshon (N. T., R. V.), chief man of the tribe at the critical time of the Exodus. In the N. T. the genealogy is also twice given (Matt. i. 3–5; Luke iii. 32–34).

He is commonly designated as "Jesse the Bethlehemite" (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 18). So he is called by his son David, then fresh from home (xvii. 58); but his full title is "the Ephrathite of Bethlehem-Judah" (xvii. 12). The double expression and the use of the antique word Ephrathite perhaps imply that he was one of the oldest families in the place. He is an "old man" when we first meet with him (1 Sam. xvii. 12), with eight sons (xvi. 10, xvii. 12), residing at Bethlehem (xvi. 4, 5). It would appear, however, from the terms of xvi. 4, 5, and of Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 8, § 1), that Jesse was not one of the "elders" of the town.

The few slight glimpses we can catch of him are soon recalled. According to an ancient Jewish tradition, recorded in the Targum on 2 Sam. xxi. 19, Jesse was a weaver of the vails of the sanctuary; but as there is no contradiction, so there is no corroboration, of this in the Bible, and it is possible that it was suggested by the occurrence of the word *oregim*, "weavers," in connexion with a member of his family. [JAARE-OREGIM.] Jesse's wealth seems to have consisted of a flock of sheep and goats (צֹאן, A. V. "sheep"), which were under the care of David (xvi. 11; xvii. 34, 35). Of the produce of this flock we find him on two occasions sending the simple presents which in those days the highest persons were wont to accept—milk cheeses to the captain of the division of the army in which his sons were serving (xvii. 18), and a kid to Saul (xvi. 20); with the accompaniment in each case of parched corn from the fields of Boaz, loaves of the bread from which Bethlehem took its very name, and wine from the vineyards which still enrich the terraces of the hill below the village.

When David's rupture with Saul had finally driven him from the court, and he was in the cave of Adullam, "his brethren and all his father's house" joined him (xxii. 1). His "brother" (probably Eliab) is mentioned on a former occasion (xx. 29) as taking the lead in the family. This is no more than we should expect from Jesse's great age. David's anxiety at the same period to find a safe refuge for his parents from the probable vengeance of Saul, is also quite in accordance with their helpless condition. He took his father and his mother into the country of Moab, and deposited them with

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[a] The name is formed from יָשָׁר=יְשֻׁר (Ps. xxv. 21), like יִדְתוּן, זְבֻלוּן from זְבֻל and יִדְת.

[b] Jerome (*Liber de Nominibus*) gives the strange interpretation of *insulae libamen.*

[c] This genealogy is embodied in the "Jesse tree," not unfrequently to be found in the reredos and east windows of English churches. One of the finest is at Dorchester, Oxon. The tree springs from Jesse, who is recumbent at the bottom of the window, and contains twenty-five members of the line, culminating in our Lord.

the king, and there they disappear from our view in the records of Scripture. But another old Jewish tradition (*Rabboth Seder*, נשא, 256, col. 2) states that after David had quitted the hold, his parents and brothers were put to death by the king of Moab, so that there remained, besides David, but one brother, who took refuge with Nahash, king of the Bene-Ammon. In the 4th century Jesse's tomb was shown near Bethlehem (*Itin. Hierosol.*); it is now pointed out, with that of Ruth, in the *Deir el-Arb'ain* close to Hebron. In the 12th century the "house of Jesse" was shown at Bethel, a bow-shot east of Bethlehem (Abbot Daniel, *Pilg.* xlix.).

Who the wife of Jesse was we are not told. His eight sons will be found displayed under DAVID, p. 721. The family contained in addition two female members, Zeruiah and Abigail, but it is uncertain whether these were Jesse's daughters; for though they are called the sisters of his sons (1 Ch. ii. 16), yet Abigail is said to have been the daughter of Nahash (2 Sam. xvii. 25). Of this two explanations have been proposed. (1.) The Jewish—that NAHASH was another name for Jesse (Jerome, *Q. Hebr.* on 2 Sam. xvii. 25[d]). (2.) Dean Stanley's—that Jesse's wife had been formerly wife or concubine to Nahash, possibly the king of the Ammonites [DAVID, p. 722].

An English reader can hardly fail to remark how often Jesse is mentioned long after the name of David had become famous enough to supersede that of his obscure and humble parent. While David was a struggling outlaw, it was natural that to friend and foe—to Saul, Doeg, and Nabal, no less than to the captains of Judah and Benjamin—he should be merely the "son of Jesse" (1 Sam. xxii. 9, 13: cp. xxiv. 16, xxv. 10; 1 Ch. xii. 18); but that Jesse's name should be brought forward in records of so late a date as 1 Ch. xxix. 26 and Ps. lxxii. 20, long after the establishment of David's own house, is certainly worthy of notice. Especially is it to be observed that it is in his name—the "shoot out of the stem of Jesse .... the root of Jesse which should stand as an ensign to the people" (Is. xi. 1, 10), that Isaiah announces the most splendid of his promises, intended to rouse and cheer the heart of the nation at the time of its deepest despondency. [G.] [W.]

JESSU'E (Ἰησοῦς, B. Ἰησουείς, A. Ἰησουέ; *Jesu*), a Levite, the same as Jeshua (1 Esd. v. 26; cp. Ezra ii. 40).

JE'SU (Ἰησοῦς, A. Ἰησοῦ; *Jesu*), the same as Jeshua the Levite, the father of Jozabad (1 Esd. viii. 63; see Ezra viii. 33), also called Jessue and Jesus.

JESU'I, R. V. ISHVI (יִשְׁוִי; Ἰεσσού, A. Ἰεσσουί; *Jessui*), the son of Asher, whose descendants THE JESUITES were numbered in the plains of Moab at the Jordan of Jericho (Num. xxvi. 44). He is elsewhere called Isui, R. V. Ishvi (Gen. xlvi. 17), and Ishuai, R. V. Ishvi (1 Ch. vii. 30).

JESU'ITES, THE (הַיִּשְׁוִי; ὁ Ἰεσουί; *Jesuitae*). A family of the tribe of Asher (Num. xxvi. 44).

JESU'RUN. [JESHURUN.]

JE'SUS (Ἰησοῦς, B. Ἰησοῦν; *Jesu, Jesus, Josue*), the Greek form of the name Joshua or Jeshua, a contraction of Jehoshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), that is, "Jehovah is help" or "Saviour" (Num. xiii. 16). [JEHOSHUA.]

1. Joshua the priest, the son of Jehozadak (1 Esd. v. 5, 8, 24, 48, 56, 68, 70, vi. 2, ix. 19; Ecclus. xlix. 12). Also called Jeshua. [JESHUA, No. 4.]

2. (*Jesus.*) Jeshua the Levite (1 Esd. v. 58, ix. 48).

3. Joshua the son of Nun (2 Esd. vii. 37; Ecclus. xlvi. 1; 1 Macc. ii. 55; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8). [JOSHUA.]

JESUS THE FATHER OF SIRACH. [JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH.]

JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH (Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σειράχ; *Jesus filius Sirach*) is described in the text of Ecclesiasticus (l. 27) as the author of that book, which in the LXX., and generally, except in the Western Church, is called by his name, the *Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach*, or simply the *Wisdom of Sirach*. The same passage speaks of him as a native of Jerusalem (Ecclus. *l. c.*); and the internal character of the book confirms its Palestinian origin. The name JESUS was of frequent occurrence, and was often represented by the Greek Jason. In the apocryphal list of the 72 commissioners sent by Eleazar to Ptolemy it occurs twice (Arist. *Hist.* ap. Hody, *De text.* p. vii.); but there is not the slightest ground for connecting the author of Ecclesiasticus with either of the persons there mentioned. The various conjectures which have been made as to the position of the son of Sirach from the contents of his book—as, for instance, that he was a priest (from vii. 29 sq., xlv. xlix., l.), or a physician (from xxxviii. 1 sq.)—are equally unfounded.

Among the later Jews the "Son of Sirach" was celebrated under the name of Ben Sira as a writer of proverbs, and some of those which have been preserved offer a close resemblance to passages in Ecclesiasticus; but in the course of time a later compilation was substituted for the original work of Ben Sira (Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr. d. Juden*, p. 100 sq.), and tradition has preserved no authentic details of his person or his life.

The chronological difficulties which have been raised as to the date of the Son of Sirach are noticed elsewhere [ECCLESIASTICUS].

According to the first prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, taken from the *Synopsis* of the Pseudo-Athanasius (iv. p. 377, ed. Migne), the translator of the book bore the same name as

[d] This is given also in the Targum to Ruth iv. 22. "And Obed begat Ishai (Jesse), whose name is Nachash, because there were not found in him iniquity and corruption, that he should be delivered into the hand of the Angel of Death that he should take away his soul from him; and he lived many days until was brought to mind before Jehovah the counsel which the Serpent gave to Chavvah the wife of Adam, to eat of the tree, of the fruit of which when they did eat they were able to discern between good and evil; and by reason of this counsel all the inhabiters of the earth became guilty of death, and in that iniquity only died Ishai the righteous."

the author of it. It is, however, most likely that the last chapter, "*The prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach*," gave occasion to this conjecture. The prayer was attributed to the translator, and then the table of succession followed necessarily from the title attached to it [see ECCLESIASTICUS]. [B. F. W.]

JE'SUS, called JUSTUS, a Christian who was with St. Paul at Rome, and joined him in sending salutations to the Colossians. He was one of the fellow-workers who were a comfort to the Apostle (Col. iv. 11). In the *Acta Sanct. Jun.* iv. 67, he is commemorated as bishop of Eleutheropolis. [W. T. B.]

JESUS CHRIST.[a] The name Jesus (Ἰησοῦς) signifies Saviour. Its origin is explained above, and it seems to have been not an uncommon name among the Jews. It is assigned in the N. T. (1) to our Lord Jesus Christ, Who "saves His people from their sins" (Matt. i. 21); also (2) to Joshua the successor of Moses, who brought the Israelites into the land of promise (Num. xxvii. 18; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8); and (3) to Jesus surnamed Justus, a converted Jew, associated with St. Paul (Col. iv. 11).

The name of Christ (Χριστός, from χρίω, I anoint) signifies *Anointed*. Priests were anointed amongst the Jews, as their inauguration to their office (1 Ch. xvi. 22; Ps. cv. 15), and kings also (2 Macc. i. 24; Ecclus. xlvi. 19). In the N. T. the name Christ is used as equivalent to Messiah (Greek Μεσσίας; Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ, John i. 41), the name given to the long-promised Prophet and King Whom the Jews had been taught by their Prophets to expect; and therefore = ὁ ἐρχόμενος (Acts xix. 4; Matt. xi. 3). The use of this name as applied to the Lord has always a reference to the promises of the Prophets. In Matt. ii. 4, xi. 2, it is assumed that the Christ when He should come would live and act in a certain way, described by the Prophets. So Matt. xxii. 42, xxiii. 10, xxiv. 5, 23; Mark xii. 35, xiii. 21; Luke iii. 15, xx. 41; John vii. 27, 31, 41, 42, xii. 34, in all which places there is a reference to the Messiah as delineated by the Prophets. That they had foretold that Christ should suffer appears from Luke xxiv. 26, 46. The name of Jesus is the proper Name of our Lord, and that of Christ is added to identify Him with the promised Messiah. Other names are sometimes added to the Names Jesus Christ, or Christ Jesus: thus "Lord" (frequently), "a King" (added as a kind of explanation of the word Christ, Luke xxiii. 2), "King of Israel" (Mark xv. 32), Son of David (Mark xii. 35; Luke xx. 41), chosen of God (Luke xxiii. 35).

Remarkable are such expressions as "the Christ of God" (Luke ii. 26, ix. 20; Rev. xi. 15, xii. 10); and the phrase "in Christ," which occurs about 78 times in the Epistles of St. Paul, and is almost peculiar to them. But the germ of it is to be found in the words of our Lord Himself, "Abide in Me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in Me" (John xv. 4, also 5, 6, 7, 9, 10). The idea that all Christian life is not merely an imitation and following of the Lord, but a living and constant union with Him, causes the Apostle to use such expressions as "fallen asleep in Christ" (1 Cor. xv. 18), "I knew a man in Christ" (2 Cor. xii. 2), "I speak the truth in Christ" (1 Tim. ii. 7), and many others (see Schleusner's *Lexicon*; Wahl's *Clavis*; Fritzsche *on St. Matthew*; De Wette's *Commentary*; Schmidt's *Greek Concordance*, &c.).

The Life, the Person, and the Work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ occupy the whole of the New Testament. Of this threefold subject the present article includes the first part, namely, the Life and Teaching; the Person of our Lord will be treated under the article SON OF GOD; and His Work will naturally fall under the word SAVIOUR.

Towards the close of the reign of Herod the Great, arrived that "fulness of time" which God in His inscrutable wisdom had appointed for the sending of His Son; and Jesus was born at Bethlehem, to redeem a sinful and ruined world. According to the received chronology, which is in fact that of Dionysius Exiguus in the 6th century, this event occurred in the year of Rome 754. But modern writers, with hardly an exception, believe that this calculation places the Nativity some years too late; although they differ as to the amount of error. Herod the Great died, according to Josephus, in the thirty-seventh year after he was appointed king (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1; *B. J.* i. 33, § 8). His elevation coincides with the consulship of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio, and this determines the date A.U.C. 714 (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 14, § 5). There is reason to think that in such calculations Josephus reckons the years from the month Nisan to the same month; and also that the death of Herod took place in the beginning of the thirty-seventh year, or just before the Passover (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3); if then thirty-six complete years are added, they give the year of Herod's death A.U.C. 750 (see Note on Chronology at the end of this article). As Jesus was born during the life of Herod, it follows from these data that the Nativity took place some time before the month of April 750; and if it took place only a few months before Herod's death, then its date would be four years earlier than the Dionysian reckoning (Wieseler).

Three other chronological data occur in the Gospels, but the arguments founded on them are not conclusive. 1. The Baptism of Jesus was followed by a Passover (John ii. 13), at which certain Jews mention that the restoration of their Temple had been in progress for forty-six years (ii. 20), Jesus Himself being at this time "about thirty years of age" (Luke iii. 23). As the date of the Temple-restoration can be ascertained, it has been argued from these facts also that the Nativity took place at the beginning of A.U.C. 750. But it is sometimes argued that the words that determine our Lord's age are not exact enough to serve as the basis for such a calculation. 2. The appearance of the star to the wise men has been thought likely, by the aid of astronomy, to determine the date. But the opinion that the star in the East was a remarkable conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces, is now rejected. Besides the

[a] This article, by the late Archbishop of York, is reprinted without change. A literary supplement is placed at the end of it.—EDITORS.

difficulty of reconciling it with the sacred narrative (Matt. ii. 9), it would throw back the birth of our Lord to A.U.C. 747, which is too early. 3. Zacharias was "a priest of the course of Abia" (Luke i. 5), and he was engaged in the duties of his course when the birth of John the Baptist was foretold to him; and it has been thought possible to calculate, from the place which the course of Abia held in the cycle, the precise time of the Saviour's birth. All these data are discussed below (p. 1700).

In treating of the Life of Jesus, a perfect record of the events would be no more than a reproduction of the four Gospels, and a discussion of those events would swell to the compass of a voluminous commentary. Neither of these would be appropriate here, and in the present article a brief sketch only of the Life can be attempted, drawn up with a view to the two remaining articles, on the SON OF GOD and SAVIOUR.

The Man Who was to redeem all men and do for the human race what no one could do for his brother, was not born into the world as others are. The salutation addressed by the Angel to Mary His mother, "Hail! thou that art highly favoured," was the prelude to a new act of Divine creation; the first Adam that sinned was not born but created; the second Adam, that restored, was born indeed, but in supernatural fashion. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke i. 35). Mary received the announcement of a miracle, the full import of which she could not have understood, with the submission of one who knew that the message came from God; and the Angel departed from her. At first, her betrothed husband, when he heard from her what had taken place, doubted her, but a supernatural communication convinced him of her purity, and he took her to be his wife. Not only was the approaching birth of Jesus made the subject of supernatural communications, but that of John the Baptist the forerunner also. Thus before the birth of either had actually taken place, a small knot of persons had been prepared to expect the fulfilment of the Divine promises in the Holy One that should be born of Mary (Luke i.).

The prophet Micah had foretold (v. 2) that the future king should be born in Bethlehem of Judaea, the place where the house of David had its origin; but Mary dwelt in Nazareth. Augustus, however, had ordered a general census of the Roman Empire; and although Judaea, not being a province of the Empire, would not necessarily come under such an order, it was included, probably because the intention was already conceived of reducing it after a time to the condition of a province (see note on Chronology). That such a census was made we know from Cassiodorus (*Var.* iii. 52). That in its application to Palestine it should be made with reference to Jewish feelings and prejudices, being carried out no doubt by Herod the Jewish king, was quite natural; and so Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem, the city of David, to be taxed. From the well-known and much-canvassed passage in St. Luke (ii. 2) it appears that the taxing was not completed till the time of Quirinus [CYRENIUS], some years later; and how far it was carried now, cannot be determined; all that we learn is that it brought Joseph, who was of the house of David, from his home to Bethlehem, where the Lord was born. As there was no room in the inn, a manger was the cradle in which Christ the Lord was laid. But signs were not wanting of the greatness of the event that seemed so unimportant. Lowly shepherds were the witnesses of the wonder that accompanied the lowly Saviour's birth; an Angel proclaimed to them "good tidings of great joy;" and then the exceeding joy that was in heaven amongst the Angels about this mystery of love broke through the silence of night with the words—"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men" (Luke ii. 8–20). We need not suppose that these simple men were cherishing in their hearts the expectation of the Messiah which others had relinquished; they were chosen from the humble, as were our Lord's companions afterwards, in order to show that God "hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty" (1 Cor. i. 26–31), and that the poor and meek could apprehend the message of salvation to which kings and priests could turn a deaf ear.

The subject of the Genealogy of our Lord, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, is discussed fully in another article. [See GENEALOGY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.]

The child Jesus is circumcised in due time, is brought to the Temple, and the mother makes the offering for her purification. That offering wanted its peculiar meaning in this case, which was an act of new creation, and not a birth after the common order of our fallen nature. But the seed of the new kingdom was to grow undiscernibly as yet; no exemption was claimed by the "highly favoured" mother, and no portent intervened. She made her humble offering like any other Judaean mother, and would have gone her way unnoticed; but here too God suffered not His beloved Son to be without a witness, and Simeon and Anna, taught from God that the object of their earnest longings was before them, prophesied of His Divine work: the rejoicing that his eyes had seen the salvation of God, and the other speaking of Him "to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem" (Luke ii. 28–38).

Thus recognised amongst His own people, the Saviour was not without witness amongst the heathen. "Wise men from the East"—that is, Persian magi of the Zend religion, in which the idea of a Zoziosh or Redeemer was clearly known—guided miraculously by a star or meteor created for the purpose, came and sought out the Saviour to pay Him homage. We have said that in the year 747 occurred a remarkable combination of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, and this is supposed to be the sign by which the wise men knew that the birth of some great one had taken place. But, as has been said, the date does not agree with this view, and the account of the Evangelist describes a single star moving before them and guiding their steps. We must suppose that God saw good to speak to the Magi in their own way: they were seeking light from the study of the stars, whence only physical light could be found, and

He guided them to the Source of spiritual light, to the cradle of His Son, by a star miraculously made to appear to them, and to speak intelligibly to them through their preconceptions. The offerings which they brought have been regarded as symbolical: the gold was tribute to a king, the frankincense was for the use of a priest, and the myrrh for a body preparing for the tomb.

"Aurea nascenti fuderunt munera regi,
Thura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere sepulto,"

says Sedulius: but in a more general view these were at any rate the offerings made by worshippers, and in that light must the Magi be regarded. The events connected with the Birth of our Lord are all significant, and here some of the wisest of the heathen kneel before the Redeemer as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, and as a sign that His dominion was to be not merely Jewish, but as wide as the whole world (see Matt. ii. 1–12; Münter, *Star of the Wise Men*, Copenhagen, 1827; the Commentaries of Alford, Williams, Olshausen, and Heubner, where the opinions as to the nature of the star are discussed).

A little child made the great Herod quake upon his throne. When he knew that the Magi were come to hail their King and Lord, and did not stop at his palace, but passed on to a humbler roof, and when he found that they would not return to betray this child to him, he put to death all the children in Bethlehem that were under two years old. The crime was great; but the number of the victims, in a little place like Bethlehem, was small enough to escape special record amongst the wicked acts of Herod from Josephus and other historians, as it had no political interest. A confused indication of it, however, is found in Macrobius (*Saturn.* ii. 4).

Joseph, warned by a dream, flees to Egypt with the young child, beyond the reach of Herod's arm. This flight of our Lord from His own land to the land of darkness and idolatry—a land associated even to a proverb with all that was hostile to God and His people—impresses on us the reality of His humiliation. Herod's cup was well-nigh full; and the doom that soon overtook him could have arrested him then in his bloody attempt: but Jesus, in accepting humanity, accepted all its incidents. He was saved, not by the intervention of God, but by the obedience of Joseph; and from the storms of persecution He had to use the common means of escape (Matt. ii. 13–23; Thomas à Kempis, iii. 15, and Commentaries). After the death of Herod, in less than a year, Jesus returned with His parents to their own land, and went to Nazareth, where they abode.

Except as to one event the Evangelists are silent upon the succeeding years of our Lord's life down to the commencement of His ministry. When He was twelve years old He was found in the Temple, "hearing" the doctors "and asking them questions" (Luke ii. 40–52). We are shown this one fact that we may know that at the time when the Jews considered childhood to be passing into youth, Jesus was already aware of His mission, and consciously preparing for it, although years elapsed before its actual commencement. This fact at once confirms and illustrates such a general expression as "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man" (Luke ii. 52). His public ministry did not begin with a sudden impulse, but was prepared for by His whole life. The consciousness of His Divine nature and power grew, and ripened and strengthened until the time of His showing unto Israel.

Thirty years had elapsed from the Birth of our Lord to the opening of His *ministry*. In that time great changes had come over the chosen people. Herod the Great had united under him almost all the original kingdom of David; after the death of that prince it was dismembered for ever. Archelaus succeeded to the kingdom of Judaea, under the title of Ethnarch; Herod Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Batanaea, and Paneas. The Emperor Augustus promised Archelaus the title of king, if he should prove worthy; but in the tenth year of his reign (A.U.C. 759) he was deposed in deference to the hostile feelings of the Jews, was banished to Vienne in Gaul, and from that time his dominions passed under the direct power of Rome, being annexed to Syria, and governed by a procurator. Neither king nor ethnarch held Judaea afterwards, if we except the three years when it was under Agrippa I. Marks are not wanting of the irritation kept up in the minds of the Jews by the sight of a foreigner exercising acts of power over the people whom David once ruled. The publicans (*portitores*) who collected tribute for the Roman Empire were everywhere detested; and as a marked class is likely to be a degraded one, the Jews saw everywhere the most despised among the people exacting from them all, and more than all (Luke iii. 13), that the foreign tyrant required. Constant changes were made by the same power in the office of high-priest, perhaps from a necessary policy. Josephus says that there were twenty-eight high-priests from the time of Herod to the burning of the Temple (*Ant.* xx. 10). The sect of Judas the Gaulonite, which protested against paying tribute to Caesar, and against bowing the neck to an alien yoke, expressed a conviction which all Jews shared. The sense of oppression and wrong would tend to shape all the hopes of a Messiah, so far as they still existed, to the conception of a warrior who should deliver them from a hateful political bondage.

It was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius the Emperor, reckoning from his joint rule with Augustus (Jan. A.U.C. 765), and not from his sole rule (Aug. A.U.C. 767), that John the Baptist began to teach. In this year (A.U.C. 779) Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judaea, the worldly and time-serving representative of a cruel and imperious master; Herod Antipas and Philip still held the tetrarchies left them by their father. Annas and Caiaphas are both described as holding the office of high-priest; Annas was deposed by Valerius Gratus in this very year, and his son-in-law Joseph, called also Caiaphas, was appointed, after some changes, in his room; but Annas seems to have retained after this time (John xviii. 13) much of the authority of the office, which the two administered together. John the Baptist, of whom a full account is given below under his own name, came to preach in the wilderness. He was the last representa-

tive of the prophets of the Old Covenant; and his work was twofold—to enforce repentance and the terrors of the old Law, and to revive the almost forgotten expectation of the Messiah (Matt. iii. 1–10; Mark i. 1–8; Luke iii. 1–18). Both these objects, which are very apparent in his preaching, were connected equally with the coming of Jesus, since the need of a Saviour from sin is not felt but when sin itself is felt to be a bondage and a terror. The career of John seems to have been very short; and it has been asked how such great influence could have been attained in a short time (Matt. iii. 5). But his was a powerful nature which soon took possession of those who came within its reach; and his success becomes less surprising if we assume with Wieseler that the preaching took place in a sabbatical year (Baumgarten, *Geschichte Jesu*, p. 40). It is an old controversy whether the baptism of John was a new institution, or an imitation of the baptism of proselytes as practised by the Jews. But at all events there is no record of such a rite, conducted in the name of and with reference to a particular person (Acts xix. 4), before the ministry of John. Jesus came to Jordan with the rest to receive this rite at John's hands: first, in order that the Sacrament by which all were hereafter to be admitted into His kingdom might not want His example to justify its use (Matt. iii. 15); next, that John might have an assurance that his course as the herald of Christ was now completed by His appearance (John i. 33); and last, that some public token might be given that He was indeed the Anointed of God (Heb. v. 5). A supposed discrepancy between Matt. iii. 14 and John i. 31, 33, disappears when we remember that from the relationship between the families of John and our Lord (Luke i.), John must have known already something of the power, goodness, and wisdom of Jesus; what he did not know was, that this same Jesus was the very Messiah for Whom he had come to prepare the world. Our Lord received the rite of baptism at His servant's hands, and the Father attested Him by the Voice of the Spirit, Which also was seen descending on Him in a visible shape: "This is My Beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii. 13–17; Mark i. 9–11; Luke iii. 21, 22).

Immediately after this inauguration of His ministry Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil (Matt. iv. 1–11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1–13). As the baptism of our Lord cannot have been for Him the token of repentance and intended reformation which it was for sinful men, so does our Lord's sinlessness affect the nature of His temptation; for it was the trial of One Who could not possibly have fallen. This makes a complete conception of the temptation impossible for minds wherein temptation is always associated with the possibility of sin. But whilst we must be content with an incomplete conception, we must avoid the wrong conceptions that are often substituted for it. Some suppose the account before us to describe what takes place in a vision or ecstasy of our Lord; so that both the temptation and its answer arise from within. Others think that the temptation was suggested from within, but in a state, not of sleep or ecstasy, but of complete consciousness. Others consider this narrative to have been a parable of our Lord, of which He has made Himself the subject. All these suppositions set aside the historical testimony of the Gospels: the temptation as there described arose not from the sinless mind of the Son of God, where indeed thoughts of evil could not have harboured, but from Satan, the enemy of the human race. Nor can it be supposed that this account is a mere parable, unless we assume that St. Matthew and St. Luke have wholly misunderstood their Master's meaning. The story is that of a fact, hard indeed to be understood, but not to be made easier by explanations such as would invalidate the only testimony on which it rests (Heubner's *Practical Commentary on Matthew*).

The three temptations are addressed to the three forms in which the disease of sin makes its appearance on the soul—to the solace of sense, and the love of praise, and the desire of gain (1 John ii. 16). But there is one element common to them all—they are attempts to call up a wilful and wayward spirit in contrast to a patient self-denying one.

In the first temptation the Redeemer is an hungered: and when the Devil bids Him, if He be the Son of God, command that the stones may be made bread, there would seem to be no great sin in this use of Divine power to overcome the pressing human want. Our Lord's answer is required to show us where the essence of the temptation lay. He takes the words of Moses to the children of Israel (Deut. viii. 3), which mean, not that men must dispense with bread and feed only on the study of the Divine word, but that our meat and drink, our food and raiment, are all the work of the creating hand of God; and that a sense of *dependence on God* is the duty of man. He tells the Tempter that as the sons of Israel standing in the wilderness were forced to humble themselves and to wait upon the hand of God for the bread from heaven which He gave them, so the Son of Man, fainting in the wilderness from hunger, will be humble and will wait upon His Father in heaven for the word that shall bring Him food, and will not be hasty to deliver Himself from that dependent state, but will wait patiently for the gifts of His goodness. In the second temptation, it is not probable that they left the wilderness, but that Satan was allowed to suggest to our Lord's mind the place, and the marvel that could be wrought there. They stood, as has been suggested, on the lofty porch that overhung the valley of Kedron, where the steep side of the valley was added to the height of the Temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5), and made a depth that the eye could scarcely have borne to look down upon. "Cast Thyself down"—perform in the Holy City, in a public place, a wonder that will at once make all men confess that none but the Son of God could perform it. A passage from Psalm xci. is quoted to give a colour to the argument. Our Lord replies by an allusion to another text that carries us back again to the Israelites wandering in the wilderness: "Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, as ye tempted Him in Massah" (Deut. vi. 16). Their conduct is more fully described by the Psalmist as a tempting of God: "They tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their

lust; yea, they spake against God: they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold He smote the rock that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed. Can He give bread also? Can He provide flesh for His people?" (Ps. lxxviii.) Just parallel was the temptation here:—"God has protected Thee so far, brought Thee up, put His seal upon Thee by manifest proofs of His favour. Can He do this also? Can He send the angels to buoy Thee up in Thy descent? Can He make the air thick to sustain, and the earth soft to receive Thee?" The appropriate answer is, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." In the third temptation it is not asserted that there is any mountain from which the eyes of common men can see the world and its kingdoms at once displayed; it was with the mental vision of One Who knew all things that these kingdoms and their glory were seen. And Satan has now begun to discover, if he knew not from the beginning, that One is here Who can become the King over them all. He says, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me." In St. Luke the words are fuller: "All this power will I give Thee, and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it;" but these words are the lie of the Tempter, which he uses to mislead. "Thou art come to be great—to be a King on the earth; but I am strong, and will resist Thee. Thy followers shall be imprisoned and slain; some of them shall fall away through fear; others shall forsake Thy cause, loving this present world. Cast in Thy lot with me; let Thy kingdom be an earthly kingdom, only the greatest of all—a kingdom such as the Jews seek to see established on the throne of David. Worship me by living as the children of this world live, and so honouring me in Thy life: then all shall be Thine." The Lord knows that the Tempter is right in foretelling such trials to Him; but though clouds and darkness hang over the path of His ministry, He must work the work of Him that sent Him, and not another work: He must worship God and none other. "Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." As regards the order of the temptations, there are internal marks that the account of St. Matthew assigns them their historical order: St. Luke transposes the two last, for which various reasons are suggested by commentators (Matt. iv. 1–11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1–13).

Deserting for a time the historical order, we shall find that the records of this first portion of His ministry, from the Temptation to the Transfiguration, consist mainly—(1) of miracles, which prove His Divine commission; (2) of discourses and parables on the doctrine of "the kingdom of heaven"; (3) of incidents showing the behaviour of various persons when brought into contact with our Lord. The two former may require some general remarks, the last will unfold themselves with the narrative.

1. *The Miracles.*—The power of working miracles was granted to many under the Old Covenant: Moses (Ex. iii. 20, vii.–xi.) delivered the people of Israel from Egypt by means of them; and Joshua, following in his steps, enjoyed the same power for the completion of his work (Josh. iii. 13–16). Samson (Judg. xv. 19), Elijah (1 K. xvii. 10, &c.), and Elisha (2 K. ii.–vi.) possessed the same gift. The Prophets foretold that the Messiah, of Whom Moses was the type, would show signs and wonders as he had done. Isaiah, in describing His kingdom, says—"Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing" (xxxv. 5, 6). According to the same Prophet, the Christ was called "to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house" (xlii. 7). And all who looked for the coming of the Messiah expected that the power of miracles would be one of the tokens of His commission. When John the Baptist, in his prison, heard of the works of Jesus, he sent his disciples to inquire, "Art Thou He that should come (ὁ ἐρχόμενος = the Messiah), or do we look for another?" Our Lord, in answer to this, only points to His miracles, leaving to John the inference from them, that no one could do such works except the promised One. When our Lord cured a blind and dumb demoniac, the people, struck with the miracle, said, "Is not this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii. 23). On another like occasion it was asked, "When Christ cometh, will He do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" (John vii. 31). So that the expectation that Messiah would work miracles existed amongst the people, and was founded on the language of prophecy. Our Lord's miracles are described in the New Testament by several names: they are signs (σημεῖα), wonders (τέρατα), works (ἔργα, most frequently in St. John), and mighty works (δυνάμεις), according to the point of view from which they are regarded. They are indeed astonishing works, wrought as signs of the Might and Presence of God; and they are powers or mighty works because they are such as no power short of the Divine could have effected. But if the object had been merely to work wonders, without any other aim than to astonish the minds of the witnesses, the miracles of our Lord would not have been the best means of producing the effect, since many of them were wrought for the good of obscure people, before witnesses chiefly of the humble and uneducated class, and in the course of the ordinary life of our Lord, which lay not amongst those who made it their special business to inquire into the claims of a prophet. When requests were made for a more striking sign than those which He had wrought, for "a sign from heaven" (Luke xi. 16), it was refused. When the Tempter suggested that He should cast Himself down from the pinnacle of the Temple before all men, the temptation was rejected. The miracles of our Lord were to be, not wonders merely, but signs; and not merely signs of preternatural power, but of the scope and character of His ministry, and of the Divine Nature of His Person. This will be evident from an examination of those which are more particularly described in the Gospels. Nearly forty cases of this kind appear; but that they are only examples taken out of a very great number, the Evangelists frequently remind us (John ii. 23; Matt. viii. 16 and parall., iv. 23, xii. 15 and parall.; Luke vi. 19; Matt. xi. 5,

xiii. 58, ix. 35, xiv. 14, 36, xv. 30, xix. 2, xxi. 14). These cases might be classified. There are three instances of restoration to life, each under peculiar conditions: the daughter of Jairus was lately dead; the widow's son at Nain was being carried out to the grave; and Lazarus had been four days dead, and was returning to corruption (Matt. ix. 18; Luke vii. 11, 12; John xi. 1, &c.). There are about six cases of demoniac possession, each with its own circumstances: one in the synagogue at Capernaum, where the unclean spirit bore witness to Jesus as "the Holy One of God" (Mark i. 24); a second, that of the man who dwelt among the tombs in the country of the Gadarenes, whose state is so forcibly described by St. Mark (v. 2), and who also bore witness to Him as "the Son of the Most High God"; a third, the case of a dumb man (Matt. ix. 32); a fourth, that of a youth who was brought to Him as He came down from the Mount of Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 15), and whom the disciples had vainly tried to heal; a fifth, that of another dumb man, whom the Jews thought he had healed "through Beelzebub the prince of the devils" (Luke xi. 15); and a sixth, that of the Syro-Phoenician girl whose mother's faith was so tenacious (Matt. xv. 22). There are about seventeen recorded cases of the cure of bodily sickness, including fever, leprosy, palsy, inveterate weakness, the maimed limb, the issue of blood of twelve years' standing, dropsy, blindness, deafness, and dumbness (John iv. 47; Matt. viii. 2, 14; ix. 2; John v. 5; Matt. xii. 10, viii. 5, ix. 20, 27; Mark viii. 22; John ix. 1; Luke xiii. 10, xvii. 11, xviii. 35, xxii. 51). These three groups of miracles all pertain to one class; they all brought help to the suffering or sorrowing, and proclaimed what love the Man that did them bore towards the children of men. There is another class, showing a complete control over the powers of nature: first by acts of creative power, as when in the beginning of His ministry He made the water wine; and when He fed at one time five thousand, and at another four, with bread miraculously provided (John ii. 7, vi. 10; Matt. xv. 32); secondly, by setting aside natural laws and conditions—now in passing unseen through a hostile crowd (Luke iv. 30); now in procuring miraculous draughts of fishes, when the fisher's skill had failed (Luke v. 4; John xxi. 6); now in stilling a tempest (Matt. viii. 26); now in walking to His disciples on the sea (Matt. xiv. 25); now in the transformation of His countenance by a heavenly light and glory (Matt. xvii. 1); and again in seeking and finding the shekel for the customary tribute to the Temple in the fish's mouth (Matt. xvii. 27). In a third class of these miracles we find our Lord overawing the wills of men; as when He twice cleared the Temple of the traders (John ii. 13; Matt. xxi. 12); and when His look staggered the officers that came to take Him (John xviii. 6). And in a fourth subdivision will stand one miracle only, where His power was used for destruction—the case of the barren fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18). The destruction of the herd of swine does not properly rank here; it was a permitted act of the devils which He cast out, and is no more to be laid to the account of the Redeemer than are all the sicknesses and sufferings in the land of the Jews which He permitted to waste and destroy, having, as He showed by His miracles, abundant power to prevent them. All the miracles of this latter class show our Lord to be One Who wields the power of God. No one can suspend the laws of nature save Him Who made them: when bread is wonderfully multiplied and the fickle sea becomes a firm floor to walk on, the God of the Universe is working the change, directly or through His deputy. Very remarkable, as a claim to Divine power, is the mode in which Jesus justified acts of healing on the Sabbath—"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (John v. 17): which means, "As God the Father, even on the Sabbath-day, keeps all the laws of the universe at work, making the planets roll, and the grass grow, and the animal pulses beat, so do I My work; I stand above the law of the Sabbath, as He does."[b]

On reviewing all the recorded miracles, we see at once that they are signs of the nature of Christ's Person and mission. None of them are done merely to astonish; and hardly any of them, even of those which prove His power more than His love, but tend directly towards the good of men in some way or other. They show how active and unwearied was His love; they also show the diversity of its operation. Every degree of human need—from Lazarus now returning to dust—through the palsy that has seized on brain and nerves, and is almost death—through the leprosy which, appearing on the skin, was really a subtle poison that had tainted every drop of blood in the veins—up to the injury to the particular limb—received succour from the powerful word of Christ; and to wrest His buried friend from corruption and the worm was neither more nor less difficult than to heal a withered hand or restore to its place an ear that had been cut off. And this intimate connexion of the miracles with the work of Christ will explain the fact that *faith* was in many cases required as a condition for their performance. According to the common definition of a miracle, any one would seem to be a capable witness of its performance: yet Jesus sometimes refrained from working wonders before the unbelieving (Mark vi. 5, 6), and sometimes did the work that was asked of Him because of the faith of them that asked it (Mark vii. 29). The miracles were intended to attract the witnesses of them to become followers of Jesus and members of the kingdom of heaven. Where faith was already so far fixed on Him as to believe that He could do miracles, there was the fit preparation for a faith in higher and heavenly things. If they knew that He could heal the body, they only required teaching to enlarge their view of Him into that of a healer of the diseased spirit, and a giver of true life to

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[b] The Saviour's miracles are—

I. Of love		In raising the dead.
		In curing mental disease.
		In healing the body.
II. Of power		In creating.
		In destroying.
		In setting aside the ordinary laws of being.
		In overawing the opposing wills of men.

In the account in the text, the miracles that took place after the Transfiguration have been included, for the sake of completeness.

those that are dead in trespasses and sins. On the other hand, where men's minds were in a state of bitterness and antagonism against Him, to display miracles before them would but increase their condemnation. "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both Me and My Father" (John xv. 24). This result was inevitable: in order to offer salvation to those who are to be saved, the offer must be heard by some of those who will reject it. Miracles then have two purposes—the proximate and subordinate purpose of doing a work of love to them that need it, and the higher purpose of revealing Christ in His own Person and nature as the Son of God and Saviour of men. Hence the rejection of the demand for a sign from heaven—for some great celestial phenomenon which all should see and none could dispute. He refused to give such a sign to the "generation" that asked it: and once He offered them instead the fact that Jonah was a *type* of Him as to His Burial and Resurrection, thus refusing them the kind of sign which they required. So again, in answer to a similar demand, He said, "Destroy this Temple and in three days I will raise it up"—alluding to His Death and Resurrection. It is as though He had said, "All the miracles that I have been working are only intended to call attention to the one great miracle of My Presence on earth in the form of a servant. No other kind of miracle will I work. If you wish for a greater sign, I refer you to the great miracle about to be wrought in Me—that of My Resurrection." The Lord's words do not mean that there shall be no sign; He is working wonders daily: but that He will not travel out of the plan He has proposed for Himself. A sign in the sun and moon and stars would prove that the power of God was there; but it would not teach men to understand the mission of God Incarnate, of the loving and suffering Friend and Brother of men. The miracles which He wrought are those best suited to this purpose; and those who had faith, though but in small measure, were the fittest to behold them. They knew Him but a little; but even to think of Him as a Prophet Who was able to heal their infirmity was a germ of faith sufficient to make them fit hearers of His doctrine and spectators of His deeds. But they gained nothing from the Divine work who, unable to deny the evidence of their eyes and ears, took refuge in the last argument of malice, "He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the prince of the devils."

What is a miracle? A miracle must be either something done in contravention of all law, or it is a transgression of all the laws known to us, but not of some law which further research may discover for us; or it is a transgression of all natural laws, whether known now or to be known hereafter, on account of some higher law whose operation interferes with them. Only the last of these definitions could apply to the Christian miracles. God having chosen to govern the world by laws, having impressed on the face of nature in characters not to be mistaken the great truth that He rules the Universe by law and order, would not adopt in the kingdom of grace a different plan from that which in the kingdom of nature He has pursued. If the seen universe requires a scheme of order, and the spiritual world is governed without a scheme (so to speak) by caprice, then the God of Nature appears to contradict the God of Grace. Spinoza has not failed to make the most of this argument; but he assails not the true Christian idea of a miracle, but one which he substitutes for it (*Tract. Theol. Polit.* 6). Nor can the Christian miracles be regarded as cases in which the wonder depends on the anticipation only of some law that is not now understood, but shall be so hereafter. In the first place many of them go beyond, in the amount of their operation, all the wildest hopes of the scientific discoverer. In the second place, the very conception of a miracle is vitiated by such an explanation. All distinction in kind between the man who is somewhat in advance of his age in physical knowledge, and the worker of miracles, would be taken away; and the miracles of one age, as the steam-engine, the telegraph-wire, become the tools and toys of the next. It remains then that a miracle is to be regarded as the overruling of some physical law by some higher law that is brought in. We are invited in the Gospels to regard the miracles not as wonders, but as the wonderful acts of Jesus of Nazareth. They are identified with the work of redemption. There are even cautions against teaching them separately—against severing them from their connexion with His work. Eye-witnesses of His miracles were strictly charged to make no report of them to others (Matt. ix. 30; Mark. v. 43, vii. 36). And yet when John the Baptist sent his disciples to ascertain whether the Messiah were indeed come or not, the answer they took back was the very thing which was forbidden to others—a report of miracles. The explanation of this seeming contradiction is that wherever a report of the signs and wonders was likely to be conveyed without a right conception of the Person of Christ and the kind of doctrine which He taught, there He suffered not the report to be carried. Now, had the purpose been to reveal His Divine Nature only, this caution would not have been needed, nor would faith have been a needful preliminary for the apprehension of miracles, nor would the temptations of Satan in the wilderness have been the cunning snares they were intended to be, nor would it have been necessary to refuse the convincing sign from heaven to the Jews that asked it. But the part of His work to which attention was to be directed in connexion with the miracles, was the mystery of our redemption by One "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross" (Phil. ii. 5–8). Very few are the miracles in which Divine power is exercised without a manifest reference to the purpose of assisting men. He works for the most part as the Power of God in a state of humiliation for the good of men. Not insignificant here are the cases in which He condescends to use means, wholly inadequate indeed in any other hands than His; but still they are a token that He has descended into the region where means are employed, from that in which even

the spoken word can control the subservient agents of nature. He laid His hand upon the patient (Matt. viii. 3, 15, ix. 29, xx. 34; Luke vii. 14, xxii. 51). He anointed the eyes of the blind with clay (John ix. 6). He put His finger into the ear and touched the tongue of the deaf and dumb sufferer in Decapolis (Mark vii. 33, 34). He treated the blind man at Bethsaida in like fashion (Mark viii. 23). Even when He fed the four and five thousand, He did not create bread out of nothing, which would have been as easy for Him, but much bread out of little; and He looked up to heaven and blessed the meat as a thankful man would do (Matt. xiv. 19; John vi. 11; Matt. xv. 36). At the grave of Lazarus He lifted up His eyes and gave thanks that the Father had heard Him (John xi. 41, 42), and this great miracle is accompanied by tears and groanings, that show how One so mighty to save has truly become a man with human soul and sympathies. The worker of the miracles is God become Man; and as signs of His Person and work are they to be measured. Hence, when the question of the credibility of miracles is discussed, it ought to be preceded by the question, Is redemption from the sin of Adam a probable thing? Is it probable that there are spiritual laws as well as natural, regulating the relations between us and the Father of our spirits? Is it probable that, such laws existing, the needs of men and the goodness of God would lead to an expression of them, complete or partial, by means of revelation? If these questions are all decided in the affirmative, then Hume's argument against miracles is already half overthrown. "No testimony," says Hume, "is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish; and even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior" (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 130). If the Christian miracles are parts of a scheme which bears other marks of a Divine origin, they point to the existence of a set of spiritual laws with which Christianity is connected, and of which it is the expression; and then the difficulty of believing them disappears. They are not "against nature," but above it; they are not the few caprices of Providence breaking in upon ages of order, but they are glimpses of the Divine spiritual *cosmos* permitted to be seen amidst the laws of the natural world, of which they take precedence, just as in the physical world one law can supersede another. And as to the testimony for them let Paley speak:—"If twelve men, whose probity and good sense I had long known, should seriously and circumstantially relate to me an account of a miracle wrought before their eyes, and in which it was impossible they should *be* deceived; if the governor of the country, hearing a rumour of this account, should call those men into his presence, and offer them a short proposal, either to confess the imposture or submit to be tied up to a gibbet; if they should refuse with one voice to acknowledge that there existed any falsehood or imposture in the case; if this threat were communicated to them separately, yet with no different effect; if it was at last executed, if I myself saw them one after another consenting to be racked, burnt or strangled, rather than give up the truth of their account; ... there exists not a sceptic in the world who would not believe them, or who would defend such incredulity" (*Evidences*, Introduction, p. 6). In the theory of a "mutual destruction" of arguments so that the belief in miracles would represent exactly the balance between the evidence for and against them, Hume contradicts the commonest religious, and indeed worldly, experience; he confounds the state of deliberation and examination with that of conviction. When Thomas the Apostle, who had doubted the great central miracle of the Resurrection, was allowed to touch the Saviour's wounded side, and in an access of undoubting faith exclaimed, "My Lord and my God!" who does not see that at that moment all the former doubts were wiped out, and were as though they had never been? How could he carry about those doubts or any recollection of them, to be a set-off against the complete conviction that had succeeded them? It is so with the Christian life in every case; faith, which is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," could not continue to weigh and balance evidence for and against the truth; the conviction either rises to a perfect moral certainty, or it continues tainted and worthless as a principle of action.

The lapse of time may somewhat alter the aspect of the evidence for miracles, but it does not weaken it. It is more difficult (so to speak) to cross-examine witnesses who delivered their testimony ages ago; but another kind of evidence has been gathering strength in successive ages. The miracles are all consequences and incidents of one great miracle, the Incarnation; and if the Incarnation is found true, the rest become highly probable. But this very doctrine has been thoroughly proved through all these ages. Nations have adopted it, and they are the greatest nations of the world. Men have lived and died in it, have given up their lives to preach it; have found that it did not disappoint them, but held true under them to the last. The existence of Christianity itself has become an evidence. It is a phenomenon easy to understand if we grant the miracle of the Incarnation, but is an effect without an adequate cause if that be denied.

Miracles then are offered us in the Gospels, not as startling violations of the order of nature, but as consequences of the revelation of Himself made by Jesus Christ for men's salvation, and as such they are not violations of order at all, but interferences of the spiritual order with the natural. They are abundantly witnessed by earnest and competent men, who did not aim at any earthly reward for their teaching; and they are proofs, together with His pure life and holy doctrine, that Jesus was the Son of God (see Dean Trench *on the Miracles*, an important work; Baumgarten, *Leben Jesu;* Paley's *Evidences;* Butler's *Analogy;* Hase, *Leben Jesu;* with the various Commentaries on the New Testament).

2. *The Parables.*—In considering the Lord's teaching we turn first to the parables. In all ages the aid of the imagination has been sought to assist in the teaching of abstract truth, and

that in various ways: in the parable, where some story of ordinary doings is made to convey a spiritual meaning, beyond what the narrative itself contains, and without any assertion that the narrative does or does not present an actual occurrence: in the fable, where a story, for the most part an impossible one, of talking beast and reasoning bird, is made the vehicle of some shrewd and prudent lesson of worldly wisdom: in the allegory, which is a story with a moral or spiritual meaning, in which the lesson taught is so prominent as almost wholly to supersede the story that clothes it, and the names and actions are so chosen that no interpreter shall be required for the application: and lastly, in the proverb, which is often only a parable or a fable condensed into a few pithy words [PARABLE] (Ernesti, *Lex. Tech. Graecum*, under παραβολή, λόγος, ἀλληγορία; Trench, *On the Parables;* Alford on Matt. xiii. 1, and other Commentators; Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 67, 4th edit.; Neander, *Leben Jesu*, p. 568 sq.). Nearly fifty parables are preserved in the Gospels, and they are only selected from a larger number (Mark iv. 33). Each Evangelist, even St. Mark, has preserved some that are peculiar to himself. St. John never uses the word parable, but that of *proverb* (παροιμία), which the other Evangelists nowhere employ. In reference to this mode of teaching, our Lord tells the disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God; but to others in parables, that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand" (Luke viii. 10): and some have hastily concluded from this that the parable—the clearest of all modes of teaching—was employed to conceal knowledge from those who were not susceptible of it, and that this was its chief purpose. But it was chosen not for this negative object, but for its positive advantages in the instruction of the disciples. The nature of the kingdom of heaven was not understood even by disciples; hard even to them were the sayings that described it, and the hearing of them caused many to go back and walk no more with Him (John vi. 66). If there was any mode of teaching better suited than another to the purpose of preserving truths for the memory that were not yet accepted by the heart—for keeping the seed safe till the time should arrive for the quickening Spirit to come down and give it growth—that mode would be the best suited to the peculiar position of the disciples. And any means of translating an abstract thought into sensuous language has ever been the object of poet and teacher in all countries. He who can best employ the symbols of the visible world for the deeper acts of thought has been the clearest and most successful expositor. The parable affords just such an instrument as was required. Who could banish from his mind, when once understood, the image of the house built on the sand, as the symbol of the faithless soul unable to stand by the truth in the day of temptation? To whom does not the parable of the prodigal son bring back the thought of God's merciful kindness towards the erring? But without such striking images it would have been impossible (to use mere human language) to make known to the disciples in their half-enlightened state the mysteries of faith in the Son of God as a principle of life, of repentance from sin, and of an assurance of peace and welcome from the God of mercy. Eastern teachers have made this mode of instruction familiar; the originality of the parables lay not in the method of teaching by stories, but in the profound and new truths which the stories taught so aptly. And Jesus had another purpose in selecting this form of instruction: He foresaw that many would reject Him, and on them He would not lay a heavier burden than they needs must bear. He did not offer them daily and hourly, in their plainest form, the grand truths of sin and atonement, of judgment and heaven and hell, and in so doing multiply occasions of blaspheming. "Those that were without" heard the parable; but it was an aimless story to them if they sought no moral purpose under it, and a dark saying, passing comprehension, if they did so seek. When the Lord gathered round Him those that were willing to be His, and explained to them at length the parable and its application (Matt. xiii. 10–18), then the light thus thrown on it was not easy to extinguish in their memory. And amongst those without there was no doubt a difference; some listened with indifferent, and some with unbelieving and resisting minds; and of both minds some remained in their aversion, more or less active, from the Son of God unto the end, and some were converted after He was risen. To these we may suppose that the parables which had rested in their memories as vivid pictures, yet still a dead letter, so far as moral import is concerned, became by the Holy Spirit, Whose business it was to teach men all things and to bring all things to their remembrance (John xiv. 26), a quick and powerful light of truth, lighting up the dark places with a brightness never again to fade from their eyes. The parable unapplied is a dark saying; the parable explained is the clearest of all teaching. When language is used in Holy Scripture which would seem to treat the parables as means of concealment rather than of instruction, it must be taken to refer to the unexplained parable—to the cypher without the key—the symbol without the interpretation.

Besides the parables, the more direct teaching of our Lord is conveyed in many discourses, dispersed through the Gospels; of which three may be here selected as examples,—the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.–vii.), the discourse after the feeding of the five thousand (John vi. 22–65), and the final discourse and prayer which preceded the Passion (John xiv.–xvii.). These are selected principally because they mark three distinct periods in the ministry of Jesus,—the opening of it, the principal change in the tone of its teaching, and the solemn close.

Notwithstanding the endeavour to establish that the Sermon on the Mount of St. Matthew is different from the Sermon on the Plain of St. Luke, the evidence for their being one and the same discourse greatly preponderates. If so, then its historical position must be fixed from St. Luke; and its earlier place in St. Matthew's Gospel must be owing to the Evangelist's wish to commence the account of the ministry of Jesus with a summary of His teaching; an intention further illustrated by the mode in which the Evangelist has wrought in with his report of the discourse several sayings which

St. Luke connects with the various facts which on different occasions drew them forth (cp. Luke xiv. 34, xi. 33, xvi. 17, xii. 58, 59, xvi. 18, with places in Matt. v.; also Luke xi. 1–4, xii. 33, 34, xi. 34–36, xvi. 13, xii. 22–31, with places in Matt. vi.; also Luke xi. 9–13, xiii. 24, 25–27, with places in Matt. vii.). Yet this is done without violence to the connexion and structure of the whole discourse. St. Matthew, to whom Jesus is ever present as the Messiah, the Anointed Prophet of the chosen people, the successor of Moses, sets at the head of His ministry the giving of the Christian law with its bearing on the Jewish. From St. Luke we learn that Jesus had gone up into a mountain to pray, that on the morning following He made up the number of His twelve Apostles, and solemnly appointed them, and then descending He stood upon a level place (*καταβὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ*, Luke vi. 17), not necessarily at the bottom of the mountain, but where the multitude could stand round and hear; and there He taught them in a solemn address the laws and constitution of His new kingdom, the kingdom of Heaven. He tells them who are meet to be citizens of that heavenly polity, and in so doing rebukes almost every quality on which the world sets a value. The poor in spirit, that is the lowly-minded, the mourners and the meek, those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, the merciful, the pure, the peacemakers, are all "blessed," are all possessed of the temper which will assort well with that heavenly kingdom, in contrast to the proud, the confident, the great and successful, whom the world honours. (St. Luke adds denunciations of woe to the tempers which are opposed to the Gospel, which St. Matthew omits.) This novel exordium startles all the hearers, for it seems to proclaim a new world, new hopes, and new virtues; and our Lord then proceeds to meet the question that rises up in their minds—"If these dispositions and not a literal obedience to minute precepts constitute a Christian, what then becomes of the Law?" Answering this tacit objection, the Lord bids them "think not that I am come to destroy (*καταλῦσαι, abolish*) the Law and the Prophets, I am not come to destroy but to fulfil" (*πληρῶσαι, complete*, Matt. v. 17). He goes on to tell them that not one point or letter of the Law was written in vain; that what was temporary in it does not fall away till its purpose is answered, what was of permanent obligation shall never be lost. He then shows how far more deep and searching a moral lawgiver He is than was Moses His prototype, who like Him spoke the Mind of God. The eternal principles which Moses wrote in broad lines, such as a dull and unspiritual people *must* read, He applies to deeper-seated sins and to all the finer shades of evil. Murder was denounced by the Law; but anger and provoking speech are of the same stock. It is not only murder, but hate, that is the root of that poisonous fruit which God abhors. Hate defiles the very offering that a man makes to God; let him leave his gift unoffered and get the hate cast out, and not waste his time in an unacceptable sacrifice. Hate will affect the soul for ever, if it goes out of the world to meet its Judge in that defiling garment: "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him" (*v.* 25). The act of adultery is deadly, and Moses forbad it. But to permit the thought of lust to rest in the heart, to suffer the desire to linger there without combating it (*βλέπειν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι*) is of the same nature, and shares the condemnation. The breach of an oath (Lev. xix. 12) was forbidden by the Law; and the rabbinical writers had woven a distinction between oaths that were and oaths that were not binding (Maimonides in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* ii. p. 127). Jesus shows that all oaths, whether they name the Creator or not, are an appeal to Him, and all are on that account equally binding. But the need of an oath "cometh of evil;" the bare asseveration of a Christian should be as solemn and sacred to him as the most binding oath. That this in its simple literal application would go to abolish all swearing is beyond a question; but the Lord is sketching out a perfect Law for a perfect kingdom; and this is not the only part of the Sermon on the Mount which in the present state of the world cannot be carried out completely. Men there are on whom a word is less binding than an oath; and in judicial proceedings the highest test must be applied to them to elicit the truth; therefore an oath must still form part of a legal process, and a good man may take what is really kept up to control the wicked. Jesus Himself did not refuse the oath administered to Him in the Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 63). And yet the need of an oath "cometh of evil," for among men who respect the truth it would add nothing to the weight of their evidence. Almost the same would apply to the precepts with which our Lord replaces the much-abused law of retaliation, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" (Ex. xxi. 24). To conquer an enemy by submission where he expected resistance is of the very essence of the Gospel; it is an exact imitation of our Lord's own example, Who, when He might have summoned more than twelve legions of Angels to His aid, allowed the Jews to revile and slay Him. And yet it is not possible at once to wipe out from our social arrangements the principle of retribution. The robber who takes a coat must not be encouraged to seize the cloak also; to give to every one that asks all that he asks would be an encouragement to sloth and shameless importunity. But yet the awakened conscience will find out a hundred ways in which the spirit of this precept may be carried out, even in our imperfect social state; and the power of this loving policy will be felt by those who attempt it. Finally, our Lord sums up this portion of His Divine law by words full of sublime wisdom. To the cramped and confined love of the Rabbis, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy," He opposes this nobler rule —"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father Which is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust . . Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father Which is in heaven is perfect" (Matt. v. 44, 45, 48). To this part of the sermon, which St. Luke has not preserved, but which St. Matthew, writing as it were with his face

turned towards his Jewish countrymen, could not pretermit, succeed precepts on almsgiving, on prayer, on forgiveness, on fasting, on trust in God's providence, and on tolerance; all of them tuned to one or two notes: that a man's whole nature must be offered to God, and that it is man's duty to do to others as he would have them do to him. An earnest appeal on the difficulty of a godly life, and the worthlessness of mere profession, cast in the form of a parable, concludes this wonderful discourse. The differences between the reports of the two Evangelists are many. In the former Gospel the sermon occupies one hundred and seven verses; in the latter, thirty. The longer report includes the exposition of the relation of the Gospel to the Law: it also draws together, as we have seen, some passages which St. Luke reports elsewhere and in another connexion; and where the two contain the same matter, that of St. Luke is somewhat more compressed. But in taking account of this, the purpose of St. Matthew is to be borne in mind: the morality of the Gospel is to be fully set forth at the beginning of our Lord's ministry, and especially in its bearing on the Law as usually received by the Jews, for whose use especially this Gospel was designed. And when this discourse is compared with the later examples to which we shall presently refer, the fact comes out more distinctly, that we have here the Code of the Christian Lawgiver, rather than the whole Gospel; that the standard of Christian duty is here fixed, but the means for raising men to the level where the observance of such a law is at all possible are not yet pointed out. The hearers learned how Christians would act and think, and to what degree of moral purity they would aspire, in the state of salvation; but how that state was to be purchased for them, and conveyed over to them, is not yet pointed out.

The next example of the teaching of Jesus must be taken from a later epoch in His ministry. It is probable that the great discourse in John vi. took place about the time of the Transfiguration, just before which He began to reveal to the disciples the story of His sufferings (Matt. xvi. and parallels), which was the special and frequent theme of His teaching until the end. The effect of His personal work on the disciples now becomes the prominent subject. He had taught them that He was the Christ, and had given them His law, wider and deeper far than that of Moses. But the objection to every law applies more strongly the purer and higher the law is; and "how to perform that which I will" is a question that grows more difficult to answer as the standard of obedience is raised. It is that question which our Lord proceeds to answer here. The feeding of the five thousand had lately taken place; and from this miracle He preaches yet a greater, namely, that all spiritual life is imparted to the disciples from Him, and that they must feed on Him that their souls may live. He can feed them with something more than manna, even with Himself; "for the Bread of God is He Which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world" (John vi. 26–40). The Jews murmur at this hard doctrine, and He warns them that it is a kind of test of those who have been with Him: "No man can come to Me except the Father Which hath sent Me draw him." He repeats that He is the Bread of Life; and they murmur yet more (*vv.* 41–52). He presses it on them still more strongly: "Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of man and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal Life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him. As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me" (*vv.* 53–57). After this discourse many of the disciples went back and walked no more with Him. They could not conceive how salvation could depend on a condition so strange; nay, even so revolting. However we may blame them for their want of confidence in their Teacher, it is not to be imputed to them as a fault that they found a doctrine, which in itself is difficult, and here was clothed in dark and obscure expressions, beyond the grasp of their understanding at that time. For that doctrine was, that Christ had taken our fleshly nature, to suffer in it, and to shed His Blood in it; and that those to whom the benefits of His atoning death are imparted find it to be their spiritual food and life, and the condition of their resurrection to life everlasting.

Whether this passage refers, and in what degree, to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is a question on which commentators have been much divided, but two observations should in some degree guide our interpretation: the one, that if the *primary* reference of the discourse had been to the Lord's Supper, it would have been uttered at the institution of that rite, and not before, at a time when the disciples could not possibly make application of it to a Sacrament of which they had never even heard; the other, that the form of speech in this discourse comes so near that which is used in instituting the Lord's Supper, that it is impossible to exclude all reference to that Sacrament. The Redeemer alludes here to His Death, to the Body which shall suffer on the Cross, and to the Blood which shall be poured out. This great sacrifice is not only to be looked on, but to be believed; and not only believed, but appropriated to the believer, to become part of his very heart and life. Faith, here as elsewhere, is the means of apprehending it: but when it is once laid hold of, it will be as much a part of the believer as the food that nourishes the body becomes incorporated with the body. In three passages in the other Evangelists, in which our Lord about this very time prepares them for His sufferings, He connects with the announcement a warning to the disciples that all who would come after Him must show the fruit of His death in their lives (Matt. xvi., Mark viii., Luke ix.). And this new principle, infused into them by the life and death of the Redeemer, by His taking our flesh and then suffering in it (for neither of these is excluded), is to believers the seed of eternal life. The believer "hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (John vi. 54). Now the words of Jesus in instituting the Lord's Supper come very near to the expressions in this discourse: "This is My Body

which is given for you (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν) . . . This cup is the new testament in My Blood, which is shed for you" (Luke xxii. 19, 20). That the Lord's Supper is a means of applying to us through faith the fruits of the Incarnation and the Atonement of Christ, is generally admitted; and if so, the discourse before us will apply to that Sacrament, not certainly to the exclusion of other means of appropriating the saving Death of Christ, but still with great force, inasmuch as the Lord's Supper is the most striking symbol of the application to us of the Lord's Body. Here in a bold figure the disciples are told that they must eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood; whilst in the Sacrament the same figure becomes an act. Here the language is meant to be general; and there it finds its most striking special application, but not its only one. And the uttering of these words at an epoch that preceded by some months the first celebration of the Lord's Supper was probably intended to preclude that special and limited application of it which would narrow it down to the Sacrament only, and out of which much false and even idolatrous teaching has grown (cp. Commentaries of Alford, Lücke, Meyer, Stier, Heubner, Williams, Tholuck, and others, on this passage). It will still be asked how we are to account for the startling form in which this most profound Gospel-truth was put before persons to whom it was likely to prove an offence. The answer is not difficult. Many had companied with the Lord during the early part of His ministry, to see His miracles, perhaps to derive some fruit from them, to talk about Him, and to repeat His sayings, who were quite unfit to go on as His followers to the end. There was a wide difference between the two doctrines, that Jesus was the Christ, and that the Christ must hang upon the tree, as to their effects on unregenerate and worldly minds. For the latter they were not prepared: though many of them could possibly accept the former. Now this discourse belongs to the time of transition from the easier to the harder doctrine. And we may suppose that it was meant to sift the disciples, that the good grain might remain in the garner and the chaff be scattered to the wind. Hence the hard and startling form in which it was cast; not indeed that this figure of eating and drinking in reference to spiritual things was wholly unknown to Jewish teachers, for Lightfoot, Schöttgen, and Wetstein have shown the contrary. But hard it doubtless was; and if the condition of discipleship had been that they should then and there understand what they heard, their turning back at this time would have been inevitable. But even on the twelve Jesus imposes no such condition. He only asks them, "Will ye also go away?" If a beloved teacher says something which overturns the previous notions of the taught, and shocks their prejudices, then whether they will continue by his side to hear him explain further what they find difficult, or desert him at once, will depend on the amount of their confidence in him. Many of the disciples went back and walked no more with Jesus, because their conviction that He was the Messiah had no real foundation. The rest remained with Him for the reason so beautifully expressed by Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God" (John vi. 68, 69). The sin of the faint-hearted followers who now deserted Him was not that they found this difficult; but that finding it difficult they had not confidence enough to wait for light.

The third example of our Lord's discourses which may be selected is that which closes His ministry—"Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him. If God be glorified in Him, God shall also glorify Him in Himself, and shall straightway glorify Him" (John xiii. 31, 32). This great discourse, recorded only by St. John, extends from the xiiith to the end of the xviith chapter. It hardly admits of analysis. It announces the Saviour's departure in the fulfilment of His mission; it imposes the "new commandment" on the disciples of a special love towards each other which should be the outward token to the world of their Christian profession; it consoles them with the promise of the Comforter Who should be to them instead of the Saviour; it tells them all that He would do for them, teaching them, reminding them, reproving the world and guiding the disciples into all truth. It offers them, instead of the Bodily Presence of their beloved Master, free access to the throne of His Father, and spiritual blessings such as they had not known before. Finally, it culminates in that sublime prayer (ch. xvii.) by which the High-Priest, as it were, consecrates Himself the Victim; and, so doing, prays for those who shall hold fast and keep the benefits of that Sacrifice, offered for the whole world, whether His disciples already, or to be brought to Him thereafter by the ministry of Apostles. He wills that they shall be with Him and behold His glory. He recognises the righteousness of the Father in the plan of salvation, and in the result produced to the disciples; in whom that highest and purest love wherewith the Father loved the Son shall be present, and with and in that love the Son Himself shall be present with them. "With this elevated thought," says Olshausen, "the Redeemer concludes His prayer for the disciples, and in them for the Church through all ages. He has compressed into the last moments given Him for intercourse with His own the most sublime and glorious sentiments ever uttered by human lips. Hardly has the sound of the last word died away when Jesus passes with His disciples over the brook Kedron to Gethsemane; and the bitter conflict draws on. The seed of the new world must be sown in death that thence life may spring up."

These three discourses are examples of the Saviour's teaching—of its progressive character from the opening of His ministry to the close. The first exhibits His practical precepts as Lawgiver of His people; the second, an exposition of the need of His Sacrifice, but addressed to the world without, and intended to try them rather than to attract; and the third, where Christ, the Lawgiver and the High-Priest, stands before God as the Son of God, and speaks to Him of His inmost counsels, as One Who had known them from the beginning. They will serve as illustrations of the course of His doctrine; whilst others will be mentioned in the narrative as it proceeds.

The scene of the Lord's ministry.—As to the

scene of the ministry of Christ, no less than as to its duration, the three Evangelists seem at first sight to be at variance with the fourth. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke record only our Lord's doings in Galilee; if we put aside a few days before the Passion, we find that they never mention His visiting Jerusalem. St. John, on the other hand, whilst he records some acts in Galilee, devotes the chief part of his Gospel to the transactions in Judaea. But when the supplemental character of St. John's Gospel is borne in mind, there is little difficulty in explaining this. The three Evangelists do not profess to give a chronology of the ministry, but rather a picture of it: notes of time are not frequent in their narrative. And as they chiefly confined themselves to Galilee, where the Redeemer's chief acts were done, they might naturally omit to mention the Feasts, which being passed by our Lord at Jerusalem, added nothing to the materials for His Galilean ministry. St. John, on the other hand, writing later, and giving an account of the Redeemer's life which is still less complete as a history (for more than one-half of the fourth Gospel is occupied with the last three months of the ministry, and seven chapters out of twenty-one are filled with the account of the few days of the Passion), vindicates his historical claim by supplying several precise notes of time: in the occurrences after the Baptism of Jesus, days and even hours are specified (i. 29, 35, 39, 43, ii. 1); the first miracle is mentioned, and the time at which it was wrought (ii. 1-11). He mentions not only the Passovers (ii. 13, 23; vi. 4; xiii. f, and perhaps v. 1), but also the Feast of Tabernacles (vii. 2) and of Dedication (x. 22); and thus it is ordered that the Evangelist who goes over the least part of the ground of our Lord's ministry is yet the same who fixes for us its duration, and enables us to arrange the facts of the rest more exactly in their historical places. It is true that the three Gospels record chiefly the occurrences in Galilee; but there is evidence in them that labours were wrought in Judaea. Frequent teaching in Jerusalem is implied in the Lord's lamentation over the lost city (Matt. xxiii. 37). The appearance in Galilee of Scribes and Pharisees and others from Jerusalem (Matt. iv. 25, xv. 1) would be best explained on the supposition that their enmity had been excited against Him during visits to Jerusalem. The intimacy with the family of Lazarus (Luke x. 38, &c.), and the attachment of Joseph of Arimathea to the Lord (Matt. xxvii. 57), would imply, most probably, frequent visits to Jerusalem. But why was Galilee chosen as the principal scene of the ministry? The question is not easy to answer. The Prophet would resort to the Temple of God; the King of the Jews would go to His own royal city; the Teacher of the chosen people would preach in the midst of them. But their hostility prevented it. The Saviour, Who, accepting all the infirmities of "the form of a servant" which He had taken, fled in His childhood to Egypt, betakes Himself to Galilee to avoid Jewish hatred and machinations, and lays the foundations of His Church amid a people of impure and despised race. To Jerusalem He comes occasionally, to teach and suffer persecution, and finally to die: "for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" (Luke xiii. 33). It was upon the first outbreak of persecution against Him that He left Judaea: "When Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, He departed into Galilee" (Matt. iv. 12). And that this persecution aimed at Him also we gather from St. John: "When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John . . . He left Judaea and departed into Galilee" (iv. 1, 3). If the light of the Sun of Righteousness shone on the Jews henceforward from the far-off shores of the Galilean lake, it was because they had refused and abhorred that light.

Duration of the Ministry.—It is impossible to determine exactly from the Gospels the number of years during which the Redeemer exercised His ministry before the Passion; but the doubt lies between two and three; for the opinion, adopted from an interpretation of Isaiah lxi. 2 by more than one of the ancients, that it lasted only one year, cannot be borne out (Euseb. iii. 24; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1; Origen, *Princ.* 4, 5). The data are to be drawn from St. John. This Evangelist mentions six Feasts, at five of which Jesus was present: the Passover that followed His Baptism (ii. 13); "a Feast of the Jews" (ἑορτὴ without the article, v. 1); a Passover during which Jesus remained in Galilee (vi. 4); the Feast of Tabernacles to which the Lord went up privately (vii. 2); the Feast of Dedication (x. 22); and lastly the Feast of Passover, at which He suffered (xii. xiii.). There are certainly three Passovers, and it is possible that "a Feast" (v. 1) may be a fourth. Upon this possibility the question turns. Lücke in his Commentary (vol. ii. p. 1), in collecting with great research the various opinions on this place, is unable to arrive at any definite conclusion upon it, and leaves it unsolved. But if this Feast is not a Passover, then no Passover is mentioned by St. John between the first (ii. 13) and that which is spoken of in the sixth chapter; and the time between those two must be assumed to be a single year only. Now, although the record of John of this period contains but few facts, yet when all the Evangelists are compared, the amount of labour compressed into this single year would be too much for its compass. The time during which Jesus was baptizing (by His disciples) near the Jordan was probably considerable, and lasted till John's imprisonment (John iii. 22–36, and see below). The circuit round Galilee, mentioned in Matt. iv. 23–25, was a missionary journey through a country of considerable population, and containing two hundred towns; and this would occupy some time. But another such journey, of the most comprehensive kind, is undertaken in the same year (Luke viii. 1), in which He "went throughout every city and village." And a third circuit of the same kind, and equally general (Matt. ix. 35–38), would close the same year. Is it at all probable that Jesus, after spending a considerable time in Judaea, would be able to make three circuits of Galilee in the remainder of the year, preaching and doing wonders in the various places to which He came? This would be more likely if the journeys were hurried and partial; but all three are spoken of as though they were the very opposite. It is, to say the least, easier to suppose that the "Feast" (John v. 1) was a Passover, dividing

the time into two, and throwing two of these circuits into the second year of the ministry; provided there be nothing to make this interpretation improbable in itself. The words are, "After this there was a Feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." These two facts are meant as cause and effect; the Feast caused the visit. If so, it was probably one of the three Feasts at which the Jews were expected to appear before God at Jerusalem. Was it the Passover, the Pentecost, or the Feast of Tabernacles? In the preceding chapter the Passover has been spoken of as "the Feast" (*v.* 45); and if another Feast were meant here, the name of it would have been added, as in vii. 2, x. 22. The omission of the article is not decisive, for it occurs in other cases where the Passover is certainly intended (Matt. xxvii. 15; Mark xv. 6); nor is it clear that the Passover was called *the* Feast, as the most eminent, although the Feast of Tabernacles was sometimes so described. All that the omission could prove would be that the Evangelist did not think it needful to describe the Feast more precisely. The words in John iv. 35, "There are yet four months and then cometh harvest," would agree with this, for the barley harvest began on the 16th Nisan, and reckoning back four months would bring this conversation to the beginning of December, *i.e.* the middle of Kisleu. If it be granted that our Lord is here merely quoting a common form of speech (Alford), still it is more likely that He would use one appropriate to the time at which He was speaking. And if these words were uttered in December, the next of the three great Feasts occurring would be the Passover. The shortness of the interval between v. 1 and vi. 4 would afford an objection, if it were not for the scantiness of historical details in the early part of the ministry in St. John: from the other Evangelists it appears that two great journeys might have to be included between these verses. Upon the whole, though there is nothing that amounts to proof, it is probable that there were four Passovers, and consequently that our Lord's ministry lasted somewhat more than three years, the "beginning of miracles" (John ii.) having been wrought before the first Passover. On data of calculation that have already been mentioned, the year of the first of these Passovers was U.C. 780, and the Baptism of our Lord took place either in the beginning of that year or the end of the year preceding. The ministry of John the Baptist began in U.C. 779 (see Commentaries on John v. 1, especially Kuinoel and Lücke. Also Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. *Jesus Christ;* Greswell, *Dissertations*, i., Diss. 4, ii. Diss. 22).

After this sketch of the means, the scene, and the duration of the Saviour's ministry, the historical order of the events may be followed without interruption.

Our Lord has now passed through the ordeal of temptation, and His ministry has begun. At Bethabara, to which He returns, disciples begin to be drawn towards Him; Andrew and another, probably John, the sole narrator of the fact, see Jesus, and hear the Baptist's testimony concerning Him. Andrew brings Simon Peter to see Him also; and he receives from the Lord the name of Cephas. Then Philip and Nathanael are brought into contact with our Lord. All these reappear as Apostles, if Nathanael be, as has often been supposed, the same as Bartholomew; but the time of their calling to that office was not yet. But that their minds, even at this early time, were wrought upon by the expectation of the Messiah appears by the confession of Nathanael: "Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 35–51). The two disciples last named saw Him as He was about to set out for Galilee, on the third day of His sojourn at Bethabara. The third day after his interview Jesus is at Cana in Galilee, and works His first miracle, by making the water wine (John i. 29, 35, 43; ii. 1). All these particulars are supplied from the fourth Gospel, and come in between the 11th and 12th verses of the fourth chapter of St. Matthew. They show that our Lord left Galilee expressly to be baptized and to suffer temptation, and returned to His own country when these were accomplished. He now betakes Himself to Capernaum, and, after a sojourn there of "not many days," sets out for Jerusalem to the Passover, which was to be the beginning of His ministry in Judaea (John ii. 12, 13).

The cleansing of the Temple is associated by St. John with this first Passover (ii. 12–22), and a similar cleansing is assigned to the last Passover by the other Evangelists. These two cannot be confounded without throwing discredit on the historical character of one narrative or the other; the notes of time are too precise. But a host of interpreters have pointed out the probability that an action symbolical of the power and authority of Messiah should be twice performed, at the opening of the ministry and at its close. The expulsion of the traders was not likely to produce a permanent effect, and at the end of three years Jesus found the tumult and the traffic defiling the court of the Temple as they had done when He visited it before. Besides the difference of time, the narrative of St. John is by no means identical with those of the others; he mentions that Jesus made a scourge of small cords (*φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων*, ii. 15) as a symbol—we need not prove that it could be no more—of His power to punish; that here He censured them for making the Temple "a house of merchandise," whilst at the last cleansing it was pronounced "a den of thieves," with a distinct reference to the two passages of Isaiah and Jeremiah (Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11). Writers like Strauss would persuade us that "tact and good sense" would prevent the Redeemer from attempting such a violent measure at the beginning of His ministry, before His authority was admitted. The aptness and the greatness of the occasion have no weight with such critics. The usual sacrifices of the Law of Jehovah, and the usual half-shekel paid for tribute to the Temple, the very means that were appointed by God to remind them that they were a consecrated people, were made an excuse for secularising even the Temple; and in its holy precincts all the business of the world went on. It was a time when "the zeal of God's house" might well supersede the "tact" on which the German philosopher lays stress; and Jesus failed not in the zeal, nor did the accusing consciences of the traders fail to justify it, for at the rebuke of one man they retreated from the scene of their gains. Their hearts told them, even though they had been

long immersed in hardening traffic, that the House of God could belong to none other but God; and when a Prophet claimed it for Him, conscience deprived them of the power to resist. Immediately after this, the Jews asked of Him a sign or proof of His right to exercise this authority. He answered them by a *promise* of a sign by which He would hereafter confirm His mission, "Destroy this Temple and in three days I will raise it up" (John ii. 19), alluding, as the Evangelist explains, to His Resurrection. But why is the name of the building before them applied by our Lord so darkly to Himself? There is doubtless a hidden reference to the Temple as a type of the Church, which Christ by His Death and Resurrection would found and raise up. He Who has cleared of buyers and sellers the courts of a perishable Temple made with hands, will prove hereafter that He is the Founder of an eternal Temple made without hands, and their destroying act shall be the cause. The reply was indeed obscure; but it was meant as a refusal of their demand; and to the disciples afterwards it became abundantly clear. At the time of the Passion this saying was brought against Him, in a perverted form—"At the last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the Temple of God, and to build it in three days" (Matt. xxvi. 61). They hardly knew perhaps how utterly false a small alteration in the tale had made it. They wanted to hold Him up as one who dared to think of the destruction of the Temple; and to change "destroy" into "I can destroy," might seem to do no great violence to the truth. But those words contained not a mere circumstance but the very essence of the saying, "*You* are the destroyers of the Temple; you that were polluting it now by turning it into a market-place shall destroy it, and also your city, by staining its stones with My Blood." Jesus came not to destroy the Temple but to widen its foundations; not to destroy the Law but to complete it (Matt. v. 17). Two syllables changed their testimony into a lie.

The visit of Nicodemus to Jesus took place about this first Passover. It implies that our Lord had done more at Jerusalem than is recorded of Him even by St. John; since we have here a Master of Israel (John iii. 10), a member of the Sanhedrin (John vii. 50), expressing his belief in Him, although too timid at this time to make an open profession. The object of the visit, though not directly stated, is still clear: he was one of the better Pharisees, who were expecting the kingdom of Messiah, and, having seen the miracles that Jesus did, he came to enquire more fully about these signs of its approach. This indicates the connexion between the remark of Nicodemus and the Lord's reply: "You recognise these miracles as signs of the kingdom of God; verily I say unto you, no one can truly see and know the kingdom of God, unless he be born again" (ἄνωθεν, *from above*; see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. in loc.*, vol. iv.). The visitor boasted the blood of Abraham, and expected to stand high in the new kingdom in virtue of that birthright. He did not wish to surrender it and set his hopes upon some other birth (cp. Matt. iii. 9); and there is something of wilfulness in the question—"How can a man be born when he is old?" (*v.* 4). Our Lord again insists on the necessity of the renewed heart, in him who would be admitted to the kingdom of heaven. The new birth is real though it is unseen, like the wind which blows hither and thither though the eye cannot watch it save in its effects. Even so the Spirit sways the heart towards good, carries it away towards heaven, brings over the soul at one time the cloud, at another the sunny weather. The sound of Him is heard in the soul, now as the eager east wind bringing pain and remorse; now breathing over it the soft breath of consolation. In all this He is as powerful as the wind; and as unseen is the mode of His operations. For the new birth, of water and of the Holy Ghost, without which none can come to God, faith in the Son of God is needed (*v.* 18); and as implied in that, the renouncing of those evil deeds that blind the eyes to the truth (*vv.* 19, 20). It has been well said that this discourse contains the whole Gospel in epitome; there is the kingdom of grace into which God will receive those who have offended Him, the new truth which God the Holy Spirit will write in all those who seek the kingdom; and God the Son crucified and slain that all who would be saved may look on Him when He is lifted up, and find health thereby. The three Persons of the Trinity are all before us carrying out the scheme of man's salvation. If it be asked how Nicodemus, so timid and half-hearted as yet, was allowed to hear thus early in the ministry what our Lord kept back even from His disciples till near the end of it, the answer must be, that, wise as it was to keep back from the general body of the hearers the doctrine of the Crucifixion, the Physician of souls would treat each case with the medicine that it most required. Nicodemus was an enquiring spirit, ready to believe all the Gospel, but for his Jewish prejudices and his social position. He was one whom even the shadow of the Cross would not estrange; and the Lord knew it, and laid open to him all the scheme of salvation. Not in vain. The tradition, indeed, may not be thoroughly certain, which reports his open conversion and his baptism by Peter and John (Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 171). But three years after this conversation, when all the disciples have been scattered by the death of Jesus, he comes forward with Joseph of Arimathaea, at no little risk, although with a kind of secrecy still, to perform the last offices for the Master to Whom his soul cleaves (John xix. 39).

After a sojourn at Jerusalem of uncertain duration, Jesus went to the Jordan with His disciples; and they there baptized in His name. The Baptist was now at Aenon near Salim; and the jealousy of his disciples against Jesus drew from John an avowal of his position, which is remarkable for its humility (John iii. 27–30), "A man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness, that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I have been sent before Him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease." The speaker is one who has hitherto enjoyed the highest honour and popularity, a

prophet extolled by all the people. Before the Sun of Righteousness his reflected light is turning pale; it shall soon be extinguished. Yet no word of reluctance, or of attempt to cling to a temporary and departing greatness, escapes him. "He must increase, but I must decrease." It had been the same before; when the Sanhedrin sent to enquire about him, he claimed to be no more than "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the Prophet Esaias" (John i. 23); there was One "Who coming after me is preferred before me, Whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose" (i. 27). Strauss thinks this height of self-renunciation beautiful, *but impossible* (*Leben Jesu*, ii. 1, § 46); but what Divine influence had worked in the Baptist's spirit, adorning that once rugged nature with the grace of humility, we do not admit that Dr. Strauss is in a position to measure.

How long this sojourn in Judaea lasted is uncertain. But in order to reconcile John iv. 1 with Matt. iv. 12, we must suppose that it was much longer than the "twenty-six or twenty-seven" days to which the learned Mr. Greswell upon mere conjecture would limit it. From the two passages together it would seem that John was after a short time cast into prison (Matt.), and that Jesus, seeing that the enmity directed against the Baptist would now assail Him, because of the increasing success of His ministry (John), resolved to withdraw from its reach.

In the way to Galilee Jesus passed by the shortest route, through Samaria. This country, peopled by men from five districts, whom the king of Assyria had planted there in the time of Hoshea (2 K. xvii. 24, &c.), and by the residue of the ten tribes that was left behind from the Captivity, had once abounded in idolatry, though latterly faith in the true God had gained ground. The Samaritans even claimed to share with the people of Judaea the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem, and were repulsed (Ezra iv. 1–3). In the time of our Lord they were hated by the Jews even more than if they had been Gentiles. Their corrupt worship was a shadow of the true; their temple on Gerizim was a rival to that which adorned the hill of Zion. "He that eats bread from the hand of a Samaritan," says a Jewish writer, "is as one that eats swine's flesh." Yet even in Samaria were souls to be saved; and Jesus would not shake off even that dust from His feet. He came in His journey to Sichem, which the Jews in mockery had changed to Sychar, to indicate that its people were *drunkards* (Lightfoot), or that they followed idols (שִׁקֶּר, Reland; see Hab. ii. 18). Wearied and athirst, He sat on the side of Jacob's well. A woman from the neighbouring town came to draw from the well, and was astonished that a Jew should address her as a neighbour, with a request for water. The conversation that ensued might be taken for an example of the mode in which Christ leads to Himself the souls of men. The awakening of her attention to the privilege she is enjoying in communing with Him (John iv. 10–15); the self-knowledge and self-conviction which He arouses (*vv.* 15–19), and which whilst it pains does not repel; the complete revelation of Himself, which she cannot but believe (*vv.* 19–29), are effects that He has wrought in many another case. The woman's lightness and security, until she finds herself in the presence of a Prophet, Who knows all her past sins; her readiness afterwards to enter on a religious question, which perhaps had often been revolved in her mind in a worldly and careless way, are so natural that they are almost enough of themselves to establish the historical character of the account.

In this remarkable dialogue are many things to ponder over. The living water which Christ would give; the announcement of a change in the worship of Jew and Samaritan; lastly, the confession that He Who speaks is truly the Messiah, are all noteworthy. The open avowal that He is the Messiah, made to the daughter of an abhorred people, is accounted for if we remember that this was the first and last time when He taught personally in Samaria, and that the woman showed a special fitness to receive it, for she expected in the Christ a spiritual teacher not a temporal prince: "When He is come, He will tell us all things" (*v.* 25). The very absence of national pride, which so beset the Jews, preserved in her a right conception of the Christ. Had she thought—had she said, "When He is come, He will restore the kingdom to Israel, and set His followers in high places, on His right and on His left," then He could not have answered, as now, "I that speak unto thee am He." The words would have conveyed a falsehood to her. The Samaritans came out to Him on the report of the woman; they heard Him and believed: "We have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world" (*v.* 42). Was this great grace thrown away upon them? Did it abide by them, or was it lost? In the persecution that arose about Stephen, Philip "went down to a city of Samaria (not "*the* city," as in A. V. [and R. V.]), and preached Christ unto them" (Acts viii. 5). We dare not pronounce as certain that this city was Sychar; but the readiness of the Samaritans to believe (viii. 6) recalls the candour and readiness of the men of Sychar, and it is difficult not to connect the two events together.

Jesus now returned to Galilee, and came to Nazareth, His own city. In the Synagogue He expounded to the people a passage from Isaiah (lxi. 1), telling them that its fulfilment was now at hand in His Person. The same truth that had filled the Samaritans with gratitude, wrought up to fury the men of Nazareth, who would have destroyed Him if He had not escaped out of their hands (Luke iv. 16–30). He came now to Capernaum. On His way thither, when He had reached Cana, He healed the son of one of the courtiers of Herod Antipas (John iv. 46–54), who "himself believed, and his whole house." This was the second Galilean miracle. At Capernaum He wrought many miracles for them that needed. Here two disciples who had known Him before, namely, Simon Peter and Andrew, were called from their fishing to become "fishers of men" (Matt. iv. 19), and the two sons of Zebedee received the same summons. After healing on the Sabbath a demoniac in the Synagogue, a miracle which was witnessed by many, and was made known everywhere, He returned the same day to Simon's house, and healed the mother-in-law of Simon, who was

sick of a fever. At sunset, the multitude, now fully aroused by what they had heard, brought their sick to Simon's door to get them healed. He did not refuse His succour, and healed them all (Mark i. 29–34). He now, after showering down on Capernaum so many cures, turned His thoughts to the rest of Galilee, where other "lost sheep" were scattered:—"Let us go into the next towns (κωμοπόλεις) that I may preach there also, for therefore came I forth" (Mark i. 38). The journey through Galilee, on which He now entered, must have been a general circuit of that country. His object was to call on the Galileans to repent and believe the Gospel. This could only be done completely by taking such a journey that His teaching might be accessible to all in turn at some point or other. Josephus mentions that there were two hundred and four towns and villages in Galilee (*Vita*, 45): therefore such a circuit as should in any real sense embrace the whole of Galilee would require some months for its performance. "The course of the present circuit," says Mr. Gresswell (*Dissertations*, ii. 293), "we may conjecture, was, upon the whole, as follows:—First, along the western side of the Jordan, northward, which would disseminate the fame of Jesus in Decapolis; secondly, along the confines of the tetrarchy of Philip, westward, which would make Him known throughout Syria; thirdly, by the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, southward; and lastly, along the verge of Samaria, and the western region of the lake of Galilee—the nearest points to Judaea proper and to Peraea—until it returned to Capernaum." In the course of this circuit, besides the works of mercy spoken of by the Evangelists (Matt. iv. 23–25; Mark i. 32–34; Luke iv. 40–44) He had probably called to Him more of His Apostles. Four at least were His companions from the beginning of it. The rest (except perhaps Judas Iscariot) were Galileans, and it is not improbable that they were found by their Master during this circuit. Philip of Bethsaida and Nathanael or Bartholomew were already prepared to become His disciples by an earlier interview. On this circuit occurred the first case of the healing of a leper; it is selected for record by the Evangelists, because of the incurableness of the ailment. So great was the dread of this disorder—so strict the precautions against its infection—that even the raising of Jairus' daughter from the dead, which probably occurred at Capernaum about the end of this circuit, would hardly impress the beholders more profoundly.

Second year of the Ministry.—Jesus went up to Jerusalem to "a feast of the Jews," which we have shown (p. 1675) to have been probably the Passover. At the pool Bethesda (=*house of mercy*), which was near the sheep-gate (Neh. iii. 1) on the north-east side of the Temple, Jesus saw many infirm persons waiting their turn for the healing virtues of the water (John v. 1–18. On the genuineness of the fourth verse, see Scholz, *N. T.*; Tischendorf, *N. T.*; and Lücke, in loc. It is wanting in three out of the four chief MSS.; it is singularly disturbed with variations in the MSS. that insert it, and it abounds in words which do not occur again in this Gospel). Among them was a man who had had an infirmity thirty-eight years: Jesus made him whole by a word, bidding him take up his bed and walk. The miracle was done on the Sabbath; and the Jews, by which name in St. John's Gospel we are to understand the Jewish authorities who acted against Jesus, rebuked the man for carrying his bed. It was a labour; and, as such, forbidden (Jer. xvii. 21). The answer of the man was too logical to be refuted: "He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed and walk" (v. 11). If He had not authority for the latter, whence came His power to do the former? Their anger was now directed against Jesus for healing on the Sabbath, even for well-doing. They sought to put Him to death. In our Lord's justification of Himself, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (v. 17), there is an unequivocal claim to the Divine Nature. God the Father never rests: if sleep could visit His Eyelids for an instant; if His Hand could droop for a moment's rest, the Universe would collapse in ruin. He rested on the seventh day from the creation of new beings; but from the maintenance of those that exist He never rests. His love streams forth on every day alike; as do the impartial beams from the sun that He has placed in the heavens. The Jews rightly understood the saying: none but God could utter it; none could quote God's example, as setting Him over and above God's law, save One Who was God Himself. They sought the more to kill Him. He expounded to them more fully His relation to the Father. He works with the strength of the Father and according to His will. He can do all that the Father *does*. He can raise men out of bodily and out of spiritual death; and He can judge all men. John bore witness to Him; the works that He does bear even stronger witness. The reason that the Jews do not believe is their want of discernment of the meaning of the Scriptures; and that comes from their worldliness, their desire of honour from one another. Unbelief shall bring condemnation; even out of their Law they can be condemned, since they believe not even Moses, who foretold that Christ should come (John v. 19–47).

Another discussion about the Sabbath arose from the disciples plucking the ears of corn as they went through the fields (Matt. xii. 1–8). The time of this is somewhat uncertain: some would place it a year later, just after the *third* Passover (Clausen); but its place is much more probably here (Newcome, Robinson, &c.). The needy were permitted by the Law (Deut. xxxiii. 25) to pluck the ears of corn with their hand, even without waiting for the owner's permission. The disciples must have been living a hard and poor life to resort to such means of sustenance. But the Pharisees would not allow that it was lawful on the Sabbath-day. Jesus reminds them that David, whose example they are not likely to challenge, ate the sacred shew-bread in the Tabernacle, which it was not lawful to eat. The priests might partake of it, but not a stranger (Ex. xxix. 33; Lev. xxiv. 5, 9). David, on the principle that mercy was better than sacrifice (Hos. vi. 6), took it and gave it to the young men that were with him that they might not perish for hunger. In order further to show that a literal mechanical observance of the

law of the Sabbath would lead to absurdities, Jesus reminds them that this law is perpetually set aside on account of another: "The priests profane the Sabbath and are blameless" (Matt. xii. 5). The work of sacrifice, the placing of the shewbread, go on on the Sabbath, and *labour* even on that day may be done by priests, and may please God. It was the root of the Pharisees' fault that they thought sacrifice better than mercy, ritual exactness more than love: "If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath-day" (Matt. xii. 7, 8). These last words are inseparable from the meaning of our Lord's answer. In pleading the example of David, the king and prophet, and of the priests in the Temple, the Lord tacitly implies the greatness of His own position. He is indeed Prophet, Priest, and King; and had He been none of these, the argument would have been not merely incomplete, but misleading. It is undeniable that the law of the Sabbath was very strict. Against labours as small as that of winnowing the corn a severe penalty was set. Our Lord quotes cases where the Law is superseded or set aside, because He is One Who has power to do the same. And the rise of a new law is implied in those words which St. Mark alone has recorded: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The law upon the Sabbath was made in love to men, to preserve for them a due measure of rest, to keep room for the worship of God. The Son of Man has power to readjust this law, if its work is done, or if men are fit to receive a higher.

This may have taken place on the way from Jerusalem after the Passover. On another Sabbath, probably at Capernaum, to which Jesus had returned, the Pharisees gave a far more striking proof of the way in which their hard and narrow and unloving interpretation would turn the beneficence of the Law into a blighting oppression. Our Lord entered into the synagogue, and found there a man with a withered hand—some poor artisan perhaps whose handiwork was his means of life. Jesus was about to heal him—which would give back life to the sufferer—which would give joy to every beholder who had one touch of pity in his heart. The Pharisees interfere: "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath-day?" Their doctors would have allowed them to pull a sheep out of a pit; but they will not have a man rescued from the depth of misery. Rarely is that loving Teacher wroth, but here His anger, mixed with grief, showed itself: He looked round about upon them "with anger, being grieved at the hardness of their hearts," and answered their cavils by healing the man (Matt. xii. 9–14; Mark iii. 1–6; Luke vi. 6–11).

In placing the ordination or calling of the Twelve Apostles just before the Sermon on the Mount, we are under the guidance of St. Luke (vi. 13, 17). But this more solemn separation for their work by no means marks the time of their first approach to Jesus. Scattered notices prove that some of them at least were drawn gradually to the Lord, so that it would be difficult to identify the moment when they earned the name of disciples. In the case of St. Peter, five degrees or stages might be traced (John i. 41–43; Matt. iv. 19, xvi. 17–19; Luke xxii. 31, 32; John xxi. 15–19), at each of which he came somewhat nearer to his Master. That which takes place here is the appointment of twelve disciples to be a distinct body, under the name of Apostles. They are not sent forth to preach until later in the same year. The number twelve must have reference to the number of the Jewish tribes: it is a number selected on account of its symbolical meaning, for the work confided to them might have been wrought by more or fewer. Twelve is used with the same symbolical reference in many passages of the O. T. Twelve pillars to the Altar which Moses erected (Ex. xxiv. 4); twelve stones to commemorate the passing of the Ark over Jordan (Josh. iv. 3); twelve precious stones in the breastplate of the priest (Ex. xxviii. 21); twelve oxen bearing up the molten sea in the Temple of Solomon (1 K. vii. 25); twelve officers over Solomon's household (1 K. iv. 7): all these are examples of the perpetual repetition of the Jewish number. Bähr (*Symbolik*, vol. i.) has accumulated passages from various authors to show that twelve, the multiple of four and three, is the type or symbol of the Universe, but it is enough here to say that the use of the number in the foundation of the Christian Church has a reference to the tribes of the Jewish nation. Hence the number continues to be used after the addition of St. Paul and St. Barnabas had made it inapplicable. The Lord Himself tells them that they "shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 27, 28). When He began His ministry in Galilee, He left His own home at Nazareth, and separated Himself from His kinsmen after the flesh, in order to devote Himself more completely to His prophetical office; and these Twelve were "to be with Him" (Mark), and to be instead of family and friends. But the enmity of the Jews separated Him also from His countrymen. Every day the prospect of the Jews receiving Him as their Messiah, to their own salvation, became more faint; and the privileges of the favoured people passed gradually over to the new Israel, the new Church, the new Jerusalem, of which the Apostles were the foundation. The precise day in which this defection was completed could not be specified. The Sun of Righteousness rose on the world, and set for the Jews, through all the shades of twilight. In the education of the Twelve for their appointed work, we see the supersedure of the Jews; in the preservation of the symbolical number we see preserved a recognition of their original right.

In the four lists of the names of the Apostles preserved to us (Matt. x., Mark iii., Luke vi., Acts i.), there is a certain order preserved, amidst variations. The two pairs of brothers, Simon and Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee, are always named the first; and of these Simon Peter ever holds the first place. Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, are always in the next rank; and of them Philip is always the first. In the third rank James the son of Alphaeus is the first, as Judas Iscariot is always the last, with Simon the Zealot and Thaddaeus between. The principle that governs this arrangement cannot be determined very positively; but as no doubt Simon Peter stands first because

of his zeal in his Master's service, and Judas ranks last because of his treason, it is natural to suppose that they are all arranged with some reference at least to their zeal and fitness for the apostolic office. Some of the Apostles were certainly poor and unlearned men; it is probable that the rest were of the same kind. Four of them were fishermen, not indeed the poorest of their class; and a fifth was a "publican," one of the *portitores*, or tax-gatherers, who collected the taxes farmed by Romans of higher rank. Andrew, who is mentioned with Peter, is less conspicuous in the history than he, but he enjoyed free access to his Master, and seems to have been more intimate with him than the rest (John vi. 8, xii. 22, with Mark xiii. 3). But James and John, who are sometimes placed above him in the list, were especially distinguished by Jesus. They were unmarried; and their mother, of whose ambition we have a well-known instance, seems to have had much influence over them. The zeal and fire of their disposition is indicated in the name of Boanerges bestowed upon them. One seems hardly to recognise in the fierce enthusiasts who would have called down fire from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 52–56) the Apostle of Love and his brother. It is probable that the Bartholomew of the Twelve is the same as Nathanael (John i.); and the Lebbaeus or Thaddaeus the same as Judas the brother of James. Simon the Zealot was so called probably from his belonging to the sect of Zealots, who, from Num. xxv. 7, 8, took it on themselves to punish crimes against the Law. If the name Iscariot (=man of Cariot=Kerioth) refers the birth of the traitor to Kerioth in Judah (Josh. xv. 25), then it would appear that the traitor alone was of Judaean origin, and the eleven faithful ones were despised Galileans.

From henceforth the education of the twelve Apostles will be one of the principal features of the Lord's ministry. First He instructs them; then He takes them with Him as companions of His wayfaring; then He sends them forth to teach and heal for Him. The *Sermon on the Mount*, although it is meant for all the disciples, seems to have a special reference to the chosen Twelve (Matt. v. 11, &c.). Its principal features have been sketched already; but they will miss their full meaning if it is forgotten that they are the first teaching which the Apostles were called on to listen to after their appointment.

About this time it was that John the Baptist, long a prisoner with little hope of release, sent his disciples to Jesus with the question, "Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" In all the Gospels there is no more touching incident. Those who maintain that it was done solely for the sake of the disciples, and that John himself needed no answer to support his faith, show as little knowledge of the human mind as exactness in explaining the words of the account. The great privilege of John's life was that he was appointed to recognise and bear witness to the Messiah (John i. 31). After languishing a year in a dungeon, after learning that even yet Jesus had made no steps towards the establishment of His kingdom of the Jews, and that His following consisted of only twelve poor Galileans, doubts began to cloud over his spirit. Was the kingdom of Messiah as near as he had thought? Was Jesus not the Messiah but some forerunner of that Deliverer, as he himself had been? There is no unbelief; he does not suppose that Jesus has deceived; when the doubts arise, it is to Jesus that he submits them. But it was not without great depression and perplexity that he put the question, "Art thou He that should come?" The scope of the answer given lies in its recalling John to the grounds of his former confidence. The very miracles are being wrought that were to be the signs of the kingdom of heaven; and therefore that kingdom is come (Is. xxxv. 5; xlii. 6, 7). There is more of grave encouragement than of rebuke in the words, "Blessed is he who shall not be offended in me" (Matt. xi. 6). They bid the Forerunner to have a good heart, and to hope and believe to the end. He has allowed sorrow, and the apparent triumph of wickedness, which is a harder trial, to trouble his view of the Divine plan; let him remember that it is blessed to attain that state of confidence which these things cannot disturb; and let the signs which Jesus now exhibits suffice him to the end (Matt. xi. 1–6; Luke vii. 18–23).

The testimony to John which our Lord graciously adds is intended to reinstate him in that place in the minds of His own disciples which he had occupied before this mission of doubt. John is not a weak waverer; not a luxurious courtier, attaching himself to the new dispensation from worldly motives; but a prophet, and more than a prophet, for the prophets spoke of Jesus afar off, but John stood before the Messiah, and with his hand pointed Him out. He came in the spirit and power of Elijah (Mal. iii. 1, iv. 5), to prepare for the kingdom of heaven. And yet great as he was, the least of those in the kingdom of heaven when it is completely planted should enjoy a higher degree of religious illumination than he (Matt. xi. 7–11; Luke vii. 24–28).

Now commences the second circuit of Galilee (Luke viii. 1–3), to which belong the parables in Matt. xiii.; the visit of our Lord's mother and brethren (Luke viii. 19–21), and the account of his reception at Nazareth (Mark vi. 1–6).

During this time the twelve have journeyed with Him. But now a third circuit in Galilee is recorded, which probably occurred during the last three months of this year (Matt. ix. 35–38); and during this circuit, after reminding them how great is the harvest and how pressing the need of labourers, He carries the training of the disciples one step further by sending them forth by themselves to teach (Matt x., xi.). Such a mission is not to be considered as identical in character with the mission of the Apostles after the Resurrection. It was limited to the Jews; the Samaritans and heathen were excluded; but this arose, not from any narrowness in the limits of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15), but from the limited knowledge and abilities of the Apostles. They were sent to proclaim to the Jews that "the kingdom of heaven," which their Prophets taught them to look for, was at hand (Matt. x. 7); but they were unfit as yet for the task of explaining to Jews the true nature of that kingdom, and still more to Gentiles who had received no preparation for any such doctrine. The preaching of the Apostles whilst Jesus was yet on earth was

only ancillary to His and a preparation of the way for Him. It was probably of the simplest character. "As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand." Power was given them to confirm it by signs and wonders; and the purpose of it was to throw the minds of those who heard it into an inquiring state, so that they might seek and find the Lord Himself. But whilst their instructions as to the matter of their preaching were thus brief and simple, the cautions, warnings, and encouragements as to their own condition were far more full. They were to do their work without anxiety for their welfare. No provision was to be made for their journey; in the house that first received them in any city they were to abide, not seeking to find the best. Dangers would befall them, for they were sent forth "as sheep in the midst of wolves" (Matt. x. 16); but they were not to allow this to disturb their thoughts. The same God Who wrought their miracles for them would protect them; and those who confessed the name of Christ before men would be confessed by Christ before the Father as His disciples. These precepts for the Apostles even went somewhat beyond what their present mission required; it does not appear that they were at this time delivered up to councils, or scourged in synagogues. But in training their feeble wings for their first flight the same rules and cautions were given which would be needed even when they soared the highest in their zeal and devotion to their crucified Master. There is no difficulty here, if we remember that this sending forth was rather a training of the Apostles than a means of converting the Galilean people.

They went *forth* two and two; and our Lord continued His own circuit (Matt. xi. 1), with what companions does not appear. By this time the leaven of the Lord's teaching had begun powerfully to work among the people. Herod, we read, "was perplexed, because that it was said of some, that John was risen from the dead, and of some that Elijah had appeared; and of others, that one of the old Prophets was risen again" (Luke ix. 7, 8). The false apprehensions about the Messiah that He should be a temporal ruler, were so deep-rooted, that whilst all the rumours concurred in assigning a high place to Jesus as a Prophet, none went beyond to recognise Him as the King of Israel—the Saviour of His people and the world.

After a journey of perhaps two months' duration the Twelve return to Jesus, and give an account of their ministry. The third Passover was now drawing near; but the Lord did not go up to it, because His time was not come for submitting to the malice of the Jews against Him; because His ministry in Galilee was not completed; and especially, because He wished to continue the training of the Apostles for their work, now one of the chief objects of His ministry. He wished to commune with them privately upon their work, and, we may suppose, to add to the instruction they had already received from Him (Mark vi. 30, 31). He therefore went with them from the neighbourhood of Capernaum to a mountain on the eastern shore of the Sea of Tiberias, near Bethsaida Julias, not far from the head of the sea. Great multitudes pursued them; and here the Lord, moved to compassion by the hunger and weariness of the people, wrought for them one of His most remarkable miracles. Out of five barley loaves and two small fishes, He produced food for five thousand men besides women and children. The act was one of creation, and therefore was both an assertion and a proof of Divine power; and the discourse which followed it, recorded by St. John only, was an important step in the training of the Apostles, for it hinted to them for the first time the unexpected truth that the Body and Blood of Christ, that is, His Passion, must become the means of man's salvation. This view of the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven which they had been preaching, could *not* have been understood; but it would prepare those who still clave to Jesus to expect the hard *facts* that were to follow these hard words. The discourse itself has already been examined (p. 1673). After the miracle, but before the comment on it was delivered, the disciples crossed the sea from Bethsaida Julias to Bethsaida of Galilee, and Jesus retired alone to a mountain to commune with the Father. They were toiling at the oar, for the wind was contrary, when, as the night drew towards morning, they saw Jesus walking to them on the sea, having passed the whole night on the mountain. They were amazed and terrified. He came into the ship and the wind ceased. They worshipped Him at this new proof of Divine power—"Of a truth Thou art the Son of God" (Matt. xiv. 33). The storm had been another trial of their faith (cp. Matt. viii. 23–26), not in a present Master, as on a former occasion, but in an absent one. But the words of St. Mark intimate that even the feeding of the five thousand had not built up their faith in Him,—"for they considered not the miracle of the loaves: for their heart was hardened" (vi. 52). St. Peter, however, as St. Matthew relates, with his usual zeal wishing to show that he really possessed that faith in Jesus which perhaps in the height of the storm had been somewhat forgotten, requests Jesus to bid him come to Him upon the water. When he made the effort, his faith began to fail, and he cried out for succour. Christ's rebuke, "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" does not imply that he had *no* faith, or that it *wholly* deserted him then. All the failings of Peter were of the same kind; there was a faith full of zeal and eagerness, but it was not constant. He believed that he could walk on the waters if Jesus bade him; but the roar of the waves appalled him, and he sank from the same cause that made him deny his Lord afterwards.

When they reached the shore of Gennesaret, the whole people showed their faith in Him as a Healer of disease (Mark vi. 53–56); and He performed very many miracles on them. Nothing could surpass the eagerness with which they sought Him. Yet on the next day the great discourse just alluded to was uttered, and "from that time many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him" (John vi. 66).

Third year of the Ministry.—Hearing perhaps that Jesus was not coming to the feast, Scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem went down to see Him at Capernaum (Matt. xv. 1). They found

fault with His disciples for breaking the tradition about purifying, and eating with unwashen hands. It is not necessary to suppose that they came to lie in wait for Jesus. The objection was one which they would naturally take. Our Lord in His answer tries to show them how far external rule, claiming to be religious, may lead men away from the true spirit of the Gospel. "Ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free" (Matt. xv. 5, 6). They admitted the obligation of the fifth commandment, but had introduced a means of evading it, by enabling a son to say to his father and mother who sought his help that he had made his property "a gift" to the Temple, which took precedence of his obligation. Well might He apply to a people where such a miserable evasion could find place, the words of Isaiah (xxix. 13): "This people draweth nigh unto Me with their mouth, and honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me. But in vain they do worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Leaving the neighbourhood of Capernaum, our Lord now travels to the north-west of Galilee, to the region of Tyre and Sidon. The time is not strictly determined, but it was probably the early summer of this year. It does not appear that He retired into this heathen country for the purpose of ministering; more probably it was a retreat from the machinations of the Jews. A woman of the country, of Greek education (Ἑλληνὶς Συροφοινίκισσα, Mark), came to entreat Him to heal her daughter who was tormented with an evil spirit. The Lord at first repelled her by saying that He was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; but not so was her maternal love to be baffled. She sought Him again and was again repelled; the bread of the children was not to be given to dogs. Still persisting, she besought His help even as one of the dogs so despised: "the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from the master's table." Faith so sincere was not to be resisted. Her daughter was made whole (Matt. xv. 21–28; Mark vii. 24–30).

Returning thence, He passed round by the north of the sea of Galilee to the region of Decapolis on its eastern side (Mark vii. 31–37). In this district He performed many miracles, and especially the restoration of a deaf man who had an impediment in his speech, remarkable for the seeming effort with which He wrought it. To these succeeded the feeding of the four thousand with the seven loaves (Matt. xv. 32). He now crossed the Lake of Magdala, where the Pharisees and Sadducees asked and were refused a "sign;" some great wonder wrought expressly for them to prove that He was the Christ. He answers them as He had answered a similar request before: "the sign of the Prophet Jonas" was all that they should have. His own Resurrection after a death of three days should be the great sign, and yet in another sense no sign should be given them, for they should neither see it nor believe it. The unnatural alliance between Pharisee and Sadducee is worthy of remark. The zealots of tradition and the political partisans of Herod (for "leaven of the Sadducees," in Matt. xvi. 6 = "leaven of Herod, Mark viii. 15) joined together for once with a common object of hatred. After they had departed, Jesus crossed the lake with His disciples, and, combining perhaps for the use of the disciples the remembrance of the feeding of the four thousand with that of the conversation they had just heard, warned them to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod" (Mark viii. 15). So little however were the disciples prepared for this, that they mistook it for a reproof for having brought only one loaf with them! They had forgotten the five thousand and the four thousand, or they would have known that where He was, natural bread could not fail them. It was needful to explain to them that the leaven of the Pharisees was the doctrine of those who had made the Word of God of none effect by traditions which appearing to promote religion really overlaid and destroyed it, and the leaven of the Sadducees was the doctrine of those who, under the show of superior enlightenment, denied the foundations of the fear of God by denying a future state. At Bethsaida Julias, Jesus restored sight to a blind man; and here, as in a former case, the form and preparation which He adopted are to be remarked. As though the human Saviour has to wrestle with and painfully overcome the sufferings of His people, He takes him by the hand, and leads him out of the town, and spits on his eyes and asks him if he sees aught. At first the sense is restored imperfectly; and Jesus lays His hand again upon him and the cure is complete (Mark viii. 22–26).

The ministry in Galilee is now drawing to its close. Through the length and breadth of that country Jesus had proclaimed the kingdom of Christ, and has shown by mighty works that He is the Christ that was to come. He begins to ask the disciples what are the results of all His labour. "Whom say the people that I am?" (Luke ix. 18). It is true that the answer shows that they took Him for a Prophet. But we are obliged to admit that the rejection of Jesus by the Galileans had been as complete as His preaching to them had been universal. Here and there a few may have received the seeds that shall afterwards be quickened to their conversion. But the great mass had heard without earnestness the preached word, and forgotten it without regret. "Whereunto shall I liken this generation?" says Christ. "It is like children sitting in the market, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented" (Matt. xi. 16, 17). This is a picture of a wayward people without earnest thought. As children, from want of any real purpose, cannot agree in their play, so the Galileans quarrel with every form of religious teaching. The message of John and that of Jesus they did not attend to; but they could discuss the question whether one was right in fasting and the other in eating and drinking. He denounces woe to the cities where He had wrought the most—to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum—for their strange insensibility, using the strongest expressions. "Thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell; for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until

this day. But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee" (Matt. xi. 23, 24). Such awful language could only be used to describe a complete rejection of the Lord. And in truth nothing was wanting to aggravate that rejection. The lengthened journeys through the land, the miracles, far more than are recorded in detail, had brought the Gospel home to all the people. Capernaum was the focus of His ministry. Through Chorazin and Bethsaida He had no doubt passed with crowds behind Him, drawn together by wonders that they had seen, and by the hope of others to follow them. Many thousands had actually been benefited by the miracles; and yet of all these there were only twelve that really clave to Him, and one of them was Judas the traitor. With this rejection an epoch of the history is connected. He begins to unfold now the doctrine of His Passion more fully. First inquiring whom the people said that He was, He then put the same question to the Apostles themselves. Simon Peter, the ready spokesman of the rest, answers, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." It might almost seem that such a manifest inference from the wonders they had witnessed was too obvious to deserve praise, did not the sight of a whole country which had witnessed the same wonders, and despised them, prove how thoroughly callous the Jewish heart was. "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father Which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 16–20). We compare the language applied to Capernaum for its want of faith with that addressed to St. Peter and the Apostles, and we see how wide is the gulf between those who believe and those who do not. Jesus now in the plainest language tells them what is to be the mode of His departure from the world: "how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day" (Matt. xvi. 21). St. Peter, who had spoken as the representative of all the Apostles before, in confessing Jesus as the Christ, now speaks for the rest in offering to our Lord the commonplace consolations of the children of this world to a friend beset by danger. The danger they think will be averted: such an end cannot befall one so great. The Lord, "when He had turned about and looked on His disciples" (Mark), to show that He connected Peter's words with them all, addresses Peter as the tempter—"Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art an offence unto Me." These words open up to us the fact that this period of the ministry was a time of special trial and temptation to the sinless Son of God:—"Escape from sufferings and death! Do not drink the cup prepared of Thy Father; it is too bitter; it is not deserved." Such was the whisper of the prince of this world at that time to our Lord; and St. Peter has been unwittingly taking it into his mouth. The doctrine of a suffering Messiah, so plainly exhibited in the Prophets, had receded from sight in the current religion of that time. The announcement of it to the disciples was at once new and shocking. By repelling it, even when offered by the Lord Himself, they fell into a deeper sin than they could have conceived. The chief of them was called "Satan," because he was unconsciously pleading on Satan's side (Matt. xvi. 21–23).

Turning now to the whole body of those who followed Him (Mark, Luke), He published the Christian doctrine of self-denial. The Apostles had just shown that they took the natural view of suffering, that it was an evil to be shunned. They shrank from conflict, and pain, and death, as it is natural men should. But Jesus teaches that, in comparison with the higher life, the life of the soul, the life of the body is valueless. And as the renewed life of the Christian implies his *dying* to his old wishes and desires, suffering, which causes the death of earthly hopes and wishes, may be a good. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his Cross and follow Me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it. For what is a man profited, if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" (Matt. xvi.). From this part of the history to the end we shall not lose sight of the sufferings of the Lord. The Cross is darkly seen at the end of our path; and we shall ever draw nearer that mysterious implement of human salvation (Matt. xvi. 21–28; Mark viii. 31–38; Luke ix. 22–27).

The Transfiguration, which took place just a week after this conversation, is to be understood in connexion with it. The minds of the Twelve were greatly disturbed at what they had heard. The Messiah was to perish by the wrath of men. The Master Whom they served was to be taken away from them. Now, if ever, they needed support for their perplexed spirits, and this their loving Master failed not to give them. He takes with Him three chosen disciples—St. Peter, St. John, and St. James—who formed as it were a smaller circle nearer to Jesus than that of the rest, into a high mountain apart by themselves. There are no means of determining the position of the mountain; although Caesarea Philippi was the scene of the former conversations, it does not follow that this occurred on the eastern side of the lake, for the intervening week would have given time enough for a long journey thence. There is no authority for the tradition which identifies this mountain with Mount Tabor, although it *may* be true. The three disciples were taken up with Him, who should afterwards be the three witnesses of His Agony in the garden of Gethsemane: those who saw His glory in the holy mount would be sustained by the remembrance of it when they beheld His lowest humiliation. The calmness and exactness of the narrative preclude all doubt as to its historical character. It is no myth, nor vision; but a sober account of a miracle. When Jesus had come up into the mountain, He was praying; and as He prayed, a great change came over Him. "His face did shine as the sun (Matt.); and His raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so

as no fuller on earth can white them" (Mark). Beside Him appeared Moses the great Lawgiver, and Elijah, great amongst the Prophets; and they spake of His departure, as though it was something recognised both by Law and Prophets. The three disciples were at first asleep with weariness; and when they woke, they saw the glorious scene. As Moses and Elijah were departing (Luke), St. Peter, wishing to arrest them, uttered those strange words, "Lord, it is good for us to be here, and let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah." They were the words of one astonished and somewhat afraid, yet of one who felt a strange peace in this explicit testimony from the Father that Jesus was His. It was good for them to be there, he felt, where no Pharisees could set traps for them, where neither Pilate nor Herod could take Jesus by force. Just as he spoke a cloud came over them, and the voice of the Heavenly Father attested once more His Son—"This is My beloved Son; hear Him." There has been much discussion on the purport of this great wonder. But thus much seems highly probable. First, as it was connected with the prayer of Jesus, to which it was no doubt an answer, it is to be regarded as a kind of inauguration of Him in His new office as the High-Priest Who should make atonement for the sins of the people with His own Blood. The mystery of His trials and temptations lies too deep for speculation: but He received strength against human infirmity—against the prospect of sufferings so terrible—in this His glorification. Secondly, as the witnesses of this scene were the same three disciples who were with the Master in the garden of Gethsemane, it may be assumed that the one was intended to prepare them for the other, and that they were to be borne up under the spectacle of His Humiliation by the remembrance that they had been eye-witnesses of His Majesty (2 Pet. i. 16–18).

As they came down from the mountain He charged them to keep secret what they had seen till after the Resurrection; which shows that this miracle took place for His use and for theirs, rather than for the rest of the disciples. This led to questions about the meaning of His rising again from the dead, and in the course of it, and arising out of it, occurred the question, "Why then (οὖν, which refers to some preceding conversation) say the Scribes that Elias must first come?" They had been assured by what they had just seen that the time of the kingdom of God was now come; and the objection brought by the Scribes, that before the Messiah Elijah must reappear, seemed hard to reconcile with their new conviction. Our Lord answers them that the Scribes have rightly understood the prophecies that Elijah would first come (Mal. iv. 5, 6), but have wanted the discernment to see that this prophecy was already fulfilled. "Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatever they listed." In John the Baptist, who came in the spirit and power of Elijah, were the Scriptures fulfilled (Matt. xvii. 1–13; Mark ix. 2–13; Luke ix. 28–36).

Meantime amongst the multitude below a scene was taking place which formed the strongest contrast to the glory and the peace which they had witnessed, and which seemed to justify Peter's remark, "It is good for us to be here." A poor youth, lunatic and possessed by a devil—for here as elsewhere the possession is superadded to some known form of that bodily and mental evil which came in at first with sin and Satan—was brought to the disciples who were not with Jesus, to be cured. They could not prevail; and when Jesus appeared amongst them, the agonized and disappointed father appealed to Him, with a kind of complaint of the impotence of the disciples. "O faithless and perverse generation!" said our Lord; "how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you?" The rebuke is not to the disciples, but to all, the father included; for the weakness of faith that hindered the miracle was in them all. St. Mark's account, the most complete, describes the paroxysm that took place in the lad on our Lord's ordering him to be brought; and also records the remarkable saying, which well described the father's state, "Lord, I believe; help Thou my unbelief!" What the disciples had failed to do, Jesus did at a word. He then explained to them that their want of faith in their own power to heal, and in His promises to bestow the power upon them, was the cause of their inability (Matt. xvii. 14–21; Mark ix. 14–29; Luke ix. 37–43).

Once more did Jesus foretell His sufferings on their way back to Capernaum; but "they understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask Him" (Mark ix. 30–32).

But a vague impression seems to have been produced on them that His kingdom was now very near. It broke forth in the shape of a dispute amongst them as to which should rank the highest in the kingdom when it should come. Taking a little child, He told them that, in His kingdom, not ambition, but a childlike humility, would entitle to the highest place (Matt. xviii. 1–5; Mark ix. 33–37; Luke ix. 46–48). The humility of the Christian is so closely connected with consideration for the souls of others, that the transition to a warning against causing offence (Matt., Mark), which might appear abrupt at first, is most natural. From this Jesus passes naturally to the subject of a tender consideration for "the lost sheep;" thence to the duty of forgiveness of a brother. Both of these last points are illustrated by parables. These, and some other discourses belonging to the same time, are to be regarded as designed to carry on the education of the Apostles, whose views were still crude and unformed, even after all that had been done for them (Matt. xviii.).

From the Feast of Tabernacles, Third Year.—The Feast of Tabernacles was now approaching. For eighteen months the ministry of Jesus had been confined to Galilee; and His brothers, not hostile to Him, yet only half-convinced about His doctrine, urged Him to go into Judaea that His claims might be known and confessed on a more conspicuous field. This kind of request, founded in human motives, was one which our Lord would not assent to: witness His answer to Mary at Cana in Galilee when the first miracle was wrought. He told them that, whilst all times were alike to them, whilst they could always walk among the Jews without danger, His appointed time was not

come. They set out for the feast without Him, and He abode in Galilee for a few days longer (John vii. 2–10). Afterwards He set out, taking the more direct but less frequented route by Samaria, that His journey might be "in secret." It was in this journey that James and John conceived the wish—so closely parallel to facts in the Old Covenant, so completely at variance with the spirit of the New—that fire should be commanded to come down from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 51–62).

St. Luke alone records, in connexion with this journey, the sending forth of the seventy disciples. This event is to be regarded in a different light from that of the twelve. The seventy had received no special education from our Lord, and their commission was of a temporary kind. The number has reference to the Gentiles, as twelve had to the Jews; and the scene of the work, Samaria, reminds us that this is a movement directed towards the stranger. It takes place six months after the sending forth of the twelve; for the Gospel was to be delivered to the Jew first and afterwards to the Gentile. In both cases probably the preaching was of the simplest kind—"The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." The instructions given were the same in spirit; but, on comparing them, we see that now the danger was becoming greater and the time for labour shorter (Luke x. 1–16).

After healing the ten lepers in Samaria, He came "about the midst of the feast" to Jerusalem. Here the minds of the people were strongly excited and drawn in different ways concerning Him. The Pharisees and rulers sought to take Him; some of the people, however, believed in Him, but concealed their opinion for fear of the rulers. To this division of opinion we may attribute the failure of the repeated attempts on the part of the Sanhedrin to take One Who was openly teaching in the Temple (John vii. 11–53; see esp. *vv.* 30, 32, 44, 45, 46). The officers were partly afraid to seize in the presence of the people the favourite Teacher; and they themselves were awed and attracted by Him. They came to seize Him, but could not lift their hands against Him. Notwithstanding the ferment of opinion, and the fixed hatred of those in power, He seems to have taught daily to the end of the Feast in the Temple before the people.

The history of the woman taken in adultery belongs to this time. But it must be premised that several MSS. of highest authority omit this passage, and that in those which insert it the text is singularly disturbed (see Lücke in loc., and Tischendorf, *Gr. Test.*, ed. vii.). The remark of Augustine is perhaps not far from the truth, that this story formed a genuine portion of the apostolic teaching, but that mistaken people excluded it from their copies of the written Gospel, thinking it might be perverted into a license to women to sin (*Ad Pollent.* ii. ch. 7). That it was thus kept apart, without the safeguards which Christian vigilance exercised over the rest of the text, and was only admitted later, would at once account for its absence from the MSS. and for the various forms assumed by the text where it is given. But the history gives no ground for such apprehensions. The Law of Moses gave the power to stone women taken in adultery. But Jewish morals were sunk very low, like Jewish faith; and the punishment could not be inflicted on a sinner by those who had sinned in the same kind: "Etenim non est ferendus accusator is qui quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipso deprehenditur" (Cicero, *c. Verrem*, iii.). Thus the punishment had passed out of use. But they thought, by proposing this case to our Lord, to induce Him either to set the Law formally aside, in which case they might accuse Him of profaneness; or to sentence the guilty wretch to die, and so become obnoxious to the charge of cruelty. From such temptations Jesus was always able to escape. He threw back the decision upon them; He told them that the man who was free from that sin might cast the first stone at her. Conscience told them that this was unanswerable, and one by one they stole away, leaving the guilty woman alone before One Who was indeed her Judge. It has been supposed that the words "Neither do I condemn thee" convey an absolute pardon for the sin of which she had just been guilty. But they refer, as has long since been pointed out, to the doom of stoning only. "As they have not punished thee, neither do I; go, and let this danger warn thee to sin no more" (John viii. 1–11).

The conversations (John viii. 12–59) show in a strong light the perversity of the Jews in misunderstanding our Lord's words. They refuse to see any spiritual meaning in them, and drag them as it were by force down to a low and carnal interpretation. Our Lord's remark explains the cause of this, "Why do ye not understand My speech [way of speaking]? Even because ye cannot hear My word" (*v.* 43). His mode of expression was strange to them, because they were neither able nor willing to understand the real purport of His teaching. To this place belongs the account, given by John alone, of the healing of one who was born blind, and the consequences of it (John ix. 1–41, x. 1–21). The poor patient was excommunicated for refusing to undervalue the agency of Jesus in restoring him. He believed on Jesus; whilst the Pharisees were only made the worse for what they had witnessed. Well might Jesus exclaim, "For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind" (ix. 39). The well-known parable of the Good Shepherd is an answer to the calumny of the Pharisees, that He was an impostor and breaker of the law, "This man is not of God, because He keepeth not the Sabbath day" (ix. 16).

We now approach a difficult portion of the sacred history. The note of time given us by St. John immediately afterwards is the Feast of the Dedication, which was celebrated on the 25th of Kisleu, answering nearly to December. According to this Evangelist, our Lord does not appear to have returned to Galilee between the Feast of Tabernacles and that of Dedication, but to have passed the time in and near Jerusalem. St. Matthew and St. Mark do not allude to the Feast of Tabernacles. St. Luke appears to do so in ix. 51; but the words there used would imply that this was the last journey to Jerusalem. Now in St. Luke's Gospel a large section,

from ix. 51 to xviii. 14, seems to belong to the time preceding the departure from Galilee; and the question is, How is this to be arranged, so that it shall harmonize with the narrative of St. John? In most Harmonies a return of our Lord to Galilee has been assumed, in order to find a place for this part of Luke's Gospel. "But the manner," says the English editor of Robinson's *Harmony*, "in which it has been arranged, after all, is exceedingly various. Some, as Le Clerc (*Harm. Evang.* p. 264), insert nearly the whole during this supposed journey. Others, as Lightfoot, assign to this journey only what precedes Luke xiii. 23; and refer the remainder to our Lord's sojourn beyond Jordan, John x. 40 (*Chron. Temp. N. T.*, Opp. ii. pp. 37, 39). Greswell (ii. *Dissert.* xvi.) maintains that the transactions in Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14 all belong to the journey from Ephraim (through Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea) to Jerusalem, which he dates in the interval of four months, between the Feast of Dedication and our Lord's last Passover. Wieseler (*Chron. Synops.* p. 328) makes a somewhat different arrangement; according to which, Luke ix. 51–xiii. 21 relates to the period from Christ's journey from Galilee to the Feast of the Tabernacles till after the Feast of Dedication (parallel to John vii. 10–x. 42). Luke xiii. 22–xvii. 10 relates to the interval between that time and our Lord's stay at Ephraim (parallel to John xi. 1–54); and Luke xvii. 11–xviii. 14 relates to the journey from Ephraim to Jerusalem, through Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea" (Robinson's *Harmony*, English ed. p. 92). If the table of the Harmony of the Gospels given above is referred to [GOSPELS], it will be found that this great division of St. Luke (x. 17–xviii. 14) is inserted entire between John x. 21 and 22; not that this appeared certainly correct, but that there are no points of contact with the other Gospels to assist us in breaking it up. That this division contains partly or chiefly reminiscences of occurrences in Galilee prior to the Feast of Tabernacles, is untenable. A journey of some kind is implied in the course of it (see xiii. 22), and beyond this we shall hardly venture to go. It is quite possible, as Wieseler supposes, that part of it should be placed before, and part after the Feast of Dedication. Notwithstanding the uncertainty, it is as the history of this period of the Redeemer's career that the Gospel of St. Luke possesses its chief distinctive value for us. Some of the most striking parables, preserved only by this Evangelist, belong to this period. The parables of the good Samaritan, the prodigal son, the unjust steward, the rich man and Lazarus, and the Pharisee and publican, all peculiar to this Gospel, belong to the present section. The instructive account of Mary and Martha, on which so many have taken a wrong view of Martha's conduct, reminds us that there are two ways of serving the truth, that of active exertion and that of contemplation. The preference is given to Mary's meditation, because Martha's labour belonged to household cares, and was only indirectly religious. The miracle of the ten lepers belongs to this portion of the narrative. Besides these, scattered sayings that occur in St. Matthew are here repeated in a new connexion. Here too belongs the return of the seventy disciples, but we know not precisely where they rejoined the Lord (Luke x. 17–20). They were full of triumph, because they found even the devils subject to them through the weight of Christ's word. In anticipation of the victory, which was now begun, over the powers of darkness, Jesus replies, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." He sought however to humble their triumphant spirit, so near akin to spiritual pride: "Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven."

The account of the bringing of young children to Jesus unites again the three Evangelists. Here, as often, St. Mark gives the most minute account of what occurred. After the announcement that the disposition of little children was the most meet for the kingdom of God, "He took them up in His arms, put His hands upon them and blessed them." The childlike spirit, which in nothing depends upon its own knowledge but seeks to be taught, is in contrast with the haughty pharisaism with its boast of learning and wisdom; and Jesus tells them that the former is the passport to His kingdom (Matt. xix. 13–15; Mark x. 13–16; Luke xviii. 15–17).

The question of the ruler, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" was one conceived wholly in the spirit of Judaism. The man asked not how he should be delivered from sin, but how his will, already free to righteousness, might select the best and most meritorious line of conduct. The words, "Why callest thou Me good? there is none good but One, that is God," were meant first to draw him down *to* a humbler view of his own state; the title *good* is easy to give, but hard to justify, except when applied to the One Who is all good. Jesus by no means repudiates the title as applied to Himself, but only as applied on any other ground than that of a reference to His true Divine Nature. Then the Lord opened out to him all the moral law, which in its full and complete sense no man has observed; but the ruler answered, perhaps sincerely, that he had observed it all from his youth up. Duties however there might be which had not come within the range of his thoughts; and as the demand had reference to his own special case, our Lord gives the special advice to sell all his possessions and to give to the poor. Then for the first time did the man discover that his devotion to God and his yearning after the eternal life were not so perfect as he had thought; and he went away sorrowful, unable to bear this sacrifice. And Jesus told the disciples how hard it was for those who had riches to enter the kingdom. St. Peter, ever the most ready, now contrasts, with somewhat too much emphasis, the mode in which the disciples had left all for Him, with the conduct of this rich ruler. Our Lord, sparing him the rebuke which he might have expected, tells them that those who have made any sacrifice shall have it richly repaid even in this life in the shape of a consolation and comfort, which even persecutions cannot take away (Mark); and shall have eternal life (Matt. xix. 16–30; Mark x. 17–31; Luke xviii. 18–30). Words of warning close the narrative, "Many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first." lest the disciples should be thinking too much of the sacrifices, not so very great, that they

had made. And in St. Matthew only, the well-known parable of the labourer of the vineyard is added to illustrate the same lesson. Whatever else the parable may contain of reference to the calling of the Jews and Gentiles, the first lesson Christ was to give was one of caution to the Apostles against thinking too much of their early calling and arduous labours. They would see many, who, in comparison with themselves, were as the labourers called at the eleventh hour, who should be accepted of God as well as they. But not merit, not self-sacrifice, but the pure love of God and His mere bounty, conferred salvation on either of them: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?" (Matt. xx. 1–16).

On the way to Jerusalem through Peraea, to the Feast of Dedication, Jesus again puts before the minds of the twelve what they are never now to forget, the sufferings that await Him. They "understood none of these things" (Luke), for they could not reconcile this foreboding of suffering with the signs and announcements of the coming of His kingdom (Matt. xx. 17–19; Mark x. 32–34; Luke xviii. 31–34). In consequence of this new, though dark, intimation of the coming of the kingdom, Salome, with her two sons, James and John, came to bespeak the two places of highest honour in the kingdom. Jesus tells them that they know not what they ask; that the places of honour in the kingdom shall be bestowed, not by Jesus in answer to a chance request, but upon those for whom they are prepared by the Father. As sin ever provokes sin, the ambition of the ten was now aroused, and they began to be much displeased with James and John. Jesus once more recalls the principle that the childlike disposition is that which He approves. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many" (Matt. xx. 20–28; Mark x. 35–45).

The healing of the two blind men at Jericho is chiefly remarkable among the miracles from the difficulty which has arisen in harmonizing the accounts. Matthew speaks of *two* blind men, and of the occasion as the departure from Jericho; Mark of *one*, whom he names, and of their arrival at Jericho; and Luke agrees with him. This point has received much discussion; but the view of Lightfoot finds favour with many eminent expositors, that there were two blind men, and both were healed under similar circumstances, except that Bartimaeus was on one side of the city, and was healed by Jesus as He entered, and the other was healed on the other side as they departed (see Greswell, *Diss.* xx. ii.; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 332; Matt. xx. 29–34; Mark x. 46–52; Luke xviii. 35–43).

The calling of Zacchaeus has more than a mere personal interest. He was a publican, one of a class hated and despised by the Jews. But he was one who sought to serve God; he gave largely to the poor, and restored fourfold where he had injured any man. Justice and love were the law of his life. From such did Jesus wish to call His disciples, whether they were publicans or not. "This day is salvation come to this house, for that he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke xix. 1–10).

We have reached now the Feast of Dedication but, as has been said, the exact place of th events in St. Luke about this part of the ministry has not been conclusively determined. After being present at the Feast, Jesus returned to Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John had formerly baptized, and abode there. The place which the beginning of His ministry had consecrated, was now to be adorned with His Presence as it drew towards its close, and the scene of John's activity was now to witness the presence of the Saviour Whom he had so faithfully proclaimed (John x. 22–42). The Lord intended by this choice to recall to the minds of many the good which John had done them, and also, it may be, to prevent an undue exaltation of John in the minds of some who had heard him only. "Many," we read, "resorted to Him, and said John did no miracle: but all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on Him there" (*vv.* 41, 42).

How long He remained here does not appear. It was probably for some weeks. The sore need of a family in Bethany, who were what men call the intimate friends of our Lord, called Him thence. Lazarus was sick, and his sisters sent word of it to Jesus, whose power they well knew. Jesus answered that the sickness was not unto death, but for the glory of God and of the Son of God. This had reference to the miracle about to be wrought; even though he died, not his death but his restoration to life was the purpose of the sickness. But it was a trial to the faith of the sisters to find the words of their friend apparently falsified. Jesus abode for two days where He was, and then proposed to the disciples to return. The rage of the Jews against Him filled the disciples with alarm; and Thomas, whose mind leant always to the desponding side, and saw nothing in the expedition but certain death to all of them, said, "Let us also go that we may die with Him." It was not till Lazarus had been four days in the grave that the Saviour appeared on the scene. The practical energy of Martha, and the retiring character of Mary, show themselves here, as once before. It was Martha who met Him, and addressed to Him words of sorrowful reproach. Jesus probed her faith deeply, and found that even in this extremity of sorrow it would not fail her. Mary now joined them, summoned by her sister; and she too reproached the Lord for the delay. Jesus does not resist the contagion of their sorrow, and as a Man He weeps true human tears by the side of the grave of a friend. But with the Power of God He breaks the fetters of brass in which Lazarus was held by death, and at His word the man on whom corruption had already begun to do its work, came forth alive and whole (John xi. 1–45). It might seem difficult to account for the omission of this, perhaps the most signal of the miracles of Jesus, by the three synoptical Evangelists. No doubt it was intentional, and the wish not to direct attention, and perhaps persecution, to Lazarus in his lifetime may go far to account for it. But it stands well in the

pages of St. John, whose privilege it has been to announce the highest truths connected with the Divine Nature of Jesus, and who is now also permitted to show Him touched with sympathy for a sorrowing family with whom He lived in intimacy.

A miracle so public—for Bethany was close to Jerusalem, and the family of Lazarus well known to many people in the mother-city—could not escape the notice of the Sanhedrin. A meeting of this Council was called without loss of time, and the matter discussed, not without symptoms of alarm, for the members believed that a popular outbreak, with Jesus at its head, was impending, and that it would excite the jealousy of the Romans and lead to the taking away of their "place and nation." Caiaphas the high-priest gave it as his opinion that it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish. The Evangelist adds that these words bore a prophetic meaning, of which the speaker was unconscious: "This spake he not of himself, but being high-priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation." That a bad and worldly man may prophesy, the case of Balaam proves (Num. xxii.); and the Jews, as Schöttgen shows, believed that prophecy might also be unconscious. But the connexion of the gift of prophecy with the office of the high-priest offers a difficulty. It has been said that, though this gift is never in Scripture assigned to the high-priest as such, yet the popular belief at this time was that he did enjoy it. There is no proof, however, except this passage, of any such belief; and the Evangelist would not appeal to it except it were true, and, if it were true, then the O. T. would contain some allusion to it. The endeavours to escape from the difficulty by changes of punctuation are not to be thought of. The meaning of the passage seems to be this:—The Jews were about to commit a crime, the real results of which they did not know, and God overruled the words of one of them to make him declare the reality of the transaction, but unconsciously; and as Caiaphas was the high-priest, the highest minister of God, and therefore the most conspicuous in the sin, it was natural to expect that he and not another would be the channel of the prophecy. The connexion between his office and the prophecy was not a necessary one; but if a prophecy was to be uttered by unwilling lips, it was natural that the high-priest, who offered for the people, should be the person compelled to utter it. The death of Jesus was now resolved on, and He fled to Ephraim for a few days, because His hour was not yet come (John xi. 45–57).

We now approach the final stage of the history, and every word and act tend towards the great act of suffering. The hatred of the Pharisees, now converted into a settled purpose of murder, the vile wickedness of Judas, and the utter fickleness of the people, are all displayed before us. Each day is marked by its own events or instructions. Our Lord entered into Bethany on Friday the 8th of Nisan, the eve of the Sabbath, and remained over the Sabbath.

Saturday the 9th of Nisan (*April 1st*).—As He was at supper in the house of one Simon, surnamed "the leper," a relation of Lazarus, who was at table with Him, Mary, full of gratitude for the wonderful raising of her brother from the dead, took a vessel containing a quantity of pure ointment of spikenard and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped His feet with her hair, and anointed His head likewise. She thought not of the cost of the precious ointment, in an emotion of love which was willing to part with anything she possessed to do honour to so great a Guest, so mighty a Benefactor. Judas the traitor, and some of the disciples (Matt., Mark), who took their tone from him, began to murmur at the waste: "It might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor." But Judas cared not for the poor; already he was meditating the sale of his Master's life, and all that he thought of was how he might lay hands on something more, beyond the price of blood. Jesus, however, who knew how true was the love which had dictated this sacrifice, silenced their censure. He opened out a meaning in the action which they had not sought there: "She is come aforehand to anoint My Body to the burying."

Passion Week. Sunday the 10th day of Nisan (*April 2nd*).—The question of John the Baptist had no doubt often been repeated in the hearts of the expectant disciples:—"Art Thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" All His conversations with them of late had been filled, not with visions of glory, but with forebodings of approaching death. The world thinks them deceived, and its mockery begins to exercise some influence even over them. They need some encouraging sign under influences so depressing, and this Jesus affords them in the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. If the narrative is carefully examined, it will be seen how remarkably the assertion of a kingly right is combined with the most scrupulous care not to excite the political jealousy of the Jewish powers. When He arrives at the Mount of Olives, He commands two of His disciples to go into the village near at hand, where they would find an ass and a colt tied with her. They were neither to buy nor hire them, and "if any man shall say aught unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them." With these beasts, impressed as for the service of a king, He was to enter into Jerusalem. The disciples spread upon the ass their ragged cloaks for Him to sit on. And the multitudes cried aloud before Him, in the words of the cxviii. Psalm, "Hosanna (Save now)! blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord." This Messianic Psalm they applied to Him, from a belief, sincere for the moment, that He was the Messiah. It was a striking and to the Pharisees an alarming sight; but it only serves in the end to show the feeble hearts of the Jewish people. The same lips that cried Hosanna will before long be crying, "Crucify Him, crucify Him!" Meantime, however, all thoughts were carried back to the promises of a Messiah. The very act of riding in upon an ass revived an old prophecy of Zechariah (ix. 9). Words of prophecy out of a Psalm sprang unconsciously to their lips. All the city was moved. Blind and lame came to the Temple when He arrived

there and were healed. The august conspirators of the Sanhedrin were sore displeased. But all these demonstrations did not deceive the Divine insight of Christ. He wept over the city that was hailing Him as its King, and said, "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes" (Luke). He goes on to prophesy the destruction of the city, just as it afterwards came to pass. After working miracles in the Temple, He returned to Bethany. The 10th of Nisan was the day for the separation of the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 3). Jesus, the Lamb of God, entered Jerusalem and the Temple on this day; and although none but He knew that He was the Paschal Lamb, the coincidence is not undesigned (Matt. xxi. 1–11, 14–17; Mark xi. 1–11; Luke xix. 29–44; John xii. 12–19).

Monday the 11th of Nisan (April 3rd).—The next day Jesus returned to Jerusalem, again to take advantage of the mood of the people to instruct them. On the way He approached one of the many fig-trees which grew in that quarter (Bethphage = *house of figs*), and found that it was full of foliage, but without fruit. He said, "No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever!" and the fig-tree withered away. This was no doubt a work of destruction, and as such was unlike the usual tenor of His acts. But it is hard to understand the mind of those who stumble at the destruction of a tree which seems to have ceased to bear by the word of God the Son, yet are not offended at the famine or the pestilence wrought by God the Father. The right of the Son must rest on the same ground as that of the Father. And this was not a wanton destruction; it was a type and a warning. The barren fig-tree had already been made the subject of a parable (Luke xiii. 6), and here it is made a visible type of the destruction of the Jewish people. He had come to them seeking fruit, and now it was time to pronounce their doom as a nation—there should be no fruit on them for ever (Matt. xxi. 18, 19; Mark xi. 12–14). Proceeding now to the Temple, He cleared its court of the crowd of traders that gathered there. He had performed the same act at the beginning of His ministry, and now at the close He repeats it, for the house of prayer was as much a den of thieves as ever. With zeal for God's house His ministry began, with the same it ended (see p. 1676; Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 15–19; Luke xix. 45–48). In the evening He returned again to Bethany.

Tuesday the 12th of Nisan (April 4th).—On this the third day of Passion week Jesus went into Jerusalem as before, and visited the Temple. The Sanhedrin came to Him to call Him to account for the clearing of the Temple. "By what authority doest Thou these things?" The Lord answered their question by another, which, when put to them in their capacity of judges of spiritual things, and of the pretensions of prophets and teachers, was very hard either to answer or to pass in silence—what was their opinion of the baptism of John? If they replied that it was from heaven, their own conduct towards John would accuse them; if of men, then the people would not listen to them even when they denounced Jesus, because none doubted that John was a prophet. They refused to answer, and Jesus refused in like manner to answer them. In the parable of the Two Sons, given by Matthew, the Lord pronounces a strong condemnation on them for saying to God, "I go, Sir," but not going (Matt. xxi. 23–32; Mark xi. 27–33; Luke xx. 1–8). In the parable of the wicked husbandmen the history of the Jews is represented, who had stoned and killed the prophets, and were about to crown their wickedness by the death of the Son. In the parable of the wedding garment the destruction of the Jews, and the invitation to the Gentiles to the feast in their stead, are vividly represented (Matt. xxi. 33–46, xxii. 1–14; Mark xii. 1–12; Luke xx. 9–19).

Not content with their plans for His death, the different parties try to entangle Him in argument and to bring Him into contempt. First come the Pharisees and Herodians, as if to ask Him to settle a dispute between them. "Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar, or not?" The spirit of the answer of Christ lies here: that, since they had accepted Caesar's money, they had confessed his rule, and were bound to render to the civil power what they had confessed to be due to it, as they were to render to God and to His Holy Temple the offerings due to it. Next appeared the Sadducees, who denied a future state, and put before Him a contradiction which seemed to them to arise out of that doctrine. Seven brethren in succession married a wife (Deut. xxv. 5): whose wife should she be in a future state? The answer was easy to find. The law in question referred obviously to the present time: it would pass away in another state, and so would all such earthly relations, and all jealousies or disputes founded on them. Jesus now retorts the argument on the Sadducees. Appealing to the Pentateuch, because His hearers did not acknowledge the authority of the later Books of the Bible, He recites the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," as used to Moses, and draws from them the argument that these men must then have been alive. Although the words would not at first sight suggest this inference, they really contain it; for the form of expression implies that He still exists and they still exist (Matt. xxii. 15–33; Mark xii. 13–27; Luke xx. 20–40). Fresh questions awaited Him, but His wisdom never failed to give the appropriate answer. And then He uttered to all the people that terrible denunciation of woe to the Pharisees with which we are familiar (Matt. xxiii. 1–39). If we compare it with our Lord's account of His own position in reference to the Law, in the Sermon on the Mount, we see that the principles there laid down are everywhere violated by the Pharisees. Their almsgiving was ostentation; their distinctions about oaths led to falsehood and profaneness; they were exact about the small observances and neglected the weightier ones of the Law; they adorned the tombs of the Prophets, saying that if they had lived in the time of their fathers they would not have slain them; and yet they were about to fill up the measure of their fathers' wickedness by slaying the greatest of the Prophets, and persecuting and slaying His followers. After an indignant denunciation of the hypocrites who, with a show of religion, had thus contrived to stifle the true spirit of religion and were in reality its chief

persecutors, He apostrophizes Jerusalem in words full of compassion, yet carrying with them a sentence of death: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see Me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord" (Matt. xxiii.).

Another great discourse belongs to this day, which, more than any other, presents Jesus as the great Prophet of His people. On leaving the Temple His disciples drew attention to the beauty of its structure, its "goodly stones and gifts," their remarks probably arising from the threats of destruction which had so lately been uttered by Jesus. Their Master answered that not one stone of the noble pile should be left upon another. When they reached the Mount of Olives, the disciples, or rather the first four (Mark), speaking for the rest, asked Him when this destruction should be accomplished. To understand the answer it must be borne in mind that Jesus warned them that He was *not* giving them an historical account such as would enable them to anticipate the events. "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the Angels of heaven, but My Father only." Exact data of time are to be purposely withheld from them. Accordingly, two events, analogous in character but widely sundered by time, are so treated in the prophecy that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. The destruction of Jerusalem and the day of judgment—the national and the universal days of account—are spoken of together or alternately without hint of the great interval of time that separates them. Thus it may seem that a most important fact is omitted; but the highest work of prophecy is not to fix times and seasons, but to disclose the Divine significance of events. What was most important to them to know was that the destruction of Jerusalem followed upon the probation and rejection of her people, and that the Crucifixion and that destruction were connected as cause and effect (Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.). The conclusion which Jesus drew from His own awful warning was, that they were not to attempt to fix the date of His return: "Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh." The lesson of the parable of the Ten Virgins is the same; the Christian soul is to be ever in a state of vigilance and preparation (Matt. xxiv. 44, xxv. 13). And the parable of the Talents, here repeated in a modified form, teaches how precious to souls are the uses of time (xxv. 14-30). In concluding this momentous discourse, our Lord puts aside the destruction of Jerusalem, and displays to our eyes the picture of the final judgment. There will He Himself be present, and will separate all the vast family of mankind into two classes, and shall appraise the works of each class as works done to Himself, present in the world though invisible; and men shall see, some with terror and some with joy, that their life here was spent either for Him or against Him, and that the good which lay before them to do was provided for them by Him, and not by chance, and the reward and punishment shall be apportioned to each (Matt. xxv. 31–46).

With these weighty words ends the third day; and whether we consider the importance of His recorded teaching, or the amount of opposition and of sorrow presented to His mind, it was one of the greatest days of all His earthly ministrations. The general reflections of John (xii. 37–50), which contain a retrospect of His ministry and of the strange reception of Him by His people, may well be read as if they came in here.

Wednesday the 13th of Nisan (April 5th).—This day was passed in retirement with the Apostles. Satan had put it into the mind of one of them to betray Him; and Judas Iscariot made a covenant to betray Him to the chief priests for thirty pieces of silver. The character of Judas, and the degrees by which he reached the abyss of guilt in which he was at last destroyed, deserve much attention. There is no reason to doubt that when he was chosen by Jesus he possessed, like the rest, the capacity of being saved, and was endued with gifts which might have made him an able minister of the New Testament. But the innate worldliness and covetousness were not purged out from him. His practical talents made him a kind of steward of the slender resources of that society, and no doubt he conceived the wish to use the same gifts on a larger field, which the realization of "the kingdom of Heaven" would open out before him. These practical gifts were his ruin. Between him and the rest there could be no real harmony. His motives were worldly, and theirs were not. They loved the Saviour more as they knew Him better. Judas, living under the constant tacit rebuke of a most holy example, grew to hate the Lord; for nothing, perhaps, more strongly draws out evil instincts than the enforced contact with goodness. And when he knew that his Master did not trust him, was not deceived by him, his hatred grew more intense. But this did not break out into overt act until Jesus began to foretell his own Crucifixion and Death. If these were to happen, all his hopes that he had built on following the Lord would be dashed down. If they should crucify the Master, they would not spare the servants; and, in place of a heavenly kingdom, he would find contempt, persecution, and probably death. It was high time, therefore, to treat with the powers that seemed most likely to prevail in the end; and he opened a negotiation with the high-priests in secret, in order that, if his Master were to fall, he might be the instrument, and so make friends among the triumphant persecutors. And yet, strange contradiction, he did not wholly cease to believe in Jesus: possibly he thought that he would so act that he might be safe either way. If Jesus was the Prophet and Mighty One that he had once thought, then the attempt to take Him might force Him to put forth all His resources and to assume the kingdom to which He laid claim, and then the agent in the treason, even if discovered, might plead that he foresaw the result: if He were unable to save Himself and His disciples, then it were well for Judas to betake himself to those who were stronger. The bribe of money, not very considerable, could not have been the chief motive; but as two vicious appe-

tites could be gratified instead of one, the thirty pieces of silver became a part of the temptation. The treason was successful, and the money paid; but not one moment's pleasure did those silver pieces purchase for their wretched possessor, not for a moment did he reap any fruit from his detestable guilt. After the Crucifixion, the avenging belief that Jesus was what He professed to be rushed back in full force upon his mind. He went to those who had hired him; they derided his remorse. He cast away the accursed silver pieces, defiled with the "innocent blood" of the Son of God, and went and hanged himself (Matt. xxvi. 14–16; Mark xiv. 10–11; Luke xxii. 1–6).

Thursday the 14th of Nisan (April 6th).—On "the first day of unleavened bread," when the Jews were wont to put away all leaven out of their houses (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. on Mark* xiv. 12), the disciples asked their Master where they were to eat the Passover. He directed Peter and John to go into Jerusalem, and to follow a man whom they should see bearing a pitcher of water, and to demand of him, in their Master's name, the use of the guestchamber in his house for this purpose. All happened as Jesus had told them, and in the evening they assembled to celebrate, for the last time, the paschal meal. The sequence of the events is not quite clear from a comparison of the Evangelists; but the difficulty arises with St. Luke, and there is external evidence that he is not following the chronological order (Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 399). The order seems to be as follows. When they had taken their places at table and the supper had begun, Jesus gave them the first cup to divide amongst themselves (Luke). It was customary to drink at the paschal supper four cups of wine mixed with water; and this answered to the first of them. There now arose a contention among the disciples which of them should be the greatest; perhaps in connexion with the places they had taken at this feast (Luke). After a solemn warning against pride and ambition, Jesus performed an act which, as one of the last of His life, must ever have been remembered by the witnesses as a great lesson of humility. He rose from the table, poured water into a basin, girded Himself with a towel, and proceeded to wash the disciples' feet (John). It was an office for slaves to perform, and from Him, knowing, as He did, "that the Father had given all things into His Hand, and that He was come from God and went to God," it was an unspeakable condescension. But His love for them was infinite; and if there were any way to teach them the humility which as yet they had not learned, He would not fail to adopt it. Peter, with his usual readiness, was the first to refuse to accept such menial service—"Lord, dost Thou wash my feet?" When he was told that this act was significant of the greater act of humiliation by which Jesus saved His disciples and united them to Himself, his scruples vanished. After all had been washed, the Saviour explained to them the meaning of what He had done. "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." But this act was only the outward symbol of far greater sacrifices for them than they could as yet understand. It was a small matter to wash their feet; it was a great one to come down from the glories of heaven to save them. Later the Apostle Paul put this same lesson of humility into another form, and rested it upon deeper grounds. "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus: Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (Phil. ii. 5–8; Matt. xxvi. 17–20; Mark xiv. 12–17; Luke xxii. 7–30; John xiii. 1–20).

From this act of love it does not seem that even the traitor Judas was excluded. But his treason was thoroughly known; and now Jesus denounces it. One of them should betray Him. They were all sorrowful at this, and each asked "Is it I?" and even Judas asked and received an affirmative answer (Matt.), but probably in an undertone, for when Jesus said, "That thou doest do quickly," none of the rest understood. The traitor having gone straight to his wicked object, the end of the Saviour's ministry seemed already at hand. "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him." He gave them the new commandment, to love one another, as though it were a last bequest to them. To love was not a new thing, it was enjoined in the old Law; but to be distinguished for a special Christian love and mutual devotion was what He would have, and this was the new element in the commandment. Founded by a great act of love, the Church was to be marked by love (Matt. xxvi. 21–25; Mark xiv. 18–21; Luke xxii. 21–23; John xiii. 21–35).

Towards the close of the meal Jesus instituted the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He took bread, and gave thanks and brake it, and gave to His disciples, saying, "This is My Body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of Me." He then took the cup, which corresponded to the *third* cup in the usual course of the paschal supper, and, after giving thanks, He gave it to them, saying, "This is My Blood of the new testament [covenant] which is shed for many." It was a memorial of His Passion and of this last supper that preceded it; and in dwelling on His Passion in this Sacrament, in true faith, all believers draw nearer to the Cross of His sufferings and taste more strongly the sweetness of His love and the efficacy of His atoning Death (Matt. xxvi. 26–29; Mark xiv. 22–25; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 23–25).

The denial of St. Peter is now foretold, and to no one would such an announcement be more incredible than to St. Peter himself. "Lord, why cannot I follow Thee now? I will lay down my life for Thy sake." The zeal was sincere, and as such did the Lord regard it; but here, as elsewhere, St. Peter did not count the cost. By and by, when the Holy Spirit has come down to give them a strength not their own, St. Peter and the rest of the disciples will be bold to resist persecution, even to the death. It needs strong love and deep insight to view such an act as this denial with sorrow and not with indignation (Matt. xxvi. 31–35; Mark xiv. 27–31; Luke xxii. 31–38; John xiii. 36–38).

That great final discourse, which St. John alone has recorded, is now delivered. Although

in the middle of it there is a mention of departure (John xiv. 31), this perhaps only implies that they prepared to go; and then the whole discourse was delivered in the house before they proceeded to Gethsemane. Of the contents of this discourse, which is the voice of the Priest in the holy of holies, something has been said already (p. 1674; John xiv.–xvii.).

Friday the 15th of Nisan (April 7), including part of the eve of it.—"When they had sung a hymn," which perhaps means, when they had sung the second part of the Hallel, or song of praise, which consisted of Psalms cxv.–cxviii., the former part (Psalms cxiii.–cxiv.) having been sung at an earlier part of the supper, they went out into the Mount of Olives. They came to a place called Gethsemane (*oil-press*), and it is probable that the place now pointed out to travellers is the real scene of that which follows, and even that its huge olive-trees are the legitimate successors of those which were there when Jesus visited it. A moment of terrible agony is approaching, of which all the Apostles need not be spectators, for He thinks of them, and wishes to spare them this addition to their sorrows. So He takes only His three proved companions, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, and passes with them farther into the garden, leaving the rest seated, probably near the entrance. No pen can attempt to describe what passed that night in that secluded spot. He tells them, "My Soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here and watch with Me," and then leaving even the three He goes further, and in solitude wrestles with an inconceivable trial. The words of St. Mark are still more expressive —"He began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy" (ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, xiv. 33). The former word means that He was struck with a great dread; not from the fear of physical suffering, however excruciating, we may well believe, but from the contact with the sins of the world, of which, in some inconceivable way, He here felt the bitterness and the weight. He did not merely contemplate them, but bear and feel them. It is impossible to explain this scene in Gethsemane in any other way. If it were merely the fear of the terrors of death that overcame Him, then the martyr Stephen and many another would surpass Him in constancy. But when He says, "Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee; take away this cup from Me: nevertheless not what I will but what Thou wilt" (Mark), the cup was filled with a far bitterer potion than death; it was flavoured with the poison of the sins of all mankind against its God. Whilst the sinless Son is thus carried two ways by the present horror and the strong determination to do the Father's Will, the disciples have sunk to sleep. It was in search of consolation that He came back to them. The disciple who had been so ready to ask, "Why cannot I follow Thee now?" must hear another question, that rebukes his former confidence—"Couldest not thou watch one hour?" A second time He departs and wrestles in prayer with the Father; but although the words He utters are almost the same (Mark says "the same"), He no longer asks that the cup may pass away from Him—"If this cup may not pass away from Me except I drink it, Thy will be done" (Matt.). A second time He returns and finds them sleeping. The same scene is repeated yet a third time; and then all is concluded. Henceforth they may sleep and take their rest; never more shall they be asked to watch one hour with Jesus, for His ministry in the flesh is at an end. "The hour is at hand, and the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners" (Matt.). The prayer of Jesus in this place has always been regarded, and with reason, as of great weight against the Monothelite heresy. It expresses the natural shrinking of the human will from a horror which the Divine nature has admitted into it, yet without sin. Never does He say, "I will flee;" He says, "If it be possible;" and leaves that to the decision of the Father. That horror and dread arose from the spectacle of human sin; from bearing the weight and guilt of human sin as about to make atonement for it; and from a conflict with the powers of darkness. Thus this scene is in complete contrast to the Transfiguration. The same companions witnessed both; but there there was peace, and glory, and honour, for the sinless Son of God; here fear and conflict; there God bore testimony to Him; here Satan for the last time tempted Him. (On the account of the Agony see Krummacher, *Der Leidende Christus*, p. 206; Matt. xxvi. 36–46; Mark xiv. 32–42; Luke xxii. 39–46; John xviii. 1.)

Judas now appeared to complete his work. In the doubtful light of torches, a kiss from him was the sign to the officers whom they should take. St. Peter, whose *name* is first given in St. John's Gospel, drew a sword and smote a servant of the high-priest, and cut off his ear; but his Lord refused such succour, and healed the wounded man. He treated the seizure as a step in the fulfilment of the prophecies about Him, and resisted it not. All the disciples forsook Him and fled (Matt. xxvi. 47–56; Mark xiv. 43–52; Luke xxii. 47–53; John xviii. 2–12).

There is some difficulty in arranging the events that immediately follow, so as to embrace all the four accounts.—The data will be found in the Commentary of Olshausen, in Wieseler (*Chron. Syn.* p. 401 sqq.), and in Greswell's *Dissertations* (iii. 200 sqq.). On the capture of Jesus He was first taken to the house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas (see p. 1665) the high-priest. It has been argued that as Annas is called, conjointly with Caiaphas, the high-priest, he must have held some actual office in connexion with the priesthood, and Lightfoot and others suppose that he was the vicar or deputy of the high-priest, and Selden that he was president of the Council of the Sanhedrin; but this is uncertain.[a] It might appear from the course of St. John's narrative that the examination of our Lord, and the first denial of St. Peter, took place in the house of Annas (John xviii. 13, 14). But the 24th verse is retrospective—"Now Annas had sent Him bound unto Caiaphas the high-priest" (ἀπέστειλε, aorist for pluperfect: see Winer's *Grammar*); and probably *all* that occurred after v. 14 took place not at the house of Annas, but at that of

[a] Mr. Greswell sees no uncertainty, and asserts as a fact that he was the high-priest, vicar, and vice-president of the Sanhedrin (p. 200).

Caiaphas. It is not likely that St. Peter gained admittance to two houses in which two separate judicial examinations took place with which he had nothing ostensibly to do, and this would be forced on us if we assumed that St. John described what took place before Annas, and the other Evangelists what took place before Caiaphas. The house of the high-priest consisted probably, like other Eastern houses, of an open central court with chambers round it. Into this court a gate admitted them, at which a woman stood to open. St. Peter, who had fled like the rest from the side of Jesus, followed afar off with another disciple, probably St. John, and the latter procured him admittance into the court of the high-priest's house. As he passed in, the lamp of the portress threw its light on his face, and she took note of him; and afterwards, at the fire which had been lighted, she put the question to him, "Art not thou also one of this man's disciples?" (John.) All the zeal and boldness of St. Peter seem to have deserted him. This was indeed a time of great spiritual weakness and depression, and the power of darkness had gained an influence over the Apostle's mind. He had come as in secret; he is determined so to remain, and he denies his Master! Feeling now the danger of his situation, he went out into the porch, and there some one, or, looking at all the accounts, probably several persons, asked him the question a second time, and he denied more strongly. About an hour after, when he had returned into the court, the same question was put to him a third time, with the same result. Then the cock crew; and Jesus, Who was within sight, probably in some open room communicating with the court, "turned and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how He had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny Me thrice. And Peter went out and wept bitterly" (Luke). Let no man who cannot fathom the utter perplexity and distress of such a time presume to judge the zealous disciple hardly. He trusted too much to his own strength; he did not enter into the full meaning of the words, "Watch and pray lest ye enter into temptation." Self-confidence betrayed him into a great sin; and the most merciful Lord restored him after it. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor x. 12; Matt. xxvi. 57, 58, 69–75; Mark xiv. 53, 54, 66–72; Luke xxii. 54–62; John xviii. 13–18, 24–27).

The first interrogatory to which our Lord was subject (John xviii. 19–24) was addressed to Him by Caiaphas (Annas?, Olshausen, Wieseler), probably before the Sanhedrin had time to assemble. It was the questioning of an inquisitive person who had an important criminal in his presence, rather than a formal examination. The Lord's refusal to answer is thus explained and justified. When the more regular proceedings begin, He is ready to answer. A servant of the high-priest, knowing that he should thereby please his master, smote the cheek of the Son of God with the palm of his hand. But this was only the beginning of horrors. At the dawn of day the Sanhedrin, summoned by the high-priest in the course of the night, assembled, and brought their band of false witnesses, whom they must have had ready before. These gave their testimony (see Psalm xxvii. 12), but even before this unjust tribunal it could not stand; it was so full of contradictions. At last two false witnesses came, and their testimony was very like the truth. They deposed that He had said, "I will destroy this temple, that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands" (Mark xiv. 58). The perversion is slight but important; for Jesus did not say that *He* would destroy (see John ii. 19), which was just the point that would irritate the Jews. Even these two fell into contradictions. The high-priest now with a solemn adjuration asks Him whether He is the Christ the Son of God. He answers that He is, and foretells His return in glory and power at the last day. This is enough for their purpose. They pronounce Him guilty of a crime for which death should be the punishment. It appears that the Council was now suspended or broken up; for Jesus is delivered over to the brutal violence of the people, which could not have occurred whilst the supreme court of the Jews was sitting. The Prophets had foretold this violence (Is. l. 6), and also the meekness with which it would be borne (Is. liii. 7). And yet this "lamb led to the slaughter" knew that it was He that should judge the world, including every one of His persecutors. The Sanhedrin had been within the range of its duties in taking cognizance of all who claimed to be Prophets. If the question put to Jesus had been merely, Art Thou the Messiah? this body should have gone into the question of His right to the title, and decided upon the evidence. But the question was really twofold, "Art Thou the Christ, and in that Name dost Thou also call Thyself the Son of God?" There was no blasphemy in claiming the former name, but there was in assuming the latter. Hence the proceedings were cut short. They had closed their eyes to the evidence, accessible to all, of the miracles of Jesus, that He was indeed the Son *of* God, and without these they were not likely to believe that He could claim a title belonging to no other among the children of men (John xviii. 19–24; Luke xxii. 63–71; Matt. xxvi. 59–68; Mark xiv. 55–65).

Although they had pronounced Jesus to be guilty of death, the Sanhedrin possessed no power to carry out such a sentence (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 6). So as soon as it was day they took Him to Pilate, the Roman procurator. The hall of judgment, or praetorium, was probably a part of the Tower of Antonia near the Temple, where the Roman garrison was. Pilate, hearing that Jesus was an offender under their Law, was about to give them leave to treat him accordingly; and this would have made it quite safe to execute Him. But the council, wishing to shift the responsibility from themselves, from a fear of some reaction amongst the people in favour of the Lord, such as they had seen on the first day of that week, said that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death; and having condemned Jesus for blasphemy, they now strove to have Him condemned by Pilate for a political crime, for calling Himself the King of the Jews. But the Jewish punishment was stoning; whilst crucifixion was a Roman punishment, inflicted occasionally on those who were not Roman citizens; and thus it came

about that the Lord's saying as to the mode of His Death was fulfilled (Matt. xx. 19, with John xii. 32, 33). From the first Jesus found favour in the eyes of Pilate; His answer that His kingdom was not of this world, and therefore could not menace the Roman rule, was accepted, and Pilate pronounced that he found no fault in Him. Not so easily were the Jews to be cheated of their prey. They heaped up accusations against Him as a disturber of the public peace (Luke xxiii. 5). Pilate was no match for their vehemence. Finding that Jesus was a Galilean, he sent Him to Herod to be dealt with; but Herod, after cruel mockery and persecution, sent Him back to Pilate. Now commenced the fearful struggle between the Roman procurator, a weak as well as cruel man, and the Jews. Pilate was detested by the Jews as cruel, treacherous, and oppressive. Other records of his life do not represent him merely as the weakling that he appears here. He had violated their national prejudices, and had used the knives of assassins to avert the consequences. But the Jews knew the weak point in his breastplate. He was the merely worldly and professional statesman, to whom the favour of the Emperor was life itself, and the only evil of life a downfall from that favour. It was their policy therefore to threaten to denounce him to Caesar for lack of zeal in suppressing a rebellion, the leader of which was aiming at a crown. In his way Pilate believed in Christ; this the greatest crime of a stained life was that with which his own will had the least to do. But he did not believe so as to make him risk delation to his Master and all its possible consequences. He yielded to the stronger purpose of the Jews, and suffered Jesus to be put to death. Not many years after, the consequences which he had stained his soul to avert came upon him. He was accused and banished, and like Judas, the other great accomplice in this crime of the Jews, put an end to his own life. [See PILATE.] The well-known incidents of the second interview are soon recalled. After the examination by Herod, and the return of Jesus, Pilate proposed to release Him, as it was usual on the Feast-day to release a prisoner to the Jews out of grace. Pilate knew well that the priests and rulers would object to this; but it was a covert appeal to the people, also present, with whom Jesus had so lately been in favour. The multitude, persuaded by the priests, preferred another prisoner, called Barabbas. In the meantime the wife of Pilate sent a warning to him to have nothing to do with the death of "that just man," as she had been troubled in a dream on account of Him. Obliged, as he thought, to yield to the clamours of the people, he took water and washed his hands before them, and adopting the phrase of his wife, which perhaps represented the opinion of both of them formed before this time, he said, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it." The people imprecated on their own heads and those of their children the blood of Him Whose doom was thus sealed.

Pilate released unto them Barabbas, "that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they had desired" (cp. Acts iii. 14). This was no unimportant element in their crime. The choice was offered them between one who had broken the laws of God and man, and One Who had given His whole life up to the doing good and speaking truth amongst them. They condemned the latter to death, and were eager for the deliverance of the former. "And in fact their demanding the acquittal of a murderer is but the parallel to their requiring the death of an innocent person, as St. Ambrose observes:—for it is but the very law of iniquity, that they which hate innocence should love crime. They rejected therefore the Prince of Heaven, and chose a robber and a murderer, and an insurrectionist, and they received the object of their choice; so was it given them, for insurrections and murders did not fail them till the last, when their city was destroyed in the midst of murders and insurrections, which they now demanded of the Roman governor" (Williams *on the Passion*, p. 215).

Now came the scourging, and the blows and insults of the soldiers, who, uttering truth when they thought they were only reviling, crowned Him and addressed Him as King of the Jews. According to St. John, Pilate now made one more effort for His release. He thought that the scourging might appease their rage, he saw the frame of Jesus bowed and withered with all that it had gone through; and, hoping that this moving sight might inspire them with the same pity that he felt himself, he brought the Saviour forth again to them, and said, "Behold the Man!" Not even so was their violence assuaged. He had made Himself the Son of God, and must die. Pilate still sought to release Jesus: but the last argument, which had been in the minds of both sides all along, was now openly applied to him: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend." This saying, which had not been uttered till the vehemence of rage overcame their decent respect for Pilate's position, decided the question. He delivered Jesus to be crucified (Matt. xxvii. 15–30; Mark xv. 6–19; Luke xxiii. 17–25; John xviii. 39, 40, xix. 1–16). St. John mentions that this occurred about the sixth hour, whereas the Crucifixion, according to St. Mark, was accomplished at the third hour; but there is every reason to think, with Greswell and Wieseler, that St. John reckons from midnight, and that this took place at six in the morning, whilst in St. Mark the Jewish reckoning from six in the morning is followed, so that the Crucifixion took place at nine o'clock, the intervening time having been spent in preparations.

Difficult, but not insuperable, chronological questions arise in connexion with (*a*) John xiii. 1, "before the Feast of the Passover;" (*b*) John xviii. 28, "and they themselves went not into the judgment-hall lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover;" and (*c*) John xix. 14, "And it was the preparation of the Passover, about the sixth hour," in all of which the account of John seems dissonant with that of the other Evangelists. These passages are discussed in the various commentaries, but nowhere more fully than in a paper by Dr. Robinson (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1845, p. 405), reproduced in his (English) *Harmony* in an abridged form.

One Person alone has been calm amidst the excitements of that night of horrors. On Him is now laid the weight of His Cross, or at least

of the transverse beam of it; and, with this pressing Him down, they proceed out of the city to Golgotha or Calvary, a place the site of which is now uncertain. As He began to droop, His persecutors, unwilling to defile themselves with the accursed burden, lay hold of Simon of Cyrene and compel him to carry the Cross after Jesus. Amongst the great multitude that followed, were several women, who bewailed and lamented Him. He bade them not to weep for Him, but for the widespread destruction of their nation which should be the punishment for His Death (Luke). After offering Him wine and myrrh, they crucified Him between two thieves. Nothing was wanting to His humiliation; a thief had been preferred before Him, and two thieves share His punishment. The soldiers divided His garments and cast lots for them (see Psalm xxii. 18). Pilate set over Him in three languages the inscription "Jesus, the King of the Jews." The chief priests took exception to this that it did not denounce Him as falsely calling Himself by that name, but Pilate refused to alter it. The passers-by and the Roman soldiers would not let even the minutes of deadly agony pass in peace; they reviled and mocked Him. One of the two thieves underwent a change of heart even on the cross: he reviled at first (Matt.); and then, at the sight of the constancy of Jesus, repented (Luke) (Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.; John xix.).

In the depths of His bodily suffering, Jesus calmly commended to St. John, who stood near, the care of Mary His mother. "Behold thy son! behold thy mother!" From the sixth hour to the ninth there was darkness over the whole land. At the ninth hour (3 P.M.) Jesus uttered with a loud voice the opening words of the xxii. Psalm, all the inspired words of which referred to the suffering Messiah. One of those present dipped a sponge in the common sour wine of the soldiers, and put it on a reed to moisten the Sufferer's lips. Again He cried with a loud voice, "It is finished" (John), "Father, into Thy Hands I commend My Spirit" (Luke); and gave up the ghost. His words upon the Cross had all of them shown how truly He possessed His Soul in patience even to the end of the sacrifice He was making: "Father, forgive them!" was a prayer for His enemies. "This day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise," was a merciful acceptance of the offer of a penitent heart. "Woman, behold thy son," was a sign of loving consideration, even at the last, for those He had always loved. "Why hast Thou forsaken Me?" expressed the fear and the need of God. "I thirst," the only word that related to Himself, was uttered because it was prophesied that they were to give Him vinegar to drink. "It is finished," expresses the completion of that work which, when He was twelve years old, had been present to His Mind, and never absent since; and "Into Thy Hands I commend My Spirit," was the last utterance of His resignation of Himself to what was laid upon Him (Matt. xxvii. 31–56; Mark xv. 20–41; Luke xxiii. 33–49; John xix. 17–30).

On the Death of Jesus the veil which covered the most Holy Place of the Temple, the place of the more especial Presence of Jehovah, was rent in twain, a symbol that we may now have "boldness to enter into the holiest by the Blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, through His flesh" (Heb. x. 19, 20). The priesthood of Christ superseded the priesthood of the Law. There was a great earthquake. Many who were dead rose from their graves, although they returned to the dust again after this great token of Christ's quickening power had been given to many (Matt.): they were "saints" that slept—probably they, having most earnestly longed for the salvation of Christ, were the first to taste the fruits of His conquest of death. The Centurion who kept guard, witnessing what had taken place, came to the same conclusion as Pilate and his wife, "Certainly this was a righteous man;" he went beyond them, "Truly this Man was the Son of God" (Mark). Even the people who had joined in the mocking and reviling were overcome by the wonders of His Death, and "smote their breasts and returned" (Luke xxiii. 48). The Jews, very zealous for the Sabbath in the midst of their murderous work, begged Pilate that he would put an end to the punishment by breaking the legs of the criminals (Lactant. iv. 26), that they might be taken down and buried before the Sabbath, for which they were preparing (Deut. xxi. 23; Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 5, § 2). They who were to execute this duty found that Jesus was dead and the thieves still living; so they performed this work on the latter only, that a bone of Him might not be broken (Ex. xii. 46; Ps. xxxiv. 20). The Death of the Lord before the others was, no doubt, partly the consequence of the previous mental suffering which He had undergone, and partly because His Will to die lessened the natural resistance of the frame to dissolution. Some seek for a "mysterious cause" of it, something out of the course of nature; but we must beware of such theories as would do away with the reality of the Death, as a punishment inflicted by the hands of men. Joseph of Arimathaea, a member of the Council but a secret disciple of Jesus, came to Pilate to beg the Body of Jesus, that he might bury it. Nicodemus assisted in this work of love, and they anointed the Body and laid it in Joseph's new tomb (Matt. xxvii. 50–61; Mark xv. 37–47; Luke xxiii. 46–56; John xix. 30–42).

Saturday the 16th of Nisan (April 8th).—Love having done its part, hatred did its part also. The chief priests and Pharisees, with Pilate's permission, set a watch over the tomb, "lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead" (Matt. xxvii. 62–66).

Sunday the 17th of Nisan (April 9th).—The Sabbath ended at six on the evening of Nisan 16th. Early the next morning the Resurrection of Jesus took place. Although He had lain in the grave for about thirty-six or forty hours, yet these formed part of three days; and thus, by a mode of speaking not unusual to the Jews (Josephus frequently reckons years in this manner, the two extreme portions of a year reckoning as two years), the time of the dominion of death over Him is spoken of as three days. The order of the events that follow is

somewhat difficult to harmonise; for each Evangelist selects the facts which belong to his purpose.[d] The exact hour of the Resurrection is not mentioned by any of the Evangelists. But from St. Mark xvi. 2 and 9 we infer that it was not long before the coming of the women; and from the time at which the guards went into the city to give the alarm the same inference arises (Matt. xxviii. 11). Of the great mystery itself, the resumption of life by Him who was truly dead, we see but little. "There was a great earthquake, for the Angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men" (Matt.). The women, who had stood by the cross of Jesus, had prepared spices on the evening before, perhaps to complete the embalming of our Lord's Body, already performed in haste by Joseph and Nicodemus. They came very early on the first day of the week to the sepulchre. The names of the women are differently put by the several Evangelists, but with no real discrepancy. St. Matthew mentions the two Marys; St. Mark adds Salome to these two; St. Luke has the two Marys, Joanna, and others with them; and St. John mentions Mary Magdalene only. In thus citing such names as seemed good to him, each Evangelist was no doubt guided by some reason. St. John, from the especial share which Mary Magdalene took in the testimony to the fact of the Resurrection, mentions her only. The women discuss with one another who should roll away the stone, that they might do their pious office on the Body. But when they arrive, they find the stone rolled away, and Jesus no longer in the sepulchre. He had risen from the dead. Mary Magdalene at this point goes back in haste; and at once, believing that the Body has been removed by men, tells St. Peter and St. John that the Lord had been taken away. The other women, however, go into the Sepulchre, and they see an Angel (Matt., Mark), or two Angels (Luke), in bright apparel, who declare to them that the Lord is risen, and will go before the disciples into Galilee. The two Angels, mentioned by St. Luke, are probably two separate appearances to different members of the group; for he alone mentions an indefinite number of women. They now leave the sepulchre, and go in haste to make known the news to the Apostles. As they were going, "Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held Him by the Feet, and worshipped Him. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: go tell My brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see Me." The eleven do not believe the account when they receive it. In the meantime St. Peter and St. John came to the sepulchre. They ran, in their eagerness, and St. John arrived first and looked in; St. Peter afterwards came up, and it is characteristic that the awe which had prevented the other disciple from going in appears to have been unfelt by St. Peter, who entered at once, and found the grave-clothes lying, but not Him Who had worn them. This fact must have suggested that the removal was not the work of human hands. They then returned, wondering at what they had seen. Mary Magdalene, however, remained weeping at the tomb, and she too saw the two Angels in the tomb, though St. Peter and St. John did not. They address her, and she answers, still, however, without any suspicion that the Lord is risen. As she turns away she sees Jesus, but in the tumult of her feeling does not even recognise Him at His first address. But He calls her by name, and then she joyfully recognises her Master. He says, "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father: but go to My brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God." The meaning of the prohibition to touch Him must be sought in the state of mind of Mary, since St. Thomas, for whom it was desirable as an evidence of the identity of Jesus, was permitted to touch Him. Hitherto she had not realized the mystery of the Resurrection. She saw the Lord, and would have touched His hand or His garment in her joy. Our Lord's answer means, "Death has now set a gulf between us. Touch not, as you once might have done, this Body, which is now glorified by its conquest over death, for with this Body I ascend to the Father" (so Euthymius, Theophylact, and others). Space has been wanting to discuss the difficulties of arrangement that attach to this part of the narrative. The remainder of the appearances present less matter for dispute; in enumerating them the important passage in 1 Cor. xv. must be brought in. The third appearance of our Lord was to St. Peter (Luke, Paul); the fourth to the two disciples going to Emmaus in the evening (Mark, Luke); the fifth in the same evening to the eleven as they sat at meat (Mark, Luke, John). All of these occurred on the first day of the week, the very day of the Resurrection. Exactly a week after, He appeared to the Apostles, and gave St. Thomas a convincing proof of His Resurrection (John); this was the sixth appearance. The seventh was in Galilee, where seven of the Apostles were assembled, some of them probably about to return to their old trade of fishing (John). The eighth was to the eleven (Matt.), and probably to five hundred brethren assembled with them (Paul) on a mountain in Galilee. The ninth was to St. James (Paul); and the last to the Apostles at Jerusalem just before the Ascension (Acts).

Whether this be the exact enumeration, whether a single appearance may have been quoted twice, or two distinct ones identified, it is clear that for forty days the Lord appeared to His disciples and to others at intervals. These disciples, according to the common testimony of all the Evangelists, were by no means enthusiastic and prejudiced expectants of the Resurrection. They were sober-minded men. They were only too slow to apprehend the nature of our Lord's Kingdom. Almost to the last they shrank from the notion of His suffering death, and thought that such a calamity would be the absolute termination of all their hopes. But from the time of the Ascension they went about preaching the truth that Jesus

[d] In what follows much use has been made of an excellent paper by Dr. Robinson (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1845, p. 162).

was risen from the dead. Kings could not alter their conviction on this point: the fear of death could not hinder them from proclaiming it (see Acts ii. 24, 32, iv. 8, 13, iii., x., xiii.; 1 Cor. xv. 5; 1 Pet. i. 21). Against this event no real objection has ever been brought, except that it is a miracle. So far as historical testimony goes, nothing is better established.

In giving His disciples their final commission, the Lord said, "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 18–20). The living energy of Christ is ever present with His Church, even though He has withdrawn from it His bodily Presence. And the facts of the Life that has been before us are the substance of the apostolic teaching now as in all ages. That God and man were reconciled by the mission of the Redeemer into the world, and by His self-devotion to death (2 Cor. v. 18; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20); that this sacrifice has procured for man the restoration of the Divine love (Rom. v. 8, viii. 32; 1 John iv. 9); that we by His Incarnation become the children of God, knit to Him in bonds of love, instead of slaves under the bondage of the Law (Rom. viii. 15, 29; Gal. iv. 1); these are the common ideas of the apostolic teaching. Brought into such a relation to Christ and His Life, we see in all its acts and stages something that belongs to and instructs us. His Birth, His Baptism, Temptation, Lowliness of Life and Mind, His Sufferings, Death, Burial, Resurrection, and Ascension, all enter into the apostolic preaching, as furnishing motives, examples, and analogies for our use. Hence every Christian should study well this sinless Life, not in human commentaries only, still less in a bare abstract like the present, but in the living pages of inspiration. Even if he began the study with a lukewarm belief, he might hope, with God's grace, that the conviction would break in upon him that did upon the Centurion at the cross—"Truly this is the Son of God."

CHRONOLOGY.—*Year of the birth of Christ.*—It is certain that our Lord was born before the death of Herod the Great. Herod died, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1), "having reigned thirty-four years from the time that he had procured Antigonus to be slain; but thirty-seven from the time that he had been declared king by the Romans" (see also *B. J.* i. 33, § 8). His appointment as king, according to the same writer (*Ant.* xiv. 14, § 5), coincides with the 184th Olympiad, and the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio. It appears that he was made king by the joint influence of Antony and Octavius; and the reconciliation of these two men took place on the death of Fulvia in the year 714. Again, the death of Antigonus and the siege of Jerusalem, which form the basis of calculation for the thirty-four years, coincide (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 4) with the consulship of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus,—that is, with the year of Rome 717; and occurred in the month Sivan (=June or July). From these facts we are justified in placing the death of Herod in A.U.C. 750. Those who place it one year later overlook the mode in which Josephus reckons Jewish reigns. Wieseler shows by several passages that he reckons the year from the month Nisan to Nisan, and that he counts the fragment of a year at either extreme as one complete year. In this mode, thirty-four years, from June or July 717, would apply to any date between the first of Nisan 750 and the first of Nisan 751. And thirty-seven years from 714 would apply likewise to any date within the same termini. Wieseler finds facts confirmatory of this in the dates of the reigns of Herod Antipas and Archelaus (see his *Chronologische Synopse*, p. 55). Between these two dates Josephus furnishes means for a more exact determination. Just after Herod's death the Passover occurred (Nisan 15th), and upon Herod's death Archelaus caused a seven-days' mourning to be kept for him (*Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3; xvii. 8, § 4); so that it would appear that Herod died somewhat more than seven days before the Passover in 750, and therefore in the first few days of the month of Nisan A.U.C. 750. Now, as Jesus was born before the death of Herod, it follows that the Dionysian era, which corresponds to A.U.C. 754, is at least four years too late.

Many have thought that the star seen by the wise men gives grounds for an exact calculation of the time of our Lord's birth. It will be found, however, that this is not the case. For it has first been assumed that the star was not properly a star, but an astronomical conjunction of known stars. Kepler finds a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces in A.U.C. 747, and again in the spring of the next year, with the planet Mars added; and from this he would place the birth of Jesus in 748. Ideler, on the same kind of calculation, places it in A.U.C. 747. But this process only proves a highly improbable date, on highly improbable evidence. The words of St. Matthew are extremely hard to reconcile with the notion of a conjunction of planets; it was a star that appeared, and it gave the Magi ocular proof of its purpose by guiding them to where the young child was. But a new light has been thrown on the subject by the Rev. C. Pritchard, who has made the calculations afresh. Ideler (*Handbuch d. Chronologie*) asserts that there were three conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn in B.C. 7, and that in the third they approached so near that, "to a person with weak eyes, the one planet would almost seem to come within the range of the dispersed light of the other, so that both might appear as one star." Dean Alford puts it much more strongly, that on November 12 in that year the planets were so close "that *an ordinary eye* would regard them as one star of surpassing brightness" (Greek Test. *in loc.*). Mr. Pritchard finds, and his calculations have been verified and confirmed at Greenwich, that this conjunction occurred not on November 12 but early on December 5; and that even with Ideler's somewhat strange postulate of an observer with weak eyes, the planets could never have appeared as one star, for they never approached each other within double the apparent diameter of the moon (*Memoirs R. Astr. Soc.* vol. xxv.). [STAR IN THE EAST.] Most of the chronologists find an ele-

ment of calculation in the order of Herod to destroy all the children "from two years old and under" (ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω, Matt. ii. 16). But the age within which he destroyed would be measured rather by the extent of his fears than by the accuracy of the calculation of the Magi. Greswell has laboured to show that, from the inclusive mode of computing years, mentioned above in this article, the phrase of the Evangelist would apply to all children just turned one year old, which is true; but he assumes that it would not apply to any that were older, say to those aged a year and eleven months. Herod was a cruel man, angry and afraid; and it is vain to assume that he adjusted the limit of his cruelties with the nicest accuracy. As a basis of calculation the visit of the Magi, though very important to us in other respects, must be dismissed (but see Greswell, *Dissertations*, &c., *Diss.* xviii.; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 57 sqq., with all the references there).

The census taken by Augustus Caesar, which led to the journey of Mary from Nazareth just before the Birth of the Lord, has also been looked on as an important note of time, in reference to the chronology of the life of Jesus. Several difficulties have to be disposed of in considering it. (i.) It is argued that there is no record in other histories of a census of the whole Roman empire in the time of Augustus. (ii.) Such a census, if held during the reign of Herod the Great, would not have included Judaea, for it was not yet a Roman province. (iii.) The Roman mode of taking such a census was with reference to actual residence, so that it would not have been requisite for Joseph to go to Bethlehem. (iv.) The state of Mary at the time would render such a journey less probable. (v.) St. Luke himself seems to say that this census was not actually taken until ten years later (ii. 2).

To these objections, of which it need not be said Strauss has made the worst, answers may be given in detail, though scarcely in this place with the proper completeness. (i.) "As we know of the *legis actiones* and their abrogation, which were quite as important in respect to the early period of Roman history, as the census of the empire was in respect to a later period, not from the historical works of Livy, Dionysius, or Polybius, but from a legal work, the *Institutes* of Gaius; so we should think it strange if the works of Paullus and Ulpian *De Censibus* had come down to us perfect, and no mention were made in them of the census of Augustus; while it would not surprise us that in the ordinary histories of the time it should be passed over in silence" (Huschke in Wieseler, p. 78). "If Suetonius in his life [of Augustus] does not mention this census, neither does Spartian in his life of Hadrian devote a single syllable to the *edictum perpetuum*, which, in later times, has chiefly adorned the name of that emperor" (ib.). Thus it seems that the *argumentum de taciturnitate* is very far from conclusive. The edict possibly affected only the provinces, and in them was not carried out at once; and in that case it would attract less attention at any one particular moment.

In the time of Augustus all the procurators of the empire were brought under his sole control and supervision for the first time A.U.C. 731 (Dio Cass. liii. 32). This movement towards centralisation renders it not improbable that a general census of the empire should be ordered, although it may not have been carried into effect suddenly, nor intended to be so. But proceedings in the way of an estimate of the empire, if not an actual census, are distinctly recorded to have taken place in the time of Augustus. "Huic addendae sunt mensurae limitum et terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Caesarum: sed et Balbi mensoris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum et civitatum formas et mensuras compertas in commentarios retulit et legem agrariam per universitatem provinciarum distinxit et declaravit" (Frontinus, in the *Rei Agrar. Auct.* of Goes, p. 109, quoted by Wieseler). This is confirmed from other sources (Wieseler, pp. 81, 82). Augustus directed, as we learn, a *breviarium totius imperii* to be made, in which—according to Tacitus, "Opes publicae contine, bantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates ac largitiones" (Tacit. *Annal.* i. 11; Sueton. *Aug.* 28, 101; Dio Cass. liii. 30, lvi. 33, given in Wieseler; see also Ritschl, in *Rhein. Mus. für Philol.* N. S., i. 481). All this makes a census by order of Augustus in the highest degree probable, apart from St. Luke's testimony. The time of our Lord's Birth was most propitious. Except some troubles in Dacia the Roman world was at peace, and Augustus was in the full enjoyment of his power. But there are persons who, though they would at once believe this fact on the testimony of some inferior historian, added to these confirmatory facts, reject it just because an Evangelist has said it.

Next comes the objection (ii. and iii.), that, as Judaea was not yet a Roman province, such a census would not have included that country, and that it was not taken from the residence of each person, but from the place of his origin. It is very probable that the mode of taking the census would afford a clue to the origin of it. Augustus was willing to include in his census all the tributary kingdoms, for the *regna* are mentioned in the passage in Tacitus; but this could scarcely be enforced. Perhaps Herod, desiring to gratify the Emperor, and to emulate him in his love for this kind of information, was ready to undertake the census for Judaea; but in order that it might appear to be his rather than the Emperor's, he took it in the Jewish manner rather than in the Roman, in the place whence the family sprang, rather than in that of actual residence. There might be some hardship in this, and we might wonder that a woman about to become a mother should be compelled to leave her home for such a purpose, if we were sure that it was not voluntary. A Jew of the house and lineage of David would not willingly forego that position; and if it were necessary to assert it by going to the city of David, he would probably make some sacrifice to do so. Thus the objection (iv.), on the ground of the state of Mary's health, is entitled to little consideration. It is said indeed that "all went to be taxed, every one into his own city" (Luke ii. 3); but not that the decree prescribed that they should. Nor could there well be any means of enforcing such a regulation. But the principle being adopted, that

Jews were to be taxed in the places to which their families belonged, St. Luke tells us by these words that as a matter of fact it was generally followed. (v.) The objection that, according to St. Luke's own admission, the census was not taken now, but when Quirinus was governor of Syria, remains to be disposed of. St. Luke makes two statements, that at the time of our Lord's birth ("in those days") there was a decree for a census, and that this taxing first came about, or took effect (*πρώτη ἐγένετο*), when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor of Syria (Luke ii. 1, 2) [see CYRENIUS]. And as the two statements are quite distinct, and the very form of expression calls special attention to some remarkable circumstance about this census, no historical inaccuracy is proved, unless the statements are shown to be contradictory, or one or other of them to be untrue. That Strauss makes such a charge without establishing either of these grounds, is worthy of a writer so dishonest (*Leben Jesu*, i. ch. iv. 32). Now, without going into all the theories that have been proposed to explain this second verse, there is no doubt that the words of St. Luke *can be* explained in a natural manner, without violence to the sense or contradiction. Herod undertakes the census according to Jewish forms; but his death the same year puts an end to it, and no more is heard of it: and but for its influence as to the place of our Lord's Birth it would not have been recorded at all. But the Evangelist knows that, as soon as a census (*ἀπογραφή*) is mentioned, persons conversant with Jewish history will think at once of the census taken after the banishment of Archelaus, or about ten years later, which was avowedly a Roman census, and which caused at first some resistance in consequence (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1). The second verse therefore means—"No census was actually completed then, and I know that the first Roman census was that which followed the banishment of Archelaus; but the decree went out much earlier, in the time of Herod." That this is the only possible explanation of so vexed a passage cannot of course be affirmed.* But it will bear this interpretation, and upon the whole evidence there is no ground whatever for denying either assertion of the Evangelist, or for considering them irreconcilable. Many writers have confounded an obscurity with a proved inaccuracy. The value of this census, as a fact in the chronology of the life of Christ, depends on the connexion which is sought to be established between it and the insurrection which broke out under Matthias and Judas, the son of Sariphaeus, in the last illness of Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 6, § 1). If the insurrection arose out of the census, a point of connexion between the sacred history and that of Josephus is made out. Such a connexion, however, has not been clearly made out (see Wieseler, Olshausen, and others, for the grounds on which it is supposed to rest).

The age of Jesus at His Baptism (Luke iii. 23) affords an element of calculation. "And Jesus Himself began to be about (*ὡσεί*) thirty years of age." Born in the beginning of A.U.C. 750 (or the end of 749), Jesus would be thirty in the beginning of A.U.C. 780 (A.D. 27). Greswell is probably right in placing the Baptism of our Lord in the beginning of this year, and the first Passover during His ministry would be that of the same year; Wieseler places the Baptism later, in the spring or summer of the same year. (On the sense of *ἀρχόμενος*, see the commentators.) To this first Passover after the Baptism attaches a note of time which will confirm the calculations already made. "Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this Temple in building (*ᾠκοδομήθη*), and wilt Thou rear it up in three days?" There can be no doubt that this refers to the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod: it cannot mean the second Temple, built after the Captivity, for this was finished in twenty years (B.C. 535 to B.C. 515). Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 1), began to reconstruct the Temple on a larger and more splendid scale (A.U.C. 734). The work was not finished till long after his death, till A.U.C. 818. It is inferred from Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, §§ 5, 6) that it was begun in the month Cisleu, A.U.C. 734. And if the Passover at which this remark was made was that of A.U.C. 780, then forty-five years and some months have elapsed, which, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning (p. 1663), would be spoken of as "forty and six years."

Thus the death of Herod enables us to fix a boundary on one side to the calculations of our Lord's Birth. The building of the Temple, for forty-six years, confirms this, and also gives a boundary on the other. From the star of the Magi nothing conclusive can be gathered, nor from the census of Augustus. One datum remains: the commencement of the preaching of John the Baptist is connected with the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar (Luke iii. 1). The rule of Tiberius may be calculated either from the beginning of his sole reign, after the death of Augustus, A.U.C. 767, or from his joint government with Augustus, *i.e.* from the beginning of A.U.C. 765. In the latter case the fifteenth year would correspond with A.U.C. 779, which goes to confirm the rest of the calculations relied on in this article.

An endeavour has been made to deduce the time of the year of the Birth of Jesus from the fact that Zacharias was "a priest of the course of Abia" (Luke i. 5). The twenty-four courses of priests served in the Temple according to a regular weekly cycle, the order of which is known. The date of the conception of John would be about fifteen months before the birth of our Lord; and if the date of the latter be A.U.C. 750, then the former would fall in A.U.C. 748. Can it be ascertained in what part of the year 748 the course of Abia would be on duty in the Temple? The Talmud preserves a tradition that the Temple was destroyed by Titus, A.D. 70, on the ninth day of the month Ab. Josephus

* See a summary of the older theories in Kuinoel (in Luc. ii. 2); also in Meyer (in Luc. ii. 2), who gives an account of the view, espoused by many, that Quirinus was now a *special commissioner* for this census in Syria (*ἡγεμ. τῆς Συρίας*), which the Greek will not bear. But if the theory of the younger Zumpt be correct, then Quirinus was twice governor of Syria, and the Evangelist would here refer to his former rule. The difficulty is that Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1) mentions that Quirinus was sent, after the banishment of Archelaus, to take a census. Either Zumpt would set this authority aside, or would hold that Quirinus, twice governor, twice made a census; which is scarcely an easier hypothesis than some others.

mentions the date as the 10th of Ab (*Bel. Jud.* vi. 4, §§ 5, 8). Without attempting to follow the steps by which these are reconciled, it seems that the "course" of Jehoiarib had just entered upon its weekly duty at the time the Temple was destroyed. Wieseler, assuming that the day in question would be the same as the 5th of August, A.U.C. 823, reckons back the weekly courses to A.U.C. 748, the course of Jehoiarib being the first of all (1 Ch. xxiv. 7). "It follows," he says, "that the ministration of the course of Abia, 74 years 10 months and 2 days, or (reckoning 19 intercalary years) 27,335 days, earlier (=162 hieratic circles and 119 days earlier), fell between the 3rd and 9th of October, A.U.C. 748. Reckoning from the 10th of October, on which Zacharias might reach his house, and allowing nine months for the pregnancy of Elizabeth, to which six months are to be added (Luke i. 26), we have in the whole one year and three months, which gives the 10th of January as the date of Christ's birth." Greswell, however, from the same starting-point, arrives at the date April 5th; and when two writers so laborious can thus differ in their conclusions, we must rather suspect the soundness of their method than their accuracy in the use of it.

Similar differences will be found amongst eminent writers in every part of the chronology of the Gospels. For example, the Birth of our Lord is placed in B.C. 1 by Pearson and Hug; B.C. 2 by Scaliger; B.C. 3 by Baronius, Calvisius, Süskind, and Paulus; B.C. 4 by Lamy, Bengel, Anger, Wieseler, and Greswell; B.C. 5 by Ussher and Petavius; B.C. 7 by Ideler and Sanclemente. And whilst the calculations given above seem sufficient to determine us, with Lamy, Ussher, Petavius, Bengel, Wieseler, and Greswell, to the close of B.C. 5, or early part of B.C. 4, let it never be forgotten that there is a distinction between these researches, which the Holy Spirit has left obscure and doubtful, and "the weightier matters" of the Gospel, the things which directly pertain to man's salvation. The silence of the inspired writers, and sometimes the obscurity of their allusions to matters of time and place, have given rise to disputation. But their words admit of no doubt when they tell us that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, and that wicked hands crucified and slew Him, and that we and all men must own Him as the Lord and Redeemer.

SOURCES.—The bibliography of the subject of the Life of Jesus has been most fully set out in Hase, *Leben Jesu*, Leipsic, 1854, 4th edition. It would be vain to attempt to rival that enormous catalogue. The principal works employed in the present article are the FOUR GOSPELS, and the best-known commentaries on them, including those of Bengel, Wetstein, Lightfoot, De Wette, Lücke, Olshausen, Stier, Alford, Williams, and others; Neander, *Leben Jesu* (Hamburg, 1837), as against Strauss, *Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1837); and, also consulted, Stackhouse's *History of the Bible;* Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. v., *Christus* (Göttingen, 1857); Baumgarten, *Geschichte Jesu* (Brunswick, 1859); Krummacher, *Der Leidende Christus* (Bielefeld, 1854). Upon the harmony of the Gospels, see the list of works given under GOSPELS: the principal works used for the present article have been, Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse*, &c., Hamburg, 1843; Greswell's *Harmony, Prolegomena, and Dissertations*, Oxford, v. y.; two papers by Dr. Robinson in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1845; and Clausen, *Tabulae Synopticae*, Havniae, 1829. Special works, such as Dean Trench on the Parables and on the Miracles, have also been consulted; and detached monographs, sermons, and essays in periodicals. For the text of the Gospels, the 7th edition of Tischendorf's Greek Text has been employed. [W. T.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The above article was published in 1863, when the literature was already enormous. It was written, therefore, before the appearance of Renan's *Vie de Jésus* (1863), of Strauss' new and more popular work, *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk gearbeitet* (1864), of Schenkel's *Characterbild Jesu* (1864), of Keim's *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara* (1867–72), of Renan's *Les Évangiles* (1877), and of the countless writings which these five works have inspired or provoked. The best source of information respecting this overwhelming literature is the summary made by Hase in his *Leben Jesu* (5th ed. 1865; Eng. tr. by Clarke, Boston, 1881) and in his *Geschichte Jesu* (1875). The list of authorities in Edersheim's *Life and Times of the Messiah* (2nd ed. 1886) and in Farrar's *Life of Christ* (24th ed. 1891), with the literary sketch at the end of the articles on JESUS CHRIST in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* (2nd ed. 1880) and in the *Encycl. Britan.* (9th ed. 1881), will be found useful. Schaff's *History of the Church; Apostolic Christianity*, i. pp. 90–99 (2nd ed. 1883), contains a discriminating list of leading works: see also Zoeckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, I. ii. pp. 184–188 (3rd ed. 1889). Both these notice primitive sources as well as modern literature; and Zoeckler adds information about mediæval works (for which see Rippold's *Leben Jesu im Mittelalter*, Bern, 1884) and about the Reformation period. For literature on the historical, chronological, and geographical questions which beset the subject, Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (1885; Eng. tr., *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Edinb. 1885–90) is indispensable: the bibliographical information given throughout the volumes is immense. See also Edersheim, *History of the Jewish Nation* (1892).

Only a brief outline of the literature which led up to the crisis provoked by Strauss, and which that crisis in turn produced, will be attempted here. It takes us back to the Deistical controversy; for which see A. S. Farrar's *Bampton Lectures*, 1862, esp. Lect. vi. and vii. with the notes. The sceptical and sometimes scurrilous rationalism of Woolston (1733), Chubb (1747), and Reimarus (1768) was followed by the "natural" explanations of Bahrdt (1782, 1784), Venturini (1800), and Paulus (1828); who were answered by Hess (1774, 8th ed. 1823), Reinhard (1781, 5th ed. 1830; Eng. tr. 1831), Herder (1796), and Ullmann (1828). Ullmann's *Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu* (7th ed. 1864; Eng. tr. 1870) remains one of the best treatises on the subject. Schleiermacher's *Vorlesungen über das Leben Jesu* were delivered in and before 1832 at Berlin, where Strauss attended them, and were published from his pupils' notes long after the author's death (1864). He maintained the sinlessness of Jesus, but denied the miraculous birth. The first

Leben Jesu of Strauss (1835) was answered on the Protestant side by W. Hoffmann, Harless, Sack, &c. in 1836; Tholuck, Hamb. 1837; Neander, Hamb. 1837 (7th ed. Gotha, 1873; Eng. tr. 1848); Ebrard, Frankf. 1842 (3rd ed. 1868; abridged Eng. tr. 1869); Lange, Heidelb. 1868 (still of great value; Eng. tr. 1869); &c., &c. Roman Catholic replies by F. Baader, 1836; Kuhn, Tübing. 1838; Hug, Frankf. 1841 (2nd ed. 1854); Sepp, Regensb. 1843 (mixed with legend; 2nd ed. 1865); Bucher, Stuttg. 1859; &c. The title of most of these works is *Das Leben Jesu*, with or without addition. Among the chief disciples of Strauss are Weisse (1838, 1856), Gfrörer (1838), Salvator (Paris, 1838), Hennell (*Researches concerning the Origin of Christianity*, Lond. 1838), Lützelberger (1840), Volkmar (1857), Lang (1872). Volkmar in his *Jesus Nazarenus* (1881) has gathered together all the main results of radically destructive criticism. Against Strauss, Renan, Schenkel, and their disciples we have, among Protestants, Ewald, Götting. 1855 (3rd ed. 1867, vol. v. of his *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*; Eng. tr. vol. vi.); Lichtenstein, Erlang. 1856; Riggenbach, Bas. 1858 (commended); Baumgarten, Braunschw. 1859; Ellicott, *Hulsean Lectures*, 1859 (useful notes; 6th ed. 1876); Bushnell, *The Character of Jesus*, New York, 1859; Andrews, New York, 1863 (best American Life; new ed. 1892); Oosterzee, Utrecht, 1863; Beyschlag, Haar, Luthardt, Schulze, with Scherer and Coquerel, all in 1864; Schaff, *The Person of Christ*, Boston, 1865 (12th ed. 1882: often translated); Pressensé, Paris, 1865; Plumptre, *Boyle Lectures*, 1866; Steinmeyer, *Apologetische Beiträge*, 1866–73 (of some importance); Schiekopp, 1867 (against Keim); Delitzsch, *Jesus und Hillel*, 1867 (3rd ed. 1879), *Handwerkersleben zur Zeit Jesu*, 1875 (Eng. tr. 1877), *Ein Tag in Kapernaum*, 1871; &c. Among Roman Catholics, Freppel, Paris, 1863; Passaglia, Michelis, Deutinger, and Haneberg, all in 1864; Dupanloup, Paris, 1870; Bougaud, *Le Christianisme et les temps présents*, Paris, 1871 (3rd ed. 1877); Schegg, 1874; Grimm, 1876; &c. Strauss himself was one of the keenest critics of Schenkel (as previously of Paulus) in *Die Halben und die Ganzen*, Berl. 1865. Uhlhorn gives a popular and clear account of the main features of Strauss, Renan, Schenkel, Keim, Delff, and others in *Das Leben Jesu in seinen neueren Darstellungen*, Stuttg. 1892. Lichtenberger supplies much information about many of the writers mentioned above in his *Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne*, Paris, 1873, 2nd ed. 1888; Eng. tr. *History of German Theology*, Edinb. 1889: see also Hagenbach's *Kirchengesch. des 18ten und 19ten Jahrh.* 1856; Eng. tr. New York, 1869. In England *Ecce Homo*, Lond. 1864 [attributed to J. R. Seeley], produced a considerable literature of its own.

Since 1880 works on Jesus Christ have had less reference to Strauss, Renan, and the Tübingen School. Most of the following are positive and in the main orthodox; and where no title is given it may be assumed that the book is a Life of Jesus. Quite the most important is that of B. Weiss, Berl. 1882 (3rd ed. 1888; Eng. tr. Edinb. 1883; critical and boldly constructive); Steinmeyer, *Beiträge zur Christologie*, 1882; Edersheim, Lond. 1883 (2nd ed. 1886; strong, but not infallible, in Jewish lore; abridged by Sanday, 1890); Seidel, Leipz. 1882 (popular, but solid); Canus, Paris, 1883 (2nd ed. 1887; Rom. Cath.); Zündel, *Jesus in Bildern aus seinem Leben*, Zür. 1885; Usteri, *Die Selbstbezeichnung Jesu als des Menschen Sohn*, Zür. 1886 (the title expresses His mission, not His nature); Gess, *Christi Person und Werk*, Bas. 1887 (important; strongly emphasises the *Kenosis*); Friedlieb, Münst. 1887 (Rom. Cath.); Schanz, *Apologie d. Christenthums*, Freib. 1888 (Rom. Cath.); Beyschlag, 2nd ed. 1888; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, Strassb. 1888 (full as to the Messianic expectations of the time); Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagogue*, Berl. 1888; Latham, *Pastor Pastorum or the Schooling of the Apostles by our Lord*, Camb. 1890 (excellent); Noesgen, *Gesch. d. neutestamentlichen Offenbarung*, Münch. 1891 (conservative); Didon, Paris, 1891 (important; eloquent, stately, and firmly doctrinal, but not very critical); Fouard, Paris, 7th ed. 1891 (more critical than Didon, but inferior); Laible, *Jesus Christus im Thalmud*, Berl. 1891 (useful collection of notices of Jesus in the Talmud). For articles in magazines and reviews, see Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*, Lond. 1883 and 1888: for literature in which the Fourth Gospel is specially concerned, see Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, Lond. 1890, esp. v. and vi., and Sanday's papers in the *Expositor*, 1892. [A. P.]

JE'THER (יֶתֶר). **1.** (Ἰοθόρ; *Jethro.*) Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is so called in Ex. iv. 18 and the margin of A. V., though in the Heb.-Sam. text and Sam. Version the reading is יתרו, as in the Syriac and Targ. Jon., one of Kennicott's MSS., and a MS. of Targ. Onk., No. 16 in De Rossi's collection.

2. (Ἰεθέρ; *Jether.*) The firstborn of Gideon's seventy sons, who were all, with the exception of Jotham, the youngest, slain at Ophrah by Abimelech. At the time of his father's victorious pursuit of the Midianites and capture of their kings he was still a lad on his first battle-field, and feared to draw his sword at Gideon's bidding, and avenge, as the representative of the family, the slaughter of his kinsmen at Tabor (Judg. viii. 20).

3. (BA. Ἰεθλὲρ in 1 K. ii. 5, 32; B. Ἰοθόρ, A. Ἰεθέρ, in 1 Ch. ii. 17; *Jether.*) The father of Amasa, captain-general of Absalom's army. Jether is merely another form of Ithra (2 Sam. xvii. 25), the latter being probably a corruption. He is described in 1 Ch. ii. 17 as an Ishmaelite, which again is more likely to be correct than the "Israelite" of the Heb. in 2 Sam. xvii. (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco). Josephus calls him Ἰεθάρης (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 1). He married Abigail, David's sister, probably during the sojourn of the family of Jesse in the land of Moab, under the protection of its king.

4. The son of Jada, a descendant of Hezron, of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. ii. 32). He died without children, and being the eldest son the succession fell to his brother's family.

5. The son of Ezra, whose name occurs in a dislocated passage in the genealogy of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 17). In the LXX. the name is repeated: "and Jether begat Meon," &c. By the

author of the *Quaest. Hebr. in Par.* he is said to have been Aaron, Ezra being another name for Amram.

6. (B. Ἰεθήρ, A. Ἰεθέρ.) The chief of a family of warriors of the line of Asher, and father of Jephunneh (1 Ch. vii. 38). He is probably the same as Ithran in the preceding verse (B. Θερά). One of Kennicott's MSS. and the LXX, A. had Jether in both cases. [W. A. W.]

JETHE'TH (יְתֵת: in Gen. A. Ἰεβέρ, D^{m}. Ἰεθέρ; in Ch. B. Ἰεθέτ, A. Ἰεθέθ : *Jetheth*), one of the phylarchs (A. V. "dukes") who came of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 40; 1 Ch. i. 51), enumerated separately from the genealogy of Esau's children in the earlier part of the chapter, "according to their families, after their places, by their names," and "according to their habitations in the land of their possession" (*vv.* 40–3). This record of the Edomite phylarchs may point specially to the places and habitations, or towns, named after or occupied by them; and even otherwise, we may look for some trace of their names, after the custom of the wandering tribes to leave such footprints in the changeless desert. Identifications of several in the list have been proposed: Jetheth, as far as the writer knows, has not been yet recovered. He may perhaps be found if with Gesenius (*Thesaur.* s. v.) we adopt the likely suggestion of Simonis, יְתֵדָת = יְתֵדָת, "a peg," "a tent-pin" (and metaphorically "a prince" or "chief," like the masculine form יָתֵד, Zech. x. 4; cp. Is. xxii. 23) = Arab. وَتِد *watid*, "a peg," which is said to be used in the like metaphorical sense. Al-Watidah, الوَتِدة (n. of unity of the former), is a place in Nag'd, said to be in the Dahnā (see ISHBAK); there is also a place called Al-Watid; and Al-Watidāt (perhaps pl. of the first-named), which is the name of mountains belonging to Banū 'Abd-Allah Ibn Ghatafān (*Marāsid*, s. vv.). The objection is (1) that Jetheth is a doubtful word in the Hebrew text itself, as is clear from the LXX. Jeber, with which might be compared يِبْرِين, *Jabrīn*, a place E. of *Yemāma*; (2) Central Arabia is a long way from the original settlements of the tribes of Esau-Edom.

[E. S. P.] [C. J. B.]

JETH-LAH (יִתְלָה, *i.e.* Jithlah; Σειλαθά, B. Σειλαθά, A. Ἰεθλά; *Jethela*), one of the cities of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), named with Ajalon, Elon, and Thimnathah. In the *Onomasticon* it is mentioned, without any description or indication of position, as Ἰεθλάν (*OS.*² p. 269, 78). The site is not certainly known, but Conder has suggested *Beit Tûl*, 3 miles S.E. of *Yâlo*, Ajalon (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 43). [G.] [W.]

JE'THRO (יִתְרוֹ, *i.e.* Jithro; Ἰοθόρ), called also Jether and Hobab, the son of REUEL, was priest or prince of Midian, both offices probably being combined in one person. Moses spent the forty years of his exile from Egypt, or part of them, with him, and married his daughter Zipporah. By the advice of Jethro, Moses appointed deputies to judge the congregation and share the burden of government with himself (Ex. xviii.). On account of his local knowledge he was entreated to remain with the Israelites throughout their journey to Canaan; his room however was supplied by the Ark of the covenant, which supernaturally indicated the places for encamping (Num. x. 31, 33). The idea conveyed by the name of Jethro or Jether is probably that of *excellence;* and as Hobab may be connected with *loving* or *beloved*, it is quite possible that both appellations were given to the same person for similar reasons. That the custom of having more than one name was common among the Jews we see in the case of Benjamin, Benoni; Solomon, Jedidiah, &c. &c.

It is said in Ex. ii. 18 that the priest of Midian whose daughter Moses married was Reuel; afterwards, at ch. iii. 1, he is called Jethro, as also in ch. xviii.; but in Num. x. 29 "Hobab the son of Raguel the Midianite" is called Moses' father-in-law: assuming the identity of Hobab and Jethro, we must suppose that "Reuel, their father," in Ex. ii. 18, was really their grandfather, and that the person who said, "How is it that ye are come so soon to-day?" was the priest of *v.* 16: whereas, proceeding on the hypothesis that Jethro and Hobab are not the same individual, it seems difficult to determine the relationship of Reuel, Jethro, Hobab, and Moses. The hospitality, freehearted and unsought, which Jethro at once extended to the unknown homeless wanderer, on the relation of his daughters that he had watered their flock, is a picture of Eastern manners no less true than lovely. We may perhaps suppose that Jethro, before his acquaintance with Moses, was not a worshipper of the true God. Traces of this appear in the delay which Moses had suffered to take place with respect to the circumcision of his son (Ex. iv. 24–26): indeed it is even possible that Zipporah had afterwards been subjected to a kind of divorce (Ex. xviii. 2, שִׁלּוּחֶיהָ), on account of her attachment to an alien creed, but that growing convictions were at work in the mind of Jethro, from the circumstance of Israel's continued prosperity, till at last, acting upon these, he brought back his daughter, and declared that his impressions were confirmed, for "*now* he knew that the Lord was greater than all gods, for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly He was above them:" consequently we are told that "Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for *God:* and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law *before God;*" as though to celebrate the event of his conversion. Whether or not the account given at Num. x. 29–32 refers to this same event, the narrative at Ex. xviii. 27 coincides with Hobab's own words at Num. x. 30; and, comparing the two, we may suppose that Moses did not prevail upon his father-in-law to stay with the congregation. Calvin (*in 5 lib. Mosis Comment.*) understands *vv.* 31, 32 thus: "Thou hast gone with us hitherto, and hast been to us instead of eyes; and now what profit is it to thee if, having suffered so many troubles and difficulties, thou dost not go on with us to inherit the promised

blessing?" And Matthew Henry imagines that Hobab complied with this invitation, and that traces of the settlement of his posterity in the land of Canaan are apparent at Judg. i. 16 and 1 Sam. xv. 6. Some, and among them Calvin, take Jethro and Reuel to be identical, and call Hobab the *brother-in-law* of Moses. The present punctuation of the English Bible does not warrant this. Why, at Judg. i. 16, Moses' father-in-law is called קֵינִי (Kenite, cp. Gen. xv. 19), or why, at Num. xii. 1, Zipporah, if it be Zipporah, as indeed does not seem probable, is called כֻּשִׁית, A. V. Ethiopian, is not clear. Those who see in the apparent discrepancies of the existing kind evidence of separate and independent narratives must account for their place and connexion as well as for the fact of their combination in it.

The Mohammedan name of Jethro is Shoaib (Koran 7 and 11). There is a tale in the Midrash that Jethro was a counsellor of Pharaoh, who tried to dissuade him from slaughtering the Israelitish children, and consequently, on account of his clemency, was forced to flee into Midian, but was rewarded by becoming the father-in-law of Moses (see Weil's *Biblical Legends*, p. 93, note). [JETHER; HOBAB.] [S. L.]

JETU'R (יְטוּר: in Gen. B. Ἰετούρ, *DE.* Ἰεττούρ; in 1 Ch. i., BA. Ἰεττούρ; in v., B. Τουραῖοι, A. Ἰτουραῖοι: *Jethur*), Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Ch. i. 31, v. 19. [ITURAEA.]

JE-U-EL. **1.** (יְעוּאֵל; B. Ἐπιήλ, A. Ἰεήλ; *Jeuel.*) A chief man of Judah, one of the Bene-Zerah; apparently at the time of the first settlement in Jerusalem (1 Ch. ix. 6; cp. 2). [JEIEL.]

2. (B. Γεουήλ, A. Ἰεουήλ; *Gebel.*) One of the Bene-Adonikam who returned to Jerusalem with Esdras (1 Esd. viii. 39). [JEIEL.]

JEU'SH (יְעוּשׁ; *Jehus, Jaus*).

1. Son of Esau, by Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the son of Zibeon the Hivite (Gen. xxxvi. 5 [A. Ἰεούς, E. Ἰεσβούς], 14 [A. Ἰεύς, *DE.* Ἰεούς], 18 [A. Ἰεούλ, D. Ἰεουήλ, E. Ἰεούς]; 1 Ch. i. 35 [BA. Ἰεούλ]). It appears from Gen. xxxvi. 20–25, that Anah is a man's name (not a woman's, as might be thought from *v.* 2), and, by comparison with *v.* 2, that the Horites were Hivites. Jeush was one of the Edomitish dukes (*v.* 18). The Kethib has repeatedly יְעִישׁ, Jeish.

2. (B. Ἰαούς, A. Ἰεώς.) Head of a Benjamite house, which existed in David's time, son of Bilhan, son of Jediael (1 Ch. vii. 10, 11).

3. (BA. Ἰῶας.) A Levite, of the house of Shimei, of the family of the Gershomites. He and his brother Beriah were reckoned as one house in the census of the Levites taken in the reign of David (1 Ch. xxiii. 10, 11).

4. (B. Ἰαούθ, A. om.) Son of Rehoboam king of Judah, by Abihail, the daughter of Eliab, the son of Jesse (2 Ch. xi. 18, 19). [A. C. H.]

JEU'Z (יְעוּץ; B. Ἰδώς, A. Ἰεούς; *Jehus*), head of a Benjamite house, in an obscure genealogy (1 Ch. viii. 10), apparently son of Shaharaim and Hodesh his third wife, and born in Moab. [A. C. H.]

JEW (יְהוּדִי; Ἰουδαῖος; *Judaeus*, i.e. Judaean; Ἰουδαΐζω, Esth. viii. 17; Ἰουδαϊσμός, 2 Macc. ii. 21). This name was properly applied to a member of the kingdom of Judah after the separation of the ten tribes. In this sense it occurs twice in the Second Book of Kings (2 K. xvi. 6, xxv. 25), and seven times in the later chapters of Jeremiah (xxxii. 12, xxxiv. 9 [in connexion with Hebrew], xxxviii. 19, xl. 12, xli. 3, xliv. 1, lii. 28). After the Return the word received a larger application. Partly from the predominance of the members of the old kingdom of Judah among those who returned to Palestine, partly from the identification of Judah with the religious ideas and hopes of the people, all the members of the new state were called Jews (Judaeans), and the name was extended to the remnants of the race scattered throughout the nations (Dan. iii. 8, 12; Ezra iv. 12, 23; Neh. i. 2, ii. 16, v. 1, &c.; Esth. iii. 4 sq., &c. Cp. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5, § 7, ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα [Ἰουδαῖοι] ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνεβῆσαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς . . .).

Under the name of "Judaeans," the people of Israel were known to classical writers. The most famous and interesting notice by a heathen writer is that of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2 sq.; cp. Orelli's *Excursus*). The trait of extreme exclusiveness with which he specially charged them is noticed by many other writers (Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 103; Diod. Sic. *Ecl.* 34, 1; Quint. *Inst.* iii. 7, 21). The account of Strabo (xvi. pp. 760 sq.) is more favourable (cp. Just. xxxvi. 2), but it was impossible that a stranger could clearly understand the meaning of Judaism as a disciple and preparation for a universal religion (F. C. Meier, *Judaica seu veterum scriptorum profanorum de rebus Judaicis fragmenta*, Jenae, 1832).

The force of the title Ἰουδαῖος is seen particularly in the Gospel of St. John. While the other Evangelists scarcely ever use the word except in the title "King of the Jews" (as given by Gentiles),[a] St. John, standing within the boundary of the Christian age, very rarely uses any other term to describe the opponents of our Lord. The name, indeed, appeared at the close of the Apostle's life to be the true antithesis to Christianity, as describing the limited and definite form of a national religion; but at an earlier stage of the progress of the faith, it was contrasted with Greek (Ἕλλην) as implying an outward covenant with God (Rom. i. 16, ii. 9, 10; Col. iii. 11, &c.). In this sense it was of wider application than *Hebrew*, which was the correlative of *Hellenist* [HELLENIST], and marked a division of language subsisting within the entire body, and at the same time less expressive than *Israelite*, which brought out with especial clearness the privileges and hopes of the children of Jacob (2 Cor. xi. 22; John i. 47; 1 Macc. i. 43, 53, and often).

The history of Judaism is divided by Jost—the most profound writer who has investigated it—into two great eras: the first extending to the close of the collections of the oral laws, 536

[a] The exceptions are, Matt. xxviii. 15 (a note of the Evangelist of later date than the substance of the Gospel); Mark vii. 3 (a similar note); Luke vii. 3 xxiii. 51.

B.C.—600 A.D.; the second reaching to the present time. According to this view, the first is the period of original development, the second of formal construction; the one furnishes the constituent elements, the second the varied shape of the present faith. But as far as Judaism was a great stage in the Divine revelation, its main interest closes with the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. From that date its present living force was stayed, and its history is a record of the human shapes in which the Divine truths of earlier times were enshrined and hidden. The old age (*αἰών*) passed away, and the new age began when the Holy City was finally wrested from its citizens and the worship of the Temple closed.

Yet this shorter period from the Return to the destruction of Jerusalem was pregnant with great changes. Four different dynasties in succession directed the energies and influenced the character of the Jewish nation. The dominion of Persia (536–333 B.C.), of Greece (333–167 B.C.), of the Asmonaeans (167–63 B.C.), of the Herods (40 B.C.–70 A.D.) sensibly furthered in various ways the discipline of the people of God, and prepared the way for a final revelation. An outline of the characteristic features of the several periods is given in other articles. Briefly it may be said that the supremacy of Persia was marked by the growth of organisation, order, ritual [CYRUS; DISPERSION OF THE JEWS], that of Greece by the spread of liberty and speculation [ALEXANDER; ALEXANDRIA; HELLENISTS], that of the Asmonaeans by the strengthening of independence and faith [MACCABEES], that of the Herods by the final separation of the elements of temporal and spiritual dominion into antagonistic systems [HEROD]; and so at length the inheritance of six centuries, painfully won in times of exhaustion and persecution and oppression, was transferred to the treasury of the Christian Church. [B. F. W.]

JEW (יְהוּדִי), JEWS (יְהוּדִים, Ch. יְהוּדָאִין in Ezra and Dan.). Originally "man or men of Judah." The term first makes its appearance just before the Captivity of the ten tribes, and then is used to denote the men of Judah who held Elath, and were driven out by Rezin king of Syria (2 K. xvi. 6). Elath had been taken by Azariah or Uzziah, and made a colony of Judah (2 K. xiv. 22). The men of Judah in prison with Jeremiah (Jer. xxxii. 12) are called "Jews" in our A. V., as are those who deserted to the Chaldeans (Jer. xxxviii. 19), and the fragments of the tribe which were dispersed in Moab, Edom, and among the Ammonites (Jer. xl. 11). Of these latter were the confederates of Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, who were of the blood-royal of Judah (Jer. xli. 3). The fugitives in Egypt (Jer. xliv. 1) belonged to the two tribes, and were distinguished by the name of the more important; and the same general term is applied to those who were carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. lii. 28, 30) as well as to the remnant which was left in the land (2 K. xxv. 25; Neh. i. 2, ii. 16, &c.). That the term *Yĕhūdī* or "Jew" was in the latter history used of the members of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin without distinction is evident from the case of Mordecai, who, though of the tribe of Benjamin, is called a Jew (Esth. ii. 5, &c.), while the people of the Captivity are called "the people of Mordecai" (Esth. iii. 6). After the Captivity the appellation was universally given to those who returned from Babylon. [W. A. W.]

JEWEL. [PRECIOUS STONES.]

JEWESS (Ἰουδαία; *Judaea*), a woman of Hebrew birth, without distinction of tribe (Acts xvi. 1, xxiv. 24). It is applied in the former passage to Eunice the mother of Timothy, who was unquestionably of Hebrew origin (cp. 2 Tim. iii. 15), and in the latter to Drusilla, the wife of Felix and daughter of Herod Agrippa I.

JEWISH (Ἰουδαϊκός; *Judaicus*), of or belonging to Jews: an epithet applied to the Rabbinical legends against which the elder Apostle warns his younger brother (Tit. i. 14).

JEWRY (יְהוּד; Ἰουδαία; *Judaea*), the same word elsewhere rendered Judah and Judaea. It occurs but once in the O. T., Dan. v. 13, in which verse the Chaldee is translated both by Judah and Jewry: the A. V. retaining the latter as it stands in Coverdale, Tyndale, and the Geneva Bible. The variation possibly arose from a too faithful imitation of the Vulg., which has *Juda and Judaea*. Jewry comes to us through the Norman-French, and is of frequent occurrence in Old English. It is found besides in 1 Esd. i. 32, ii. 4, iv. 49, v. 7, 8, 57, vi. 1, viii. 81, ix. 3; Bel, 33; 2 Macc. x. 24; Luke xxiii. 5; John vii. 1. In the N. T. the earlier English Versions have generally Jewry (*Jurie*) for Judaea.

JEWS' LANGUAGE, IN THE (יְהוּדִית). Literally "Jewishly:" for the Hebrew must be taken adverbially, as in the LXX. (Ἰουδαϊστί) and Vulgate (*Judaicè*). The term is only used of the language of the two southern tribes after the Captivity of the northern kingdom (2 K. xviii. 26, 28; 2 Ch. xxxii. 18; Is. xxxvi. 11, 13), and of that spoken by the captives who returned (Neh. xiii. 24). It therefore denotes as well the pure Hebrew as the dialect acquired during the Captivity, which was characterised by Aramaic forms and idioms. Elsewhere (Is. xix. 18) in the poetical language of Isaiah it is called "the lip of Canaan."

JEWS' RELIGION (2 Macc. viii. 1, xiv. 38; Gal. i. 14, 15).

JEZANI'AH (יְאַזַנְיָהוּ = יְזַנְיָהוּ = *Jehovah hears*: Βκ. Ἐζονίας, A. Ἰεζονίας in Jer. xl. 8: יַזַנְיָה; Ἀζαρίας in Jer. xlii. 1: *Jezonias*), the son of Hoshaiah, the Maachathite, and one of the captains of the forces, who had escaped from Jerusalem during the final attack of the beleaguering army of the Chaldaeans. In the consequent pursuit, which resulted in the capture of Zedekiah, the army was scattered from him and dispersed throughout the open country among the neighbouring Ammonites and Moabites, watching from thence the progress of events. When the Babylonians had departed, Jezaniah, with the men under his command, was one of the first who returned to Gedaliah at Mizpah. In the events which followed the assassination of that officer Jezaniah took a prominent part. He joined Johanan in the

pursuit of Ishmael and his murderous associates, and in the general consternation and distrust which ensued he became one of the foremost advocates of the migration into Egypt, so strongly opposed by Jeremiah. Indeed in their interview with the prophet at the Khan of Chimham, when words ran high, Jezaniah (there called Azariah) was apparently the leader in the dispute, and for once took precedence of Johanan (Jer. xliii. 2). In 2 K. xxv. 23 he is called Jaazaniah, in which form the name was easily corrupted into Azariah.

JEZ'EBEL (אִיזֶבֶל; LXX. and N. T. Ἰεζαβήλ; Joseph. Ἰεζαβδλη; *Jezebel:* probably a name, like *Agnes*, signifying "chaste," *sine coitu*, Gesenius *in voc.* [see Müller's conjecture in M.V.[11]]), wife of Ahab, king of Israel, and mother of Athaliah, queen of Judah, and Ahaziah and Joram, kings of Israel.[a] She was a Phoenician princess, daughter of "Ethbaal king of the Zidonians" (or Ithobal king of the Syrians and Sidonians, Menander *apud* Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13, § 2; *c. Apion.* i. 18). Her marriage with Ahab was a turning point in the history of Israel. Not only was the union with a Canaanitish wife unprecedented in the northern kingdom, but the character of the queen gave additional force and significance to what might else have been regarded merely as a commercial and political measure, natural to a king devoted, as was Ahab, to the arts of peace and the splendour of regal luxury. She was a woman in whom, with the reckless and licentious habits of an Oriental queen, were united the sternest and fiercest qualities inherent in the Phoenician people. The royal family of Tyre was remarkable at that time both for its religious fanaticism and its savage temper. Her father Ethbaal united with his royal office the priesthood of the goddess Astarte, and had come to the throne by the murder of his predecessor Phelles (Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 18). The next generation included within itself Sichaeus, or Matgenes, king and priest of Baal, the murderer Pygmalion, and Elisa or Dido, foundress of Carthage (*ib.*). Of this stock came Jezebel. In her hands her husband became a mere puppet (1 K. xxi. 25). Even after his death, through the reigns of his sons, her influence was the evil genius of the dynasty. Through the marriage of her daughter Athaliah with the king of Judah, it extended even to the rival kingdom. The wild license of her life, the magical fascination of her arts or of her character, became a proverb in the nation (2 K. ix. 22). Long afterwards her name lived as the byword for all that was execrable, and in the Apocalypse it is given to a church or an individual[b] in Asia Minor, combining in like manner fanaticism and profligacy (Rev. ii. 20). If we may trust the numbers of the text, she must have married Ahab before his accession. He reigned 22 years; and 12 years from that time her grandson Ahaziah was 21 years of age. Her daughter Athaliah must have been born therefore at least 37 years before.

The first effect of her influence was the immediate establishment of the Phoenician worship on a grand scale in the court of Ahab. At her table were supported no less than 450 prophets of Baal, and 400 of Astarte (1 K. xvi. 31, 32; xviii. 19). The prophets of Jehovah, who up to this time had found their chief refuge in the northern kingdom, were attacked by her orders and put to the sword (1 K. xviii. 13; 2 K. ix. 7). When at last the people, at the instigation of Elijah, rose against her ministers, and slaughtered them at the foot of Carmel, and when Ahab was terrified into submission, she alone retained her presence of mind; and when she received in the palace of Jezreel the tidings that her religion was all but destroyed (1 K. xix. 1), her only answer was one of those fearful vows which have made the leaders of Semitic nations so terrible whether for good or evil—expressed in a message to the very man who, as it might have seemed but an hour before, had her life in his power:—"As surely as *thou* art Elijah and as *I* am Jezebel (LXX.), so may God do to me and more also, if by this time tomorrow I make not thy life as the life of one of them" (1 K. xix. 2). Elijah, who had encountered undaunted the king and the whole force of the prophets of Baal, "feared" (LXX.) the wrath of the awful queen, and fled for his life beyond the furthest limits of Israel (1 K. xix. 3). [ELIJAH.]

The next instance of her power is still more characteristic and complete. When she found her husband cast down by his disappointment at being thwarted by Naboth, she took the matter into her own hands, with a spirit which reminds us of Clytemnestra or Lady Macbeth. "Dost *thou* now govern the kingdom of Israel? (play the king, ποιεῖς βασιλέα. LXX.). Arise and eat bread and let thine heart be merry, and *I* will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite" (1 K. xxi. 7). She wrote a warrant in Ahab's name, and sealed it with his seal. It was couched in the official language of the Israelite law—a solemn fast—witnesses—a charge of blasphemy—the authorized punishment of stoning. To her, and not to Ahab, was sent the announcement that the royal wishes were accomplished (1 K. xxi. 14), and she bade her husband go and take the vacant property; and on her accordingly fell the prophet's curse, as well as on her husband (1 K. xxi. 23).

We hear no more of her for a long period. But she survived Ahab by 14 years, and still, as queen-mother (after the Oriental custom), was a great personage in the court of her sons, and, as such, became the special mark for vengeance when Jehu advanced against Jezreel to overthrow the dynasty of Ahab. "What peace so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel

[a] Amongst the Spanish Jews the name of Jezebel was given to Isabella "the Catholic," in consequence of the detestation in which her memory was held as their persecutor (Ford's *Handbook of Spain*, 2nd ed. p. 486). Whether the name Isabella was originally connected with that of Jezebel is doubtful.

[b] According to the reading of AB. and the older Versions, it is τὴν γυναῖκα σοῦ, "thy wife." In that case she must be the wife of the "Angel;" and the expression would thus confirm the interpretation which makes "the Angel" to be the Bishop or presiding officer of the Church of Thyatira; and this woman would thus be his wife. Modern texts and critics, however, generally adopt the reading τὴν γυναῖκα, "the woman" (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco).

and her witchcrafts are so many?" (2 K. ix. 22). But in that supreme hour of her house the spirit of the aged queen rose within her, equal to the dreadful emergency. She was in the palace, which stood by the gate of the city, overlooking the approach from the east. Beneath lay the open space under the city walls. She determined to face the destroyer of her family, whom she saw rapidly advancing in his chariot.[c] She painted her eyelids in the Eastern fashion with antimony, so as to give a darker border to the eyes and make them look larger and brighter (Keil), possibly in order to induce Jehu, after the manner of Eastern usurpers, to take her, the widow of his predecessor, for his wife,[d] but more probably as the last act of regal splendour. She tired ("made good") her head, and, looking down upon him from the high latticed window in the tower (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4), she met him by an allusion to a former act of treason in the history of her adopted country, which conveys a different expression, according as we take one or other of the different interpretations given to it. (1) "Was there peace to Zimri, who slew his 'lord'?" as if to remind Jehu, now in the fulness of his triumph, how Omri, the founder of the dynasty which he was destroying, had himself come into power as the avenger of Zimri, who had murdered Baasha, as he now had murdered Jehoram; or (2) a direct address to Jehu, as a second Zimri: "Is it peace?" (following up the question of her son in 2 K. ix. 21). "Is it peace, O Zimri, slayer of his lord?" (So Keil and LXX. *ἡ εἰρήνη Ζαμβρὶ ὁ φονευτὴς τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ;*) Or (3) "Peace to Zimri, who slew his 'lord'"—(according to Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4, *καλὸς δοῦλος ὁ ἀποκτείνας τὸν δεσπότην*)—which again may be taken either as an ironical welcome, or (according to Ewald, iii. 166, 260) as a reminder that as Zimri had spared the seraglio of Baasha, so she was prepared to welcome Jehu. The general character of Jezebel, and the doubt as to the details of the history of Zimri, would lead us rather to adopt the sterner view of her speech. Jehu looked up from his chariot—and his answer, again, is variously given in the LXX. and in the Hebrew text. In the former he exclaims, "Who art *thou*?—Come down to me." In the latter, "Who is on my side, who?" In either case the issue is the same. Two or three eunuchs of the royal harem show their faces at the windows, and at his command dashed[e] the ancient princess down from the chamber. She fell immediately in front of the conqueror's chariot. The blood flew from her mangled corpse over the palace-wall behind, and over the advancing horses in front. The merciless destroyer passed on; and the last remains of life were trampled out by the horses' hoofs. The body was left in that open space called in modern Eastern language "the mounds," where offal is thrown from the city-walls. The dogs of Eastern cities, which prowl around these localities, and which the present writer met on this very spot by the modern village which occupies the site of Jezreel, pounced upon this unexpected prey. Nothing was left by them but the hard portions of the human skeleton, the skull, the hands, and the feet. Such was the sight which met the eyes of the messengers of Jehu, whom he had sent from his triumphal banquet, struck with a momentary feeling of compassion for the fall of so much greatness: "Go, see now this cursed woman and bury her, for she is a king's daughter." When he heard the fate of the body, he exclaimed in words which no doubt were long remembered as the epitaph of the greatest and wickedest of the queens of Israel: "This is the word of Jehovah, which He spake by His servant Elijah the Tishbite, saying, In the portion[f] of Jezreel shall 'the' dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel; and the carcase of Jezebel shall be as dung on the face of the earth; so that they shall not say, This is Jezebel" (2 K. ix. 36, 37). [A. P. S.]

JEZE'LUS (Ἰεζήλος; *Zecholeus*). **1.** The same as JAHAZIEL (1 Esd. viii. 32).

2. (*Jehelus.*) JEHIEL, the father of Obadiah (1 Esd. viii. 35).

JE'ZER (יֶצֶר = *formation*: Ἰσσααρ in Gen. xlvi. 24; B. Ἰεσέρ, A. Ἰεσρί, in Num. xxvi. 49; B. Ἰσσειήρ, A. Σαδρί, in 1 Ch. vii. 13: *Jeser*), the third son of Naphtali, and father of the family of the Jezerites, who were numbered in the plains of Moab.

JEZ'ERITES, THE (הַיִּצְרִי; B. ὁ Ἰεσερεί, A. ὁ Ἰεσρί, F. ὁ Ἰεσερί; *Jeseritae*). A family of the tribe of Naphtali, descendants of Jezer (Num. xxvi. 49).

JEZI'AH (יִזִּיָּה = *Jehovah makes to spring up* [MV.[11]]; B. Ἀζειά, א. Ἀδειά, A. Ἀζία; *Jezia*), properly Yizziyyah, a descendant of Parosh, and one of the laymen who, after the return from Babylon, had married strange wives, and at Ezra's bidding had promised to put them away (Ezra x. 25). In 1 Esd. ix. 26 he is called Eddias. The Syriac of Ezra reads *Jezaniah*.

JEZI'EL (יְזִיאֵל, *Qeri* יְזִיאֵל, which is the reading of some MSS.; B. Ἰωήλ, A. Ἀζιήλ; *Jaziel*), one of the skilled Benjamite archers or slingers who joined David in his retreat at Ziklag. He was probably the son of Azmaveth of Bahurim, one of David's heroes (1 Ch. xii. 3). In the Syriac Jeziel is omitted, and the sons of Azmaveth are there Pelet and Berachah.

JEZLI'AH (יִזְלִיאָה; B. Ζαρειά, A. Ἐζλιά), one of a long list of Benjamite heads of houses, sons of Elpaal, who dwelt at Jerusalem (1 Ch. viii. 18). [A. C. H.]

JEZO'AR (יִצְהָר; Σαδρ; *Isaar*), the son of Helah, one of the wives of Asher, the father or founder of Tekoa, and posthumous son of Hezron (1 Ch. iv. 7). The *Qeri* has וְצֹהַר "and Zohar," which was followed by the LXX. and by the A. V. of 1611.

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[c] A graphic conception of this scene occurs in Racine's *Athalie*, Act II. Sc. 5.

[d] According to the explanation of S. Ephrem Cyrus *ad loc.*

[e] שִׁמֵּם, "dash," as from a precipice (Ps. cxli. 6).

[f] חֶלְקַת, "smooth field."

JEZRAHI'AH (יִזְרַחְיָה = *Jehovah shines forth;* om. BN*A.; *Jezraïa*), a Levite, the leader of the choristers at the solemn dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42). The singers had built themselves villages in the environs of the city and the Oasis of the Jordan, and with the minstrels they gathered themselves together at the first summons to keep the dedication with gladness.

JEZ'RE-EL (יִזְרְעֶאל = *God will sow;* B. Ἀζραήλ, Ab. Ἰεζριήλ; *Jezrahel*), according to the received text, a descendant of the father or founder of Etam, of the line of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 3). But as the verse now stands, we must supply some such word as "families:" "these (are the families of) the father of Etam." Both the LXX. and Vulg. read בְּנֵי, "sons," for אֲבִי, "father," and six of Kennicott's MSS. have the same, while in two of De Rossi's the readings are combined. The Syriac is singularly different from all: "And these are the sons of Aminodob, Achizar'el, &c., Neshmo, and Dibosh," the last clause of *v.* 3 being entirely omitted. But, although the Syriac text of the Chronicles is so corrupt as to be of little authority in this case, there can be no doubt that the genealogy in *vv.* 3, 4 is so confused as to be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. Tremellius and Junius regard Etam as the proper name of a person, and Jezreel as one of his sons, while Bertheau considers them both names of places. The Targum on Chron. has, "And these are the Rabbis dwelling at Etam, Jezreel," &c. In *v.* 4 Hur is referred to as the ancestor of this branch of the tribe of Judah, and therefore, if the present text be adopted, we must read, "and these, viz. Abi-Etam, Jezreel," &c. But the probability is that in *v.* 3 a clause has been omitted.

[W. A. W.]

JEZ-RE-EL (יִזְרְעֶאל: LXX. Ἰεσραέλ, Ἰεζραέλ, Ἰεζραήλ, Ἐσραέ; B. Ἰαζήλ, Ἰσραήλ, Ἐξερεέλ; A. also Ἰεζαβέλ: *Jezrahel, Jezraël, Jesraël:* Joseph. Ἰεσράηλα, *Ant.* viii. 13, § 6; Ἰεσράελα, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4; Ἰζάρα,* *Ant.* viii. 15, §§ 4, 6; Ἐσδρήλωμ, or Ἐσδρήλων, Judith i. 8, iii. 9; B. Ἐσρηλών, A. Ἐσερηχῶ, Judith iv. 6; Eusebius, Ἐσδραηλά, s. v. Ἰεζραέλ [*OS.*² p. 268, 52]; Jerome, *Jezrahel* [*OS.*² p. 165, 14]; Bordeaux Pilgrim [*Itin. Hierosol.* p. 586], Latinized into *Stradela*). Its modern name is *Zer'in*, which is in fact the same word, and which first appears in William of Tyre (xxii. 26) as *Gerin* (*Gerinum*), and Benjamin of Tudela as *Zarzin*. The history of the identification of these names is well given in Robinson, *B. R.* 1st ed. iii. 163, 165, and is curious as an example of the tenacity of a local tradition, in spite of the carelessness of modern travellers. According to Eusebius and Jerome (*l. c.*), it was in the great plain between Legio, *Lejjûn*, and Scythopolis, *Beisân*. In the *Itin. Hierosol.* its distance from Scythopolis is given as xii. M.P.

The name is used in Josh. xvii. 16, Judg. vi. 33, 2 Sam. ii. 9 and (?) iv. 4, and Hos. i. 5, for the valley or plain between Gilboa and Little Hermon; and to this plain, in its widest extent, the general form of the name Esdraelon (first used in Judith i. 8) has been applied in modern times. It is probably from the richness of the plain that the name is derived, "God soweth," "God's sowing." For the events connected with this great battle-field of Palestine, see ESDRAELON.

In its more limited sense, as applied to the city, it first appears in Josh. xix. 18, where it is mentioned as a city of Issachar, in the neighbourhood of Chesulloth and Shunem; and it had citizens (1 K. xxi. 1–3), elders, and nobles, of its own (1 K. xxi. 8–11, 2 K. x. 1–11). But its historical importance dates from the reign of Ahab; who chose it for his chief residence, as Omri had chosen Samaria, and Baasha Tirzah.

The situation of the modern village of *Zer'in* still remains to show the fitness of his choice. It is on one of the gentle swells which rise out of the fertile plain of Esdraelon; but with two peculiarities which mark it out from the rest. One is its strength. On the N.E. the hill presents a steep rocky descent of at least 100 feet (Robinson, 1st ed. iii. 162; *PEF. Mem.* ii. 88; Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 311 sq.). The other is its central locality. It stands at the opening of the middle branch of the three eastern forks of the plain, and looks straight towards the wide western level; thus commanding the view towards the Jordan on the east (2 K. ix. 17), and visible from Carmel on the west (1 K. xviii. 45, 46).

In the neighbourhood, or within the town probably, was a temple and grove of Astarte, with an establishment of 400 priests supported by Jezebel (1 K. xvi. 33; 2 K. x. 11). The palace of Ahab (1 K. xxi. 1, xviii. 46), probably containing his "ivory house" (1 K. xxii. 39), was on the eastern side of the city, forming part of the city wall (cp. 1 K. xxi. 1; 2 K. ix. 25, 30, 33). The seraglio, in which Jezebel lived, was on the city wall, and had a high window facing eastward (2 K. ix. 30). Close by, if not forming part of this seraglio (as Josephus supposes, στᾶσα ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4), was a watch-tower, well known as "the tower in Jezreel," on which a sentinel stood, to give notice of arrivals from the disturbed district beyond the Jordan (2 K. ix. 17). The gateway of the city on the east was also the gateway of the palace (2 K. ix. 34). Immediately in front of the gateway, and under the city wall, was an open space, such as existed before the neighbouring city of Bethshan (2 Sam. xxi. 12), and is usually found by the walls of Eastern cities, under the name of "the mounds" (see *Arabian Nights*, passim), whence the dogs, the scavengers of the East, prowled in search of offal (2 K. ix. 25). Here Jezebel met with her end (2 K. ix. 35). [JEZEBEL.] A little further East, but adjoining to the royal domain (1 K. xxi. 1), was a smooth tract of land cleared out of the uneven valley (2 K. ix. 25), which belonged to Naboth, a citizen of Jezreel (2 K. ix. 25), by an hereditary right (1 K. xxi. 3); but the royal grounds were so near that it would have been easily turned into a garden of herbs for the royal use (1 K. xxi. 2, cp. *v.* 23). Here Elijah met Ahab, Jehu, and Bidkar (1 K. xxi. 17, 18); and here Jehu met Joram and Ahaziah (2 K. ix. 21, 25).

* In Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13, § 6, it is called Ἰεσράηλα, Ἰζάρου (Havercamp., Ἰσαχάρου) πόλις; in viii. 13, § 7, Ἰζάρου πόλις singly; in viii. 15, §§ 4, 6, Ἰζαρα. Various readings are given of Ἰεζαρά, Ἀκάρου, Ἀζάρου, Ἀζάρα.

[ELIJAH; JEHU.] Whether the *vineyard* of Naboth was here or at Samaria is a doubtful question. [NABOTH.] Jezreel is also mentioned in 1 Sam. xxix. 11; 1 K. iv. 12; 2 K. viii. 29, ix. 10, 15, 37; 2 Ch. xxii. 6.

Still in the same eastern direction are two springs, one half a mile, the other one and a half miles from the town. The former, *'Ain el-Meiyiteh*, issues from the rock, and affords a good supply of clear water. The latter, *'Ain Jālūd*, "flows from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, which here forms the base of Gilboa. The water is excellent; and issuing from crevices in the rocks, it spreads out at once into a fine limpid pool, 40 or 50 feet in diameter, full of fish" (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 168). The *'Ain Jālūd*, both from its size and situation, would appear to have been the spring known as "the (A. V. a) fountain which is in Jezreel" (1 Sam. xxix. 1), *i.e.* in the valley of Jezreel (cp. Josh. xvii. 6; 2 Sam. ii. 9, &c.). Perhaps also the *'Ain Jālūd* was the spring (A. V. well) of HAROD, where Gideon encamped before his night attack on the Midianites (Judg. vii. 1).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, §§ 4, 6), the fountain of Jezreel, and the pool attached to it, was the spot where Naboth and his sons were executed, where the dogs and swine licked up their blood and that of Ahab, and where the harlots bathed in the blood-stained water (LXX.). But the natural inference from the present text of 1 K. xxii. 38 makes the scene of these events to be the pool of Samaria. [See NABOTH.]

With the fall of the house of Ahab the glory of Jezreel departed. No other king is described as living there, and the name was so deeply associated with the family of its founder, that when the Divine retribution overtook the house of their destroyer, the eldest child of the prophet Hosea, who was to be a living witness of the coming vengeance, was called "Jezreel:" "for I will avenge the blood of *Jezreel* upon the house of Jehu . . . and at that day I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of *Jezreel*; . . . and great shall be the day of *Jezreel*" (Hos. i. 4, 5, 11). And then out of that day and place of humiliation the name is to go back to its original signification as derived from the beauty and fertility of the rich plain, and to become a pledge of the revived beauty and richness of Israel. "I will 'hear and answer' the heavens, and 'they will hear and answer' the earth, and the earth shall 'hear and answer' the corn and the wine and the oil [of that fruitful plain], and they shall 'hear and answer' *Jezreel* [that is, the seed of God], and *I* will *sow* her unto me in the earth" (Hos. ii. 22; see Ewald ad loc., and Gesenius *in voce Jezreel*). From this time the image seems to have been continued as a prophetical expression for the sowing the people of Israel, as it were broadcast; as though the whole of Palestine and the world were to become, in a spiritual sense, one rich plain of Jezreel. "I will *sow* them among the people, and they shall remember me in far countries" (Zech. x. 9). "Ye shall be tilled and *sown*, and I will multiply men upon you" (Ezek. xxxvi. 9, 10). "I will *sow* the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of men and with the seed of beast" (Jer. xxxi. 27). Hence the consecration of the image of "sowing," as it appears in the N. T., Matt. xiii. 2.

2. (B. Ἰαριήλ, A. Ἰεζδραὲλ in Josh.; B. Ἰσραηλεῖτις, A. Εἰζραηλεῖτις; A. Ἰζραηλεῖτις in 1 Sam. xxx.). A town in Judah, in the neighbourhood of the southern Carmel (Josh. xv. 56). Here David in his wanderings took Ahinoam the Jezreelitess for his first wife (1 Sam. xxvii. 3, xxx. 5). The site is unknown.

[A. P. S.] [W.]

JEZ-RE-EL (יִזְרְעֶאל; Ἰεζράελ; *Jezrahel*). The eldest son of the Prophet Hosea (Hos. i. 4), significantly so called because Jehovah said to the Prophet, "Yet a little while and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu," and "I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel." [W. A. W.]

JEZ'RE-ELITE (יִזְרְעֵאלִי: B. -ει-, A. -ιτης; once 2 K. ix. 21 Ἰζραηλίτης: *Jezrahelita*). An inhabitant of Jezreel (1 K. xxi. 1, 4, 6, 7, 15, 16; 2 K. ix. 21, 25). [W. A. W.]

JEZRE-ELI'TESS (יִזְרְעֵאלִית: B. Ἰσραηλεῖτις and -λιτης; A. Εἰζραηλεῖτις, Ἰζραηλεῖτις, Ἰσραηλῖτις: *Jezrahelitis, Jezräelites, Jezräelitis*). A woman of Jezreel (1 Sam. xxvii. 3, xxx. 5; 2 Sam. ii. 2, iii. 2; 1 Ch. iii. 1). [W. A. W.]

JIB'SAM, R. V. IB'SAM (יִבְשָׂם; Ἰεμασάν, B. Βασάν, A. Ἰεβασάν; *Jebsem*), one of the sons of Tola the son of Issachar, who were heads of their father's house and heroes of might in their generations (1 Ch. vii. 2). His descendants appear to have served in David's army, and with others of the same clan mustered to the number of upwards of 22,000.

JID'LAPH (יִדְלָף; A. Ἰελδάφ, D. om.; *Jedlaph*), a son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22), or a Nahorean; probably a chief and clan or tribe of the Nahorites (Arameans) who were settled at Harran (Carrhae) on the E. side of the Euphrates. See Ewald, *Hist. Isr.* i. 287, Eng. Tr. As to the meaning of the name Jidlaph, cp. the Aramaic ܝܕܠܦ, *yedlaph*, stillat, ܕܠܦ, *delphā*, stillatio, with Num. xxiv. 7, whence we may infer that the name signifies "prolific." [C. J. B.]

JIM'NA, R. V. IM'NAH (יִמְנָה; Ἰαμίν, A. Ἰαμείν; *Jemna*), the firstborn of Asher, represented in the numbering on the plains of Moab by his descendants the Jimnites (Num. xxvi. 44). He is elsewhere called in the A. V. JIMNAH (Gen. xlvi. 17) and IMNAH (1 Ch. vii. 30), the Hebrew in both instances being the same.

JIM'NAH, R. V. IM'NAH (יִמְנָה; Ἰεμνά, A. Ἰεμνά; *Jamne*) = JIMNA = IMNAH (Gen. xlvi. 17).

JIM'NITES, R. V. IM'NITES, THE (הַיִּמְנָה: *i.e.* the Jimnah; Sam. and one MS. הַיִּמְנִי: ὁ Ἰαμινί, B. Ἰαμεινεί, A. ὁ Ἰαμεινί: *Jemnattae*), descendants of the preceding (Num. xxvi. 44).

JIPH'TAH, R. V. IPH'TAH (יִפְתָּח, *i.e.* Yiftāch; B. omits, A. Ἰεφθά; *Jephtha*), one of the cities of Judah in the maritime lowland, or Shefelah (Josh. xv. 43). It is named in the

same group with Mareshah, Nezib, and others. Both the last-mentioned places have been discovered, the former to the south, the latter to the east of *Beit Jibrîn*, not as we should expect on the plain, but in the mountains. Here Jiphtah may some day be found, though it has not yet been met with. [G.] [W.]

JIPH'THAH-EL, R. V. IPH'TAH-EL, THE VALLEY OF (גֵּי יִפְתַּח־אֵל: Γαιφαήλ, ἐκ Γαὶ καὶ Φθαιήλ; A. Γαὶ Ἰεφθαήλ, ἐν Γαὶ Ἰεφθαήλ: *vallis Jephtahel*), a valley which served as one of the land-marks for the boundary both of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 14) and Asher (*v.* 27). The position of this ravine, *Gai*, is not known. Robinson suggested (*Later Res.* p. 107) that Jiphthah-el was identical with Jotapata, the city which so long withstood Vespasian (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 7), and that they survive in the modern *Jefat*, a village in the mountains of Galilee, half-way between the Bay of Acre and the Lake of Gennesareth. But this is too far to the south. Conder (*Hbk.* p. 267) with more probability identifies it with the valley running from the plain of *Râmeh* to the sea. Conder has also suggested (*PEF.Qy. Stat.* 1883, p. 137) *Wâdy el-Kurn*; but this valley lies to the north of the ridge that so sharply separated Upper from Lower Galilee, and possibly marked the northern limit of Zebulun. [G.] [W.]

JO'AB (יוֹאָב = *Jehovah-father*; Ἰωάβ; *Joab*).

1. The eldest and most remarkable of the three nephews of David, the children of Zeruiah, David's sister. Their father is unknown,[a] but seems to have resided at Bethlehem, and to have died before his sons, as we find mention of his sepulchre at that place (2 Sam. ii. 32). They all exhibit the activity and courage of David's constitutional character. But they never rise beyond this to the nobler qualities which lift him above the wild soldiers and chieftains of the time. Asahel, who was cut off in his youth, and seems to have been the darling of the family, is only known to us from his gazelle-like agility (2 Sam. ii. 18). Abishai and Joab are alike in their implacable revenge. Joab, however, combines with these ruder qualities something of a more statesman-like character, which brings him more nearly to a level with his youthful uncle; and unquestionably gives him the second place in the whole history of David's reign.

I. He first appears after David's accession to the throne at Hebron, thus differing from his brother Abishai, who was already David's companion during his wanderings (1 Sam. xxvi. 6). He with his two brothers went out from Hebron at the head of David's "servants," or guards, to keep a watch on the movements of Abner, who with a considerable force of Benjamites had crossed the Jordan, and come as far as Gibeon, perhaps on a pilgrimage to the sanctuary. The two parties sat opposite each other, on each side of the tank by that city. Abner's challenge, to which Joab assented, led to a desperate struggle between twelve champions from either side. [GIBEON.] The left-handed Benjamites, and the right-handed men of Judah—their sword-hands thus coming together—seized each his adversary by the head, and the whole number fell by the mutual wounds they received.

This roused the blood of the rival tribes; a general encounter ensued; Abner and his company were defeated, and in his flight, being hard pressed by the swift-footed Asahel, he reluctantly killed the unfortunate youth. The expressions which he uses, "Wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? how then should I hold up my face to Joab thy brother?" (2 Sam. ii. 22), imply that up to this time there had been a kindly, if not a friendly, feeling between the two chiefs. It was rudely extinguished by this deed of blood. The other soldiers of Judah, when they came up to the dead body of their young leader, halted, struck dumb by grief. But his two brothers, on seeing the corpse, only hurried on with greater fury in the pursuit. At sunset the Benjamite force rallied round Abner,[b] and he then made an appeal to the generosity of Joab not to push the war to extremities. Joab reluctantly consented, drew off his troops, and returned, after the loss of only nineteen men, to Hebron. They took the corpse of Asahel with them, and on the way halted at Bethlehem in the early morning, or at dead of night, to inter it in their family burial-place (2 Sam. ii. 32).

But Joab's revenge on Abner was only postponed. He had been on another of these predatory excursions from Hebron, when he was informed on his return that Abner had in his absence paid a visit to David, and been received into favour (2 Sam. iii. 23). He broke out into a violent remonstrance with the king, and then, without David's knowledge, immediately sent messengers after Abner, who was overtaken by them at the well of Sirah, according to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, § 5), about two miles from Hebron.[c] Abner, with the unsuspecting generosity of his noble nature, returned at once. Joab and Abishai met him in the gateway of the town; Joab took him aside (2 Sam. iii. 27), as if with a peaceful intention, and then struck him a deadly blow "under the fifth rib." It is possible that with the passion of vengeance for his brother may have been mingled the fear lest Abner should supplant him in the king's favour. David burst into passionate invective and imprecations on Joab when he heard of the act, and forced him to appear in sackcloth and torn garments at the funeral (iii. 31). But it was an intimation of Joab's power which David never forgot. The awe in which he stood of the sons of Zeruiah cast a shade over the whole remainder of his life (iii. 39).

II. There was now no rival left in the way of Joab's advancement, and soon the opportunity occurred for his legitimate accession to the highest post that David could confer. At the siege of Jebus, the king offered the office of chief of the army, now grown into a "host," to

[a] By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, § 3) his name is given as Suri (Σουρί); but this may be merely a repetition of Saruiah (Σαρουία).

[b] The word describing the halt of Abner's band, and rendered "troop" in the A. V. and "band" in the R. V. (2 Sam. ii. 25), is an unusual one, אֲגֻדָּה (*Aguddah*), elsewhere employed for a bunch or knot of hyssop.

[c] Possibly the spring which still exists about that distance out of Hebron on the left of the road going northward, and bears the name of *'Ain-Serah*. The road has doubtless always followed the same track.

any one who would lead the forlorn hope, and scale the precipice on which the besieged fortress stood. With an agility equal to that of David himself, or of his brother Asahel, Joab succeeded in the attempt, and became in consequence commander-in-chief—"captain of the host"—the same office that Abner had held under Saul, the highest in the state after the king (1 Ch. xi. 6; 2 Sam. viii. 16). His importance was immediately shown by his undertaking the fortification of the conquered city, in conjunction with David (1 Ch. xi. 8).

In this post he was content, and served the king with undeviating fidelity. In the wide range of wars which David undertook, Joab was the acting general, and he therefore may be considered as the founder, as far as military prowess was concerned, the Marlborough, the Belisarius, of the Jewish empire. Abishai, his brother, still accompanied him, as captain of the king's "mighty men" (1 Ch. xi. 20; 2 Sam. x. 10). He had a chief armour-bearer of his own, Naharai, a Beerothite (2 Sam. xxiii. 37; 1 Ch. xi. 39), and ten attendants to carry his equipment and baggage (2 Sam. xviii. 15). He had the charge, formerly belonging to the king or judge, of giving the signal by trumpet for advance or retreat (2 Sam. xviii. 16). He was called by the almost regal title of "Lord" (2 Sam. xi. 11), "the prince of the king's army" (1 Ch. xxvii. 34). His usual residence (except when campaigning) was in Jerusalem; but he had a house and property, with barley-fields adjoining, in the country (2 Sam. xiv. 30), in the "wilderness" (1 K. ii. 34), probably on the N.E. of Jerusalem (cp. 1 Sam. xiii. 18; Josh. viii. 15, 20), near an ancient sanctuary, called from its nomadic village "Baalhazor" (2 Sam. xiii. 23; cp. with xiv. 30), where there were extensive sheepwalks. It is possible that this "house of Joab" may have given its name to Ataroth, *Beth-Joab* (1 Ch. ii. 54), to distinguish it from Ataroth-adar. There were two Ataroths in the tribe of Benjamin [see ATAROTH].

1. His great war was that against Ammon, which he conducted in person. It was divided into three campaigns. (*a*) The first was against the allied forces of Syria and Ammon. He attacked and defeated the Syrians, whilst his brother Abishai did the same for the Ammonites. The Syrians rallied with their kindred tribes from beyond the Euphrates, and were finally routed by David himself. [HADAREZER.] (*b*) The second was against Edom. The decisive victory was gained by David himself in the "valley of salt," and celebrated by a triumphal monument (2 Sam. viii. 13). But Joab had the charge of carrying out the victory, and remained for six months, extirpating the male population, whom he then buried in the tombs of Petra (1 K. xi. 15, 16). So long was the terror of his name preserved that only when the fugitive prince of Edom, in the Egyptian court, heard that "David slept with his fathers, and that *Joab the captain of the host was dead*," did he venture to return to his own country (ib. xi. 21, 22). (*c*) The third was against the Ammonites. They were again left to Joab (2 Sam. x. 7–19). He went against them at the beginning of the next year "at the time when kings go out to battle"—to the siege of Rabbah. The Ark was sent with him, and the whole army was encamped in booths or huts round the beleaguered city (2 Sam. xi. 1, 11). After a sortie of the inhabitants, which caused some loss to the Jewish army, Joab took the lower city on the river, and then, with true loyalty, sent to urge David to come and take the citadel, "Rabbah," lest the glory of the capture should pass from the king to his general (2 Sam. xii. 26-28).

2. The services of Joab to the king were not confined to these military achievements. In the entangled relations which grew up in David's domestic life, he bore an important part. (*a*) The first occasion was the unhappy correspondence which passed between him and the king during the Ammonite war respecting Uriah the Hittite, which led to the treacherous sacrifice of Uriah in the above-mentioned sortie (2 Sam. xi. 1–25). It shows both the confidence reposed by David in Joab, and Joab's too unscrupulous fidelity to David. From the possession which Joab thus acquired of the terrible secret of the royal household, has been dated, with some probability,[d] his increased power over the mind of the king.

(*b*) The next occasion on which it was displayed was in his successful endeavour to reinstate Absalom in David's favour, after the murder of Amnon. It would almost seem as if he had been guided by the effect produced on the king by Nathan's parable. A similar apologue he put into the mouth of a "wise woman of Tekoah." The exclamation of David on perceiving the application intimates the high opinion which he entertained of his general, "Is not the hand of Joab in all this?" (2 Sam. xiv. 1–20). A like indication is found in the confidence of Absalom that Joab, who had thus procured his return, could also go a step further and demand his admission to his father's presence. Joab, who evidently thought that he had gained as much as could be expected (2 Sam. xiv. 22), twice refused to visit the prince, but, having been entrapped into an interview by a stratagem of Absalom, undertook the mission, and succeeded in this also (ib. xiv. 28–33).

(*c*) The same keen sense of his master's interests that had prompted this desire to heal the breach in the royal family ruled the conduct of Joab no less, when the relations of the father and son were reversed by the successful revolt of Absalom. His former intimacy with the prince did not impair his fidelity to the king. He followed him beyond the Jordan, and in the final battle of Ephraim assumed the responsibility of taking the rebel prince's dangerous life in spite of David's injunction to spare him, and when no one else had courage to act so decisive a part (2 Sam. xviii. 2, 11–15). He was well aware of the terrible effect it would have on the king (ib. xviii. 20), and on this account possibly dissuaded his young friend Ahimaaz from bearing the news; but when the tidings had been broken, he had the spirit himself to rouse David from the frantic grief which would have been fatal to the royal cause (2 Sam. xix. 5–7). His stern resolution (as he had himself anticipated) well-nigh proved fatal to his own interests. The king could not forgive it, and went so far in his unreasonable resentment as to transfer the com-

[d] See Blunt's *Coincidences*, ii., ch. xi.

mand of the army from the two faithful Joab to his other nephew Amasa, the son of Abigail, who had even sided with the insurgents (2 Sam. xix. 32). In like manner he returned only a reproachful answer to the vindictive loyalty of Joab's brother, Abishai (ib. 22).

(*d*) Nothing brings out more strongly the good and bad qualities of Joab than his conduct in this trying crisis of his history. On the one hand, he remained still faithful to his master. On the other hand, as before in the case of Abner, he was determined not to lose the post he so highly valued. Amasa was commander-in-chief, but Joab had still his own small following of attendants; and with him were the mighty men commanded by his brother Abishai (2 Sam. xx. 7, 10), and the body-guard of the king. With these he went out in pursuit of the remnants of the rebellion. In the heat of pursuit, he encountered his rival Amasa, more leisurely engaged in the same quest. At "the great stone" in Gibeon, the cousins met. Joab's sword was attached to his girdle; by design or accident it protruded from the sheath. Amasa rushed into the treacherous embrace, to which Joab invited him, holding fast his sword by his own right hand, whilst the protruding sword in his left hand plunged into Amasa's stomach; a single blow from that practised arm, as in the case of Abner, sufficed to do its work. Joab and his brother hurried on to discharge their commission, whilst one of his ten attendants stayed by the corpse, calling on the royal party to follow after Joab. But the deed produced a frightful impression. The dead body was lying in a pool of blood by the roadside; every one halted, as they came up, at the ghastly sight, till the attendant dragged it out of the road, and threw a cloak over it. Then, as if the spell was broken, they followed Joab, now once more captain of the host (2 Sam. xx. 5–13). He too, when they overtook him, presented an aspect long afterwards remembered with horror. The blood of Amasa had spirted all over the girdle to which the sword was attached, and the sandals on his feet were red with the stains left by the falling corpse (1 K. ii. 5).

(*e*) But, at the moment, all were absorbed in the pursuit of the rebels. Once more a proof was given of the wide-spread confidence in Joab's judgment. In the besieged town of Abel-Bethmaachah, far in the north, the same appeal was addressed to his sense of the evils of an endless civil war, that had been addressed to him years before by Abner near Gibeon. He demanded only the surrender of the rebel chief, and on the sight of his head thrown over the wall withdrew the army and returned to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xx. 16–22). [SHEBA.]

(*f*) His last remonstrance with David was on the announcement of the king's desire to number the people. "The king prevailed against Joab" (2 Sam. xxiv. 1–4). But Joab's scruples were so strong that he managed to avoid numbering two of the tribes, Levi and Benjamin (1 Ch. xxi. 6).

3. There is something mournful in the end of Joab. At the close of his long life, his loyalty, so long unshaken, at last wavered. "Though he had not turned after Absalom [or, as in LXX. or Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, § 4, "He turned not after Solomon"], he turned after Adonijah" (1 K. ii. 28). This probably filled up the measure of the king's long cherished resentment. We learn from David's last song that his powerlessness over his courtiers was even then present to his mind (2 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7), and now, on his deathbed, he recalled to Solomon's recollection the two murders of Abner and Amasa (1 K. ii. 5, 6), with an injunction not to let the aged soldier escape with impunity.

The revival of the pretensions of Adonijah after David's death was sufficient to awaken the suspicions of Solomon. The king deposed the high-priest Abiathar, Joab's friend and fellow-conspirator—and the news of this event at once alarmed Joab himself. He claimed the right of sanctuary within the curtains of the sacred tent, under the shelter of the altar at Gibeon. He was pursued by Benaiah, who at first hesitated to violate the sanctuary of the refuge; but Solomon urged that the guilt of two such murders overrode all such protection. With his hands on the altar therefore, the grey-headed warrior was slaughtered by his successor. The body was carried to his house "in the wilderness," and there interred. He left descendants, but nothing is known of them, unless it may be inferred from the double curse of David (2 Sam. iii. 29) and of Solomon (1 K. ii. 33) that they seemed to dwindle away, stricken by a succession of visitations—weakness, leprosy, lameness, murder, starvation. His name is by some supposed (in allusion to his part in Adonijah's coronation on that spot) to be preserved in the modern appellation of Enrogel, "the well of Job," corrupted from *Joab*. [A. P. S.]

2. (יוֹאָב; B. Ἰωβάβ, A. Ἰωάβ; *Joab*.) Son of Seraiah, and descendant of Kenaz (1 Ch. iv. 14). He was father, or prince, as Jarchi explains it, of the valley of Charashim (R. V. "Ge-harashim"), or "craftsmen," so called, according to the tradition quoted by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Paral.*), because the architects of the Temple were selected from among his sons.

3. (Ἰωάβ; *Job* in 1 Esd.) The head of a family, not of priestly or Levitical rank, whose descendants, with those of Jeshua, were the most numerous of all who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 6, viii. 9; Neh. vii. 11; 1 Esd. viii. 35). It is not clear whether Jeshua and Joab were two prominent men among the children of Pahath-Moab (A. V. and R. V.), the ruler or sultan (*shûltôn*) of Moab, as the Syriac render, or whether, in the registration of those who returned, the descendants of Jeshua and Joab were represented by the sons of Pahath-Moab. If the latter be accepted, the verse (Ezra ii. 6; Neh. vii. 11) should be rendered: "the sons of Pahath-Moab, for (*i.e.* representing) the sons of Jeshua and Joab." In this case the Joab of Ezra viii. 9 and 1 Esd. viii. 35 was probably a distinct personage.

JOA'CHAZ (B. Ἰεχονίας, A. Ἰώχαζ; *Jechonias*) = Jehoahaz (1 Esd. i. 34 [LXX. *v.* 32]), the son of Josiah. The LXX. and Vulgate are in this case followed by St. Matthew (i. 11), or have been altered so as to agree with him.

JO'ACHIM (Ἰωακείμ; *Joakim*). **1.** (Bar. i. 3) = Jehoiakim, called also Joacim.

2. A "high-priest" (*ὁ ἱερεύς*) at Jerusalem in the time of Baruch "the son of Chelcias," *i.e.* Hilkiah (Bar. i. 7). The name does not occur in the list in 1 Ch. vi. 13 sq. [B. F. W.]

JO'ACIM (LXX. usually 'Ιωακείμ; *Joacim*). **1.** = Jehoiakim (1 Esd. i. 37, 38, 39). [JOAKIM, 1.]

2. (*Joachin*) = Jehoiachin (1 Esd. i. 43).

3. = Joiakim, the son of Jeshua (1 Esd. v. 5). He is by mistake called the son of Zerubbabel, as is clear from Neh. xii. 10, 26. Burrington (*Geneal.* i. 72) proposed to omit the words 'Ιωακείμ *ὁ τοῦ* altogether as an interpolation. [W. A. W.]

4. "The high-priest which was in Jerusalem" (Jud. iv. 6, 14) in the time of Judith, who welcomed the heroine after the death of Holofernes, in company with "the ancients of the children of Israel" (*ἡ γερουσία τῶν υἱῶν* 'Ισραήλ, xv. 8 sq.). The name occurs with the various reading *Eliakim*, but it is impossible to identify him with any historical character. No such name occurs in the lists of high-priests in 1 Ch. vi. (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, § 6); and it is a mere arbitrary conjecture to suppose that Eliakim, mentioned in 2 K. xviii. 18, was afterwards raised to that dignity. Still less can be said for the identification of Joacim with Hilkiah (2 K. xxii. 4; 'Ελιακίας, Joseph. *Ant.* x. 4, § 2; Χελκίας, LXX.). The name itself ("The Lord will set up") is appropriate to the position which the high-priest occupies in the story of Judith, and the person must be regarded as a necessary part of the fiction.

5. The husband of Susanna (Sus. *v.* 1 sq.). The name seems to have been chosen, as in the former case, with a reference to its meaning; and it was probably for the same reason that the husband of Anna, the mother of the Virgin, is called Joacim in early legends (*Protev. Jac.* i., &c.).

JO-A'DANUS ('Ιωαδάνος; *Joadeus*), one of the sons of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak (1 Esd. ix. 19). His name occupies the same position as that of Gedaliah in the corresponding list in Ezra x. 18, but it is uncertain how the corruption originated.

JO'AH (יוֹאָח: 'Ιωάχ in Isaiah; BA.' Ιωσαφὰτ in 2 K. xviii. 18; BA. 'Ιωὰς in *vv.* 26, 37, and A. 'Ιωσαφὰτ in *v.* 18: *Joahe*). **1.** The son of Asaph, and chronicler, or keeper of the records, to Hezekiah. He was one of the three chief officers sent to communicate with the Assyrian general at the conduit of the upper pool (Is. xxxvi. 3, 11, 22), and probably belonged to the tribe of Levi.

2. (BA. 'Ιωάβ; *Joah.*) The son or grandson of Zimmah, a Gershonite (1 Ch. vi. 21), and apparently the same as Ethan (*v.* 42), unless, as is not improbable, in the latter list some names are supplied which are omitted in the former, and *vice versâ*. For instance, in *v.* 42 Shimei is added, and in *v.* 43 Libni is omitted (cp. *v.* 20). If Joah and Ethan are identical, the passage must have been early corrupted, as all ancient Versions give it as it stands at present, and there are no variations in the MSS.

3. (B. 'Ιωάθ, A. 'Ιωαά; *Joaha.*) The third son of Obed-edom (1 Ch. xxvi. 4), a Korhite, and one of the door-keepers appointed by David. With the rest of his family he is characterised as a man of excellence in strength for the service (*v.* 8). They were appointed to keep the southern gate of the Temple, and the house of Asuppim, or "gatherings," which was either a store-house or council-chamber in the outer court (*v.* 15).

4. (B. om., A. 'Ιωά; *Jôah.*) A Gershonite, the son of Zimmah, and father of Eden (2 Ch. xxix. 12). As one of the representatives of the great Levitical family to which he belonged, he took a leading part in the purification of the Temple in the reign of Hezekiah. In the last clause of the verse the LXX. have 'Ιωαχά, which is the reading of both MSS.; but there is nothing to show that the same person is not in both instances intended, nor any MS. authority for the variant reading.

5. (B. 'Ιουάχ, A. 'Ιωάς; *Joha.*) The son of Joahaz, and keeper of the records or annalist to Josiah. Together with the chief officers of state, Shaphan the scribe, and Maaseiah, the governor of the city, he superintended the repair of the Temple, which had been neglected during the two previous reigns (2 Ch. xxxiv. 8). Josephus calls him 'Ιωάτης, as if he read יוֹאָת. The Syriac and Arabic omit the name altogether.

JOA'HAZ (יוֹאָחָז; A. 'Ιωάχαζ, B. 'Ιωάχ; *Joachaz*), the father of Joah, the chronicler or keeper of the records to king Josiah (2 Ch. xxxiv. 8). One of Kennicott's MSS. reads אָחָז, *i.e.* Ahaz, and the margin of Bomberg's Bible gives יְהוֹאָחָז, *i.e.* Jehoahaz. In the Syr. and Arab. Versions the name is omitted.

JOA'NAN (B. 'Ιωνᾶ, A. 'Ιωανάν; *Jonathas*) = JOHANAN, the son of Eliashib (1 Esd. ix. 1).

JOAN'NA ('Ιωαννᾶς, 'Ιωανάν; *Joanna*), son of Rhesa, according to the text of Luke iii. 27, and one of the ancestors of Christ. But according to the view explained in a previous article, son of Zerubbabel, and the same as Hananiah in 1 Ch. iii. 19. [GENEAL. OF CHRIST; HANANIAH, 8.] [A. C. H.]

JOAN'NA ('Ιωάννα, modern form "Joan," of the same origin as 'Ιωαννᾶς, the reading of most MSS.; also rendered A. V. "Joanna," St. Luke iii. 27, and 'Ιωάννης = Hebr. JEHOHANAN), the name of a woman, occurring twice in Luke (viii. 3, xxiv. 10), but evidently denoting the same person. In the first passage she is expressly stated to have been "wife of Chusa, steward (*ἐπίτροπος*) of Herod;" that is, Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. Prof. Blunt has observed in his *Coincidences*, that "we find here a reason why Herod should say to his *servants* (Matt. xiv. 2), 'This is John the Baptist' . . . because his steward's wife was a disciple of Jesus, and so there would be frequent mention of Him among the servants in Herod's court" (Alford, *ad loc.*; cp. Luke ix. 7). Professor Blunt adds the still more interesting instance of Manaen (Acts xiii. 1), the tetrarch's own "foster-brother" (*σύντροφος*, Blunt, p. 263, ed. 1859). Another coincidence is, that our Lord's ministry was mostly confined to Galilee, the seat of Herod's jurisdiction. Farther, if we might suppose Herod at length to have dismissed Chusa

from his service, on account of Joanna's attachment to one already in ill odour with the higher powers (see particularly Luke xiii. 31), the suppression of her husband's name, now no longer holding a distinguished office, would be very natural in the second passage. However, Joanna continued faithful to our Lord throughout His ministry; and as she was one of those whose circumstances permitted them to "minister unto Him out of their substance" during His lifetime, so she was one of those who brought spices and ointments to embalm His Body when dead. [E. S. Ff.]

JOAN'NAN (Ἰωαννάν, A. Ἰωάννης; *Joannes*), the eldest brother of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. ii. 2). He had the surname of Caddis, and is elsewhere called John. [JOHN, 2.]

JO-ARIB (Ἰωαρίβ, A. Ἰωαρείμ; *Joarib*), chief of the first of the twenty-four courses of priests in the reign of David, and ancestor of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 1). His name appears also in the A. V. as Jehoiarib (1 Ch. xxiv. 7) and Jarib (1 Macc. xiv. 29). Josephus retains the form adopted by the LXX. (*Ant.* xii. 6, § 1).

JO'ASH (יוֹאָשׁ, the contracted form of the name JEHOASH, in which it is frequently found; Ἰωάς; *Joas*). **1.** Son of Ahaziah king of Judah, and the only one of his children who escaped the murderous hand of Athaliah. Jehoram having himself killed all his own brethren; and all his sons, except Ahaziah, having been killed by the irruption of the Philistines and Arabians; and all Ahaziah's remoter relations having been slain by Jehu; and now all his sons having been put to death by Athaliah (2 Ch. xxi. 4, 17; xxii. 1, 8–10), the house of David was reduced to the lowest ebb, and Joash appears to have been the only surviving descendant of Solomon. After his father's sister Jehoshabeath, the wife of Jehoiada, had stolen him from among the king's sons, he was hid for six years in the chambers of the Temple. In the 7th year of his age and of his concealment, a successful revolution placed him on the throne of his ancestors, and freed the country from the tyranny and idolatries of Athaliah. [JEHOIADA.] For at least twenty-three years, while Jehoiada lived, his reign was very prosperous. Excepting that the high-places were still resorted to for incense and sacrifice, pure religion was restored; large contributions were made for the repair of the Temple, which was accordingly restored; and the country seems to have been free from foreign invasion and domestic disturbance. But, after the death of Jehoiada, Joash, who was evidently of weak character, fell into the hands of bad advisers, at whose suggestion he revived the worship of Baal and Ashtaroth. When he was rebuked for this by Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, who had probably succeeded to the high-priesthood, with base ingratitude and daring impiety Joash caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the Lord's House, "between the Temple and the Altar" (Matt. xxiii. 35). The vengeance imprecated by the murdered high-priest was not long delayed. That very year, Hazael king of Syria, after a successful campaign against the Philistines, came up against Jerusalem, and carried off a vast booty as the price of his departure. A decisive victory, gained by a small band of Syrians over a great host of the king of Judah, had thus placed Jerusalem at his mercy. This defeat is expressly said to be a judgment upon Joash for having forsaken the God of his fathers. He had scarcely escaped this danger, when he fell into another and a fatal one. Two of his servants, taking advantage of his severe illness, some think of a wound received in battle, conspired against him, and slew him in his bed in the fortress of Millo, thus avenging the innocent blood of Zechariah. He was buried in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. Possibly the fact of Jehoiada being buried there had something to do with this exclusion. Joash's reign lasted forty years, from 837 to 798 B.C. (Riehm). He was tenth king from David inclusive, reckoning the reign of the usurper Athaliah. He is one of the three kings (Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah) omitted by St. Matthew in the genealogy of Christ.

With regard to the different accounts of the Syrian invasion given in 2 K. and in 2 Ch., which have led some to imagine two distinct Syrian invasions, and others to see a direct contradiction or at least a strange incompleteness in the narratives, the difficulty exists solely in the minds of the critics. The narrative given above, which is also that of Keil and E. Bertheau (*Exeg. Handb. z. A. T.*) as well as of Josephus, perfectly suits the two accounts, which are merely different abridgments of the one fuller account contained in the original chronicles of the kingdom.

It should be added that the prophet Elisha flourished in Israel throughout the days of Joash; and there is some ground for concluding with Winer (agreeing with Credner, Movers, Hitzig, Meier, and others) that the prophet Joel also prophesied in the former part of this reign. (See Movers, *Chronik*, pp. 119–121.)

2. Son and successor of Jehoahaz on the throne of Israel from B.C. 798 to 783 (Riehm), and for two full years a contemporary sovereign with the preceding (2 K. xiv. 1; cp. with xii. 1, xiii. 10). When he succeeded to the crown, the kingdom was in a deplorable state from the devastations of Hazael and Benhadad, kings of Syria, of whose power at this time we had also evidence in the preceding article. In spite of the perseverance of Joash in the worship set up by Jeroboam, God took compassion upon the extreme misery of Israel, and in remembrance of His covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, interposed to save them from entire destruction. On the occasion of a friendly visit paid by Joash to Elisha on his deathbed, where he wept over his face, and addressed him as "the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof," the Prophet promised him deliverance from the Syrian yoke in Aphek, the scene of Ahab's great victory over a former Benhadad (1 K. xx. 26–30). He then bade him smite upon the ground, and the king smote thrice and then stayed. The Prophet rebuked him for staying, and limited to three his victories over Syria. Accordingly Joash did beat Benhadad three times on the field of battle, and recovered from him the cities which Hazael had taken from Jehoahaz. The other great military event of Joash's reign was his successful war with Amaziah king of Judah. The grounds of this war are given fully in 2 Ch. xxv. [AMAZIAH.] The hiring of 100,000 men of Israel for

100 talents of silver by Amaziah is the only instance on record of such a transaction, and implies that at that time the kingdom of Israel was free from all fear of the Syrians. These mercenary soldiers having been dismissed by Amaziah, at the instigation of a prophet, without being allowed to take part in the Edomitish expedition, returned in great wrath to their own country, and sacked and plundered the cities of Judah in revenge for the slight put upon them, and also to indemnify themselves for the loss of their share of the plunder. It was to avenge this injury that Amaziah, on his return from his triumph over the Edomites, declared war against Joash, in spite of the warning of the Prophet, and the contemptuous dissuasion of Joash under the fable of the cedar and the thistle. The result was that the two armies met at Beth-shemesh, that Joash was victorious, put the army of Amaziah to the rout, took him prisoner, brought him to Jerusalem, broke down the wall of Jerusalem, all along the north side from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, a distance of 400 cubits, plundered the Temple of its gold and silver vessels, seized the king's treasures, took hostages, and then returned to Samaria, where he died, probably not very long afterwards, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings of Israel. He died in the 15th year of Amaziah king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II. There is a discrepancy between the Bible account of his character and that given by Josephus. For whereas the former says of him, "He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" (2 K. xiii. 11), the latter says that he was a good man, and very different from his father. Josephus probably was guided by the account of Joash's friendly intercourse with Elisha, which certainly indicates some good disposition in him, although he followed the sin of Jeroboam. [A. C. H.]

3. The father of Gideon, and a wealthy man among the Abiezrites. At the time of the Midianitish occupation of the country, he appears to have gone so far with the tide of popular opinion in favour of idolatry, that he had on his own ground an altar dedicated to Baal, and an Asherah. In this, however, he submitted rather to the exigencies of the time, and the influence of his family and neighbours, and was the first to defend the daring act of his son, and protect him from the vengeance of the Abiezrites, by sarcasm only less severe than that which Elijah employed against the priests of Baal in the memorable scene on Carmel (Judg. vi. 11, 29, 30, 31; vii. 14; viii. 13, 29, 32). The LXX. B. puts the speech in vi. 31 most inappropriately into the mouth of Gideon, but this is corrected in the Alex. MS. In the Vulg. the name is omitted in vi. 31 and viii. 13.

4. Apparently a younger son of Ahab, who held a subordinate jurisdiction in the lifetime of his father, or was appointed viceroy (ἄρχοντα, LXX. of 2 Ch. xviii. 25) during his absence in the attack on Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Ch. xviii. 25). Or he may have been merely a prince of the blood-royal. The Vulgate calls him "the son of Amelech," taking the article as part of the noun, and the whole as a proper name. Thenius suggests that he may have been placed with the governor of the city for the purpose of military education.

5. A descendant of Shelah the son of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 22). The Vulgate rendering of this name by *Securus*, according to its etymology, as well as of the other names in the same verse, is very remarkable. The Hebrew tradition, quoted by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in Paral.*) and Rashi (*Comm. in loc.*), applies it to Mahlon, the son of Elimelech, who married a Moabitess. The expression rendered in A. V., "who had the dominion (בָּעֲלוּ, *bā'ălū*) in Moab," would, according to this interpretation, signify "who *married* in Moab." The same explanation is given in the Targum of R. Joseph.

6. A Benjamite, son of Shemaah of Gibeah (1 Ch. xii. 3). He was one of the heroes, "helpers of the battle," who resorted to David at Ziklag, and assisted him in his excursions against the marauding parties to whose attacks he was exposed (*v.* 21). He was probably with David in his pursuit of the Amalekites (cp. 1 Ch. xii. 21 with 1 Sam. xxx. 8, where גְּדוּד should be "troop" in both passages). The Peshitto-Syriac, reading בְּנֵי for בְּנוֹ, makes him the son of Ahiezer.

7. One of the officers of David's household, to whose charge were entrusted the store-houses of oil, the produce of the plantations of sycamores and the olive-yards of the lowlands of Judah (1 Ch. xxvii. 28). [W. A. W.]

JO'ASH (יוֹאָשׁ, a different name from the preceding; Ἰωάς; *Joas*), son of Becher, and head of a Benjamite house, which existed in the time of king David (1 Ch. vii. 8). [A. C. H.]

JO'ATHAM (Ἰωάθαμ; *Joatham*) = Jotham the son of Uzziah (Matt. i. 9).

JOAZAB'DUS (B. Καθζαβδος, A. καὶ Ἰώζαβδος; *Joradus*) = Jozabad the Levite (1 Esd. ix. 48; cp. Neh. viii. 7).

JOB (יוֹב; A. Ἰασούφ, *D.* -β; *Job*), the third son of Issachar (Gen. xlvi. 13), called in another genealogy JASHUB (1 Ch. vii. 1, B. Ἰασσούρ, A. Ἰασούβ), which is the reading of the Sam. Codex in Genesis, and of some MSS. of the LXX.

JOB (Heb. אִיּוֹב; Greek Ἰώβ), one of the Hagiographa, of the class of literature called *Khochmāh*, consisting of a poetical dialogue with prologue and epilogue in prose. It is the only specimen in Hebrew of this form of composition which has been compared with Greek Tragedy,* and, less correctly, with the *Makāmas* of the Arabs. In respect of the matter it has analogues in the Book of Ecclesiastes and in some of the Psalms, especially Pss. xxxvii., xlix., and lxxiii.

1. *Plan of the Book.*—Job, in the Prologue, is represented as a man of the highest integrity and piety, and corresponding prosperity. "The Satan" in the heavenly council asserts that his

* Attempts at analysing the poem in accordance with dramatic terminology have been made by H. Hupfeld (*Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*, 1850, No. 35) and F. Delitzsch (Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, art. *Hiob*). The justice of the comparison is discussed with great care by Gustav Baur (*Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1856, pp. 582–652), who calls it "a lyrical, or, more accurately, didactic-lyrical poem."

worship is mercenary, and that he will blaspheme as soon as the prosperity is withdrawn. That this may be put to the proof, "the Satan" is allowed to deprive Job of all his worldly goods, including his children. This trial Job undergoes with resignation. "The Satan" then obtains permission to attack his person, and smites him with a sore disease (probably elephantiasis) from head to foot. This second test Job also endures at first resignedly, although his wife tempts him to blaspheme. Three friends then come to comfort him, and the dialogue with them occupies the bulk of the Book, divided as follows:—Job's complaint (ch. iii.); addresses to Job by the three friends, two of whom speak three times and the third twice, each speech being answered by Job (chs. iv.–xxvi.); soliloquy of Job in two parts (chs. xxvi., xxvii., and chs. xxviii.–xxxi.). A fifth speaker then comes forward, who delivers four continuous discourses (chs. xxxii., xxxiii.; ch. xxxiv.; ch. xxxv.; chs. xxxvi., xxxvii.), and is followed by the Deity "from the whirlwind," who delivers two discourses (chs. xxxviii., xxxix.; chs. xl., xli.), with brief answers from Job. In a final speech (ch. xlii. 7, 8) the Deity gives a verdict on the foregoing controversy, and we learn in the epilogue that Job was healed, and restored to a greater prosperity than he had previously possessed.

The original question therefore to which Job's sufferings were intended to give the answer is left undecided, or has to be inferred by the reader from the course of the dialogue; for Satan is not mentioned after the Prologue.[b] Since in xlii. 6 Job prays for forgiveness, it would seem that he must in the course of the dialogue have fallen away from his sinlessness (i. 22, ii. 10); and this supposition has the support of the Targum (on ii. 10) and the Talmud of Babylon (*Baba Bathra*, f. 15 b). Nevertheless many writers (*e.g.* in recent times A. Hahn, S. Cox, B. Szolt) maintain that Job endures the second trial successfully to the end, whereas some (*e.g.* J. B. Mozley) endeavour to find an intermediate course. The difficulty of deciding this question is partly occasioned by the uncertainty of the import of the phrase יְבָרֵךְ in i. 11, and of the degree and nature of the impiety which it implies.[c] It will be assumed in the following section that the first of the foregoing accounts is the true one.

2. *Scope and purpose.*—Although the brilliancy and power of the dialogue are almost universally acknowledged, much difference of opinion has existed concerning the scope of the whole work, which some regard as theoretical, others as practical, with further differences among the former concerning the theorem which is proved, among the latter concerning the precept which is inculcated. The literature on this subject is very fully given by August Hahn, *Commentar über das Buch Hiob* (1850), pp. 5–8, and W. Volck, *de summa sententia carminis Iobi* (Dorpat, 1869), to whose collections little has been added of importance. It is generally agreed that the subject of the discussion is the relation of suffering to sin, and the question why the righteous suffer. To this question some suppose that *no* answer is given, and that the author would demonstrate that the world is not governed according to human ideas of justice. "It is the discovery of the Book of Job," says Hoffmann, "that man's suffering is greater than his sin before God." This opinion has found its most eloquent exponent in J. B. Mozley (*Essays Historical and Theological*, ii. 164 sqq.), who among other striking ideas suggests that the purpose of the Book in the scheme of the Bible was to prepare the Jews for a Christ who should be a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, by showing that suffering need not imply sin in the sufferer. Others suppose that the Book is a *theodicy*, and does attempt to justify the ways of God: in the opinion of Volck, by showing that the problems of the world are insoluble without a direct revelation, such as the Jews possessed; in that of Ewald, and more recently of W. H. Green (*The Argument of the Book of Job unfolded*, New York, 1874), by pointing to the doctrine of immortality; while K. Budde and Hengstenberg hold that we are to learn that the purpose of Job's suffering (and therefore of that of every righteous man) was to bring to the surface the sin that slumbered at the bottom of his heart, that he might repent of it and be forgiven. Others suppose that more than one answer is offered, the work containing merely *pensées* on the great question of suffering; the appearance of unity which it offers being due to interpolation and revision (so T. K. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1886). Of those who suppose the Book written with a practical purpose, we may notice the theory of B. Szolt, that it is to point out generally the reflections from which a just man should seek consolation in the time of trial; that of Räbiger (*de sententia primaria libri Jobi*, 1861), that it teaches that real virtue should be independent of circumstances; and also theories which suppose the consolation contained in it is addressed not to an individual but to a nation: the nation allegorically personified in Job being the whole nation of Israel, according to Bruno Bauer (*Die Religion des A. Testamentes*, ii. 478); the northern kingdom, according to Hermann von der Hardt (1728) and Hitzig; the kingdom of Judah, according to Warburton, Joannes Clericus, and Bernstein; the "Servant of the Lord," *i.e.* the pious kernel of the latter, according to Seinecke (*Der Grundgedanke das B. Hiob*, Clausthal, 1863) and Hoekstra (*Theologisch Tijdschrift* for 1871, pp. 1–56; see on this question Kuenen, *Theol. Tijd.* for 1873, pp. 493–542). On this subject the following suggestions may be made:—

(*a*) If the Book of Job were, as was long supposed,[d] a historical record of speeches actually delivered, we should not demand from it any unity of design, but at most inquire for what purpose the discourses had been perpetuated. Viewed as a work of art, the Book may admit of similar treatment. It does not, like a Platonic dialogue, work out a definition through a series

[b] Hoffmann (*Hiob*, 1890) would read in v. 21, בְּשׂוֹט לְשֵׁן, with reference to i. 7. See also T. K. Cheyne in the *Expositor* for May 1891.

[c] The best discussion of this subject is in the Dutch Commentary of Matthes, 2nd ed. pp. 18–21.

[d] Modern representatives of this position are the Rev. W. Turner, *Studies Biblical and Oriental*, p. 170; W. H. Green, *ut supra*, p. 11; and, it would seem, Dr. Samuel Cox.

of objections, but rather portrays a scene. That scene is, the most perfect man on earth afflicted, and consoled by the wisest of his contemporaries. The hero is one who will bear affliction as well as it can be borne, and the friends persons who will administer the best of human comfort. And because neither party understands God's counsel, Job, who has the honour of proving by his conduct the sterling worth of the human race and of beating down Satan under his feet, summons God to trial for ill-treating him, and the friends maintain that Job must be suffering for some sin when in reality he is suffering because he is sinless. Both parties rely for their statements on a partial experience, grow warmer as the discussion proceeds, and heap reproaches on each other; reproaches which the reader is of course not intended to re-echo, for the poet has made all the speeches refined, dignified, eloquent, and impressive. The irony of this situation is intended to awake in the spectator the same feelings as the irony of the Greek dramas calls out; and from the Greek theatre, too, can be paralleled the procedure by which the characters are made to leave the stage still ignorant of the solution of which the spectator has from the commencement been in possession. The doctrine which the whole scene impresses is the same as that which is poetically explained in ch. xxviii.; viz., that the secret of the government of the world is not to be discovered by human research; that God possesses the solution, but what He communicates to mankind is not theoretical, but a practical law for life. Only what the poet of ch. xxviii. expresses in aphorisms, the Book itself personifies: we see on the stage human patience exhausted and human wisdom baffled; and instead of a philosophical contemplation of nature God is made to speak (somewhat as Nature in the 3rd book of Lucretius addresses mankind), asking whether the wisdom and power manifest in His works are not a guarantee of His justice when it is least apparent. The explanation of the Prologue is not given to Job, lest the reader should conclude that the same explanation holds good in every case in which men fail to get their deserts; whereas the author's doctrine is rather that in every case there is a ground, which human wisdom has no means of fathoming, and for the discovery of which submission and faith must be substituted (cp. Hupfeld, *l. c.* p. 286, note).

(*b*) The three friends maintain the opinion that suffering is the result of sin, and indeed proportionate to it; and that the world is morally governed in detail as well as in general. They do not represent different standpoints (this is stated in xlii. 7), but rather different sorts of persons. If Job be a historical or semi-historical personage, it is likely that his friends are such also; and the poet's purpose in bringing them to console Job will be similar to that with which Herodotus brings Solon and Croesus together. The fact that Eliphaz repeats a particular saying (iv. 17–19=xv. 15, 16) is somewhat in favour of this (Schlottmann). Or, if all the characters be fictitious, the fame of Teman for wisdom (Jer. xlix. 7; Baruch iii. 22, 23) may have been the ground for bringing the first speaker thence; the reason for the nationality of the others—Bildad the Shuhite from the Keturaean Shuah (Gen. xxv. 2), and Zophar the Naamathite (perhaps from Naamah in Judaea, Joseph. v. 41)—is less obvious.[a] Reuss (*Hiob*, 1888) suggests that their coming from different regions symbolises the universality of the doctrine which they maintain. It cannot be said with exactitude that "Eliphaz relies for his statements on revelation, Bildad on the wisdom of the ancients, Zophar on common-sense"; perhaps Eliphaz is most dignified, Zophar more coarse than the others (see especially K. Budde, *Beiträge zur Kritik des Buches Hiob*, pp. 147–8). By introducing three representatives of the doctrine, the poet has provided variety in its treatment, and has also gained time for the development of Job's character and ideas. Similarly the three cycles of speeches do not represent fresh stages in the argument so much as progressive states of mind in the speakers.[f] In the first cycle all offer Job the prospect of a bright future if he will accept his chastisement and turn to God: in the second they all paint vividly the fearful end of the wicked: in the third Eliphaz accuses Job openly of crimes of which Job afterwards solemnly declares himself innocent,[g] whereas Bildad merely makes a brief reiteration of Eliphaz's maxim; by making Zophar silent the poet gives it to be understood that Job has won. By the author's making this doctrine of rewards and punishments universal, it is clear that no special polemic against the Mosaic doctrine is intended; and indeed with regard to the individual no such doctrine is taught in the Old Testament.[h] Concerning the speeches themselves, the remark of Delitzsch seems true, that "what the friends say considered in itself is true; the error lies in its inadequacy and inapplicability to the case before them." And indeed, without violent rearrangement of the text, we cannot get rid of the fact that Job himself repeats some part of what they have said, and that in some places they even anticipate the Deity.

(*c*) The eleven discourses of Job are not progressive, nor do they answer directly his interlocutors' addresses, but present the expression of different emotions. "The elevation of Job's conception of God into a higher unity is the goal of the development of the drama" (Delitzsch), but a goal which is not reached till the very end. Job is represented as "accusing God in order that he may justify himself" (xl. 8): the curses heaped on his birthday (ch. iii.), and the prayer for death from the standpoint of a re-

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[a] If Derenbourg's conjecture about Uz (*v. infra*) be correct, perhaps שׂוּחִי may be meant to suggest שִׂיחַ, "to meditate." W. H. Green, *l. c.* p. 264, thinks the names Ram and Buz in Elihu's pedigree suggest a land of divine intervention as opposed to the land of the highest earthly wisdom. Other conjectures in Wright, p. 138.

[f] The statements *e.g.* of B. Szolt (Baltimore, 1886) that the first cycle deals with the particular, the second with the general, and that in the first it is argued that all suffering is for sin and in the second that all sin is punished, are not justified by close analysis.

[g] Yet the view of Szolt that xxii. 5 sqq. are a supposed *quotation* of what God would say has much in its favour.

[h] K. Studer (*Das Buch Hiob für Geistliche*, Bremen, 1881) endeavours to prove the contrary; cp. Seinecke, *l. c.* pp. 1–7. See on the other side, Hengstenberg (1870), i. 26, 27.

ligion in which God was the God of the living, exhibit the state of mind of one who is near abandoning God (Räbiger). He denies the moral government of the world (ix. 22, 23); attributes to God a spiteful design in creating him (x. 13); summons God to judgment against Himself (xvi. 18, 19); complains bitterly that God does not appear at his demand (xxiii. 8, 9); and, it would seem, somewhat exaggerates his calamities (chs. xxix., xxx.). These bitter utterances are mixed with pathetic and even affectionate appeals; just as his addresses to his friends are composed of angry reproaches and of supplications for sympathy. "Of this compound character is the complaint of angry Job, charging the Divine government of the world with injustice. He sees a world in disorder, and, looking simply to the responsibility of absolute power, he lays the blame of it on the Divine Possessor of that power. But simultaneously with this charge came a recollection of God's absolute goodness. He thus alternates from anger to love, and from blame to adoration; with fiery quickness the indignant complaint darts from him, and immediately he is a tender suppliant, according as his idea of responsible power, or according as his whole religious conviction, including the belief of God's absolute goodness, is expressed" (Mozley, *Essays*, ii. 218). The main position of Job, however, is that human justice is greater than God's (ix. 21, 22): in this sense he is said to represent a school (xxxv. 4 *b*; cp. xxxiv. 8, xxii. 15).

(*d*) Job's complaints culminate in xix. 6, where he gives a verdict in his own case against God, Whom in xiii. 22 he had formally summoned to trial. This prepares the way for the Theophany, the necessity of which had already been indicated by Zophar (xi. 5); and that Job's calling God to judgment is the most important result of the dialogue is shown by the numerous allusions to it (*e.g.* by Elihu, xxxiii. 7, 13). The Deity, however, does not appear in the Theophany, as Job had desired, as an equal antagonist (xiii. 19–22), in order to justify His conduct; nor, as Zophar had wished, to prove to Job that his punishment was not so great as he had deserved; but to bring home to Job by a series of ironical questions the truth that *finite* power and knowledge have no rights against *infinite* power and knowledge; and that those for whom the arrangement of the universe is an impenetrable mystery, and who are too weak to grapple with God's creatures, must not criticise His doings or array themselves against Him. Hence of the two discourses put into the mouth of Jehovah the first deals mainly with His wisdom, the second with His power. There is psychological truth also in the reflection of Mozley (p. 219), that as "in very truth mere power wins by subduing, and the intense consciousness that some one has the absolute power to do what he will with us puts us into the position of love to him; making us imagine him as our benefactor and friend, because we turn beforehand his absolute choice of saving or destroying, into the alternative most favourable to ourselves: just so the power of the Almighty Maker and Governor of the world impresses Job; such amazing power softens him."

In the Epilogue Jehovah fulfils the wish expressed by Job in xvi. 21 that He would decide between Job and God and between Job and his friends. Both Job and they in the dialogue had assumed that God is under some obligation to reward a man according to his works; and Job finding himself not so recompensed accuses God of injustice, whereas the friends, supposing that God must be just, accuse Job on no other evidence than that of his sufferings of indefinite crimes. The verdict in the Theophany (xlii. 7) makes it clear that the latter standpoint is more to be condemned than the former; and that the wilful rejection of experience in favour of a preconceived notion is more culpable than a blasphemous conclusion arrived at in accordance with a partial experience. Hence, as Job had predicted (xiii. 7–11), the friends are more severely rebuked than he; and the fact that Job intercedes for them before his restoration (xlii. 10) is a sign of his complete submission, and also a convincing proof of his innocence (cp. xi. 13)..

3. *Authorship, time, and place of composition.*[i] —To these questions very different answers were given by the early Rabbis, whose opinions are recorded in the Talmud (Bab. *Baba Bathra*, 14–16), although the favourite hypothesis ascribed the Book to Moses; possibly, as Im. Deutsch suggests (*de Elihui sermonum origine atque auctore*, Breslau, 1873), because there was a tradition that God revealed to Moses on Sinai the reason why men were not always recompensed according to their works (*B. Berachoth*, 7 a), and this Book seemed to deal with the problem. With equal arbitrariness Heman the Ezrahite, Solomon, Isaiah, Baruch, Ezra, and, most recently, Jeremiah have been suggested as authors. The question whether Job had any existence, mythical or historical, is closely connected with these. The LXX. translator who identified him with the Idumaean king Jobab (Gen. xxxvi. 33, 34), was misled by a similarity of name which belongs to the Greek rather than to the Hebrew form. An early critic (Resh Lakesh in *Baba Bathra*, l. c.) suggested that the Book of Job was altogether a parable; and some of the later Rabbis allow this to be a possible view, although they do not ordinarily regard it with favour. Modern writers who regard Job as a purely imaginary character (*e.g.* Reuss, Merx, Hengstenberg) insist mainly on the numerical symmetry of his family, possessions, and calamities, which points to the efforts of the fancy; and urge against those (*e.g.* Ewald, Renan, Schlottmann) who would endeavour to sever the historical from the fictitious elements in the Book, that enough is not left of the former to constitute a myth, much less a record.

If Job be a creation of this Book, it must be earlier, and indeed much earlier, than Ezekiel, who (xiv. 14) mentions Job among the three perfect men, it might seem with special reference to xxii. 30 and xlii. 9. If on the other hand he be mythical or historical, the passage of Ezekiel throws no light on this question.[k]

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[i] Opinions up to 1865 are collected by Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, iii. 160.

[k] Bernstein, *Ueber das Alter u. s. w. des Buches Hiob*, in Keil and Tzschirner's *Analekten*, 1813, p. 13, suggested that the passage of Ezekiel was interpolated. A stranger conjecture is offered by Bunsen, *Gott in der Geschichte*, i. 478.

This last alternative has in its favour the fact that the name *Iyōb* (although its similarity to *ōyēb*, "an enemy," is played upon in xiii. 24 and elsewhere) has no etymological appropriateness to the situation,[1] whether it be interpreted from the Hebrew, "the attacked one," or from the Arabic, "the returner," as the Prophet Mohammed seems to suggest.[m] It is also maintained (without due ground) that the invention of character is alien from the methods of the ancients, who preferred borrowing their heroes from the man of current tradition. The allusions to historical events which some critics (*e.g.* Ewald, Hitzig, Wright) have endeavoured to find are too vague to afford any note of time; and the same must be said of the state of society described (*e.g.* in x. 24). A *terminus a quo* is given by the mention of the gold of *Ophir* (xxviii. 16), with the use of *Ophir* as a name of gold (xxii. 24), which points to some post-Solomonic period; whereas a *terminus ad quem* is given by the use of the name *Satan* without the article in 1 Ch. xxi. 1 (*circa* 400 B.C.), which must evidently be a later usage than that with the article which appears in this Book and Zechariah. In default of other evidence, special attention has been paid to the parallels between this Book and the rest of the Old Testament,[n] which are very numerous. In most, if not all, of these, it is uncertain whether the ideas are borrowed by or from the author of Job; but little force can be assigned to the *à priori* argument urged by Canon Cook, that if the author of Job be supposed in most of these cases to be the borrower, his work becomes a kind of cento; for in a highly artificial poem of this sort (to judge from the Arabic Makāmas) one of the beauties would naturally consist in reminiscences of the classics. Of the hemistichs which are common to Job and other Books, the most noticeable are (1) xii. 19=Isaiah xli. 20; here it seems certain that Job is quoting the prophet, for otherwise it is difficult to understand why the name יהוה, which is elsewhere (cp. however xxviii. 28) avoided in the dialogue, should be employed; and (2) Job xiv. 11, which would seem to be a quotation of Isaiah xix. 5: in the case of (3) Job xii. 21 and (4) Job xii. 24 *b*, it seems more probable that the writer of Job quoted Ps. cvii. 40 in two separate passages, than that the author of the Psalm united two hemistichs of Job into a verse. It seems probable that the author of Job had before him both parts of Isaiah (cp. besides Is. lviii. 2 with Job xxi. 14; Is. lix. 4 with xv. 35; Is. lx. 6 with xxii. 11). His relation to Jeremiah has been much more questioned. The most important passage is Job iii. 3–26 compared with Jer. xx. 14–18; whereas most critics (*e.g.* Renan, Reuss, Volck) regard Jeremiah as the imitator, it has been urged (with more reason) by Kleinert (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1886, p. 272) and Hoffmann (*Hiob*, 1890, p. 30) that the imaginary situation is far more likely to be an imitation than the real one. The other parallels with Jeremiah (*e.g.* vi. 23 with Jer. xv. 21, vi. 20 with Jer. xiv. 3, xviii. 19 with Jer. xliv. 11), and especially with the Lamentations, make it probable that the author had Jeremiah before him also. Of the minor Prophets he would seem to have made use of Hosea (cp. xiii. 2 with Job xv. 2, xiii. 12 with Job xiv. 17) and Amos (cp. i. 11 with Job xv. 9, according to Szolt's explanation). The question whether he employed Zechariah or not is of some importance. Besides such parallels as Zech. ix. 3 with Job xxvii. 16, and ix. 14 with Job xx. 5, Hoffmann (*l. c.* pp. 31–34) points to the heavenly council (Zech. i. 9, iii. 1; cp. Job i. 6), the person of "the Satan" (Zech. iii. 1; regarded by Hoffmann as an *invention* of the Prophet), the crown (Zech. vi. 11; Job xxxi. 36), and finds Zechariah everywhere original. Great attention has also been paid to the parallels with the *Proverbs*, which the author of Job would seem to have possessed in their existing form: thus Job xv. 7 seems definitely to refer to Prov. viii. 24, the simile of vi. 3 finds its explanation in a reminiscence of Prov. xxvii. 3, iii. 25 seems consciously modelled on Prov. x. 24. (The attempt of Barth [*v. infra*] to prove that the author of Job was acquainted with the "first collection" of Proverbs [i.–xxv.], but not with the second, must be regarded as unsuccessful.) The parallels with the *Psalms* are especially numerous, and these too the author may have possessed in their present form: *e.g.* Job x. 9 sqq. might seem to be suggested by Ps. cxxxviii. 8, followed by Ps. cxxxix., and Job xxxv. 14 to follow a worse reading of Ps. xxxvii. 6. The evidence therefore of the parallels would seem to be in favour of a very late date, *e.g.* the Persian period to which the Book is assigned by Vatke, Bruno Bauer, Cheyne, Hoffmann; the brilliancy of the language must in this case be accounted for by a hypothetical renaissance, or an endeavour on the part of the writer to renovate the Hebrew language. Many others place it somewhat earlier, during the Babylonian captivity (so Graetz, C. P. Tiele); the large majority of critics at some period prior to Jeremiah (Renan, Ewald, Reuss, Merx, Hitzig, Barth, Volck); Hahn, Schlottmann, and Delitzsch, in the Solomonic age; Vaihinger somewhat earlier (see F. Barth, *Ueber die Entstehungsseit des Buches Hiob*, *Jahresbericht des Rabb. Seminars für das orthodoxe Judenthum*, Berlin, 5634; T. K. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1886; F. Seyring, *Die Abhängigkeit der Sprüche Salomonis Cap.* i.–ix. *vom Hiob*, Halle, 1889).

The *place* of composition is no less uncertain. A suggestion made by Ibn Ezra (on ii. 12), which however has found little favour, was that the Book was a translation: in this case there would be some ground for supposing the "land of Uz" (see below) to be the country of the author as well as of his hero. The descriptions of the crocodile and hippopotamus (in chs. xl. and xli.),

[1] It is a sign of the difficulty of arriving at certainty in these matters that some writers (*e.g.* Bernstein, Bruch, Seinecke, Hengstenberg) found an argument against the historical existence of Job on the supposed appropriateness of his name.

[m] Hahn suggests "the enemy of the gods;" J. Derenbourg (*Revue des Études Juives*, 1880, p. 5), "the complainer," from the root יוב = אבב; Wright (p. 134), from the same root + א privative, "the non-exultant." Other conjectures are collected by Carpzovius, *Introd.* ii. 32.

[n] A very careful collection has been made by G. H. B. Wright in the preface to his translation. They can also be conveniently studied in the Hebrew Commentary of B. Szolt.

supposing them to be genuine, would point to Egypt (although some scholars profess to detect errors in these descriptions); and Hitzig and Hirzel insist that the Book has throughout an Egyptian colouring, in illustration of which the former points to iii. 14, 15 (according to Ewald's interpretation), vii. 12, viii. 11, ix. 11, xii. 21, xiv. 11, xxviii. 10, xxix. 18, xxxi. 36, xxxix. 19. A few more phrases which tell of Egypt are noticed in the commentary of Canon Cook; and Studer suggests that the simile of the white of an egg in vi. 6 (supposing that to be the true interpretation) would be more naturally drawn in Egypt than in Palestine (cp. Delitzsch). Those who maintain that the author was a contemporary of Jeremiah suppose him to have fled to Egypt with the other Israelites whose flight is recorded by Jer. xliii. 7. Much of this Egyptian colouring is, however, clearly fallacious, as Hengstenberg (pp. 51, 52) shows; nor are the arguments by which the author is shown to have lived in the South of Judaea (by Schlottmann and others) more valid.[o] The use of the *Jordan* in xl. 23, as an example of a great river, makes it more likely that the author lived in Palestine; and the *à priori* arguments urged by Hengstenberg in favour of Jerusalem as the place of composition have considerable force. The locality of the hero, the "land of Uz," is also very doubtful. The LXX. (after xlii. 17) places it on the boundaries between Idumaea and Arabia; this may have been suggested by Lam. iv. 21, where the daughter of Edom is described as dwelling in the land of Uz. Sprenger (*Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, iii. 205) places it yet further south, near the later Jewish settlement Khaibar. A tradition which can be traced up to about 300 A.D. makes the land of Uz part of Batanaea in the Hauran (see Wetzstein in Delitzsch's Commentary, E. T. ii. 395–447). Friedrich Delitzsch (*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, ii. 87–98), on the authority of cuneiform inscriptions, removes it further north towards Palmyra; and also discovers from inscriptions the localities of Shuah and Buz. The theory of J. Derenbourg (*Revue des Études Juives*, vol. i.) that עוץ is merely a symbolical name, signifying the land of עֲצָה, or "the Divine counsel," has much to recommend it; and would agree with the opinion of Hoffmann (*Hiob*, p. 35), that the author may have known as little as we of the locality. An old opinion (Rashi) that the "land of Uz" is a poetical name for Aram or Syria has still many adherents.

4. *Range of ideas.*—The consistency which the author maintains with regard to the patriarchal age in which he places the story has won much admiration. To this belong the age of Job (xlii. 16), the nature of his wealth (i. 3 compared with Gen. xii. 16), the coin mentioned in xlii. 21 (cp. Gen. xxxiii. 19), and the musical instruments to which incidental allusion is made (xxi. 12, xxx. 31, compared with Gen. iv. 21, xxxi. 27). The shortness of life of which the speakers sometimes complain when comparing their lives with those of their ancestors (viii. 9) corresponds with the diminished longevity of the later patriarchs. It is possible, as Schlottmann suggests, that Job is represented as a strange prince, like Abraham, living among a heathen population (cp. xxix. 7); but it is more probable that he is a member of an aristocracy (ch. xxix.): to the oppressed and subject castes which are described in chs. xxiv. and xxx. it is difficult to find in the Old Testament an exact analogue. The only form of idolatry alluded to is star-worship (xxxi. 27; xii. 6 must not be interpreted of idolatry), perhaps a trait of antiquity. The head of the family is represented as performing priestly functions (chs. i., xlii.), modelled, it would seem, on those performed by Balak, the Moabite king (Derenbourg, *l. c.*; Wright); and in the only mention that is made of priests (xii. 19) the context implies that prince-priests are signified. The ancient Versions find an allusion to concubinage in xix. 17; and polygamy would seem to be referred to in xxvii. 15.[p] Nevertheless the state of things with which the author is familiar is rather the advanced civilisation of the Solomonic or post-Solomonic age (Bernstein, *l. c.*, p. 81 sqq.): to this belong the war-horse (xxxix. 18–25), the taste for the precious metals and precious stones (xxii. 24–26, &c.), the elaborate forms of judicial procedure (ix. 33, xvii. 3, 4, xxxi. 37; see especially Kleinert, *Das spezifisch Hebräische im Buch Hiob* in *Theologische Stud. u. Krit.* 1886, p. 274), writing on stone, lead, and parchment (xix. 23, xxxi. 36), sealing-clay (xxxviii. 14), glass (xxviii. 17). Existing literature is noticed in xxxvi. 24, and perhaps xxi. 29. Wetzstein has endeavoured to trace special allusions to the customs of the Hauran in xxi. 32, xxiv. 5–8, 16, 24, xxx. 3–6; the mention of the customs of the Israelites would seem to be intentionally avoided by the author (unless the נֹאַל of xix. 25 and the "vows" of xxii. 27 be considered to fall under this head; the Mosaic law of inheritance, Num. xxxvi. 8, seems purposely contradicted in xlii. 15); the existence of a written law is dimly indicated in vi. 10, xxi. 14, xxiii. 12; no reference is made to the national history; and the passages in which patriarchal history is thought to be noticed (xviii. 15, the Cities of the Plain; xxii. 16, the Flood; xxxi. 33, Adam) all admit of other interpretations. It was owing to the apparent oblivion of Israel that many writers supposed the author to have been an Idumaean or Arab (an idea refuted by Bernstein, *l. c.*). Among the peculiar characteristics of the Book should be noticed the astronomical allusions (ix. 9, xxxviii. 31–33), regarded by some writers as indicating Arabian authorship, which show the author in possession of a somewhat fuller and more developed nomenclature than appears elsewhere in the Bible, and also familiar with some astronomical myths,[q] such as are found among other nations; a similar myth would seem to be the destruction of Rahab and Rahab's helpers (ix. 13, xxvi. 12), and of the Leviathan whom conjurers can wake up (iii. 8; cp. xxvi. 13); compare also the phrases xviii. 13, 14,

[o] Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, ii. 33, supposes the work to have been composed in Babylon.

[p] That the supposed patriarchal colouring is confined to *details* is brought out by Bruno Bauer, *l. c.* p. 484, and Kuenen, *l. c.*

[q] This is emphatically denied by Hengstenberg, i. 127, &c.

xxxiii. 22. The stores of snow and hail provided against the day of war and battle (xxxix. 23) belong to this class of idea. Somewhat after the style of the Arabic poets, too, are the accurate descriptions of the habits of the animals of the desert, and of physical phenomena, in which the author delights: "It would not be too much to say," writes Baur (*l. c.* p. 621), "that as many descriptions of nature are crowded together in Job as can be found in the whole Bible." These passages are collected by G. H. Gilbert, in *The Poetry of Job* (Chicago, 1889), who has attempted to analyse their beauties. The frequent reference to *Angels* deserves notice: they are called the Sons of God (both in the Prologue, i. 6, and in the dialogue, xxxviii. 7), Holy Ones (v. 1, xv. 15), God's Servants (iv. 18), Angels. The context in which they are mentioned would seem to imply that they are co-ordinate, and in a manner identified with the heavenly bodies (compare xxv. 5 with iv. 18). Their power of mediation is especially dwelt on by Elihu in xxxiii. 23 (a very remarkable passage), and perhaps alluded to by Eliphaz in v. 1.[7] Although superior to mankind, their imperfections and infirmities are often dwelt on. From these Angels it is (to some) difficult to separate "the Satan," whose name would seem to suggest the double function of "accuser" and "wanderer;" that he in no way represents an evil power, antagonistic to the Divine power, such as appears in the Zoroastrian religion, is now largely affirmed; Hoffmann finds the advance in the conception of his personality which appears in this Book in the fact that he carries out physical evil, whereas in 1 Ch. xxi. 1 and 1 Sam. xvi. 14–23 he only suggests moral evil. This latter function would seem to be indicated in ii. 2. The doctrine of a resurrection is mentioned (xiv. 13–15) as a possible solution of the difficulties of the moral government of the world, but emphatically rejected; it is not probable that there is any reference to it in the *locus classicus*, ch. xix. 25–28 (the literature on which is collected by Stickel, *de Goele commentatio*, Jena, 1832; Volck, *l. c.*, p. 6 sqq.; and Hirzel and Hitzig, ad loc.). The doctrine of "original sin" is not unfrequently indicated, but nowhere clearly analysed. A highly advanced and spiritual code of morals is taught by the author in ch. xxxi., with a remarkable distinction between "capital" offences and others (*vv.* 10, 28). Of "scepticism" properly so called (Bruch, p. 191) no accurate analysis will find any trace (cp. Kleinert, *Das spezifisch Hebräische im Buch Hiob*): the words of Job in xlii. 2 imply that he required the Theophany not in order to be convinced of God's existence, but to receive a personal assurance that the world was morally governed. (For an analysis of the ideas of the Book of Job on God, the world, mankind, morality, and the future, see Bruch, *Weisheitslehre der Hebräer*, 1851, pp. 199–226.)

5. *Integrity.*—The integrity of the Book of Job, like that of other Books of the Old Testament, has been the subject of much discussion. A large number of verses were omitted in the LXX. translation (§ 7 a), and Dr. Hatch (*Studies in Biblical Greek*, p. 215 sqq.) endeavours to show that these formed no part of the original text, but were interpolations in the Hebrew copies. The subscription after ch. xxxi., "the words of Job are ended" (if genuine), might also imply that the work once ended there. Modern criticism has especially attacked the following portions:—

(*a*) The speeches of Elihu[8] (chs. xxxii.–xxxvii.). The genuineness of these was first disputed by Stuhlmann (*Hiob*, 1804), with whom Eichhorn and Bernstein (*l. c.* pp. 130–132) agreed, and is denied by most modern critics. The speeches of Elihu differ from the others (1) in the length of the proems, (2) in quoting the words of Job, (3) in addressing Job by name, (4) in following each other continuously without answers from Job. Moreover (5), no allusion is made either in the prologue or epilogue to "Elihu, the son of Barachel," whose names, unlike the others, follow Jewish nomenclature, and whose tribe (Buz) seems suggested by that of Job (Uz: see Gen. xxii. 21), while his family (Ram, "the exalted") would seem to contain an allusion to xxxi. 34, and to be intended to prevent any misconception arising from the name Buz ("contempt"); the syntax of iii. 1 also almost excludes the existence of a fourth friend. Although, however, these chapters might be omitted without their loss being directly felt, "*the* whirlwind" of xxxviii. 1 may well be the whirlwind described in ch. xxxvii., and it should not be argued that the opening words of the Theophany (ch. xxxviii. 2), which evidently refer to Job, show that another speaker cannot have intervened; for the speech of Job may still be uppermost in the hearer's mind. The argument from the language urged by many writers against the speeches has been refuted by Stickel (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1842) and K. Budde (*Beiträge zur Kritik des Buches Hiob*, p. 92 sqq.), who, by a careful series of arithmetical calculations, proves that the vocabulary of these discourses does not differ in character from that of any other portion of the Book; and, indeed, the similarity of expression is so striking that many who have regarded these speeches as constituting no portion of the original work have supposed them to be an addition by the author himself (*e.g.* Renan, Wright); their occasional obscurity and apparent incoherence may be reasonably ascribed to corruptions of the text. The argument drawn especially by Renan, Delitzsch (in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, vi. 132), and Volck (who once maintained their genuineness), from the want of poetical power and vigour displayed in them, depends too much on personal taste to have much weight in the discussion. It must be added that the judgments passed on Elihu both in the Christian (cp. Schlottmann, p. 53 sqq.) and in the Jewish Church (Deutsch, *l. c.* pp. 14, 15) have been very various: while some think his speeches a mere cento collected from the rest of the Book, others regard him as the one wise speaker on the stage; and different writers have identified him with Christ and with Satan (the clever essay of Voigtländer in Keil

[7] A remarkable suggestion about this passage is made by W. H. Kosters on p. 117 of his essay, *Het onstaan en de ontwikeling der Angelologie onder Israel* (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, x. 34–69, 113–141), to which reference may generally be given.

[8] The literature on this question (down to 1873) is given most fully by Immanuel Deutsch, *l. c.* pp. 21–23.

and Tzschirner's *Analekten*, 1813, p. 27, in which this last view is maintained, deserves notice). It is now, however, generally agreed that Elihu does represent a different standpoint from the friends, and really provides a solution of the problem which they discuss. Whereas they supposed that punishment implied sin, and was proportionate to the sin, he regards it as necessary to perfection, and therefore most likely to overtake the relatively most perfect. This position is best explained by Hengstenberg (i. p. 8), who does not differ materially from other defenders of these speeches (Bruno Bauer, Budde, Im. Deutsch, M. Bölicke, *Die Elihu Reden*, &c., Halle, 1879; C. Claussen, *Das Verhältniss der Lehre des Elihu zu derjenigen der drei Freunde Hiobs*, in the *Zeitschr. für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, 1884, pp. 505–515).[t] This doctrine of perfection by suffering, or, as Hengstenberg terms it, "the mystery of the Cross," is regarded by these writers as the true solution of the problem of the Book; and they suppose it to be put in the mouth of Elihu rather than in that of the Deity, "because it would not have comported with the Divine dignity for the infinite God to place Himself on a level with His dependent creature and enter into an argument with him" (W. H. Green, *l. c.* p. 260). This explanation seems unsatisfactory, because it makes the speeches of the Deity superfluous; and as such Hengstenberg seems to regard them when he says (i. 22) that "the importance of the Theophany consists in the *fact* that God appears, not in what He says." Hence Simson (*Zur Kritik des Buches Hiob*, 1861, p. 34) and others who regard the standpoint of Elihu as an advance on that of the original author reject the speeches on that account; and the description of them as a "first theological criticism on the contents of the Book" (T. K. Cheyne) is the most probable. It should be added that the doctrine of the "mystery of the Cross" is only taught in certain portions of Elihu's discourse; and the nature of the rest corresponds sufficiently well with the theory that some reader, finding in the Book many sayings which bordered on blasphemy not sufficiently refuted by the friends, nor retracted by Job in ch. xxvii., thought proper to collect these offensive sayings, and in the person of Elihu expressly to refute them.

(*b*) Chapters xl. 15–xli. 26 (description of the hippopotamus and the crocodile). The spuriousness of ch. xli. 4–26 was suggested by Stuhlmann (*l. c.* p. 183), who made some further alterations; Eichhorn (*Einleitung*, v. 207) followed him, and added xl. 15–xli. 3 to the *athetesis*. This was approved by Ewald (*Tübinger Theol. Jahrbb.* 1843, p. 740 sqq.), whose grounds are also stated in his Commentary (E. T. p. 318 sqq.), and of more modern writers by Dillmann, Simson (*Zur Kritik des Buches Hiob*, p. 24), Wright, Cheyne, and Grill. These examples are thought inappropriate, because the omnipotence of God in the government of the world rather than His omnipotence in creation is the point to be proved; and fault is found with the length and minuteness of the descriptions, in which the person of the Speaker is almost forgotten. Some scholars have regarded the animals described as fabulous. The purpose of the interpolator is supposed to have been "to strengthen the argument of the Deity by the description of powerful creatures which indicate the omnipotence of the Creator" (Grill). Bunsen, *Gott in der Geschichte*, i. 497, arranged the passage as follows: xl. 15–26; xl. 1–14.

(*c*) Chapter xxviii. is regarded as a later addition by Knobel, Reuss, Cheyne, Grill, and others. It gives an interesting description of mining operations, which, difficult and elaborate as they are, are insufficient to produce Wisdom, which is only to be found with God, Who has given to man no part of it but the practical rule to fear Him. The chapter is isolated, and would seem to contain an independent answer to the problem of the Book, not different from the final answer, but surprising in Job's mouth.

(*d*) Chapter xxvii. 7–23. This passage is one of the most difficult in the Book, for in it Job would appear to adopt the standpoint which he has been combating throughout. Kennicott, followed by several modern critics (*e.g.* Reuss, Hoffmann, Cheyne), assigned this passage to Zophar, who according to the traditional arrangement speaks twice only; and Grätz (*Monatschrift*, 1872, p. 246) assigns to him ch. xxviii. also. (Bruch, *Weisheitslehre der Hebräer*, p. 170, would transpose xxvi. 5–14 after xxvii. 23.) Bernstein, Wellhausen, and Grill delete it, as the work of an interpolator, who desired to put into Job's mouth an acknowledgment of the Divine justice. If the passage be retained, the view of Hitzig and others that Job is here *quoting* the theory of his opponents seems preferable to that of Ewald and Delitzsch, according to which he adopts it in a modified form.

(*e*) The Prologue and Epilogue were obelized (after a suggestion of A. Schultens) by Stuhlmann, Bernstein, De Wette, and more recently by C. P. Tiele: Prof. Cheyne is inclined to regard them as belonging to a *prose* Book of Job, which the poet may have made the basis of his composition. They differ from the rest of the work chiefly in the use of the name יהוה for the Deity, who is called in the Book itself אל, אלוה, שדי, rarely אלהים, and in recognising ritual observances, of which the moral code of ch. xxxi. takes no notice. However, without the Prologue, the situation is unintelligible: and it is difficult to separate the Epilogue from it, although the latter has offended the taste of many, and is characterised by a certain irony.

(*f*) The verses 38–40 of ch. xxxi. would seem to be displaced, and are transposed by Delitzsch and many others after *vv.* 8, 25 or 34.

For further *atheteses*, see Grill, *Zur Kritik der Komposition des Buches Hiob* (Tübingen, 1890), who would also omit xii. 4–xiii. 2; xxiv. 5–9, 14–21; xxvi. 2–xxvii. 1; xxix., xxx., xxxi. 1: T. K. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*; and J. G. Hoffmann, *Hiob* (1890). The striking reconstruction by Studer (Bremen, 1881) also deserves notice: perhaps the most attractive suggestion which it contains is that chs. xxix., xxx. constituted the original Prologue.

6. *The language.*—The language of the Book of Job is rich and classical; and the author possesses a peculiar felicity of expression, and, like Ezekiel, delights in displaying the wealth of

[t] The view of Grätz (*Geschichte der Juden*, ii. 42–44) is similar, but not quite identical.

the Hebrew language. The rhetorical devices of the Arabic poets are employed, but with moderation; *e.g.* paronomasias[u] (xx. 27, 28; xxii. 24, 25; xxiv. 18; xxix. 4; xxxi. 33, 34), attempts at rhyme (xxvii. 23; xxviii. 8; xxxix. 3), *double entendres* (xxix. 18; xxx. 4; xxxi. 7, with reference to Deut. xiii. 17), employment of the same word in different senses (xi. 7; probably xxii. 30, xxiv. 17, xxxi. 10). Much has been said of the Arabisms of Job, which were noticed even by Jerome (*Praef. in Daniel.*), who professes to interpret the Book with the aid of the Syriac and Arabic (*Praef. in Iobum*). This "Arabism" appears (1) in the employment of certain Hebrew roots in their Arabic senses, *e.g.* עטף, "to turn aside," xxiii. 9; צדק, "to speak truly," xxxiii. 12; התמלא, "to form companies," xvi. 10; בטן, "tribe," xix. 17 (Kosegarten); הוא, "fall," xxxvii. 6; אמר, "business," xx. 29, xxii. 28, &c.: (2) in the employment of certain grammatical forms which resemble the Arabic rather than the Hebrew idiom, *e.g.* רָאוּ, xxxiii. 21; למו, מְנהוּ—similarly אין פקד, xxxv. 15 (Delitzsch), מקרוֹב xxi. 4, seem to follow Arabic syntax: (3) in the employment of vocables existing in Arabic, but not found elsewhere in Hebrew literature, *e.g.* פחדים, "thighs," xl. 17; קנצי, "nets," xviii. 2; עטישה, "sneezing," xli. 10; רי, xxxvii. 11 (Delitzsch; see a list given by Böttcher, *Ausf. Lehrb.* i. p. 16). Bernstein is right in saying that these Arabisms do not differ in quality from those which are to be found in other Books of the Bible, and are to be explained by the original affinity of the Semitic dialects and the fact that our knowledge of Hebrew is fragmentary. It is by something of an exaggeration therefore that Delitzsch and Wetzstein speak of the dialect of this Book as "Hauranitic" or "Hebrew-Arabic," and the best critics have been sober in their employment of the Arabic vocabulary in its interpretation. Equally important therefore are the Aramaisms (most fully collected by Bernstein, *l. c.* pp. 49–79), which some critics have endeavoured, but without success, to distinguish from those which are to be found in the later Books of the Bible generally. It is remarkable that in xviii. 20 the author desiring a synonym for witness (Heb. עד) *borrows* one from the Aramaic (שָׂהֲדִי), without accommodating it to Hebrew vocalism. The speeches of Elihu are especially replete with Aramaisms (*e.g.* xxxvi. 2, כתר לי זעיר ואחוך); but attempts which have been made to show that the other speakers are distinguished by their dialect (see *e.g.* Hitzig on iv. 6, viii. 8, 11, 17) are evidently fanciful. A few words are explained by scholars from the Aethiopic (*e.g.* תהלה, iv. 18, according to Dillmann); and besides the Egyptian words in the verses noticed above, the Egyptian name for "crocodile" seems certainly alluded to in xl. 25. There remain, however, a great number of *hapax legomena* which have not as yet been illustrated from any dialect, and the meaning of which was unknown to the ancient translators. Great similarity has otherwise been traced between the Hebrew of Job and that of the Book of Proverbs.

[u] Collected by Wright, pp. 32, 33.

The orthography throughout shows some peculiarities, such as the omission of *matres lectionis*, *e.g.* יצתי, i. 21; the contraction of consonantal א, *e.g.* חמה, viii. 21; interchange of א and ה, *e.g.* ימלה, viii. 21: all of which appear also in the Elihu discourses.

Jerome states that in the original the dialogue was written in "hexameters, composed of dactyls and spondees, sometimes admitting other feet, not of the same syllables, but of the same metrical value," yet occasionally *rhythmus ipse dulcis et tinnulus fertur numeris lege metri solutis;* and he refers to the ordinary authorities (Josephus, Philo, and Origen) in proof of these assertions. These metres Bickell in his *Carmina Hebraica* has attempted to restore; a somewhat more elaborate attempt has been made by G. H. B. Wright (see the explanation in his translation of Job, pp. 23–31), whereas Prof. Briggs and Merx have attempted simpler analyses. *Strophic* arrangements of different sorts have been introduced by Köster (1831), Delitzsch, Merx (1872), and others.

7. *Ancient Versions.*—(*a*) The SEPTUAGINT translation was the work of a writer well versed in Greek literature; among the authors whom he occasionally imitates are Homer, Aeschylus, and perhaps Apollonius Rhodius and Callimachus (E. Egli in *Rheinisches Museum*, xii. 444–448); his language, however, is not free from the dialectic peculiarities of the LXX. His knowledge of Hebrew (if, indeed, he had the original before him) must have been very slight; and although he sometimes interprets words after the Syriac (*e.g.* x. 17, נגדי; *τὴν ἔτασίν μου*), and perhaps the Arabic (*e.g.* xxxix. 20, נחרו; *στηθέων αὐτοῦ*; cp. Arab. نَحْر; xvi. 12, ערפי; *τῆς κόμης*), his translation is for the most part too free to be of any use for the criticism of the text, and too ignorant to be of any help in interpreting it. One trace of traditional exegesis seems to be preserved in xxix. 18, where for *στέλεχος φοίνικος* it is probable that φοῖνιξ (*i.e.* the bird Phoenix) should be read. The translator follows the method of the Targums in avoiding all offensive anthropomorphisms; he makes a rhetorical addition in ii. 8, and adds an epilogue which is of some interest. These various characteristics make the middle of the 2nd century B.C. the probable date of this translation (Bickell, *de indole ac ratione versionis Alexandrinae in interpretando libro Iobi*, Marburg, 1862). There is no doubt that the original LXX. text was much shorter than that which has come down in our MSS.; it omitted of the Hebrew verses "sometimes three or four, sometimes fourteen or nineteen" (Origenes, *Ep. ad Africanum*); the whole number of the omissions being reckoned by Jerome (*Praef. in Iobum*) at 700 or 800, by Hesychius at 600. The Greek of these verses was supplied by Origen from Theodotion, and marked by him in the Hexapla with asterisks; and they are not translated in the pre-Hexaplarian Sahidic Version, whence we learn that the whole number did not exceed 400 (Dillmann, *Textkritisches zum Buche Hiob* in *Sitzungsberichte der k. p. Akademie zu Berlin*, Dec. 18, 1890). Bickell (pp. 48-50), who gave an enumeration of them from the authorities then accessible,

reckoned the number at 373. An attempt is made by Hatch (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 220–245) to show that the verses omitted by the LXX. may have been later interpolations in the Hebrew copies (*e.g.* xvii. 3–5; xxi. 28–33; xxiv. 14 c–18 a; xxviii. 13–22, the last of which is quoted by Clem. Alex.); and it is certainly remarkable that many of them should occur in the speech of Elihu. We regard the opinion of Bickell (and Dillmann, who *l. c.* examines them in detail) that these verses were omitted arbitrarily on grounds of difficulty or of taste, as more probable.

Daughter Versions of the LXX.—Of these the Sahidic (Thebaic) was made before the recension of Origen; it exists in a MS. in the Museum Borgianum at Rome, except the last leaves, which are at Naples; the first chapter was published, with Latin translation, by Giovanni Tortoli (*Atti del iv Congresso dei Orientalisti*, Firenze, 1880, p. 79), who promised an edition of the whole; a project achieved by A. Ciasca (*Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica*, Rome, 1885). A Memphitic Version, closely following the Alexandrian MS., was published by H. Tattam (London, 1850). The critical marks of Origen are preserved in the Syro-Hexaplar Version (made A.D. 617), which exists in a Milan MS. (edited by Middeldorpf, 1835, facsimiled by Ceriani 1876). This version is carefully investigated by Middeldorpf, *Curae Hexaplares in Iobum*, Breslau, 1817. The Armenian Version (in its printed form) closely follows the Alexandrian MS. The Aethiopic Version is in MS.; the copy in the Bodleian Library exhibits a text on the whole similar to MS. Alex., but very ignorantly rendered (*e.g.* Βιλδὰδ ὁ Σαυχίτης is throughout rendered *Bίλδαδος Αὐχίτης*); not unfrequently second renderings of verses are introduced (according to Dillmann, *Lex. Aeth.* col. 90, "from the Syriac and Arabic;" this source however will not account for all, *e.g.* xxxiv. 9, where ברצתו is rendered *by his running*): in this case the new translation regularly *precedes* that which follows the LXX.

(*b*) *Peshiṭto Syriac.*—An account of this version, which was made directly from the Hebrew, is given by Edv. Stenij (*de Syriaca Iobi interpretatione quae Peschita vocatur*, Helsingfors, 1881), who collects (1) the various readings; (2) the better readings; (3) the variants of the Hebrew text. The last are of little importance. It is the basis of the Commentary of S. Ephraem.

(*c*) *Targum.*—The best edition is by P. de Lagarde (*Hagiographa Chaldaice*, Leipzig, 1873). There are dissertations on it by S. Cohn (1867), A. Weiss (*de libri Jobi paraphrasi Chaldaica*, Breslau, 1873), and W. Bacher (in Grätz's *Monatschrift*, 1871, pp. 208–223). According to the last writers it is the work of a Palestinian Jew of the 4th century A.D., interpolated by a hand of the 8th century. Its variations from the Massoretic text are very remarkable.

(*d*) *Latin Versions.*—The Old-Latin was made from the Greek, and omitted the same verses. Jerome is said to have translated the Book twice, once from the Greek, where he marked verses which he had added from the Hebrew with an asterisk, verses which were wanting in the Hebrew with an obelus; and a second time from the Hebrew (Augustine, ed. Migne, ii. 242). The former of these, however, would seem to have been no more than a revision of the Old-Latin; and hence two MSS. of it preserve Jerome's critical marks,—Bodl. 2426, and a *Cod. Maioris Monasterii* printed in Martianaeus' edition of S. Jerome, and thence in Sabatier's *Bibbl. Lat. Versiones Antiquae*, vol. i., now *Turonensis* 18. De Lagarde (*Mittheilungen*, ii. 189–327) has published a text of this version with the readings of both MSS. Jerome agrees sometimes with Jewish tradition (*e.g.* xxxviii. 6); his work has received, not undeservedly, high praise.

(*e*) *Arabic Versions.*—The Version in the Polyglott is from the Peshitto; Tattam (*l. c.*) made use of a MS. Version from the Coptic. The same, or a similar Version made from the Coptic, is printed by P. de Lagarde in his *Psalterium Job Proverbia Arabice* (Göttingen, 1876), where the Polyglott Version also is reprinted. An Arabic Version made from the LXX. (perhaps through or with the aid of a daughter Version) was described by Fleischer, *ZDMG.* 1864, p. 288, and afterwards edited by Baudissin (*Translationis antiquae Arabicae libri Iobi quae supersunt*, Lips. 1870). Arabic Versions made from the Hebrew are many; that by the Gaon Saadja (*ob.* 942) has been edited by Dr. J. Cohn (Altona, 1889).

8. *History of Exegesis.*—The Book of Job must have been much studied in early times, since we find constant imitations of it in the "Wisdom of Ben-Sira," who however makes no mention of Job (just as he makes no mention of Daniel) among the heroes of the world, although (according to the Syriac Version of xlix. 11) he refers to the passage of Ezekiel in which Job is mentioned. In the "Wisdom of Solomon," v. 10, 11 seem to be suggested by the LXX. of Job ix. 26, and in the "Psalms of Solomon" parts of Ps. iii. by Job iii. He is referred to in the Book of Tobit, and by St. James (v. 11); the Book is quoted by St. Paul (1 Cor. iii. 19 = v. 13 a) and is alluded to by Christ (Matt. xxiv. 28 = xxxix. 30). There are copious references to it in the Mishna, Talmudim, and Midrashim (collected by Rabbi Israel Schwarz in the first volume of his work תקוות אנוש, Berlin, 1868). It is assigned different places in the Canon in different lists (W. H. Proby, *On certain Questions connected with the Book of Job*, 1886, pp. 5–10; Carpzovius, *Introductio ad libros Biblicos Vet. Test.* ii. 31): being regarded by some authors as a poetical book, by others as historical. The latter view is thought to have been held by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. c. 10), and was long maintained in the Christian Church. Augustine (*contra Prisc. et Origen.* ed. Migne, viii. 676) denies that the speeches of the three friends have Divine authority, although "a man of discernment *potest ex eorum verbis aliquam sanam sententiam in testimonium veritatis assumere;*" but the view taken of Job was on the whole favourable; and even in the *Moralia* of Gregorius Magnus "the tendency to minimise Job's sin during his afflictions is clearly visible" (Schlottmann, p. 45). After Calvin (*Sermon* cxxix. on Job) had asserted his sin with some emphasis, Rom. Cath. and especially Jesuit theologians maintained his complete sinlessness; on the other hand, Luther was attacked by the Rom. Caths. for denying the completely historical character of the work (see Carpzovius, *Introd.* ii. p. 34); but when after the initiative of Richard Simon freer ideas

on this subject circulated among the Rom. Caths., the Protestants became stricter, and Luther's utterances were explained away (Schlottmann, pp. 6, 7 and 44, 45). The Book of Job was violently attacked in early times by Theodore of Mopsuestia (*ob.* 428), who regarded Job himself as a historical character, viz. a pious Edomite, but the author of the Book (whom he identified with the LXX. translator) as a vainglorious man, who, in order to parade his learning and poetical skill, had fabricated the whole of the Dialogue (Fritzsche, *de Theod. Mopsuest.* 1836, pp. 60, 61). A very similar attack was made on the Book in later times by Spinoza (*Tract. Theol. Polit.* ch. x.).

The inaccuracy of the LXX. Version impeded the understanding of the Book among the Greek fathers, whose comments are collected in the *Catena* of Nicetas (London, 1637); another Catena (in Latin) was published by Paulus Comitolus (Leyden, 1586, and Venice, 1587). The Commentary of Jerome, which would have been of great value, is lost; that which is printed among his writings is by Philippus Presbyter (A.D. 455). Commentaries were also written by Ambrose and Augustine. The *Moralia in Jobum* of Gregorius Magnus (*ob.* 604) was the most important of the early Latin commentaries, and is commended by G. Bradley, *Lectures on the Book of Job* (1887); another work with the same title was composed by Odo Cluniacensis (10th century). The earliest Jewish exposition printed is by R. Saadja Gaon (*v. supra*), consisting of brief notes in Arabic, not free from scholasticism: the commentary of his Karaite opponent, R. Jephet ibn Ali, exists in MS. in English libraries. Of early Rabbinical commentators, besides Rashi and Ibn Ezra, R. Moses b. Nachman (*ob.* 1270), R. Levi b. Gerson (*ob.* 1378), R. Simon b. Zemach (*ob. circa* 1400; his Comm. is called אוהב משפט), and R. Abraham b. Farissol (born 1451) are often cited. R. Levi (Gersonides or Ralbag) explained the Book philosophically, as Maimonides had done (*More Nebuchim*, iii. § 22), and as R. Jehudah b. Saadja (13th century) is said to have done. Some others are mentioned by Carpzov, *l. c.* p. 82, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxvii. pp. 551–6, and in A. Neubauer's *Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, col. 1052. Schiller-Szinessy (*Catalogue*, p. 40) praises very highly the Commentary of R. Berachyah existing in the Cambridge Library. The Vatican MS. 188 contains a fragment of a Cabbalistic explanation of ch. xxxviii.; fragments of an early commentary have been published with very careful notes by R. Gildemeister (*Bruchstücke eines Rabbinischen Hiob-Commentars*, Bonn, 1874); see also Frankel, *Monatschrift*, 1856, p. 223, and אוצר הספרים, Vilna, 1880, p. 460. The work of R. Schwarz, referred to above, embodies the Commentaries of R. Isaiah of Trani, RR. Moses, Daniel, and Joseph Kimchi, and R. Zechariah b. Isaac of Barcelona (1160–1290). Many others have been printed in the last and the present centuries. The most recent Hebrew Commentary (by B. Szolt, Baltimore, 1886) contains much that is valuable, but entirely neglects what has been done by non-Jewish scholars. This class of exposition is represented in English by the extensive work of H. H. Bernard (*The Book of Job as expounded to his Cambridge Pupils by H. H. B.*, edited by F. Chance, London, 1884).

More than sixty authorities, chiefly Christian commentators, were employed by A. Schultens (Leiden, 1737), who assigns the palm among Rom. Cath. scholars to Pineda (Venice, 1608), among Lutherans to Sebastian Schmid (Strasburg, 1690). His own Commentary is monumental, not only as embodying the labours of his predecessors, but as the result of profound acquaintanee with Semitic idioms, and characterised throughout by sound judgment and modesty. His application of Arabic to the interpretation of Job, although excessive, is moderate, if compared with the procedure of scholars both before and after his time. An abridged edition of his work was issued by Vogel (Halle, 1768). Of Schultens' successors De Wette (in his *Introduction*) is thought to have done most for the interpretation of the work as a whole: for the explanation of particular difficulties Renan (*Le Livre de Job*, 1860) assigns the palm to Ewald (*Dichter des Alten Bundes*, 1836, 2nd ed. 1866; translated in the Theological Translation Fund Library), while he specially commends for industry the *Handbuch* of Hirzel (Leipzig, 1839, re-edited by J. Olshausen, afterwards by A. Dillmann, 1869). The Commentary of A. Hahn (Berlin, 1850) is valuable for its grammatical analysis; that of Schlottmann (Berlin, 1851) chiefly for the varied learning of its introduction, in which parallels both to the plan and to the thought of the Book of Job are collected from the sacred literature of the Indo-Germanic races. The *Biblical Commentary* of F. Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1864, 2nd ed. 1876, translated in Clark's Foreign Theological Library) is justly regarded as one of the most successful of its author's productions. Much that is original and valuable was added by F. Hitzig in his Commentary (Leipzig, 1874). The posthumous work of E. W. Hengstenberg (Berlin, 1870–6) is controversial and homiletic. The most recent German commentary is by W. Volck in Strack and Zöckler's *Exegetisches Handbuch* (1890). The commentaries of the Rom. Caths. Welte (1849) and Zschokke (1882), and the translations of A. Merx (1871) and J. G. Hoffmann (1890), deserve mention. The most important commentary in Dutch is that by J. C. Matthes (*Het boek Job vertaald en verklaard*, 2nd ed., Gröningen, 1876).

Of recent English works the most elaborate is the unfinished Commentary of A. B. Davidson (Edinburgh, 1862); the Commentary in the *Speaker's* series is by Canon F. C. Cook (London, 1880). The work of G. H. B. Wright (*The Book of Job: a new critically revised Translation, with Essays*, London, 1883) is mainly critical, that of Samuel Cox (*A Commentary on the Book of Job, with a new Translation*, London, 1880) mainly homiletic. Some of the special literature has been noticed in the preceding sections.

[D. S. M.]

JO'BAB. **1.** (יוֹבָב): in Gen. A. Ἰωβάβ, E. Ἰωβάδ; in Ch. A. Ὀράμ, B. om.: *Jobab.*) The last of the thirteen sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 29; 1 Ch. i. 23) and the tribal father of a branch of the Joktanide clans. His name has not been discovered among the Arab names of places in Southern Arabia, where he ought to

be found with the other sons of Joktan. But Ptolemy (vi. 7, 24) mentions the Ἰωβαρίται near the Sachalitae on the S. coast of Arabia; and Bochart, followed by Salmasius and Gesenius, suggests the reading Ἰωβαβίται, by the common interchange of ρ and β. The identification is possibly correct, but it has not been connected with an Arab name of a tribe or place; and Bochart's conjecture of its being *i. q.* Arab. يَبَاب, *yabāb*, "a desert," from يَبَّ, though regarded as probable by Gesenius and Michaelis, seems to be unworthy of acceptance. Kalisch (*Com. on Gen.*) says that it is, "according to the etymology, a district in *Arabia Deserta*," in apparent ignorance of the famous desert near Hadhramaut, called al-Aḥkāf, of proverbial terror; and the more extensive waste on the north-east of the former, called the "deserted quarter," Er-Ruba el-Khālī, which is impassable in the summer, and fitter to be called desert Arabia than the country named *deserta* by the Greeks. But Kautzsch definitely rejects Bochart's combination Jobabites = Jobarites (Riehm, *HWB.* s. v. Jobab).

2. Jobab ben Zerah, of Bozrah, the second in the list of "the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 33, 34; 1 Ch. i. 44, 45). [EDOM.] An addition to the LXX. version of the Book of Job identifies him with Job, his father being Zerah son of Esau, and his mother Bosorra (Cod. Vat.) or Bossora (Cod. Al.); a name obviously derived from the Bozrah of the original text.

3. Jobab, king of Madon, an ally of Jabin king of Hazor, against Joshua (Josh. xi. 1).

4. Jobab, the name of two clans of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 9, 18). [E. S. P.] [C. J. B.]

JO-CHEBED (יוֹכֶבֶד if of Hebrew origin = *Jehovah is gloriousness* [MV.[11]]; for the Egyptian interpretation, see Nestle, *Die Israelit. Eigennamen*, p. 77 sq.; Ἰωχαβέδ; *Jochabed*), the wife and at the same time the aunt of Amram, and the mother of Moses and Aaron (Ex. vi. 20). In order to avoid the apparent illegality of the marriage between Amram and his aunt, the LXX. and Vulg. render the word *dōdah* "cousin" instead of "aunt" (see Knobel-Dillmann in loco). But this is unnecessary: the example of Abraham himself (Gen. xx. 12) proves that in the pre-Mosaic age a greater latitude was permitted in regard to marriage than in a later age. Moreover it is expressly stated elsewhere (Ex. ii. 1; Num. xxvi. 59) that Jochebed was the daughter of Levi, and consequently sister of Kohath, Amram's father. [W. L. B.] [F.]

JO'DA (Ἰωδά; Vulg. om.) = Judah the Levite (1 Esd. v. 58, see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco; cp. Ezra iii. 9). Some words are probably omitted. The name elsewhere appears in the A. V. in the forms Hodaviah (Ezra ii. 40), Hodevah (Neh. vii. 43), Hodijah (Neh. x. 10), and Sudias (1 Esd. v. 26).

JO'ED (יוֹעֵד = *Jehovah is witness* [MV.[11]]; Ἰωάδ; *Joed*), a Benjamite, the son of Pedaiah (Neh. xi. 7). Two of Kennicott's MSS. read יועזר, *i.e.* Joezer, and two יואל, *i.e.* Joel, confounding Joed with Joel the son of Pedaiah the Manassite. The Syriac must have read יורש.

JO'EL (יוֹאֵל = *Jehovah is God*; cp. the Phoenician יאל [MV.[11]; see Nestle, *Israelit. Eigennamen*, p. 86]: Ἰωήλ: *Joel* and *Johel*). **1.** Eldest son of Samuel the prophet (1 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Ch. vi. 33, xv. 17), and father of Heman the singer. He and his brother Abiah were made judges in Beersheba when their father was old, and no longer able to go his accustomed circuit. But they disgraced both their office and their parentage by the corrupt way in which they took bribes and perverted judgment. Their grievous misconduct gave occasion for the change of the constitution of Israel to a monarchy. It is in the case of Joel that the singular corruption of the text of 1 Ch. vi. 13 (*v.* 28, A. V.) has taken place. Joel's name has dropped out; and *Vashni*, which means "and the second," and is descriptive of Abijah, has been taken for a proper name. The R. V. reads the verse "the firstborn *Joel*, and the second Abiah."

2. Joel in 1 Ch. vi. 36, A. V. and R. V., is replaced by Shaul in *v.* 24. [A. C. H.]

3. One of the Minor Prophets, the son of Pethuel, or, according to the LXX., Βαθουήλ. Nothing further is known of his origin: the statements that he was from Bethom of Reuben (Pseudo-Epiphanius, *De vit. Proph.* xiv.), or from the tribe of Zebulun, seem to be quite untrustworthy. Nor again can any information be gleaned from his writings as to his condition of life: he speaks indeed of the priests with respect (i. 9, 13; ii. 17); but this is no proof that he was himself a priest or Levite, as has been sometimes supposed. We must submit to be ignorant of all the personal history of Joel, however desirous we may be to know more of one who was by no means the least remarkable of the Minor Prophets.

As to the date of his writings extreme diversity of opinion still continues to exist: it is a point which cannot be settled with certainty any more than the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews: only probability is attainable. It has been put (by Credner and Movers) as early as the first years of Joash of Judah (837 B.C.),* or even earlier (Bunsen); by Merx it has been brought down as late as 445; by others it has been placed at various intervening dates. This uncertainty is due to the fact that there is in Joel no marked allusion to foreign politics, such as meets us in Isaiah; no description of the social condition of the people, no denunciation of national sins, which might serve to fix his date: only drunkenness is mentioned. The enemies of Judah who are to be punished for their oppressions are not Assyria and Babylon, who came upon the scene at definite, well-known times: they are Phoenicia, Philistia, Egypt, and Edom, and it is difficult to assign any time for the particular acts of hostility for which they are denounced by the Prophet. Our knowledge of the relations of

* As to the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah from the time of Jehu and Athaliah, see Driver *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, p. 13. Ussher's chronology must be given up.

these peoples to Israel and Judah is probably too fragmentary for us to build any safe conclusions upon it: the Prophet may be alluding to acts which have not been recorded in the chronicles which have descended to us. So in the Psalms it is often impossible to fix upon any known historical facts as the basis of the Psalmist's meaning. From the scattered notices which meet us we may fairly conclude that the enmity of these nations was chronic, venting itself whenever an opportunity might occur. The date of Joel must, it would seem, be placed either early or very late. For although the Prophet seems to allude to coming captivity (ii. 20; iii. 1), yet there is no evidence in his writings of the struggle between idolatry and the worship of Jehovah which meets us in Hosea, Amos, and later Prophets, and continued till the Captivity, when it finally ceased. And yet this very absence of pointed allusion to known historical events may be of value in determining the age of the Prophet. The fact that we find no mention of Assyria or Babylon, that no denunciation of them meets us in Joel, as in Isaiah x. and xiv., would seem to show that these nations had not yet appeared upon the political scene. For, when the Prophet speaks (iii. 2) of the gathering of "all nations" to Jerusalem for judgment, he does not mention these overwhelming oppressors, over whose downfall Isaiah exults with such patriotic fervour: he mentions only the petty plunderers of gold and silver and slaves. It may therefore, with some confidence, be assumed that he wrote at a time when these great empires had not yet come into collision with Israel and Judah; that is, before the end of the 8th century B.C. On the other hand, his probable allusion to Jehoshaphat's victory (2 Ch. xx.) over Moab, Edom, and Ammon (iii. 2, 12) would make him subsequent to that event, *i.e.* to the middle of the 7th century; his time may therefore fairly be sought at some period between these two dates. And many allusions in his Book harmonise well with this assumption. The office of prophet was still highly respected as in the days of David. The nation was apparently more simple in its ways than in the time of Amos. The Temple was still standing, and its ritual cherished. The Prophet dreads lest the offerings of meal and wine should be interrupted (i. 9, 13, 16; ii. 14). The old war-like spirit of Deborah and David seems to be revived in the summons of the Prophet (iii. 9) to all the nations to come and have vengeance dealt to them for the wrongs done by them against the people of the Lord. The purity of Joel's style tends also in the same direction, and there is no reason for supposing that this is due to a careful study of literary models, as has been suggested. Again, the Prophets often quote one from the other, as if to carry on the message entrusted to an older colleague. And so we find the words of Joel iii. 16 (Heb. iv. 16) also occurring in Amos i. 2. Did Joel quote Amos, or Amos Joel? If we may judge from a comparison of the two passages, Joel was the older writer: in him the words in question appear from the construction to be part of an original passage, whereas in Amos they have the look of a quotation. It seems as if Amos had taken almost the concluding words of the older Prophet's message and placed them at the head of his own Book, thus associating his own ministry with that of Joel. Again, Joel iii. 18 (iv. 18) seems to be a component part of the same prophecy, whereas in Amos ix. 13 it has the air of being an insertion. Further correspondences may be found between Joel and other Prophets, as will be seen below, but these do not show from their form which are the originals and which the quotations.

The arguments for assigning a late, post-exilic, date to Joel do not on examination appear to be very convincing. Thus it has been said: "Joel gives no indication of political life at Jerusalem. In chap. i. only elders or sheikhs and priests are mentioned: not the king or princes or warriors or councillors, as before the Exile. The nation has only a municipal organization with a priestly aristocracy, as it had under the Persian empire."[b] It is doubtful, however, whether in any one of the four passages (i. 2, 14; ii. 16; iii. 1) in which Joel uses the word *zaqēn*, he employs it in an official sense. Even if he did, the term is so commonly used under the kings that no argument can be built upon it. That the king is not mentioned may be due to the fact that the prophecy was possibly delivered during the minority of Joash of Judah. If again the Prophet had no special message for the king and other officials, why was he bound to mention them? Again (2): "Joel suits best with a later date, when Syrian slaves were in special request in Greece." Why so? What evidence is forthcoming that the Phoenicians were not slave-dealers as early as the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.? They are mentioned as such in Amos i. 6 In Is. xi. 11 captives of Israel are to be brought back from other parts and from the "islands of the sea," *i.e.* the coasts of the Mediterranean. There is no reason to suppose that this trade sprung up then and was not in existence centuries earlier. Again (3): "The name Javan (Ionians) is not found in any part of the O. T. certainly older than Ezekiel." Even if it could be proved that the genealogy in Gen. x. 4 is of post-exilic origin, this would not be enough. To serve as an argument for the late date of Joel, it must be shown that the name "Javan" was not known in Palestine till after the Exile: this cannot be proved, and is most improbable.[c] Again (4): "In Joel Israel has disappeared: only Judah is mentioned. This is inconceivable in the case of an early prophet." Why? Earlier prophets than Joel, Elijah (with one exception, 2 Ch. xxi. 12) and Elisha, seem to have occupied themselves entirely with the affairs of Israel: why should not Joel's ministry have been confined to Judah? Again (5): "The 'daily offering' (i. 9) is cut off and its restoration (ii. 14) promised. Under the monarchy it was the king's private offering; not till Ezra was it the affair of the community." Even if these statements could be proved, they would be beside the mark. Joel is not speaking exclusively of the special daily offering of meal and wine (Ex. xxix. 40), the *minḥath ha-tāmīdh* of Neh. x.

[b] R. W. Smith, *Encycl. Brit.* (1881), *s. v.* Joel.

[c] The name is found in an inscription of Sargon (B.C. 722–705): Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 81.

33; Dan. viii. 11, &c. He has been describing the ravages of the locusts: "The corn is wasted: the new wine is dried up," and so there is none left for a meal- and drink-offering, the invariable accompaniments of all the bloody sacrifices, not of the special morning and evening offerings alone. Again (6): "Joel's allusion to the walls (ii. 7, 9) shows him to be after Ezra and Nehemiah." Were there, then, no walls to Jerusalem before the Exile? Again (7): "It is an assumption inconsistent with history that before the prophetical conflicts of the 8th century spiritual prophecy had unchallenged sway, when there was no gross idolatry or superstition, and when prophets like Joel were in accord with the priests and held the same position as they did after the Exile." If, however, as Credner suggests, Joel is to be placed in the early years of Joash, when idolatry had been put down (2 Ch. xxiii.) and the Temple-worship restored by Jehoiada, the language of the Prophet presents no difficulty. Again (8): "Joel must be a late Prophet, for he has copied the assembling of the nations to judgment from Zeph. iii. 8 and Ezek. xxxviii. 22, where the wonders of fire and blood are also mentioned, and his picture of the fertility of the land is taken from Amos ix. 13, &c." But, as we have seen above, the probability is that Joel was the original writer whose predictions were adopted by later Prophets. We shall therefore not be rash in assigning Joel a date between 850 and 700 B.C., but his exact position is difficult to settle more accurately. The early reign of Joash (837–797) has been selected by Credner, Movers, Hitzig, and other writers of eminence as his most probable date, and there is much to be said in its favour, as has been already remarked. By others he has been placed somewhat later. "There being no internal indication of the date of Joel, we cannot do better than acquiesce in the tradition by which his Book is placed next to that of Hosea, and regard Joel as the Prophet of Judah during the earlier part of Hosea's office towards Israel, and rather earlier than Isaiah."[d]

The prophecy opens with a vivid account (i. 2–13) of the ruin wrought in the land by drought and by the successive inroads of locusts. What one flight had left another had consumed, till crops and fruit-trees had alike been destroyed. Four different names are employed to describe the swarms of destroyers, and thus signify the completeness of the havoc brought about by them.[e] But yet worse is to come. More terrible ravagers (ch. ii.) are on their way. Is it another flight of locusts which is foretold in this chapter, or are they human enemies? The matter has been warmly disputed by successive generations of commentators, and is not yet settled. Perhaps it may be best to suppose that the Prophet in vision sees the new enemies approaching in the shape of locusts of terrible size and strength, such as those described in Rev. ix. Some parts of the description (*e.g.* ii. 7) seem to necessitate this view. But that more is implied than mere locusts is evident both from the general description and from the expression (ii. 17), "Give not thine heritage to reproach that the heathen should rule over them;"[f] and again (ii. 20), "I will remove far off from you the northerner." How are we to interpret this last obscure expression which has been the despair of commentators? It can hardly refer to locusts, as they would naturally make their way from their usual breeding grounds in the Arabian desert on the south of Judah: they would not come from the north. Passages in Jeremiah and Ezekiel[g] suggest the answer. The invading armies of Babylon are described in them as coming from this quarter, as they would naturally take the road to Judah through Northern Palestine. In the time of Joel the expression would include Assyria as well, the northern kingdoms of Syria and Israel being always the first to feel the attack of these invaders. The precipitate retreat of Sennacherib after his great losses in South Palestine (Is. xxxvii. 36) illustrates the latter part of Joel ii. 20.

The prophecy from ii. 18 onwards is full of promises of mercy to follow upon the repentance of the people. The verbs in *v.* 18 have been taken by the R. V. and several commentators in the past tense, "Then the Lord answered and said." Indeed Merx characterises the future sense as an "exegetical monstrosity." Nevertheless, as no past tense has previously occurred, it seems right to take the verbs, though joined with vau conversive, in a future sense, as was done in the A. V.[h] The former and the latter rain shall again descend in their season, and the land shall again give her increase; the heathen enemies shall be removed. But greater promises follow. The Holy Spirit shall be poured forth upon all flesh. Wonders shall be seen in heaven and earth, ushering in the great and terrible day of the Lord, in which however deliverance shall be found in Mount Zion and Jerusalem, and in the faithful remnant whom the Lord shall call. This theme of the coming Day of Judgment is enlarged upon in ch. iii. All nations are to be summoned to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, not probably the valley outside Jerusalem on the east, but the scene of the victory described in 2 Ch. xx.[i] There the ancient wrongs of His people will be avenged, the captives will be restored, while their oppressors Tyre and Zidon, who had sold them to foreign lands for pitiful sums, shall receive a due recompense for their evil deeds. The Lord will roar out of Zion in His fury at the foe, but He will be the hope of His people and the Strength of Israel. Egypt and Edom will be desolate, while plenty shall reign in Judah: the mountains shall be covered with vineyards, and the hills with herds of cattle; and more than this, spiritual blessings

[d] Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, p. 96.

[e] Credner attempted, but unsuccessfully, to show that different stages in the growth of the same insect were intended (Pusey, p. 97).

[f] Some prefer to make the sense, "that the heathen should jest at them." This is doubtful, but the result of the passage will be much the same.

[g] *e.g.* Jer. iv. 6, vi. 22, x. 22, &c.; Ezek. xxvi. 7: cp. Zeph. ii. 13.

[h] The words "the former rain moderately" have also been translated "a teacher of righteousness," and applied to the Messiah: but this is unlikely.

[i] See JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF. The tradition identifying it with the Kidron cannot be traced before the 4th century A.D.

like a fertilising stream shall issue from the Temple, and water not only Judah but even the arid valley of the Acacias on the further side of Jordan.

If the date assigned above to Joel be correct, this Prophet must have exercised considerable influence upon his successors. For not only thoughts which first appear in his writings are taken up by them, but his very words are reproduced.[k] Thus the nearness of the day of the Lord when He shall come for judgment, and its accompanying gloom and darkness, are described in Joel i. 15, ii. 1, 31, iii. 14, and again reappear in Is. xiii. 6; Amos v. 18, 20; Ezek. xxx. 2; Ob. *v.* 15; Zeph. i. 14; Mal. iv. 5. The requital of the enemy for their violence, as threatened in Joel iii. 4, 19, is repeated in Obad. *vv.* 10, 15; their cruelty in having cast lots for the captives is mentioned in Joel iii. 3, and again in Obad. *v.* 11, Nahum iii. 10; the universality of the judgment to come is foretold in Joel iii. 2 (iv. 2), and also in Is. lxvi. 18, Jer. xxv. 31, and Zech. xiv. 1. The majestic figure of the Lord protecting His people, and roaring from out of Zion as a lion roars at the sight of his enemies, first occurs in Joel iii. 16 (Heb. iv. 16), and again in Amos i. 2 and Jer. xxv. 30. The doctrine that a remnant only, not all Israel, shall be saved, meets us in Joel ii. 32 (iii. 5), and is taken up again by Isaiah (xi. 11, &c.), Jeremiah (xxxi. 7), and Micah (iv. 7, v. 6, 7). Deliverance in Mount Zion is promised in Joel ii. 32 (iii. 5), and repeated in Ob. *v.* 17. The prophecy that Jerusalem is to be holy, Joel iii. 17 (iv. 17), and unpolluted henceforth by strangers, is taken up by Is. lii. 1 and Obad. *v.* 17. The figure of the waters (iii. 18, Heb. iv. 18) which shall flow from beneath the Temple and fertilise distant lands, is reproduced with variations in Zech. xiv. 8, and expanded in Ezek. xlvii. Joel's summons to the nations in iii. 10 (iv. 10) to beat their ploughshares into swords, and their spears into pruning-hooks, is reversed in Mic. iv. 3 and Is. ii. 4, and becomes a prophecy of universal peace. The vision of plenty when the mountains shall flow with new wine, Joel iii. 18 (iv. 18), is repeated literally in Amos ix. 13. Above all, the great promise of the outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh in Joel ii. 28, which is expressly quoted by St. Peter in Acts ii. as fulfilled on the Day of Pentecost, meets us again in Is. xliv. 3, Ezek. xxxix. 29, and Zech. xii. 10. St. Paul (Rom. x. 13) notes the universality of the salvation offered in Joel ii. 32. Indeed it is in the N. T. even more than in the Old, that these great subjects, which first appear in the writings of Joel, are taken up and further developed.

The style of Joel is singularly easy and graceful. He has no ruggedness and obscurity like Hosea. But yet he is full of power and at the same time overflowing with tenderness. In these respects he is, perhaps, surpassed by none of the Prophets but Isaiah.

The literature connected with Joel is of considerable extent. A very full list, commencing from the earliest times, may be found in Wünsche, *Die Weissagungen d. Proph. Joel* (1872), pp. 61–64. The most noticeable works which have appeared of late bearing upon the subject are those by Rosenmüller, *Scholia in V. T.* (1827–36); Holzhausen, *Joel* (1829); Credner, *Joel* (1831); Maurer, *Commentar* (1840); Ewald, *Die Proph. des Alten Bundes* (1840–1); Umbreit, *Commentar* (1844); Hitzig in *Kurzgefasst. exeg. Handb. zum A. T.*, 4 Aufl. (1881), and in his *Propheten des A. T.* (1854); Hengstenberg, *Christol. d. A. T.*[2] (1854), transl. in Clark's *For. Theol. Libr.* (1854–8); Reinke, *Messian. Weissag.* (1859–62), vol. 3; Keil, *Propheten* (1866); Reuss, *Les Prophètes* (1876); Merx, *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger* (1879); J. P. Lange, *Commentar*, Eng. transl. ed. by Schaff, Edinb.; besides useful articles in Hamburger, *Real-Encyclop.* (1870); Herzog, *RE.*[2] (1880). In England have been published Henderson, *Minor Prophets* (1845); Pusey, *Minor Prophets* (1860); Meyrick, *Joel* in *Speaker's Comm.* (1876); W. L. Pearson, *Joel* (1885); Farrar, *Minor Prophets* in *Men of the Bible* Series (1890. He follows Merx); Driver, in *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.* (1891). [J. W. N.]

4. (יוֹאֵל; Ἰωήλ; *Joël.*) The head of one of the families of the Simeonites (1 Ch. iv. 35). He formed part of the expedition against the Hamites of Gedor in the reign of Hezekiah.

5. A descendant of Reuben. Junius and Tremellius make him the son of Hanoch, while others trace his descent through Carmi (1 Ch. v. 4). The Syriac for Joel substitutes Carmi, but there is reason to believe that the genealogy is that of the eldest son. Burrington (*Geneal.* i. 53) maintains that the Joel mentioned in v. 8 was a descendant, not of Hanoch, but one of his brethren, probably Carmi, as Junius and Tremellius print it in their genealogical table. But the passage on which he relies for support (*v.* 7), as concluding the genealogy of Hanoch, evidently refers to Beerah, the prince of the Reubenites, whom the Assyrian king carried captive (see Oettli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco). There is, however, sufficient similarity between Shemaiah and Shema, who are both represented as sons of Joel, to render it probable that the latter is the same individual in both instances. Bertheau conjectures that he was contemporary with David, which would be approximately true if the genealogy were traced in each case from father to son.

6. Chief of the Gadites, who dwelt in the land of Bashan (1 Ch. v. 12).

7. (A. Ἰωήλ, B. Ῥαήλ; *Johel.*) The son of Izrahiah, of the tribe of Issachar, and a chief of one of "the troops of the host of the battle" (R. V. "bands of the host for war"), who numbered in the days of David 36,000 men (1 Ch. vii. 3). Four of Kennicott's MSS. omit the words "and the sons of Izrahiah;" so that Joel appears as one of the five sons of Uzzi. The Syriac retains the present text, with the exception of reading "four" for "five." If the number "five" be accurate, a name would seem to have dropped out of the list (cp. *QPB.*[2]).

8. The brother (LXX. A.; B. reads *vìòs* here and in 2 Sam. *l. c.*) of Nathan of Zobah (1 Ch. xi. 38), and one of David's guard. He is called Igal in 2 Sam. xxiii. 36; but Kennicott contends that in this case the latter passage is

[k] *e.g.* "gather blackness" (Joel ii. 6) is found besides only in Nahum ii. 11.

corrupt, though in other words it preserved the true reading.

9. The chief of the Gershomites in the reign of David, who sanctified themselves to bring up the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch. xv. 7, 11).

10. A Gershomite Levite in the reign of David, son of Jehiel, a descendant of Laadan, and probably the same as the preceding (1 Ch. xxiii. 8; xxvi. 22). He was one of the officers appointed to take charge of the treasures of the Temple.

11. The son of Pedaiah, and prince or chief of the half-tribe of Manasseh, west of Jordan, in the reign of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 20).

12. A Kohathite Levite in the reign of Hezekiah. He was the son of Azariah, and one of the two representatives of his branch of the tribe in the solemn purification by which the Levites prepared themselves for the restoration of the Temple (2 Ch. xxix. 12).

13. One of the sons of Nebo, who returned with Ezra, and had married a foreign wife (Ezra x. 43). He is called Juel in 1 Esd. ix. 35.

14. The son of Zichri, a Benjamite, placed in command over those of his own tribe and the tribe of Judah, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 9).

[W. A. W.]

JO-E'LAH (יוֹעֵאלָה for יוֹעֵלָה, ? = *May He* [God] *help!* Β. Ἐλιά, A. Ἰωηλά; *Joëla*), son of Jeroham of Gedor, who with his brother joined the band of warriors who rallied round David at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 7).

JO-E'ZER (יוֹעֵזֶר, ? = *Jehovah is aid;* B. Ἰωζάρα, ℵA. Ἰωζαάρ; *Joezer*), a Korhite, one of David's captains who fought by his side while living in exile among the Philistines (1 Ch. xii. 6).

JOG'BEHAH (יָגְבְּהָה = *elevated:* in Num. the LXX. has translated it as if from גֵּבָה—ὕψωσαν αὐτάς; in Judg. B. Ἰεγεβάλ; A. ἐξ ἐναντίας Ζεβέε: *Jegbaa*), one of the cities on the east of Jordan which were built and fortified by the tribe of Gad when they took possession of their territory (Num. xxxii. 35). It is there mentioned between JAAZER and BETH-NIMRAH, places which are probably now represented by *Kh. Sâr* on the plateau, and *Tell Nimrîn* in the Jordan valley. It is mentioned once again, this time in connexion with Nobah, in the account of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites (Judg. viii. 11). They were at Karkor, and he made his way from the upper part of the Jordan valley at Succoth and Penuel, and "went up"—ascended from the Ghor—by the way of the dwellers in tents—the pastoral people, who avoided the district of the towns—to the east of Nobah and Jogbehah; making his way towards the waste country in the south-east. Here, according to the scanty information we possess, Karkor would seem to have been situated. Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 504, note 4) suggests *el-Jubeihât*, or *el-Jebeiha*, a large site on the plateau between *'Ammân* and *es-Sâlt;* and this has been adopted by Conder (*PEF. Mem. E. Pal.* p. 111). The ruins are very extensive, but apparently later than the Christian era. If, however, we may infer from Num. xxxii. 35 that Jogbehah was between Jaazer and Beth-nimrah, its site must be looked for to the west of the road from the Jabbok, through Heshbon, to Moab, which would in that case be the way of the dwellers in tents. [G.] [W.]

JO'GLI (יָגְלִי = *exiled;* B. Ἐγλεί, A. Ἐκλί, F. Ἰεκαί; *Jogli*), the father of Bukki, a chief man among the Danites (Num. xxxiv. 22).

JO'HA. **1.** (יוֹחָא, ? a corrupt form of יוֹאָח [MV.[11]]; B. Ἰωχάν, A. Ἰωαχά; *Joha.*) One of the sons of Beriah, the Benjamite who was a chief of the fathers of the dwellers in Aijalon, and had put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Ch. viii. 16). His family may possibly have founded, a colony, like the Danites, within the limits of another tribe, where they were exposed, as the men of Ephraim had been, to the attacks of the Gittites. Such border-warfare was too common to render it necessary to suppose that the narratives in 1 Ch. vii. 21 and viii. 13 refer to the same encounter, although it is not a little singular that the name Beriah occurs in each.

2. (Ἰωαζαέ.) The Tizite, one of David's guard (1 Ch. xi. 45). Kennicott decides that he was the son of Shimri, as he is represented in the A. V. and R. V., though in the margin the A. V. has put "Shimrite" for "the son of Shimri" to the name of his brother Jedihel.

JOHA'NAN (יְהוֹחָנָן; B. Ἰωανάς, A. -αν), a shortened form of Jehohanan = *Jehovah hath had mercy.* It is the same as John. [JEHOHANAN.]

1. Son of Azariah [AZARIAH, 2], and grandson of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, and father of Azariah, 3 (1 Ch. vi. 9, 10, A. V.). In Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8, § 6) the name is corrupted to Joramus, and in the *Seder Olam* to Joahaz. The latter places him in the reign of Jehoshaphat; but merely because it begins by wrongly placing Zadok in the reign of Solomon. Since however we know from 1 K. iv. 2, supported by 1 Ch. vi. 10, A. V., that Azariah the father of Johanan was high-priest in Solomon's reign, and Amariah his grandson was so in Jehoshaphat's reign, we may conclude without much doubt that Johanan's pontificate fell in the reign of Rehoboam (see Hervey's *Genealogies, &c.*, ch. x.).

2. (B. Ἰωανάν, A. -αμ.) Son of Elioenai, the son of Neariah, the son of Shemaiah, in the line of Zerubbabel's heirs [SHEMAIAH], (1 Ch. iii. 24). [A. C. H.]

3. (B. Ἰωνά, A. Ἰωαναν in 2 K. xxv. 23, in Jer. usually Ἰωαναν or Ἰωάννας; *Johanan.*) The son of Kareah, and one of the captains of the scattered remnants of the army of Judah, who escaped in the final attack upon Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and, after the capture of the king, remained in the open country of Moab and the Ammonites, watching the tide of events. He was one of the first to repair to Mizpah, after the withdrawal of the hostile army, and tender his allegiance to the new governor appointed by the king of Babylon. From his acquaintance with the treacherous designs of Ishmael, against which Gedaliah was unhappily warned in vain, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he may have been a companion of Ishmael

in his exile at the court of Baalis king of the Ammonites, the promoter of the plot (Jer. xl. 8–16). After the murder of Gedaliah, Johanan was one of the foremost in the pursuit of his assassin, and rescued the captives he had carried off from Mizpah (Jer. xli. 11–16). Fearing the vengeance of the Chaldeans for the treachery of Ishmael, the captains, with Johanan at their head, halted by the Khan of Chimham, on the road to Egypt, with the intention of seeking refuge there; and, notwithstanding the warnings of Jeremiah, settled in a body at Tahpanhes. They were afterwards scattered throughout the country, in Migdol, Noph, and Pathros, and from this time we lose sight of Johanan and his fellow-captains.

4. (Ἰωανάν.) The firstborn son of Josiah king of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 15), who either died before his father, or fell with him at Megiddo. Junius, without any authority, identifies him with Zaraces, mentioned in 1 Esd. i. 38.

5. A valiant Benjamite, one of David's captains, who joined him at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 4).

6. (BN. Ἰωάν, A. Ἰωνάν.) The eighth in number of the lion-faced warriors of Gad, who left their tribe to follow the fortunes of David, and spread the terror of their arms beyond Jordan in the month of its overflow (1 Ch. xii. 12).

7. (יְהוֹחָנָן; B. Ἰωανής, A. -αν.) The father of Azariah, an Ephraimite in the time of Ahaz (2 Ch. xxviii. 12).

8. The son of Hakkatan, and chief of the Bene-Azgad who returned with Ezra (Ezra viii. 12). He is called Johannes in 1 Esd. viii. 38.

9. (יְהוֹחָנָן.) The son of Eliashib, one of the chief Levites (Neh. xii. 23), to whose chamber (or "treasury," according to the LXX.) Ezra retired to mourn over the foreign marriages which the people had contracted (Ezra x. 6). He is called Joanan in 1 Esd. ix. 1; and some have supposed him to be the same as Jonathan, descendant of another Eliashib, who was afterwards high-priest (Neh. xii. 11).

10. (יְהוֹחָנָן; B Ἰωάν, א*. Ἰωανάν, א$^{c.a}$A. Ἰωναθάν.) The son of Tobiah the Ammonite, who had married the daughter of Meshullam the priest (Neh. vi. 18). [W. A. W.]

JOHAN'NES (Ἰωάννης; *Joannes*) = Jehohanan son of Bebai (1 Esd. ix. 29; cp. Ezra x. 28). [JEHOHANAN, 4; cp. JOHANAN, 8.]

JOHN (Ἰωάννης), in the Apocrypha. **1.** The father of Mattathias, and grandfather of the Maccabaean family (1 Macc. ii. 1).

2. The (eldest) son of Mattathias (Ἰωαννάν), surnamed Caddis (Καδδίς: cp. *Speaker's Comm.* on 1 Macc. ii. 2), who was slain by "the children of Jambri" [JAMBRI] (1 Macc. ii. 2; ix. 36–38). In 2 Macc. viii. 22 he is called Joseph, by a common confusion of name. [MACCABEES.]

3. The father of Eupolemus, one of the envoys whom Judas Maccabaeus sent to Rome (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. iv. 11).

4. The son of Simon, the brother of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. xiii. 53, xvi. 1), "a valiant man," who, under the title of Johannes Hyrcanus, nobly supported in after-time the glory of his house. [MACCABEES.]

5. An envoy from the Jews to Lysias (2 Macc. xi. 17). [B. F. W.]

JOHN (Ἰωάννης; Cod. Bezae, Ἰωνάθας: *Joannes*). **1.** One of the high-priest's family, who, with Annas and Caiaphas, sat in judgment upon the Apostles Peter and John for their cure of the lame man and preaching in the Temple (Acts iv. 6). Lightfoot identifies him with R. Johanan ben Zaccai, who lived forty years before the destruction of the Temple, and was president of the great Synagogue after its removal to Jabne, or Jamnia (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chor. Matth. praef.* ch. 15; see also Selden, *De Synedriis*, ii. ch. 15). The identification does not appear to be recognised by Schürer (*Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, ii. 172). Grotius merely says that he was known to Rabbinical writers as "John the priest" (*Comm. in Act.* iv.); and he may well have been one of those priests who by courtesy or for merit's sake, and as a member of the high-priest's family, was known by the title of ἀρχιερεύς (Schürer, *l. c.*).

2. The Hebrew name of the Evangelist St. Mark, who throughout the narrative of the Acts is designated by the name by which he was known among his countrymen (Acts xii. 12, 25; xiii. 5, 13; xv. 37).

JOHN, THE APOSTLE (Ἰωάννης). It will be convenient to divide the life which is the subject of the present article into periods corresponding both to the great critical epochs which separate one part of it from another, and to marked differences in the trustworthiness of the sources from which our materials are derived. In no instance, perhaps, is such a division more necessary than in this. One portion of the Apostle's life and work stands out before us as in the clearness of broad daylight. Over those which precede and follow it there brood the shadows of darkness and uncertainty. In the former we discern only a few isolated facts, and are left to inference and conjecture to bring them together into something like a whole. In the latter we encounter, it is true, images more distinct, pictures more vivid; but with these there is the doubt whether the distinctness and vividness are not misleading—whether half-traditional, half-mythical narrative has not taken the place of history.

I. *Before the call to the discipleship.*—We have no data for settling with any exactitude the time of the Apostle's birth. The general impression left on us by the Gospel narrative is that he was younger than the brother whose name commonly precedes his (Matt. iv. 21, x. 3, xvii. 1, &c.; but cp. Luke ix. 28, where the order is inverted), younger than his friend St. Peter, possibly also than his Master. The life which was protracted to the time of Trajan (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 23, following Irenaeus. See note in Wace and Schaff's edit. *in loco*) can hardly have begun before the year B.C. 4 of the Dionysian era. The Gospels give us the name of his father Zebedaeus (Matt. iv. 21) and his mother Salome (Matt. xxvii. 56, compared with Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1). Of the former we know nothing more. The traditions of the fourth century (Epiphan. iii. *Haer.* 78) make the latter the daughter of Joseph by his first wife, and consequently half-sister to our Lord. By some

recent critics she has been identified with the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, in John xix. 25 (Wieseler, *Stud. in Krit.* 1840, p. 648).[a] They lived, it may be inferred from John i. 44, in or near the same town [BETHSAIDA] as those who were afterwards the companions and partners of their children. There on the shores of the Sea of Galilee the Apostle and his brother grew up. The mention of the "hired servants" (Mark i. 20), of his mother's "substance" (*ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων*, Luke viii. 3), of "his own house" (*τὰ ἴδια*, John xix. 27), implies a position removed by at least some steps from absolute poverty. The fact that the Apostle was known to the high-priest Caiaphas, as that knowledge was hardly likely to have begun after he had avowed himself the disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, suggests the probability of some early intimacy between the two men or their families.[b] The name which the parents gave to their younger child was too common to serve as the ground of any special inference: but it deserves notice (1) that the name appears among the kindred of the high-priest Caiaphas (Acts iv. 6); (2) that it was given to another priestly child, the son of Zacharias (Luke i. 13), as the embodiment and symbol of Messianic hopes. The frequent occurrence of the name at this period, unconnected as it was with any of the great deeds of the old heroic days of Israel, is indeed in itself significant as a sign of that yearning and expectation which then characterised, not only the more faithful and devout (Luke ii. 25, 38), but the whole people. The prominence given to it by the wonders connected with the birth of the future Baptist may have given a meaning to it for the parents of the future Evangelist which it would not otherwise have had. Of the character of Zebedaeus we have hardly the slightest trace. He interposes no refusal when his sons are called to leave him (Matt. iv. 21). After this he disappears from the scene of the Gospel history, and we are led to infer that he had died before his wife followed her children in their work of ministration. Her character meets us as presenting the same marked features as those which were conspicuous in her son. From her, who followed Jesus and ministered to Him of her substance (Luke viii. 3), who sought for her two sons that they might sit, one on His right hand, the other on His left, in His Kingdom (Matt. xx. 20), he might well derive his strong affections, his capacity for giving and receiving love, his eagerness for the speedy manifestation of the Messiah's kingdom. The early years of the Apostle we may believe to have passed under this influence. He would be trained in all that constituted the ordinary education of Jewish boyhood. Though not taught in the schools of Jerusalem, and therefore, in later life, liable to the reproach of having no recognised position as a teacher, no Rabbinical education (Acts iv. 13), he would yet be taught to read the Law and observe its precepts, to feed on the writings of the Prophets with the feeling that their accomplishment was not far off. For him too, as bound by the Law, there would be, at the age of thirteen, the periodical pilgrimages to Jerusalem. He would become familiar with the stately worship of the Temple, with the sacrifice, the incense, the Altar, and the priestly robes. May we not conjecture that then the impressions were first made which never afterwards wore off? Assuming that there is some harmony between the previous training of a Prophet and the form of the visions presented to him, may we not recognise them in the rich liturgical imagery of the Apocalypse—in that union in one wonderful vision of all that was most wonderful and glorious in the predictions of the older Prophets?

Concurrently with this there would be also the boy's outward life as sharing in his father's work. The great political changes which agitated the whole of Palestine would in some degree make themselves felt even in the village-town in which he grew up. The Galilean fisherman must have heard, possibly with some sympathy, of the efforts made (when he was too young to join in them) by Judas of Gamala, as the great asserter of the freedom of Israel against their Roman rulers (cp. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, i. 406). Like other Jews, he would grow up with strong and bitter feelings against the neighbouring Samaritans. Lastly, before we pass into a period of greater certainty, we must not forget to take into account that to this period of his life belongs the commencement of that intimate fellowship with Simon Bar-jonah of which we afterwards find so many proofs. That friendship may even then have been, in countless ways, fruitful for good upon the hearts of both.

II. *From the call to the discipleship to the departure from Jerusalem.*—The ordinary life of the fisherman of the Sea of Galilee was at last broken in upon by the news that a Prophet had once more appeared. The voice of John the Baptist was heard in the wilderness of Judaea, and the publicans, peasants, soldiers, and fishermen of Galilee gathered round him. Among these were the two sons of Zebedaeus and their friends. With them perhaps was One Whom as yet they knew not. They heard, it may be, of his protests against the vices of their own ruler—against the hypocrisy of Pharisees and Scribes. But they heard also, it is clear, words which spoke to them of their own sins—of their own need of a deliverer. The words "Behold the Lamb of God Which taketh away the sin of the world" (R. V.) imply that those who heard them would enter into the blessedness of which they spoke. Assuming that the unnamed disciple of John i. 37–40 was the Evangelist himself, we are led to think of that meeting, of the lengthened interview that followed it as the starting-point of the entire devotion of heart and soul which lasted through his whole life. Then Jesus loved him as he loved all earnest seekers after righteousness and truth (cp. Mark x. 21). The words of that evening, though unrecorded, were mighty in their effect. The disciples (John apparently among them) followed

[a] Ewald (*Gesch. Israels*, v. p. 171) adopts Wieseler's conjecture, and connects it with his own hypothesis that the sons of Zebedee, and our Lord, as well as the Baptist, were of the tribe of Levi. This conjecture is also adopted by Westcott (in loco). On the other hand, Neander (*Pflanz. u. Leit.* p. 609, 4th ed.) and Lücke (*Johannes*, i. p. 9) reject both the tradition and the conjecture.

[b] Ewald (l. c.) presses this also into the service of his strange hypothesis.

their new Teacher to Galilee (John i. 44), were with Him, as such, at the marriage-feast of Cana (ii. 2), journeyed with Him to Capernaum, and thence to Jerusalem (ii. 12, 22), came back through Samaria (iv. 8), and then, for some uncertain interval of time, returned to their former occupations. The uncertainty which hangs over the narratives of Matt. iv. 18 and Luke v. 1–11 (cp. the arguments for and against their relating to the same events in Lampe, *Comment. ad Joann.* p. 20) leaves us in doubt whether they received a special call to become "fishers of men" once only or twice. In either case they gave up the employment of their life and went to do a work like it, and yet unlike, in God's spiritual Kingdom. From this time they take their place among the company of disciples. Only here and there are there traces of individual character, of special turning-points in their lives. Soon they find themselves in the number of the Twelve who are chosen, not as disciples only, but as their Lord's delegates—representatives—Apostles. In all the lists of the Twelve those four names of the sons of Jonah and Zebedaeus stand foremost. They come within the innermost circle of their Lord's friends, and are as the ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι. The three, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, are with Him when none else are, in the chamber of death (Mark v. 37), in the glory of the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1), when He forewarns them of the destruction of the Holy City (Mark xiii. 3, St. Andrew, in this instance, with them), and in the agony of Gethsemane. St. Peter is throughout the leader of that band; to St. John belongs the yet more memorable distinction of being the disciple whom Jesus loved. This love is returned with a more single undivided heart by him than by any other. If St. Peter is the φιλόχριστος, St. John is the φιλιησοῦς (Grotius, *Prolegom. in Joann.*). Some striking facts indicate why this was so; what the character was which was thus worthy of the love of Jesus of Nazareth. They hardly sustain the popular notion, fostered by the received types of Christian art, of a nature gentle, yielding, feminine. The name Boanerges (Mark iii. 17) implies a vehemence, zeal, intensity, which gave to those who had it the might of Sons of Thunder.[c] That spirit broke out, once and again, when they joined their mother in asking for the highest places in the kingdom of their Master, and declared that they were ready to face the dark terrors of the cup that He drank and the baptism that He was baptized with (Matt. xx. 20–24; Mark x. 35–41)—when they rebuked one who cast out devils in their Lord's Name because he was not one of their company (Luke ix. 42)—when they sought to call down fire from heaven upon a village of the Samaritans (Luke ix. 54). About this time Salome, as if her husband had died, takes her place among the women who followed Jesus in Galilee (Luke viii. 3), ministering to Him of their substance, and went up with Him in His last journey to Jerusalem (Luke xxiii. 55). Through her, we may well believe, St. John first came to know that Mary Magdalene whose character he depicts with such a life-like touch, and that other Mary to whom he was afterwards to stand in so close and special a relation. The fulness of his narrative of what the Evangelists omit (John xi.) leads to the conclusion that he was united also by some special ties of intimacy to the family of Bethany. It is not necessary to dwell at length on the familiar history of the Last Supper. What is characteristic is that he is there, as ever, the disciple whom Jesus loved; and, as the chosen and favoured friend, reclines at table with his head upon his Master's breast (John xiii. 23). To him the eager Peter—they had been sent together to prepare the supper (Luke xxii. 8)—makes signs of impatient questioning that he should ask what was not likely to be answered if it came from any other (John xiii. 24). As they go out to the Mount of Olives the chosen three are nearest to their Master. They only are within sight or hearing of the conflict in Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi. 37). When the betrayal is accomplished, St. Peter and St. John, after the first moment of confusion, follow afar off, while the others simply seek safety in a hasty flight[d] (John xviii. 15). The personal acquaintance which existed between St. John and Caiaphas enabled him to gain access both for himself and St. Peter, but the latter remains in the porch, with the officers and servants, while St. John himself apparently is admitted to the council-chamber, and follows Jesus thence, even to the praetorium of the Roman Procurator (John xviii. 16, 19, 28). Thence, as if the desire to see the end, and the love which was stronger than death, sustained him through all the terrors and sorrows of that day, he followed—accompanied probably by his own mother, Mary the mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalene—to the place of Crucifixion. The Teacher Who had been to him as a brother leaves to him a brother's duty. He is to be as a son to the mother who is left desolate (John xix. 26–27). The Sabbath that followed was spent, it would appear, in the same company. He receives St. Peter, in spite of his denial, on the old terms of friendship. It is to them that Mary Magdalene first runs with the tidings of the emptied sepulchre (John xx. 2); they are the first to go together to see what the strange words meant. Not without some bearing on their respective characters is the fact that St. John is the more impetuous, running on most eagerly to the rock-tomb; St. Peter, the least restrained by awe, the first to enter in and look (John xx. 4–6). For at least eight days they continued in Jerusalem (John xx. 26). Then, in the interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension, we find them still together on the Sea of Galilee (John xxi. 1), as though they would calm the eager suspense of that period of expectation by a return to their old calling and their old familiar haunts. Here, too, there is a characteristic difference. St. John is the first to recognise in the dim form seen in the morning twilight the presence of his risen Lord; St. Peter the first to plunge into the water and swim

[c] The consensus of patristic interpretation sees in this name the prophecy of their work as preachers of the Gospel. This, however, would deprive the epithet of all distinguishing force (cp. Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v. βροντή; and Lampe, i. p. 27).

[d] A somewhat wild conjecture is found in writers of the Western Church. Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and Bede, identify the Apostle with the νεανίσκος τις of Mark xiv. 51, 52 (Lampe, i. 38).

towards the shore where He stood calling to them (John xxi. 7). The last words of the Gospel reveal to us the deep affection which united the two friends. It is not enough for Peter to know his own future. That at once suggests the question—"And what shall this man do?" (John xxi. 21). The history of the Acts shows the same union. They are of course together at the Ascension and on the Day of Pentecost. Together they enter the Temple as worshippers (Acts iii. 1) and protest against the threats of the Sanhedrin (iv. 13). They are fellow-workers in the first great step of the Church's expansion. The Apostle whose wrath had been roused by the unbelief of the Samaritans overcomes his national exclusiveness, and receives them as his brethren (viii. 14). The persecution which was pushed on by Saul of Tarsus did not drive him or any of the Apostles from their post (viii. 1). When the persecutor came back as the convert, he, it is true, did not see him (Gal. i. 12), but this of course does not involve the inference that he had left Jerusalem. The sharper though shorter persecution which followed under Herod Agrippa brought a great sorrow to him in the martyrdom of his brother (Acts xii. 2). His friend, St. Peter, was driven to seek safety in flight. Fifteen years after St. Paul's first visit St. John was still at Jerusalem, and helped to take part in the great settlement of the controversy between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians (Acts xv. 6). His position and reputation there were those of one ranking among the chief "pillars" of the Church (Gal. ii. 9). Of the work of the Apostle during this period we have hardly the slightest trace. There may have been special calls to mission-work like that which drew him to Samaria. There may have been the work of teaching, organising, exhorting the Churches of Judaea. His fulfilment of the solemn charge entrusted to him may have led him to a life of loving and reverent thought rather than to one of conspicuous activity. We may, at all events, feel sure that it was a time in which the natural elements of his character, with all their fiery energy, were being purified and mellowed, rising step by step to that high serenity which we find perfected in the closing portion of his life. Here too we may, without much hesitation, accept the traditions of the Church as recording a historic fact when they ascribe to him a life of celibacy (Tertull. *de Monog.* c. xiii.). The absence of his name from 1 Cor. ix. 5 tends to the same conclusion. It harmonises with all we know of his character to think of his heart as so absorbed in the higher and diviner love that there was no room left for the lower and the human.

III. *From his departure from Jerusalem to his death.*—The traditions of a later age come in, with more or less show of likelihood, to fill up the great gap which separates the Apostle of Jerusalem from the Bishop of Ephesus. It was a natural conjecture to suppose that he remained in Judaea till the death of the Virgin released him from his trust.[a] When this took place we can only conjecture. There are no signs of his being at Jerusalem at the time of St. Paul's last visit (Acts xxi.). The Pastoral Epistles set aside the notion that he had come to Ephesus before the work of the Apostle of the Gentiles was brought to its conclusion. Out of many contradictory statements, fixing his departure under Claudius, or Nero, or as late even as Domitian, we have hardly any data for doing more than rejecting the two extremes.[f] Nor is it certain that his work as an Apostle was transferred at once from Jerusalem to Ephesus. A tradition current in the time of Augustine (*Quaest. Evang.* ii. 19), and embodied in some MSS. of the N. T., represented the 1st Epistle of St. John as addressed to the Parthians, and so far implied that his Apostolic work had brought him into contact with[g] them. When the form of the aged disciple meets us again, in the twilight of the Apostolic age, we are still left in great doubt as to the extent of his work and the circumstances of his outward life. Assuming the authorship of the Epistles and the Revelation to be his, the facts which the N. T. writings assert or imply are—(1) that, having come to Ephesus, some persecution, local or general, drove him to Patmos (Rev. i. 9):[h] (2) that the seven Churches, of which Asia was the centre, were special objects of his solicitude (Rev. i. 11); that in his work he had to encounter men who denied the truth on which his faith rested (1 John iv. 1; 2 John *v.* 7), and others who, with a railing and malignant temper, disputed his authority (3 John *vv.* 9, 10). If to this we add that he must have outlived all, or nearly all, of those who had been the friends and companions even of his maturer years—that this lingering age gave strength to an old imagination that his Lord had promised him immortality (John xxi. 23)—that, as if remembering the actual words had been thus perverted, the longing of his soul gathered itself up in the cry, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. xxii. 20)—that from some who spoke with authority he received a solemn attestation of the confidence they reposed in him (John xxi. 24)—we have stated all that has any claim to the character of historical truth. The picture which tradition fills up for us has the merit of being full and vivid, but it blends together, without much regard to harmony, things probable and improbable. He is shipwrecked off Ephesus (Simeon Metaph. *in vitâ Johan.* c. 2; Lampe, i. 47), and arrives there in time to check the progress of the heresies which sprang up after St. Paul's departure. Then, or at a later period, he numbers among his dis-

[a] The hypothesis of Baronius and Tillemont, that the Virgin accompanied him to Ephesus, has not even the authority of tradition (Lampe, i. 51).

[f] Lampe fixes A.D. 66, when Jerusalem was besieged by the Roman forces under Cestius, as the most probable date.

[g] In the earlier tradition which made the Apostles formally partition out the world known to them, Parthia falls to the lot of Thomas, while John received Proconsular Asia (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 1. Cp. note in Wace and Schaff's edition, in loco). In one of the legends connected with the Apostles' Creed, St. Peter contributes the first article, St. John the second, but the tradition appears with great variations as to time and order (cp. Pseudo-August. *Serm.* ccxl., ccxli.).

[h] Here again the hypotheses of commentators range from Claudius to Domitian, the consensus of patristic tradition preponderating in favour of the latter. [Cp. REVELATION.]

ciples men like Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. xvii.). In the persecution under Domitian he is taken to Rome, and there, by his boldness, though not by death, gains the crown of martyrdom. The boiling oil into which he is thrown has no power to hurt him (Tertull. *de Praescript.* c. xxxvi.).[i] He is then sent to labour in the mines, and Patmos is the place of his exile (Victorinus, *in Apoc.* ix.; Lampe, i. 66). The accession of Nerva frees him from danger, and he returns to Ephesus. There he settles the canon of the Gospel-history by formally attesting the truth of the first three Gospels, and writing his own to supply what they left wanting (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24). The elders of the Church are gathered together, and he, as by a sudden inspiration, begins with the wonderful opening, "In the beginning was the word" (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* 29). Heresies continue to show themselves, but he meets them with the strongest possible protest. He refuses to pass under the same roof (that of the public baths of Ephesus) as their foremost leader, lest the house should fall down on them and crush them (Iren. iii. 3; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28, iv. 14).[k] Through his agency the great temple of Artemis is at last reft of its magnificence, and even levelled with the ground (Cyril. Alex. *Orat. de Mar. Virg.*; Nicephor. *H. E.* ii. 42; Lampe, i. 90). He introduces and perpetuates the Jewish mode of celebrating the Easter Feast (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 3). At Ephesus, if not before, as one who was a true priest of the Lord, he bears on his brow the plate of gold (*πέταλον*; cp. Suicer. *Thes.* s. v.), with the sacred name engraved on it, which was the badge of the Jewish pontiff (Polycrates, in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31, v. 24).[l] In strange contrast with this ideal exaltation, a later tradition tells how the old man used to find pleasure in the playfulness and fondness of a favourite bird, and defended himself against the charge of unworthy trifling by the familiar apologue of the bow that must sometimes be unbent (Cassian. *Collat.* xxiv. c. 2).[m] More true to the N. T. character of the Apostle is the story, told with so much power and beauty by Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives.* c. 42), of his special and loving interest in the younger members of his flock; of his eagerness and courage in the attempt to rescue one of them who had fallen into evil courses. The scene of the old and loving man, standing face to face with the outlaw-chief whom, in days gone by, he had baptized, and winning him to repentance, is one which we could gladly look on as belonging to his actual life—part of a story which is, in Clement's words, *οὐ μῦθος ἀλλα λόγος*. Not less beautiful is that other scene which comes before us as the last act of his life. When all capacity to work and teach is gone—when there is no strength even to stand—the spirit still retains its power to love, and the lips are still opened to repeat, without change and variation, the command which summed up all his Master's will, "Little children, love one another" (Hieron. *in Gal.* vi.). Other stories, more apocryphal and less interesting, we may pass over rapidly. That he put forth his power to raise the dead to life (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18); that he drank the cup of hemlock which was intended to cause his death, and suffered no harm from it[n] (Pseudo-August. *Soliloq.*; Isidor. Hispal. *de Morte Sanct.* c. 73); that when he felt his death approaching he gave orders for the construction of his own sepulchre, and when it was finished calmly laid himself down in it and died (Augustin. *Tract. in Joann.* cxxiv.); that after his interment there were strange movements in the earth that covered him (*ibid.*); that when the tomb was subsequently opened it was found empty (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 42); that he was reserved to reappear again in conflict with the personal Antichrist in the last days (Suicer. *Thes.* s. v. Ἰωάννης): these traditions, for the most part, indicate little else than the uncritical spirit of the age in which they passed current. The very time of his death lies within the region of conjecture rather than of history, and the dates that have been assigned for it range from A.D. 89 to A.D. 120 (Lampe, i. 92).

The result of all this accumulation of apocryphal materials is, from one point of view, disappointing enough. We strain our sight in vain to distinguish between the false and the true—between the shadows with which the gloom is peopled, and the living forms of which we are in search. We find it better and more satisfying to turn again, for all our conceptions of the Apostle's mind and character, to the scanty records of the N. T., and the writings which he himself has left. The truest thought that we can attain to is still that he was "the

[i] The scene of the supposed miracle was outside the Porta Latina, and hence the Western Church commemorates it by the special festival of "St. John Port. Latin." on May 6th.

[k] Eusebius and Irenaeus make Cerinthus the heretic. In Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxx. c. 24) Ebion is the hero of the story. To modern feelings the anecdote may seem at variance with the character of the Apostle of Love, but it is hardly more than the development in act of the principle of 2 John 10. To the mind of Epiphanius there was a difficulty of another kind. Nothing less than a special inspiration could account for such a departure from an ascetic life as going to a bath at all.

[l] The story of the *πέταλον* is perhaps the most perplexing of all the traditions as to the age of the Apostles. What makes it still stranger is the appearance of a like tradition (Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23; Epiph. *Haer.* 78) about James the Just. Measured by our notions, the statement seems altogether improbable, and yet how can we account for its appearance at so early a date? Is it possible that this was the symbol that the old exclusive priesthood had passed away? Or are we to suppose that a strong statement as to the new priesthood was misinterpreted, and that rhetoric passed rapidly into legend? (Cp. Neand. *Pflanz. u. Leit.* p. 613; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on Apostolic Age*, p. 283.) Ewald (*l. c.*) finds in it an evidence in support of the hypothesis above referred to.

[m] The authority of Cassian is but slender in such a case; but the story is hardly to be rejected, on *à priori* grounds, as incompatible with the dignity of an Apostle. Does it not illustrate the truth—

"He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small"?

[n] The memory of this deliverance is preserved in the symbolic cup, with the serpent issuing from it, which appears in the mediaeval representations of the Evangelist. Is it possible that the symbol originated in Mark x. 39, and that the legend grew out of the symbol?

disciple whom Jesus loved"—ὁ ἐπιστήθιος—returning that love with a deep, absorbing, unwavering devotion. One aspect of that feeling is seen in the zeal for his Master's glory, the burning indignation against all that seemed to outrage it, which runs, with its fiery gleam, through his whole life, and makes him, from first to last, one of the Sons of Thunder. To him, more than to any other disciple, there is no neutrality between Christ and Antichrist. The spirit of such a man is intolerant of compromises and concessions. The same strong personal affection shows itself, in another form, in the chief characteristics of his Gospel. While the other Evangelists record principally the discourses and parables which were spoken to the multitude, he treasures up every word and accent of dialogues and conversations, which must have seemed to most men less conspicuous. In the absence of any recorded narrative of his work as a preacher, in the silence which he appears to have kept for so many years, he comes before us as one who lives in the unseen eternal world, rather than in that of secular or even spiritual activity. If there is less apparent power to enter into the minds and hearts of men of different temperament and education, less ability to become all things to all men than there is in St. Paul, there is a perfection of another kind. The image mirrored in his soul is that of the Son of Man, who is also the Son of God. He is the Apostle of Love, not because he starts from the easy temper of a general benevolence, nor again as being of a character soft, yielding, feminine, but because he has grown, ever more and more, into the likeness of Him Whom he loved so truly. Nowhere is the vision of the Eternal Word, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, so unclouded: nowhere are there such distinctive personal reminiscences of the Christ, κατὰ σάρκα, in His most distinctively human characteristics. It was this union of the two aspects of the Truth which made him so truly the "Theologus" of the whole company of the Apostles, the instinctive opponent of all forms of a mystical, or logical, or docetic Gnosticism. It was a true feeling which led the later interpreters of the mysterious forms of the four living creatures round the throne (Rev. iv. 7)—departing in this instance from the earlier tradition[o]—to see in him the eagle that soars into the highest heaven and looks upon the unclouded sun. It will be well to end with the noble words from the hymn of Adam of St. Victor, in which that feeling is embodied:—

> "Coelum transit, veri rotam
> Solis vidit, ibi totam
> Mentis figens aciem;
> Speculator spiritalis
> Quasi seraphim sub alis,
> Dei vidit faciem."[p]

Cp. the exhaustive Prolegomena to Lampe's *Commentary*; Neander, *Pflanz. u. Leit.* pp. 609–652; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, Sermon iv., and *Essays on the Traditions respecting St. John*; Maurice *On the Gospel of St. John*, Sermon i.; and an interesting article by Ebrard, s. v. *Johannes*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*. [E. H. P.]

JOHN THE BAPTIST (Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστής), a saint more signally honoured of God than any other whose name is recorded in either the O. or the N. T. John was of the priestly race by both parents, for his father Zacharias was himself a priest of the course of Abia, or Abijah (1 Ch. xxiv. 10), offering incense at the very time when a son was promised to him; and Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron (Luke i. 5). Both, too, were devout persons—walking in the commandments of God, and waiting for the fulfilment of His promise to Israel. The divine mission of John was the subject of prophecy many centuries before his birth, for St. Matthew (iii. 3) tells us that it was John who was prefigured by Isaiah as "the Voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight" (Is. xl. 3), while by the prophet Malachi the Spirit announces more definitely, "Behold, I will send My messenger, and he shall prepare the way before Me" (iii. 1). His birth—a birth not according to the ordinary laws of nature, but through the miraculous interposition of Almighty power—was foretold by an Angel sent from God, who announced it as an occasion of joy and gladness to many—and at the same time assigned to him the name of *John* to signify either that he was to be born of God's especial favour, or, perhaps, that he was to be the harbinger of grace. The Angel Gabriel moreover proclaimed the character and office of this wonderful child even before his conception, foretelling that he would be filled with the Holy Ghost from the first moment of his existence, and appear as the great reformer of his countrymen—another Elijah in the boldness with which he would speak truth and rebuke vice—but, above all, as the chosen forerunner and herald of the long-expected Messiah.

These marvellous revelations as to the character and career of the son, for whom he had so long prayed in vain, were too much for the faith of the aged Zacharias; and when he sought some assurance of the certainty of the promised blessing, God gave it to him in a judgment—the privation of speech—until the event foretold should happen; a judgment intended to serve as at once a token of God's truth, and a rebuke of his own incredulity. And now the Lord's gracious promise tarried not—Elizabeth, for greater privacy, retired into the hill-country, whither she was soon afterwards followed by her kinswoman Mary, who was herself the object and channel of Divine grace beyond measure greater and more mysterious. The two cousins, who were thus honoured above all the mothers of Israel, came together in an unnamed city belonging to the tribe of Judah in the hilly district, south of Jerusalem, of which Hebron was the centre (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco); and immediately God's purpose was confirmed to them by a miraculous sign; for as soon as Elizabeth heard the salutations of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb, thus acknowledging, as it were even before birth,

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[o] The older interpretation made Mark answer to the eagle, John to the lion (Suicer. *Thes.* s. v. εὐαγγελιστής).

[p] Another verse of this hymn, "Volat avis sine metâ," et seq., is familiar to most students as the motto prefixed by Olshausen to his commentary on St. John's Gospel. The whole hymn is to be found in Ternch's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 71.

the Presence of his Lord (Luke i. 43, 44). Three months after this, and while Mary still remained with her, Elizabeth was delivered of a son. The birth of John preceded by six months that of our blessed Lord. [Respecting this date, see JESUS CHRIST, p. 1700.] On the eighth day the child of promise was, in conformity with the Law of Moses (Lev. xii. 3), brought to the priest for circumcision; and as the performance of this rite was the accustomed time for naming a child, the friends of the family proposed to call him Zacharias after the name of his father. The mother, however, required that he should be called John—a decision which Zacharias, still speechless, confirmed by writing on a tablet, "his name is John." The judgment on his want of faith was then at once withdrawn, and the first use which he made of his recovered speech was to praise Jehovah for His faithfulness and mercy (Luke i. 64). God's wonderful interposition in the birth of John had impressed the minds of many with a certain solemn awe and expectation (Luke iii. 15). God was surely again visiting His people. His providence, so long hidden, seemed once more about to manifest itself. The child thus supernaturally born must doubtless be commissioned to perform some important part in the history of the chosen people. Could he be the Messiah? Could he be Elijah? Was the era of their old Prophets about to be restored? With such grave thoughts were the minds of the people occupied, as they mused on the events which had been passing under their eyes, and said one to another, "What manner of child shall this be?" while Zacharias himself, "filled with the Holy Ghost," broke forth in that glorious strain of praise and prophecy so familiar to us in the morning service of our Church—a strain in which it is to be observed that the father, before speaking of his own child, blesses God for remembering His covenant and promise, in the redemption and salvation of His people through Him, of Whom his own son was the prophet and forerunner.

A single verse contains all that we know of John's history for a space of thirty years—the whole period which elapsed between his birth and the commencement of his public ministry: "The child grew and waxed strong in the spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel" (Luke i. 80). John, it will be remembered, was ordained to be a Nazarite (see Num. vi. 1–21) from his birth, for the words of the Angel were, "He shall drink neither wine nor strong drink" (Luke i. 15). What we are to understand by this brief announcement is probably this:—The chosen forerunner of the Messiah and herald of His Kingdom was required to forego the ordinary pleasures and indulgences of the world, and live a life of the strictest self-denial in retirement and solitude. It was thus that the holy Nazarite, dwelling by himself in the wild and thinly peopled region westward of the Dead Sea, called "Desert" in the text, prepared himself by self-discipline, and by constant communion with God, for the wonderful office to which he had been divinely called. Here year after year of his stern probation passed by, till at length the time for the fulfilment of his mission arrived. The very appearance of the holy Baptist was of itself a lesson to his countrymen; his dress was that of the old prophets—a garment woven of camel's hair (2 K. i. 8), attached to the body by a leathern girdle. His food was such as the desert afforded—locusts (Lev. xi. 22) and wild honey (Ps. lxxxi. 16)

And now the long-secluded hermit came forth to the discharge of his office. His supernatural birth—his hard ascetic life—his reputation for extraordinary sanctity—and the generally prevailing expectation that some great one was about to appear—these causes, without the aid of miraculous power, for "John did no miracle" (John x. 41), were sufficient to attract to him a great multitude from "every quarter" (Matt. iii. 5). Brief and startling was his first exhortation to them—"Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Some score verses contain all that is recorded of John's preaching, and the sum of it all is repentance; not mere legal ablution or expiation, but a change of heart and life. Herein John, though exhibiting a marked contrast to the Scribes and Pharisees of his own time, was but repeating with the stimulus of a new and powerful motive the lessons which had been again and again impressed upon them by their ancient Prophets (cp. Is. i. 16, 17, lv. 7; Jer. vii. 3–7; Ezek. xviii. 19–32, xxxvi. 25–27; Joel ii. 12, 13; Mic. vi. 8; Zech. i. 3, 4). But while such was his solemn admonition to the multitude at large, he adopted towards the leading sects of the Jews a severer tone, denouncing Pharisees and Sadducees alike as "a generation of vipers," and warning them of the folly of trusting to external privileges as descendants of Abraham (Luke iii. 8). Now at last he warns them that "the axe was laid to the root of the tree"—that formal righteousness would be tolerated no longer, and that none would be acknowledged for children of Abraham but such as did the works of Abraham (cp. John viii. 39). Such alarming declarations produced their effect, and many of every class pressed forward to confess their sins and to be baptized.

What then was the baptism which John administered? Not altogether a new rite, for it was the custom of the Jews to baptize proselytes to their religion—not an ordinance in itself conveying remission of sins, but rather a token and symbol of that repentance which was an indispensable condition of forgiveness through Him, Whom John pointed out as "the Lamb of God Which taketh away the sin of the world" (R. V.). Still less did the baptism of John impart the grace of regeneration—of a new spiritual life (Acts xix. 3, 4). This was to be the mysterious effect of Baptism "with the Holy Ghost," which was to be ordained by that "Mightier One," Whose coming he proclaimed. The preparatory baptism of John was a visible sign to the people, and a distinct acknowledgment by them, that a hearty renunciation of sin and a real amendment of life were necessary for admission into the Kingdom of Heaven, which the Baptist proclaimed to be at hand. But the fundamental distinction between John's baptism unto repentance, and that Baptism accompanied with the gift of the Holy Spirit which our Lord afterwards ordained, is clearly marked by John himself (Matt. iii. 11, 12).

As a preacher, John was eminently practical and discriminating. Self-love and covetousness were the prevalent sins of the people at large: on them therefore he enjoined charity, and con-

sideration for others. The publicans he cautioned against extortion, the soldiers against violence and plunder. His answers to them are, no doubt, to be regarded as instances of the appropriate warning and advice which he addressed to every class.

The mission of the Baptist—an extraordinary one for an extraordinary purpose — was not limited to those who had openly forsaken the covenant of God, and so forfeited its principles. It was to the whole people alike. This we must infer from the baptism of one who had no confession to make, and no sins to wash away. Jesus Himself came from Galilee to Jordan to be baptized of John, on the special ground that it became Him "to fulfil all righteousness," and, as Man, to submit to the customs and ordinances which were binding upon the rest of the Jewish people. John, however, naturally at first shrank from offering the symbols of purity to the sinless Son of God. But here a difficult question arises —How is John's acknowledgment of Jesus at the moment of His presenting Himself for baptism compatible with his subsequent assertion that he knew Him not, save by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him, which took place after His baptism (see Westcott in loco)? If it be difficult to imagine that the two cousins were not personally acquainted with each other, it must be borne in mind that their places of residence were at the two extremities of the country, with but little means of communication between them. Perhaps, too, John's special destination and mode of life may have kept him from the stated festivals of his countrymen at Jerusalem. It is possible therefore that the Saviour and the Baptist had never before met. It was certainly of the utmost importance that there should be no suspicion of concert or collusion between them. John, however, must assuredly have been in daily expectation of Christ's manifestation to Israel, and so a word or sign would have sufficed to reveal to him the Person and Presence of our Lord, though we may well suppose such a fact to be made known by a direct communication from God, as in the case of Simeon (Luke ii. 26; cp. Jackson *on the Creed*, Works, Ox. Ed. iv. 404). At all events, it is wholly inconceivable that John should have been permitted to baptize the Son of God without being enabled to distinguish Him from any of the ordinary multitude. Upon the whole, the true meaning of the words *κἀγὼ οὐκ ἤδειν αὐτον* would seem to be as follows:—And I, even I, though standing in so near a relation to Him, both personally and ministerially, had no assured knowledge of Him *as the Messiah*. I did not know Him as such, and I had not authority to proclaim Him as such, till I saw the predicted sign in the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him. It must be borne in mind that John had no means of knowing by previous announcement, whether this wonderful acknowledgment of the Divine Son would be vouchsafed to His forerunner at His Baptism, or at any other time (see Dr. Mill's *Hist. Character of St. Luke's Gospel*, and the authorities quoted by him).

With the Baptism of Jesus John's more especial office ceased. The King had come to his Kingdom. The function of the herald was discharged. It was this that John had with singular humility and self-renunciation announced beforehand: "He must increase, but I must decrease."

John, however, still continued to present himself to his countrymen in the capacity of *witness* to Jesus. Especially did he bear testimony to Him at Bethany beyond Jordan (for Bethany, not Bethabara, is the reading of the best MSS.). So confidently indeed did he point out the Lamb of God, on Whom he had seen the Spirit alighting like a dove, that two of his own disciples, St. Andrew, and probably St. John, being convinced by his testimony, followed Jesus as the true Messiah.

From incidental notices in Scripture we learn that John and his disciples continued to baptize some time after our Lord entered upon His ministry (see John iii. 23, iv. 1; Acts xix. 3). We gather also that John instructed his disciples in certain moral and religious duties, as fasting (Matt. ix. 14; Luke v. 33) and prayer (Luke xi. 1).

But shortly after he had given his testimony to the Messiah, John's public ministry was brought to a close. He had at the beginning of it condemned the hypocrisy and worldliness of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and he now had occasion to denounce the lust of a king. In daring disregard of the Divine laws, Herod Antipas had taken to himself the wife of his brother Philip; and when John reproved him for this, as well as for other sins (Luke iii. 19), Herod cast him into prison. The place of his confinement was the castle of Machaerus—a fortress on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It was here that reports reached him of the miracles which our Lord was working in Judaea —miracles which, doubtless, were to John's mind but the confirmation of what he expected to hear as to the establishment of the Messiah's Kingdom. But if Christ's Kingdom were indeed established, it was the duty of John's own disciples no less than of all others to acknowledge it. They, however, would naturally cling to their own master, and be slow to transfer their allegiance to another. With a view therefore of overcoming their scruples, John sent two of them to Jesus Himself to ask the question, "Art Thou He that should come?" They were answered not by words, but by a series of miracles wrought before their eyes—the very miracles which prophecy had specified as the distinguishing credentials of the Messiah (*Is.* xxxv. 5, lxi. 1); and while Jesus bade the two messengers carry back to John as His only answer the report of what they had seen and heard, He took occasion to guard the multitude who surrounded Him, against supposing that the Baptist himself was shaken in mind, by a direct appeal to their own knowledge of his life and character. Well might they be appealed to as witnesses that the stern prophet of the wilderness was no waverer, bending to every breeze, like the reeds on the banks of Jordan. Proof abundant had they that John was no worldling with a heart set upon rich clothing and dainty fare—the luxuries of a king's court —and they must have been ready to acknowledge that one so inured to a life of hardness and privation was not likely to be affected by the ordinary terrors of a prison. But our Lord not only vindicates His forerunner from any suspicion of inconstancy, He goes on to proclaim

him a prophet, and more than a prophet; nay, inferior to none born of woman, though in respect to spiritual privileges behind the least of those who were to be born of the Spirit and admitted into the fellowship of Christ's Body (Matt. xi. 11). It should be noted that the expression ὁ δὲ μικρότερος, κ.τ.λ. is understood by Chrysostom, Augustin, Hilary, and some modern commentators, to mean Christ Himself, but this interpretation is less agreeable to the spirit and tone of our Lord's discourse.

Jesus further proceeds to declare that John was, according to the true meaning of the prophecy, the Elijah of the new covenant, foretold by Malachi (iii. 4). The event indeed proved that John was to Herod what Elijah had been to Ahab, and a prison was deemed too light a punishment for his boldness in asserting God's Law before the face of a king and a queen. Nothing but the death of the Baptist would satisfy the resentment of Herodias. Though foiled once, she continued to watch her opportunity, which at length arrived. A court festival was kept at Machaerus in honour of the king's birthday. After supper, the daughter of Herodias came in and danced before the company, and so charmed was the king by her grace that he promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she should ask.

Salome, prompted by her abandoned mother, demanded the head of John the Baptist. The promise had been given in the hearing of his distinguished guests, and so Herod, though loth to be made the instrument of so bloody a work, gave instructions to an officer of his guard, who went and executed John in the prison, and his head was brought to feast the eyes of the adulteress whose sins he had denounced.

Thus was John added to that glorious army of martyrs who have suffered for righteousness' sake. His death is supposed to have occurred just before the third Passover, in the course of the Lord's ministry. It is by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 2) attributed to the jealousy with which Herod regarded his growing influence with the people. Herod undoubtedly looked upon him as some extraordinary person, for no sooner did he hear of the miracles of Jesus than, though a Sadducee himself, and as such a disbeliever in the Resurrection, he ascribed them to John, whom he supposed to have risen from the dead. Holy Scripture tells us that the body of the Baptist was laid in the tomb by his disciples, and Ecclesiastical history records the honours which successive generations paid to his memory.

The brief history of John's life is marked throughout with the characteristic graces of self-denial, humility, and holy courage. So great indeed was his abstinence that worldly men considered him possessed. "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they said he hath a devil." His humility was such that he had again and again to disavow the character, and decline the honours which an admiring multitude almost forced upon him. To their questions he answered plainly, he was not the Christ, nor the Elijah of whom they were thinking, nor one of their old Prophets. He was no one—a voice merely—the Voice of God calling His people to repentance in preparation for the coming of Him whose shoe latchet he was not worthy to unloose.

For his boldness in speaking truth, he went a willing victim to prison and to death.

The student may consult the following works, where he will find numerous references to ancient and modern commentators:—Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.*; Witsius, *Miscell.* vol. iv.; Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea*, Oxford, 1842; Neander, *Life of Christ*; Le Bas, *Scripture Biography*; Taylor, *Life of Christ*; Olshausen, *Comm. on the Gospels.* [E. H—s.]

ST. JOHN, GOSPEL OF. The questions which occur at the threshold of an examination of any writing which has confessedly come down from remote antiquity are: Who is its author? How do we know this from history, how from the writing itself? What are the contents of the writing? Is there anything special in their matter or their form? At what date was it written, and what object did the writer put before himself? Are there other extant writings of the same author, or other extant writings on the same subjects by other authors? and, if so, how is this writing related to them? Does the present copy faithfully represent the original text? These questions are not logically distinct, and the answers to them must here and there overlap, but, as applied to the present writing, they will fall with sufficient accuracy into the following scheme:—

I. Authorship.
(i.) Evidence of History.
A. The witness of the second century, p. 1739.
B. The silence of sixteen centuries, p. 1745.
C. The criticism of the present century, p. 1745.
(ii.) Self-evidence of the writing.
A. Direct evidence, p. 1749.
B. Indirect inference, p. 1749.
II. Date, p. 1756.
III. Matter and Characteristics.
A. Purpose and scheme, p. 1756.
B. Relation to the Apocalypse, p. 1758.
C. Relation to the Johannine Epistles, p. 1759.
D. Relation to the Synoptic Gospels, p. 1760.
IV. The Text, p. 1762.
V. Literature, p. 1764.

I. Authorship.

(i.) *Evidence of History.*

A. *The Second Century.*—It is beyond question that from the close of the third quarter of the second century the Fourth Gospel was accepted as the work of St. John. The evidence is cumulative. Asia Minor and Gaul, Alexandria and Carthage; Irenaeus, Clement, and Tertullian; the Peshitto Syriac and the Old Latin Versions; the Muratorian Canon (cp. Canon, p. 513), are witnesses whose evidence cannot be disputed and whose authority cannot be gainsaid. But the fact of this wide-spread testimony carries with it the further fact of acceptance stretching back into the earlier decades of the century.

To trace the distinct lines of this earlier acceptance is not an easy task, inasmuch as the

extant literature is on the one hand fragmentary, and on the other hand frequent reference or quotation does not fall within its scope. The *argumentum ex silentio*, precarious everywhere, is powerless here; and to ask for exact quotation, and nothing less than exact quotation, from writers who habitually quoted from memory or whose copies of the texts were imperfect or corrupt or not at hand, is to prejudge the question by demanding evidence which in the very nature of the case cannot exist. Going backwards from Irenaeus, our chief witnesses are the following:—

(*a.*) CELSUS (cf. Keim, *Celsus' Wahres Wort; Aelteste Streitschrift*, &c., Zürich, 1873).—The one work of Celsus, the Λόγος ἀληθής, is known only by the reply of Origen, *Contra Celsum*, and Origen was himself left wholly to conjecture as to the history of the author. The date is A.D. 176–180 (Keim, A.D. 177 or 178). Keim is at least not biassed in favour of the Johannine authorship of the Gospel, but he is certain that the whole standpoint of Celsus is taken from St. John (*Wahres Wort*, &c., 229 sq.). So is his reviewer Harnack (*Evang.-Luther-Kirchenzeitung*, 1873, p. 657).

(*b.*) CHURCHES OF VIENNE AND LYONS (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 1, 15).—This letter was addressed to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, and gives an account of the suffering under Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 177. It is often assigned, and perhaps rightly, to Irenaeus. It mentions the Paraclete, and formally quotes with almost verbal accuracy John xvi. 2.

(*c.*) ATHENAGORAS (*Supplicat. pro Christ.* and *De Resurr.*, ed. Otto, 1857) is not named by Eusebius or Jerome, Photius or Suidas, but there is no reason to doubt that the Apology and Treatise are both genuine, and that the date is *c.* A.D. 176–7. The tenth chapter of the Apology is based upon the Prologue of St. John, and implies a knowledge of cap. xvii. 21–23.

(*d.*) APOLINARIS (*Chron. Paschal.*, ed. Dindorf 1832, i. p. 14; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* i. pp. 160, 161; and Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, 1889, p. 237 sq.) was Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia (A.D. 171). Of his writings (imperfect list in Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 27; cp. Theodoret. *Haer. Fab.* i. 21) only a few fragments remain. They contain the following passages:—(1) ὅθεν ἀσυμφωνός τε νόμῳ ἡ νόησις αὐτῶν, καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια, which implies that St. John is to be included among the εὐαγγέλια: and (2) ὁ τὴν ἁγίαν πλευρὰν ἐκκεντηθεὶς ὁ ἐκχέας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ τὰ δύο πάλιν καθάρσια ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα· λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα, which can only be explained by reference to John xix. 34.

(*e.*) MELITO of Sardis (*c.* A.D. 176, Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum*, 1872, pp. 374–511; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* i. 113–153; Bp. Lightfoot, *Essays, ut supra*, p. 223 sq.) is named by Polycrates (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 31, and v. 24), and his fragments are of special interest as containing the phrase τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 26). For the present purpose the phrase . . . τὴν μὲν θεότητα αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν σημείων ἐν τῇ τριετίᾳ τῇ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα (Otto, p. 416) is more important as testifying in word and matter to St. John. (Cp. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* ii. 22.

(*f.*) POLYCRATES of Ephesus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 24) designates St. John as ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσών, with obvious reference to capp. xiii. 25 and xxi. 20 of the Gospel. He was bishop of Ephesus in the last decade of the 2nd century.

(*g.*) TATIAN, fl. 150–170 (Otto, *Corpus Apolog.* vi. 1851; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 29).—The Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας was written soon after the death of Justin (? 150). It does not perhaps contain any reference to the Synoptic Gospels, but the following passages taken as a whole seem clearly to imply a knowledge of St. John:—

Θεὸς ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν λόγου δύναμιν παρειλήφαμεν (*Oratio ad Graecos*, cap. 5; Otto, pp. 20, 22). Cp. John i. 1 and 12.

πάντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὐδὲ ἕν (*Ad Graec.* cap. xix.; Otto, p. 88). Cp. John i. 3 in Westcott and Hort's text.

καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἄρα τὸ εἰρημένον· ἡ σκοτία τὸ φῶς οὐ καταλαμβάνει (*Ad Graec.* cap. xiii.; Otto, p. 60). Cp. John i. 5.

On the romantic history of the recovery at least of the substance of Tatian's Harmony of the Gospels or *Diatessaron*, it must suffice to refer to the *Bampton Lectures* for 1890, pp. 375–387, and the authorities there quoted. In the words of Dr. Adolf Harnack, no partial judge: "We learn from the *Diatessaron* that about 160 A.D. our four Gospels had already taken a place of prominence in the Church, and that no others had done so; that in particular the Fourth Gospel had taken a fixed place alongside of the three synoptics" (*Encyc. Brit.*, 1888, xxiii. 81).

(*h.*) VALENTINUS AND HIS SCHOOL: PTOLEMAEUS, HERACLEON, MARCUS, THEODOTUS (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haeres.* iii. 4, 3; Duncker et Schneidewin, *Hippolyti Refutatio omnium Haeresium*, 1859).—Valentinus came to Rome under Hyginus (? 135–141), and lived on in the time of Anicetus ("sub Aniceto invaluit") [? 154(6)–166(7)]. He was working in Alexandria before this, and his period may therefore be fixed at A.D. 130–160. Tertullian represents Valentinus in contrast to Marcion: " . . . Neque enim si *Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur*, non callidiore ingenio quam Marcion manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machaera, non stilo usus est, quoniam ad materiam suam caedem scripturarum confecit: Valentinus autem pepercit, quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas excogitavit" (*De Praes. Haeret.* xxxviii.). That in Tertullian's use *videtur* = *constat*, see Oehler's note in loco, and cp. especially *Adv. Marc.* iv. 2, "Lucam *videtur* Marcion elegisse quem caederet."

PTOLEMAEUS is the oldest of the disciples of Valentinus, and represents with Heracleon the Italian division of the school. He had himself become the centre of a party (*οἱ περὶ Πτολεμαῖον*, *Adv. Haer.* i. Praef. 2), at the time when Irenaeus was beginning his work, and this necessarily leads far back into the decade A.D. 170–180, and probably indicates a date nearer to 160 than to 170. Of Ptolemy there is an extant Epistle to Flora preserved in Epiphanius, κατὰ Αἱρεσέων, cap. xxxiii. 3–7, and it quotes John i. 3 with the formula Λέγει . . . ὁ ἀπόστολος. In the account of the Valentinian system Irenaeus makes Ptolemy quote

St. John: cp. ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι· καὶ τί εἶπω οὐκ οἶδα (*Adv. Haeres.* i. ch. viii. 2) with John xii. 27; and name St. John as the writer of the Gospel . . . λέγει δε οὕτως· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος . . . (*Adv. Haeres.* i. ch. viii. 5). The Old Latin Version says at the close of this section; "et Ptolemaeus quidem ita."

HERACLEON (Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, 1884, pp. 60 sq., 288 sq., 464 sq.; and especially the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, vol. i. No. 4) is coupled by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* ii. ch. iv. 1) with Ptolemaeus, and is called by Clement "the most esteemed representative of the school of Valentinus" (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9, 73). He wrote a Commentary on St. John, of which large extracts are preserved by Origen (cp. Stieren, *Irenaeus*, i. 938–971, where they are collected after Grabe and Massuet). These extracts give continuous comments on passages of considerable length. It cannot be doubted that the writer of the notes regarded the text as of Divine authority. Origen uses of Heracleon (*Ioannem*, tom. ii. 8) the phrase γνώριμον τὸν Οὐαλεντίνου, in the sense probably of a disciple or pupil.

MARCUS does not add to the quotations from St. John (*Adv. Haeres.* i. xiii.–xxi.), but this negative result is confirmatory of the abundant positive results from his associates. The way in which Irenaeus makes an elder of Asia Minor speak of him tends to throw back his date—and if his date, then the date of his older colleagues—towards the middle of the century.

THEODOTUS is known from the *Excerpta Theodoti* and *Doctrina Orientalis*, which is ascribed to Clement of Alexandria, and printed with his works (*Opp.* ed. Dindorf, iii. 424 sq.). The quotations from St. John are frequent. De Groot counts twenty-six (*Basilides*, 1868, p. 102).

The facts before us then fully establish that which Irenaeus asserts . . . "Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Johannem [Evangelio] *plenissime utentes* . . . ." (*Adv. Haeres.* iii. 11, 7).

Of this *plenissime utentes* the account of the Thirty Aeons (*Adv. Haeres.* i. 1) is evidence. This *may* in form be Ptolemaean rather than Valentinian, but in substance the essential factors of the system are the master's, not the pupil's. Ptolemaeus is the exponent of Valentinus, and from this point of view one with him. If the complex is later than the simple, if development follows the germ, if the stream is lower down than the spring, the Aeons of the Valentinians necessarily assert at the date of Valentinus the pre-existence of the Gospel according to St. John.

The testimony of Hippolytus to the use of the Gospel by the Valentinians is also clear. Cp. φησί, . . . Πάντες οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐληλυθότες κλέπται καὶ λησταί εἰσί (*Refut. omn. Haeres.* vi. 35) with John x. 8, and see the distinctively Johannine ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11) in the *Refutatio* (vi. 33, 34). The use of φησίν in Hippolytus *may* not warrant the inference that he here makes Valentinus a direct witness to St. John, but he identifies the founder with his school; and the general result of the Valentinian testimony is not less than proof that this Order of Gnostics which flourished in the middle of the second century (A.D. 130–180) accepted the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, and felt bound to harmonize their own systems with it.

(*i.*) BASILIDES, fl. in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 117–138 (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 7; Hippolytus, *Refutatio, ut supra*, vii. 20–27; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. §§ 83 sq.; *Exegetica* printed by Stieren after Massuet and Grabe, *Irenaeus*, pp. 901–3; Hort, art. 'Basilides' in *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* i. 271; and an article by Dr. James Drummond in *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* 1892).—Eusebius (*l. c.*) represents Agrippa Castor as stating that Basilides wrote "twenty-four books (βιβλία) on the Gospel (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον)," *i.e.* on probably the Book of the Gospels. These are almost certainly the *Exegetica* quoted by Clement (*Strom.* iv. 83 sq.); for there is no reason to believe that τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is here = ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων γνῶσις (*Ref. Haer.* vii. 27), and there is no other trace of a "Gospel by Basilides" (Origen, *Hom. in Luc.* i.— ? another name for the *Exegetica*; Ambrose, *Exp. in Luc.* i.), nor any trace of his use of an apocryphal Gospel. There is every reason for believing further that these *Exegetica* form the foundation of the exposition of doctrine by Hippolytus (*Ref.* vii. 20–27 *ut supra*), and that Hippolytus in contrast with Irenaeus is quoting at first hand from Basilides. That Basilides is quoting from St. John will not be questioned. Cp. καὶ τοῦτο, φησίν, ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις· Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον (*Ref. ut supra*, vii. 22) with John i. 9; and ὅτι δέ, φησίν, ἕκαστον ἰδίους ἔχει καιρούς, ἱκανὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λέγων· Οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου (*ibid.* vii. 27) with John ii. 4. The doubt as to what stress can be laid upon φησίν occurs here, as in the quotations from Valentinus (*supra*).

The second quotation is followed in the next sentence by ὁ κατ' αὐτοὺς γενομένος, which may identify Basilides with his followers; but in the first instance he is singled out by name just before, and the sense of φησίν is undoubted. "Basileides, therefore, about the year 125 of our era, had before him the Fourth Gospel." (Cp. Matthew Arnold, *God and the Bible*, ed. 1875, p. 268 sq.; Ezra Abbot, *Authorship*, &c. p. 86; *Bampton Lectures*, 1890, pp. 365 sqq.).

(*j.*) THE ORIENTAL GNOSTICS: THE OPHITES OR NAASENI; THE PERATICI; THE SETHIANS; THE GNOSTIC JUSTIN (Hippolytus, *Refut. ut supra*, v. 7–9, and 12, 16, 17).—Here the quotations from St. John are both numerous and undoubted, but it is not so certain that Hippolytus is describing the first representatives of these early Gnostic sects. Still the evidence is at least proof that, in the second half of the century, these Gnostic sects also made familiar use of St. John as of Divine authority. Here, again, the acceptance in the second half of the century necessarily leads back to acceptance at an earlier date.

(*k.*) THE CLEMENTINES (Lagarde, *Clementina*, 1865, and *Recognitiones*, Syriace, 1861; Geisdorf, *Recognitiones*, 1838).—These Ebionite writings, falsely ascribed to Clement of Rome, exist in two forms: the *Homilies*, extant in Greek, which has been assigned by modern writers to every decade of the second century; and the *Recognitions*, a composite, and probably later (?) work which exists only in the untrustworthy translation of Rufinus, and is for the present purpose therefore

not available. The Syriac Version is made up of portions of the *Recognitions* and of portions of the *Homilies* (Lagarde, Preface, 6 and 7), and the older of the two extant codices is thus described: "A oblongus, M. Brit. add. 12150, scriptus Edessae a. 411;" *i.e.* it leads back to within one year of the death of Rufinus, and it is itself a copy of a yet older MS. Lagarde in his preface to the *Clementina* (p. 30) gives fifteen instances of quotation from or reference to St. John; to these may be added ὅπερ ἐστὶν ζῶν ὕδωρ (p. 4, l. 26; cp. p. 117, 11)—cp. John iv. 10; while some in the list should perhaps be omitted, except in so far as the definite quotations bring the slighter references also within the range of probability.

The uncertainty is not now as to the use of St. John by the Christian Judaizers, who assumed the name of Clement to give authority to their own hostility to St. Paul, but as to the date at which such use was made. A consensus of critical opinion assigns the Clementines to the middle of the second century; and this may perhaps be taken as the nearest approximation to the date which is attainable. The impression which the work leaves on my own mind is that in its present Roman form it belongs to the end rather than the middle of the century, and that it is based upon earlier Eastern forms, which cannot be later and are probably much earlier than the middle of the century.

(*l.*) MARCION is to be excepted from the direct witnesses to the Fourth Gospel. His *floruit* is not later than 138–142 A.D. Marcion's Gospel was a mutilated St. Luke, and he rejected the other Gospels (including the "anti-Jewish" St. John) on account of their Jewish prejudices (Iren. *Haer.* iii. 12, § 12). That he knew the Fourth Gospel and knew it to be apostolic may be inferred from Tertullian ("... connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scilicet fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat;" "etsi reprehensus est Petrus et Johannes et Jacobus," *Adv. Marc.* iv. 3; "Si scripturas opinioni tuae resistentes non de industria alias rejecisses, alias corrupsisses, confudisset te in hac specie evangelium Joannis," *De Carne Christi*, iii.). Against the argument that St. John would have suited him better, and that if he had known it he would have used it, see Mangold in note to his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung*, 1875, p. 158 ("It was simply impossible for Marcion to choose the fourth Gospel"), and refs. in Ezra Abbot, *Authorship*, &c. p. 82 sq. This is the only argument that can be based upon the silence of an avowedly eclectic writer.

Marcion is then in reality a witness for, not against, the Gospel; and the witness is from Rome, A.D. 140, and from Asia Minor for some earlier period.

(*m.*) MONTANUS appeared in Phrygia about A.D. 157. The terms παράκλητος, λόγος, which he adopted, place him as a witness to distinct Johannine phraseology, as then accepted in the Church.

(*n.*) JUSTIN MARTYR (*Opera*, ed. Otto, 1876–81; *Apologiae*, ed. Braunin, 1883). — The writings consist of two *Apologies* (the first A.D. 145 or 146; the second, if really a separate treatise, a year later), which were addressed to the Roman Emperor and Senate; and a *Dialogue with Trypho*, a Jew, about the same date as the Second Apology (*Dial.* c. 120; cf. *Apol.* i. c. 26). For the earlier date (138 or 139) for the First Apology there is, however, the high authority of Waddington (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Insor. et Belles Lettres*, xxvi. i. p. 264 sqq.), and Harnack (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1876, No. 1, col. 14), who is able to support himself by the opinions of Caspari (*Quellen z. Gesch. d. Taufsymbols*, &c. Thl. iii. 1875), which he reviews.

In these writings Justin quotes certain "Memoirs" or "Recollections" (Ἀπομνημονεύματα) of the Apostles which he himself identifies with the Gospels (ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, *Apol.* i. 66). These Memoirs by the Apostles were read on the day called Sunday in the public Church meetings, with the same authority as—they are indeed named before—the writings of the Prophets (*Apol.* i. 67). That Justin includes among these Memoirs the Fourth Gospel and definitely quotes from it, may now be regarded as an established result of English criticism. See especially the full discussion by Ezra Abbot (*Authorship*, &c. pp. 20 sqq.), Drummond (*Theological Review*, xii. 471–488; xiv. 155, 323; and xvi. 365 sqq.), and Sanday (*Gospels in the Second Century*, 1876, p. 287). The crucial passage is in the Apology (i. 61, ed. Otto, i. 164–166): καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἅπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσίν ἐστι. Cp. John iii. 3–5, 7, and Matt. xviii. 3. The connexion here between Justin and St. John is so obvious in word and thought, that men who cannot deny it and yet approach the question with the *à priori* conviction that Justin cannot quote St. John, are driven to the opinion that St. John is quoting Justin. This is happily a case in which every man can form his own opinion. Justin's remark, "that it is impossible for those who have once been born to enter into the wombs of those who brought them forth is manifest to all," is in itself, and in connexion with his context, absolutely meaningless. In St. John's context where Nicodemus prefers a *reductio ad absurdum* in order to lead the Rabbi to fuller explanation, the meaning is perfectly clear. There can be only one conclusion. Others lay stress on the differences in expression and on the fact that Justin's text is supported by the Clementine Homilies (xi. 26, ed. Lagarde, p. 117). The agreement between Justin and the Clementines is scarcely more exact than that between Justin and St. John. There is, moreover, every reason to think that the author of the Clementines made use of Justin; and his free quotation may have been in this way influenced. Both need no further explanation than the habit of quoting from memory, and the influence of Matt. xxviii. 19 and xviii. 3. The assumption of an apocryphal Gospel from which these quotations are made, is justified only when every other explanation fails. It cannot be verified; and if it could, and if Justin quotes from an X Gospel as the Gospel of the Hebrews, then X must here quote from St. John; *i.e.* St. John is on this assumption thrown back to a still earlier date. (On this text see especially,

Supernatural Religion, ed. 7, ii. 304 sqq.; Dr. Edwin Abbott, *Encyc. Brit.*, art. "Gospels;" Dr. Ezra Abbot and Prof. Drummond *ut supra*).

This one passage may now be taken to be conclusive as to Justin's use of St. John, but other instances are not wanting; cp. *οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπελάμβανον αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν· πρὸς οὓς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβόα· οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος* · (*Dial. c. Tryph.* lxxxviii.) with John i. 20, 23, and iii. 28. Negative criticism is destructive not of its subject but of itself, when it asks us to believe that we have here not a reference to St. John but an expansion of Acts xiii. 25.

Cp. *τοὺς ἐκ γενετῆς πηροὺς* (*Dial. c. Tryph.* lxix. and *Apol.* i. 60, ? *πηροὺς* for *πονηροὺς*) with John ix. 1. The *Constit. Apost.* (ed. Lagarde, 1862) have *ὁ ἐκ γενετῆς πηρὸς* (v. 7, 17) in a context which makes the reference to St. John undoubted. So have the Clementines (*περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς πηροῦ, ut supra*, xix. 22). The context in Justin shows that *πηρὸς* here = *τυφλός*, as it constantly does (Otto's note in loco): and *ἐκ γενετῆς* is distinctively Johannine. The Synoptists have no instance of congenital disease.

Cp. *σάρκα καὶ αἷμα* (*Apol.* i. 66) with John vi. 51–56.

Cp. *ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει* (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c.) with John x. 18 (*ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου*).

Cp. Justin's quotation of Hosea (*Apol.* i. 52; cp. *Dial. c. Tryph.* xxxii., lxiv., cxviii.) and John xix. 37. Both have *ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*, which is also the reading of Apoc. i. 7, for the LXX. *ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*. That this reading occurs in ten MSS. of the LXX., and that it is probably a correction made to establish the fulfilment of prophecy, does not take from the remarkable coincidence. These MSS. of the LXX. may have been themselves corrected from the text of St. John (cp. p. 1750).

Justin contains beyond doubt the doctrine of the LOGOS in a developed Johannine form. The incarnation of the Logos (the Divine Logos) and the historic person cannot have been derived from any other source; and yet *σαρκοποιηθεὶς* occurs in this sense frequently (*Apol.* i. cc. 32, 66 (*bis*); *Dial.* cc. 45, 84, 87, 100: cf. *Dial.* cc. 48, 76). In like manner we have *ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος* (*Apol.* i. cc. 5, 23 (*bis*), 32, 42, 50, 53, 63 (*bis*); *Apol.* ii. c. 13; *Dial. c. Tryph.* cc. 48, 57, 64, 67, 68 (*bis*), 76, 85, 100, 101, 125 (*bis*).

See these references and the whole relation of Justin to St. John worked out by Drummond and Ezra Abbot *ut supra*.

(*o.*) EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS (Otto, *Epist. ad Diognetum*, Gr. et Lat., ed. iii. 1879; Harnack, *Patr. Apost. Opp.* Fasc. ii., 1, 1878, p. 142 sqq.; Dräseke, *Der Brief an Diognetos*, 1881; Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1891, p. 484 sq.).—Our knowledge of the date of this fragment is too uncertain for us to lay great stress on its evidence. If we cannot with Bishop Westcott place it as early as the close of the reign of Trajan (A.D. 117; *Canon*, p. 79), everything points to a date not much later. A.D. 135 (Reuss and Bunsen) or A.D. 150 (Lightfoot) is certainly a wide margin. Its testimony to the Fourth Gospel is undoubted. Cp. *e.g.* the passage *οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου* (cap. vi.) with John xvii. 14, or cap. x. with John iii. 16 and 1 John iv. 19, or cap. xi. with John i. 1. (See also Westcott, *l. c.*)

(*p.*) PAPIAS (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39; Iren. *Adv. Haeres.* v. 33, 4: cp. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, 1889, pp. 142–216, and *Apost. Fathers*, 1891, p. 515 sq.) wrote an *Exposition of Oracles of the Lord* (*Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις* or *ἐξηγήσεις*) in five Books which are lost, and known only by some fragments, chiefly in Irenaeus and Eusebius. He is described as a "hearer of John and companion of Polycarp" (*Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονώς*, Iren. *l. c.*). Bp. Lightfoot's remarkable investigation (*Essays, ut supra*) places the question of the date of Papias in an altogether new light; and if we assign the birth to the decade A.D. 60–70, and the work to the decade A.D. 130–140, as we may now with great probability, both assertions of Irenaeus are placed beyond the reach of criticism, and a writer who was himself a pupil of Polycarp may be accepted as a convincing witness. Irenaeus may well have met this "old-time man" (*ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ* he calls him *l. c.*), and we get here, as in the case of Polycarp, a definite link between the age of St. John and that of Irenaeus.

Now Eusebius tells us that Papias used the First Epistle of John (*κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς*, *l. c.*), and it is not seriously disputed that this Epistle is by the writer of the Gospel (p. 1765). This fragmentary notice rises therefore to evidence of the first class. Nor is other indirect testimony wanting. Papias gives a list of the disciples about whose sayings he inquired, "Andrew, Peter or Philip; Thomas, James, John, Matthew" (Euseb. *l. c.*). Andrew precedes Peter (John i. 44: cp. Mark i. 29); Philip and Thomas are prominent disciples only in St. John; the only plausible explanation of the connexion of St. John and St. Matthew is that both were known to be Evangelists.

(*q.*) THE PRESBYTERS (Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, and *Apost. Fathers*, 1891, p. 590 sq.).—Irenaeus in a well-known passage introduces certain presbyters, and represents them as quoting John xiv. 2: *Ὡς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγουσι, τότε καὶ οἱ μὲν καταξιωθέντες τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ διατριβῆς, ἐκεῖσε χωρήσουσιν . . . οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατοικήσουσιν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου μονὰς εἶναι πολλάς* (*Adv. Haer.* v. 36, 1, 2; cp. the context). This extract has been made familiar in late years by the attempt of the author of *Supernatural Religion*, in defiance alike of grammar and of context, to represent Irenaeus as giving only the "exegesis of his own day" (*Sup. Rel.* ii. 328). But it is beyond real question that the quotation from St. John is assigned to "the Presbyters," "the Fathers" as we should now say of the generation of Irenaeus, and that these are identified with the "disciples of the Apostles." Bishop Lightfoot has shown good reason for believing that the quotation of Irenaeus is here made from a book, and further that this book is the work of Papias (*Essays, ut supra*, pp. 4 sq., 196 sq.). The identification with Papias is accepted by scholars of different schools like Harnack and Salmon (*Introd.*, ed. 2, p. 106). If it be so, we have another definite proof of the acceptance of the

Fourth Gospel by Papias, and its cogency is strengthened by the indirect method by which it is traced; if it be not so, we have another of the school of St. John of the age of Papias produced as a witness, and the evidence is stronger still.

(*r.*) POLYCARP (cp. JOHN, FIRST EPISTLE OF).—The evidence for the First Epistle is indirect evidence for the Gospel.

(*s.*) MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP (Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1889, Part ii. vol. i. 646 sq.; and vol. iii. 388.—Date, soon after martyrdom in A.D. 155 or –6). This Letter of the Church at Smyrna gives the martyr's final prayer, which contains in close contiguity the expressions *εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου* and *ἀληθινὸς θεός* (cp. John v. 29 and xvii. 3; *ut supra*, vol. iii. p. 388).

(*t.*) HERMAS (Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas*; Gebhardt and Harnack, *Patrum Apost. Op.* Fasc. iii. 1877; Lightfoot, *Philipp.* p. 166 sq., and *Apost. Fathers*, 1891, p. 289 sq.; Salmon, *Introd.* ed. 2, p. 571 sq.).—The questions connected with the authority, text, and date of the Shepherd of Hermas are too intricate to be discussed here, and its influence on our present question is to be felt rather than stated. It cannot well be placed later than the middle of the second century, and the current of best opinion seems to be setting in favour of the first decade. The student who will compare the following passages—John iii. 5 and Sim. ix. 16, 2; John iii. 35 and S. ix. 15, 3; John iv. 34 (v. 36, xvii. 4) and S. v. 2, 4 sq. and ix. 11, 8; John iv. 38 and S. v. 6, 20; John v. 31 sq. and S. v. 2, 6; John viii. 34 and Vis. i. 1, 8; John x. 7, 9, and S. ix. 12, 1 sq.; John x. 12 and S. ix. 31, 5; John x. 18 (xii. 49 sq., xiv. 31, xv. 10) and S. v. 6, 3, 4; John xi. 25 (xiv. 6) and Vis. ii. 2, 8; John xii. 40 and Mand. xii. 4, 4; John xii. 49 sq. and S. v. 5, 3; John xv. i. sq. and S. viii.; John xvii. 24 (xii. 36, xiv. 3) and S. ix. 24, 4 (cp. Zahn, p. 467 sq., and note the refs. to the First Ep.)—will probably feel the cumulative strength of argument which compelled even Keim and Wittichen and Holtzmann (who is disposed to think, however, that Hermas comes first) to admit the necessary connexion between the Shepherd and St. John.*

(*u.*) IGNATIUS (Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1889, Part. ii. vol. ii.; Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873; *Patr. Ap. Op.* Fasc. ii. 1876).—The middle (Vossian) Recension may now be taken as established, and we have the following evidence of the acceptance of St. John in the opening years of the second century:—

Compare *Ephes.* v. and *Rom.* vii. with *John* vi. 27, 31, 33, 48, and indeed the whole passage John vi. 27–59; also iv. 10, 11, and if with Lightfoot we read *ζῶν ἀλλόμενον*, John iv. 14; *Ephes.* vi. with John xiii. 20; *Ephes.* xvii. with John xii. 3 (*vid.* Zahn and Lightfoot); in the same chapter of *Ephes.* and *passim*, the phrase *τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* with John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11; *Magn.* vii. *Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος, κ. τ. λ.*, with John v. 19, 30, x. 30, xv. 4, xvi. 15 (Zahn and Lightfoot), also *εἰς ἕνα ὄντα* with John i. 1, 18, xiii. 3, &c.; *Magn.* viii. *ad fin.* with John viii. 29; *Rom.* iii. *ad fin.* with John vii. 7, &c. *Philad.* vii.: *οἶδεν γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ τοῦ ὑπάγει* is a definite quotation from John iii. 8 (*vid.* Lightfoot ad loc.).

(*v.*) BARNABAS (Geb. and Harn. *Patr. Ap. Op.* Fasc. i. 2, 1878; Hilgenfeld, *Barnabae Epistolae*; Salmon, *Introd.* ed. 2, 557 sq.; Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1891, p. 240 sq.).—The date cannot be fixed accurately. "Itaque intra ann. 71–132 epistulam delegamus" (Geb. and Harn. *l. c.* p. lxvii.); "probably between A.D. 70–79" (Lightfoot, p. 241). It may then be earlier than St. John, and represent the area of thought from which the Fourth Gospel springs rather than the Gospel itself. All that concerns us here is that, if a witness at all, it is clearly a witness for the reception of St. John. This appears not so much from isolated passages as from the general doctrinal position. We cannot say with Wittichen, that the expressions are too characteristic to have any other root than that of the Gospel (*Gesch. Character d. Ev. Joh.* 1868, p. 104); but Keim's honest avowal—it is against his own position—that for this sphere of ideas there is no analogy in St. Paul, nor even in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but only in this Gospel (*Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. 1876, i. 194 sqq. with reff.; cp. Sanday, *Gospels in Second Cent.*, pp. 270–272), is of great weight.

(*w.*) CLEMENT OF ROME (Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, Pt. i. 1891; Geb. and Harn. *Pat. Ap. Op.* Fasc. i. 1, 1876; Salmon, *Introd.* ed. 2, 564 sq.).—Probable date about A.D. 95 or 96 (Lightfoot, *l. c.*, i. 27 and 346 sq.); "intra ann. 93–97" (cp. *Consensus of Opinion*, Geb. and Harn. pp. lix., lx.). This is a time at which the Fourth Gospel may not have been promulgated or may not have reached Rome. Some interesting parallels are noted in Geb. and Harn. *Index*, which however go to show rather that the writer is influenced by the Johannine circle of thought than that he is quoting from the Gospel in its final form.

(*x.*) THE TESTAMENT OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS (Sinker, *Test. XII. Patriarch.* 1869; Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem*, 1866; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 1886, ii. pp. 662-669).—This work, which is probably from the hands of a Jewish Christian, is in the form of a legacy of pious counsels from each of the sons of Jacob. Its contents make it probable that it is earlier than the revolt of Bâr-Kochba (A.D. 135). Sinker places it at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.

The following passages will show its connexion with the phraseology of St. John:—*τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας* (Jude 20; cp. John xv. 26); *τὸν θεὸν τῆς εἰρήνης* (Dan. v.; cp. John xvi. 33); *ἁμαρτίαν εἰς θάνατον* (Is. vii.; cp. 1 John v. 16); *δώσει τοῖς ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς* (Lev. xviii.; cp. Apoc. ii. 7).

(*y.*) THE DIDACHE (Bryennios, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, κ. τ. λ.* Const. 1883; Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 1884; Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1891, p. 212 sq.; Hitchcock and Brown, *Teaching of the Twelve*

* Since the above was in print, the evidence of Hermas has been carefully examined by Dr. Taylor in *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*, 1892. He comes to the conclusion that "the evidence adduced seems to justify the conclusion that the Gospel known to Hermas was (so to say) a Diatessaron, having for its elements the Four Gospels of to-day" (p. 146). Cp. also note in *Journal of Philology*, xxi. (1892), pp. 69, 70.

Apostles, ed. 2, 1885; Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 1886).—The date is too uncertain to enable us to say whether it preceded or followed the Gospel. The limits assigned by most competent critics (80–110 A.D.) would allow either view to be held. We have no right therefore to expect definite quotation or reference, but the following and other resemblances will strike the thoughtful reader of the two writings. They are at least consistent with the belief that the Gospel belongs to the last decade of the first century. Those who place the *Didache* in the first years of the second century will regard them as strongly confirmatory of that belief.

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας . . . (cap. x. 2; cp. John i. 14, xvii. 6, 11—which is the only place where πάτερ ἅγιε occurs in the New Test.).

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ . . . (cap. ix. 2; cp. John xv. 1.)

ἧς ἐγνώρισας (*Ibid.*, and cap. x. 2; cp. John xxv. 15 and xvii. 26).

Cp. also *Didache* x. 5 with 1 John ii. 5; *Did.* x. 6 with 1 John ii. 17; *Did.* xi. 11 with 1 John iv. 1; *Did.* xi. 2 with 2 John 10; *Did.* x. 3 (παντοκράτορ) with the frequent usage of the word in the Apocalypse (nine times—once besides in N. T. and that from the LXX.).

B. *The Silence of Sixteen Centuries.*—From the close of the second century to the close of the eighteenth century, the Fourth Gospel has been received as the work of the Apostle St. John, with hardly a murmur to break the harmony of all men's assent. The so-called *Alogi* (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 51, 3, 4; Philaster, *Haer.* 60; cp. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. 11, 9) are indeed often quoted as early dissentients from the common belief, but their evidence in so far as it is of any real value is distinctly in favour of a first-century date, for they ascribe the Gospel and Apocalypse to Cerinthus, a contemporary of St. John (cp. *Bampton Lectures*, 1890, pp. 123 sqq.). Nor did the Fourth Gospel escape the attacks of the eighteenth-century English Deists, Collins (*Discourse of Free-thinking*, 1713) and Toland (*Nazarenus*, 1719); but these are characterized with hardly too much severity by Lampe (*Comment.* i. 146): "Illa enim adeo turbida, adeo ab omni ratione abhorrentia et stulta sunt, ut vel ex iis ipsis patescat, quanto veritatis odio mentes eorum sint excaecatae, qui telis ita stramineis inconcussam populi Dei arcem se debellare posse sibi persuadent." From the intervening centuries other objections of like weight and importance may be quoted; but these are as dust in the balance, and they do not sensibly affect the enormous weight of evidence on the other side. It is not denied by any one whose opinion is worthy of serious thought, that during the whole of sixteen centuries the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel was universally accepted.

C. *The Criticism of the Present Century.*—When Keim asserts that "our age has cancelled the judgment of centuries" (*Jesus of Nazara*, 1873, i. 142), it must be admitted that he asserts what is not indeed impossible, but what is *à priori* in the highest degree improbable, and can be accepted on nothing short of clear and rigid proof. The *onus probandi* lies entirely with "our age." This cannot be shifted by imputation of prejudice or of bias, and cannot be diminished by discounting the arguments of so-called "Apologists." The judgment of centuries can be cancelled only by new facts or new and proved results from old facts, and it will rightly hold the ground until it is in this way dislodged, and until a new judgment more in accord with all the known facts and more exactly satisfying all the known conditions is supplied in its place.[b]

The main outlines of the modern criticism of the Fourth Gospel may be summarized as follows.

Evanson, Edward (1731–1805), *The Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists*, &c. (Ipswich, 1792; ed. 2, 1805).—It has been customary to trace the development of the hostile criticism from this work, but it is little worthy of the notice which it has attracted (*B. L.* pp. 174–176).

Bretschneider, Karl Gottlieb (1776–1848), *Probabilia de Evangelii et Epistolarum Joannis Apostoli indole et origine*, &c. (Leipzig, 1820).—This is a work of a very different spirit and of very different merit. It proved the real foundation of subsequent criticism, though Bretschneider himself withdrew his objections (*B. L.* pp. 179–190).

Strauss, David Friedrich (1808–74), *Das Leben Jesu*, 1835–6; ed. 2, 1837; ed. 3, 1838–39; ed. 4, 1840: cp. *Das Leben Jesu, für das deutsche Volk*, 1864.—The criticism of Strauss on the Fourth Gospel is but part of his general Mythical Theory. The legends of the Old Testament which grew round the Messianic idea were interpreted of the personal Jesus, and the writers of the Gospels have pictured Him as they thus thought Him, not as He really was. The Messianic idea has itself sprung from centering in an individual that which is true of the race. The miraculous is impossible.

From these premises the conclusion as to the Gospels, and especially the Fourth Gospel, is obvious. But Strauss makes no important addition either of fact or of argument to the criticism. His weapons are chiefly those of Bretschneider, fitted into his own system, and wielded with his own peculiar force, though with many vacillations (*B. L.* pp. 191–219).

Baur, F. C. (1792–1860; Johannine criticism beginning with an art. in Zeller's *Theol. Jahrb.* 1844; *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Kan. Evang.* 1847, pp. 327–389).—It was with Baur that negative criticism may be said to have culminated. His fundamental idea was the Hegelian trichotomy of thesis, antithesis, and higher unity. The antagonisms of early Christianity he found fully developed in the pseudo-Clementines. Working back from these, he

[b] As some considerable reduction in this article had become necessary, and as the writer had had occasion quite recently to treat at length of this historical side of his subject, the sketch which follows has been unavoidably restricted to little more than a bare enumeration of names, reference being made for those who desire fuller details to the *Bampton Lectures* for 1890 (hereafter quoted as *B. L.*).—EDITORS.

distributed the Books of the New Testament over three periods: (1) to the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, the documents being 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Rom. (the only genuine Pauline Epistles), and Apocalypse, which is the work of St. John, and represents an original Ebionite Christianity in opposition to Paulinism. (2) A.D. 70–140. The documents are the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, which belong to the Jewish wars under Hadrian. Then come Acts and Mark, the Hebrews, and the pseudo-Pauline Epistles, and finally the Catholic Epistles. The characteristics of this period are the first steps on both sides towards moderating the antagonism. The Jewish Christians abandoned the requirement of circumcision: the Pauline party were interested in healing the breach, and the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians were therefore invented. (3) After A.D. 140 the Ebionitic and Gnostic extremes were abandoned. This is marked in practice by the Roman Church and their watchword "Peter and Paul," and in idea by the Fourth Gospel. The writings which date from this period are the Pastoral Letters and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles. The Fourth Gospel itself was nothing more than a *Tendenzschrift* belonging to somewhere about the year 170, and to Asia Minor or more probably Alexandria.

The negative effect of Baur's theory of Tendency was the deathblow of Strauss's theory of Myth. Myth and History, simplicity and forgery, ignorance and purpose, cannot be made to grow together, even by the exigencies of a theory.

The positive effect of Baur's theory, or rather of the attractive power of the author—and in this he stands in marked contrast to Strauss—was to draw to himself as centre a band of writers who took their name in part from the sphere of the great "Meister's" work, and became known as the Tübingen School.

Chief among these would be Schwegler (*Nachapost. Zeitalt.* 1846); Ritschl (*Evglm. Marcion's*, 1846; *Entstehung d. alt-Kath. Kirche*, ed. 1, 1850; the author altered his standpoint considerably in ed. 2, 1857); Köstlin (*Lehrbegriffs d. Evangeliums*, 1843); Zeller, joint-editor with Baur of *Theol. Jahrbücher* from 1848; Hilgenfeld from 1849 onwards (editor of *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* from 1859, *Einleitung*, 1875); Volkmar (1852–1882). [On this group of writers and their works, see *B. L.* pp. 234–240.]

Never was theory more ably supported; never did theory more completely collapse, through its own inherent weakness. The pillars of the theory itself proved unstable: the date of the Clementines is found to be much too late; the date of the Fourth Gospel is by the confession of its foes much too early for the requirements of Baur's development. Fresh and exact study of history has shown that there was no such chasm between Ebionitism and Paulinism as Baur imagined [ACTS OF THE APOSTLES], and with the chasm the theory disappears. At the time of Baur's death (1860) he had one faithful disciple, Holsten, and Holsten's position is really different (*Die drei u. sprüng. Evang.* 1883; *Die synopt. Evang.* 1885; *B. L.* p. 243).

THE PARTITION THEORIES.—From the earliest days of the negative criticism of the Fourth Gospel to the present time, a line of writers has existed, more or less connected with each other, and more or less holding that portions of the Gospel are authoritative, but that it is not as a whole the work of St. John.

Weisse, C. H. (*Evangelische Geschichte*, 1838; *Die Evangelienfrage*, 1856), first gave prominence to this line of criticism. He held that the discourses of Jesus and of John Baptist are studies from the Apostle's hand, and that after the writer's death the disciples combined these studies with connecting historic matter and oral teaching into the present Gospel.

Schenkel, D., began (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1840) by developing the main ideas of Weisse, but ended (*Charakterbild Jesu*, ed. 4, 1873) by giving up the Johannine authorship altogether, and placing the Gospel in the middle of the second century.

Schweizer, A. (*Evangel. Johannes*, 1841), endeavoured to show that the events which have Galilee as their scene (capp. ii. 1–12, iv. 44–54, vi. 1–26), and also cap. xxi., and some smaller insertions (capp. i. 21 sq., xvi. 30, xviii. 9, xix. 35–37), are in their present form by a later hand. The Johannine ministry of Jesus was limited to Judnea, but this portion is of true historical character, and the discourses are authoritative. The additions were later than John's death, but before the Gospel was first published.

Tobler, J. R. (1867 and other dates), thought that some portions of the Gospel came from the Apostle himself in Aramaic, but that these portions were added to and worked up by Apollos (*B. L.* pp. 246–250). The place is Ephesus, and the time the first century.

Ewald, Heinrich (1803–1875: *Johanneisch. Schrift.* 1861, i. 1–59; *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, 1868, vii. 237 sq.; cp. *B. L.* p. 250 sq.), held with characteristic freedom and characteristic strength his own views of the historic value of the discourses and the narratives of the miracles in the Fourth Gospel; but this does not weaken the force of his position as to the authorship. The Apostle somewhere about the year 80 composed his Gospel, availing himself of the hand of trusted friends, who ten years later, but still before the Apostle's death, added cap. xxi. Here (*vv.* 24, 25) another hand appears more freely than in the Gospel itself, though it was not wholly absent even there (cap. xix. *v.* 35). Ewald's views as to the authenticity of the Gospel were expressed with clear emphasis (*Göttng. Gel. Anz.*, Aug. 1863, review of Renan; Gratry, *Jésus-Christ*, p. 119; Liddon, *B. L.* 1866, ed. 13, 1889, p. 220; Westcott, *Introduction to the Gospels*, ed. 3, p. x.).

Hase, K. A. von (1800–1889: *Geschichte Jesu*, 1876, *i.e.* an enlargement of the *Leben Jesu*, edd. 1–5, 1829–65; *Die Tübinger Schule—Sendschreiben an Baur*, 1855), had been known to successive generations for more than half a century not only as a learned Church historian, but as a defender of the Fourth Gospel in the method of Schleiermacher (cp. *infra*, p. 1748), differing from his master chiefly in that he ascribed the Apocalypse also to the Apostle. But in the *Geschichte* (pp. 50, 51) he advances, not without hesitation, the opinion of his old age, that the Gospel is not the immediate work

of the Apostle. After the death of John, perhaps a decade or more, the Johannine tradition was written down by a gifted disciple of the Apostle. The disciple has lived in the thoughts of his illustrious master, and has only written as he would himself have written. Thus arose a "Gospel according to John," which in the next generation became a "Gospel of John" (*B. L.* p. 252).

Reuss, Édouard (1804–1891: *Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannes* [*Denkschrift d. theologisch. Gesellschaft zu Strasburg*, 1840]; —*Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften, Neues Testament*, ed. 1, 1842; ed. 2, 1853; ed. 5, 1874 [Eng. tr. 1884]; ed. 6, 1887;—*Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, 1852 [Eng. tr. 1872]; *Théologie Johannique* in *La Bible, Nouveau Test.* vi^e^ partie, 1879). In the earlier works he accepts the Johannine authorship, but thinks that the speeches are to be largely traced, not with Baur to metaphysical conceptions, but to religious mysticism. In the later editions of the *Geschichte* he admits the "double element," and in the *Théologie Johannique* (pp. 40 sqq.) he no longer holds the direct Johannine authorship. The author distinguishes himself from St. John in more than one passage, but derives his materials immediately from him (*B. L.* p. 253 sq.).

Renan, Ernest (1823 seq.: *Vie de Jésus*, 1863; ed. 17, 1882), draws a sharp distinction between the authentic and the unauthentic portions of the Gospel, but his principle of division is exactly opposed to that of those who preceded him. It is not the historical setting, but the discourses, which are now questioned. The history indeed is to be preferred to that of the Synoptists, but the discourses are "tirades prétentieuses, lourdes, mal écrites." Renan's view in ed. 13 and afterwards is, "The Fourth Gospel is not the work of the Apostle John. It was attributed to him by one of his disciples about the year 100. The discourses are almost wholly fictitious; but the narrative portions contain valuable traditions, which go back in part to the Apostle John" (ed. 13, pp. x. xi.; cp. ed. 17, 1882, pp. lviii. sqq., 477 sqq.).

Sabatier, L. A. (1839 seq.: *Essai sur les Sources de la Vie de Jésus, les trois premiers Évangiles et le quatrième*, 1866). This little work, which is largely devoted to the Fourth Gospel, was intended to support the Johannine authorship. But in a later article in the *Encyclopédie des Sciences religieuses* (1880, vii. 181–193) M. Sabatier gives up the immediate authorship, and thinks the writer to be one of John's disciples who has edited the Gospel history after the form known in Asia Minor. The Apocalypse was the work of the author himself: the Gospel is a spiritualized apocalypse written by a disciple (*B. L.* p. 256).

Weizsäcker, K. H. von (1822 seq.), after several essays in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, of which he was editor (1857, pp. 154 sqq.; 1859, pp. 685 sqq.; 1862, pp. 619 sqq.), published in 1864 the able *Untersuchungen über die evang. Geschichte*. John is the indirect, a trusted disciple of the Apostle is the direct, author; or it might have been composed by disciples after the Apostle's oral teaching or notes. The whole Gospel has a double character. At every point it is an historical report of the sayings and deeds of Christ, but it is also an ideal composition, and every detail of the representation has a double sense. In his latest work (*Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, 1886, ed. 2, 1890) Weizsäcker takes the age of the Apostles properly so-called to end at the year 70. The following thirty years are the Johannine period. There was a Johannine school in Ephesus. The two principal works which bear the name of John probably came from the school of the Apostle, but neither is the work of John (pp. 504 sqq.). At the time the Gospel was written the Apostle was dead, but his death had not long taken place (p. 536; *B. L.* p. 257).

Wendt, H. H. (1853 seq.), Professor in Heidelberg (*Die Lehre Jesu*, 1886, i. 215 sqq.), has in part renewed and carried to fresh issues the theories of Weisse and Schenkel. He thinks that there is a genuine historical document issuing from John which corresponds to the *Logia* used by St. Matthew, but that it relates to only the last days of Jesus. He finds traces of Hebrew origin in the part which has this original document for a basis, and thinks that the writer was an Ephesian disciple of John. (Cp. review by Holtzmann in *Theolog. Lit. Ztg.* 1886, pp. 197 sqq.; *B. L.* p. 258.)

Recent Negative Criticism. — Considerations of space compel the reduction of this and the following section to the skeleton of a bibliography. The writers are all more or less lineal descendants of the Tübingen School, but treat the works of their predecessors with freedom. They fall into three main divisions—German, Dutch, and English (*B. L.* p. 258 sqq.).

The German Negative School.—Keim, Theodor (1825–1878: *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, 1867–71, i. 103–172; *Dritte Bearb.* 1875, pp. 38 sqq., 377 sqq.: cp. Hausrath, *Neutestamentl. Zeitgeschichte*, 1873, iii. 565–625; 1877, iv. 376 sqq.: cp. *B. L.* p. 259).

Holtzmann, H. J. (1832 seq.), now Professor in Strasburg [in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, 1869–1871, art. *Evangelium nach Johannes* (ii. 221 sqq.) and art. *Johannes der Apostel* (iii. 328 sqq.); *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ed. 2, 1886, pp. 438–488; *Die Gnosis und das Johann. Evang.* 1877: cp. *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theol.* 1869, pp. 62 sqq., 155 sqq., 446 sqq.; 1871, pp. 336 sqq.; 1875, pp. 40 sqq.; 1877, pp. 187 sqq.: cp. *B. L.* p. 260].

Hönig, Wilhelm (*Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theol.* 1871, pp. 535 sqq.; 1883, pp. 216 sqq.; 1884, pp. 85 sqq.: cp. Holtzmann, H. J., *Ibid.* 1881, pp. 257 sqq., *Einleitung, ut supra*, p. 451: cp. *B. L.* p. 261).

Thoma, Albrecht (1844 seq.: *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theol.* 1877, pp. 289 sqq.; 1879, pp. 18 sqq., 171 sqq., 273 sqq.;—*Die Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums*, 1882: cp. *B. L.* p. 261 sqq.).

Mangold, D. W. (1825–1890), late Professor at Bonn, in foot-notes appended to the later editions of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ed. 4, 1886 (cp. *B. L.* p. 262).

Holtzmann, Oscar (*Das Johannes-Evangelium untersucht und erklärt*, 1887: cp. Schürer's review in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1887, No. 14, and *B. L.* p. 262 sq.).

The Dutch Negative School.—The modern Dutch School, which has of late years taken a

prominent place in advanced criticism and subjective theories, may for the present purpose be represented by Scholten, the late Emeritus Professor of Leyden.

Scholten, J. H. (1811–1885: *Historisch-kritische Inleidung in de Schriften des Nieuwe Testaments*, 1853, ed. 2, and in German, 1856; *Schrifter van den Apostel Johannes in Bijbelsch woordenboek*, Amsterdam, 1855—he here takes the Gospel to be Johannine; *Het Evangelie naar Johannes*, 1864–66—German by Lang, 1867—French by Réville, in *Revue de Théologie*, Strasburg, 1864–66; *De oudste getuigenissen*, and in German, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse* (by Manchot), 1867; *Het Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asië*, 1871, and in German (Spiegel), 1872: cp. *B. L.* p. 263 sqq.).

The English Negative School.—The chief results of foreign negative criticism have been adopted and presented to English readers by several writers, of whom the most prominent are:—Tayler, Rev. J. J. (*An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel, especially in its Relation to the Three First*, London, 1867; ed. 2, 1870;—*Theological Review*, vol. v. pp. 373–401, July 1868—review of the work next mentioned: cp. *B. L.* p. 266 sq.). Davidson, Dr. Samuel (*An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, 2 vols. 1868; ed. 2, 1882: these works should be compared with the earlier *Introduction to the New Testament* by the same author, 3 vols. 1848–51, in which the opposite view was maintained: cp. *B. L.* pp. 272–285). *Supernatural Religion*, an anonymous work (2 vols. 1874; ed. 7, 3 vols. 1879: cp. *B. L.* pp. 267–270). Abbott, Dr. Edwin A. (art. 'Gospels' in *Encycl. Britann.* ed. 9, 1879; 'Justin's Use of the Fourth Gospel' in *Modern Review*, 1882, pp. 559–588, 716–756: cp. *B. L.* pp. 270–272). Martineau, Dr. James (*The Seat of Authority in Religion*, 1890, pp. 189–243: cp. *B. L.* pp. 286–292).

THE POSITIVE CRITICISM OF THIS CENTURY.—A still longer succession of thinkers have been led by the attack upon the Fourth Gospel to examine the position of their opponents and to re-examine the grounds of their own conviction, and as a result of this testing process have maintained and strengthened their belief in the Johannine authorship. The immediate results of the work of Evanson and Bretschneider have already been referred to (*v. supra*, p. 1745); and the following names will sufficiently serve to indicate the course of thought.

Schleiermacher, F. D. E. (1768–1834: *Reden über die Religion*, ed. 3, 1821, ed. Schwarz, 1868, pp. 227–243; *Einleitung ins Neue Testament*, 1845, pp. 315–344; *Leben Jesu*, 1832, ed. Rütenik, 1864: cp. *B. L.* pp. 299–304).

De Wette, W. M. L. (1780–1849: *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Bucher des Neuen Testaments*, ed. 1, 1826; ed. 5,1848;—*Kurzgefasstes Exeg. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament: Johannes*, ed. 1, 1837; ed. 3, 1846: cp. *B. L.* pp. 307–310).

Lücke, G. C. F. (1781–1855: *Commentar über die Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes*, 1820; ed. 2, 1833; ed. 3, part i., 1840: cp. *B. L.* pp. 310–313), speaks of Schleiermacher as his "spiritual father" (ed. 3, p. viii.).

Bleek, Friedrich (1795–1859), also a pupil of Schleiermacher, published in 1846 *Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik*. After Bleek's death his Lectures on Introduction to the New Testament were edited by his son T. F. Bleek (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ed. 1, 1860; ed. 2, 1866). The later editions (ed. 4, 1886) have been edited by Mangold (*v. supra*, p. 1747: cp. *B. L.* pp. 313–315).

Ebrard, J. H. (1818–1888), may be taken to represent the school of Erlangen, where he was born and where (as well as at Zürich) he was Professor. His works on this subject are *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte* (1842; ed. 3, 1868; Eng. tr. 1863); *Das Evangelium Johannis und die neueste Hypothese über seine Enstehung*, 1845; *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (1853); *Die Briefe Johannis* (1859; Eng. tr. 1860: cp. *B. L.* p. 317 sq.).

Tholuck, F. A., of Halle (1799–1877: *Commentar zum Evangel. Johannis*, 1827; ed. 7, 1857; Eng. tr., 1836 and 1859;—*Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Evang. Geschichte*, 1837–8), and Hengstenberg, E. W., of Berlin (1808–1869: *Das Evangelium des heiligen Johannes*, 3 vols. 1863; ed. 2, 1867; Eng. tr., 1865: cp. *B. L.* p. 318 sq.).

Meyer, H. A. W. (1800–1873: *Kritisch Exeg. Handbuch: Johannes*, ed. 1, 1834; ed. 5, 1869; Eng. tr., 1874; ed. 7, 1886: cp. *B. L.* pp. 319–321).

Weiss, Bernhard, Professor at Berlin (1827 seq.: *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, 1862; *Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, ed. 1, 1868; ed. 4, 1884; Eng. tr. 3 vols. 1885, esp. vol. ii. pp. 311–416;—*Das Leben Jesu*, 2 vols. 1882; ed. 2, 1884; Eng. tr. 3 vols. 1883–4, esp. vol. i. pp. 90–210;—*Handbuch d. Enleitung*, 1886; ed. 2, 1889; Eng. tr. 2 vols. 1887–8;—*Meyer's Evangelium des Johannes*, ed. 6, 1880; ed. 7, 1886: cp. *B. L.* pp. 324–326).

Luthardt, C. E., Professor at Leipzig (1823 seq.: *De Compositione Evangelii Joannei*, 1852; *Das Johanneische Evangelium*, 1852–3, 2 vols.; ed. 2, 1875–6; Eng. tr. 1878, 3 vols.;—*Der Johanneische Ursprung des vierten Evangelium's*, 1874; Eng. tr., with valuable bibliographical appendix by Gregory, 1875;—*Evangelium nach Johannes* in Strack und Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, 1886. Editor of the *Theolog. Literaturblatt*, the *Evang. luth. Kirchenzeitung*, and the *Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft u. Leben*. Cp. *B. L.* p. 326 sq.).

Godet, Frédéric, Professor at Neuchâtel (1812 seq.), published his *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de Saint Jean* in 1863–65, 2 vols.; ed. 2, "complètement refondu," in 1876–7, 3 vols.; ed. 3, "complètement revue," 1881–85. It has been translated into English (1877, and from ed. 3, New York, 1886), German (several editions), Dutch and Spanish (cp. *B. L.* p. 328 sq.).

As above in the case of the English advocates of the negative position, so now in that of the upholders of the positive view, space can be here found for reference only. But the results of the investigations which followed, especially from the publication of the work entitled *Supernatural Religion*, will be fresh in the mind of all theological readers. See Bishop Lightfoot (*Contemporary Review*, Jan., Aug., Oct. 1875, republished in *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, 1889; arts. in *Expositor*, 1890, pp. 1–21, 81–92, 176–188); Bishop Westcott (*The Gospel*

according to St. John, 1881; *On the Canon of the New Testament*, ed. 6, 1889); Dr. Salmon (*Historical Introduction to the New Testament*, 1886; ed. 5, 1891); Dr. Sanday (*Gospels in the Second Century*, 1876; *An Inaugural Lecture: The Study of the New Testament*, 1883; arts. in *Expositor*, Nov., Dec. 1891; Jan., Mar., Apr., and May 1892).

The following names may be added:—Olshausen (*Die Aechtheit der 4 canonischen Evangelien*, 1823; *Nachweis der Echtheit des Neu. Test.*, 1832, *Biblische Commentar*, ed. by Ebrard and Wiesinger, 1837–62; *Commentary on the Gospels*, 1846); Thiersch (*Versuch zur Herstellung des hist. Standpunkts f. die Kritik der N. T. Schriften*, 1845; *Einige Worte über die Aechtheit der N. T. Schriften*, 1846; *Die Kirche in apost. Zeitalter in die Entstehung der N. T. Schriften*, 1852); Baumgarten-Crusius (*Theol. Auslegung der Johann. Schriften*, 1843, pt. ii., 1845, posthumous); Bunsen (*Vollständiges Bibelwerk*, 1858); Neander (*Das Leben Jesu*, 1837; ed. 5, 1852); Andrews Norton (*Genuineness of the Gospels*, 1837–44; ed. 2, 1846); Alford (*Greek Testament*, 1849–61); Wordsworth (*Greek Testament*, 1856–1860, 1872); Bishop Alexander (Commentary on *Epistles of St. John*, 1881, ed. Canon Cook; and *Epistles of St. John* in the *Expositor's Bible*, 1889); Maurice (*Gospel of St. John*, 1857); Astié (*Explication de l'Évangile selon St. Jean*, 1863–1864); Tischendorf (*Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* 1865–6); Thenius (*Das Evangelium der Evangelien*, 1865); Fisher (*Supernatural Origin of Christianity*, 1866; article in American edition of this Dictionary, 1868; *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, 1885); Uhlhorn (*Vorträge...Lebens Jesu*, 1866); Riggenbach (*Die Zeugnisse*, 1866, answer to Volkmar); De Pressensé (*Jésus-Christ*, 1866); Van Oosterzee (*Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1867; Eng. tr. 1869,—answer to Scholten); Hutton, R. H. (*Theological Essays*, 1871; ed. 3, 1888); Lange-Schaff (*Commentary*, 1872); Beyschlag (*Zur Johanneischen Frage*, 1874–5–6; *Contemporary Review*, Oct. and Nov. 1877; *Das Leben Jesu*, 1885–6); Liddon (*Bampton Lectures*, 1866; ed. 13, 1889); Milligan (*Contemporary Review*, 1867–68–71; *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1867); and esp. with Moulton (*Commentary*, 1879); Leathes (*Witness of St. John to Christ*, 1870; *Religion of the Christ*, 1874); Wace (*The Gospel and its Witnesses*, 1883); McClellan (*Four Gospels*, 1875); Lias (*Doctrinal System of St. John*, 1875); Murphy (*Scientific Bases of Faith*, 1873); Ezra Abbot (*External Evidences*, 1880); Charteris (*Canonicity*, 1880); Plummer (*Greek Testament: St. John*, 1882); Lechler (*Geschichte des apostolischen und nachapostolischen Zeitalters*, ed. 3, 1885; Eng. tr. 1886); Schanz (*Commentar*, 1885); Franke (*Das Alte Testament bei Johannes*, 1885); Zahn (*Forschungen zur Gesch. des N. T. Kanons u. der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 1881, &c.; *Geschichte d. N. T. Kanons*, Bd. i., 1888–9); Reynolds (*Pulpit Commentary: St. John*, Introd., 1888); Abbé Fillion (*Introduction générale aux Évangiles; Sainte Bible avec Comm.*, 1889); Ewald, P. (*Hauptproblem d. Evangelienfrage*, 1890); Gloag, P. J. (*Introd. to the Johannine Writings*, 1891). Fuller details respecting these works may be found by consulting the Index to *Bampton Lectures* for 1890: in the same volume (Lect. vii. pp. 357–409) an account is also given of a number of recent accessions to knowledge, the general tendency of which is decidedly to strengthen the evidence for the Gospel.

The result of this necessarily brief examination of the external evidence and criticism of the Fourth Gospel is that the negative criticism by constant opposition weakens and destroys itself, having no consistent and well-ascertained results; that it is powerless when it attempts the task of construction; and that on every hand the evidence for connecting the Fourth Gospel with the immediate circle of St. John is accumulating. (But cp. *B. L.* 1890, pp. 409 sqq.)

(ii.) *Self-evidence of the Gospel.*

The writing itself furnishes to some extent direct evidence and to a large extent materials for indirect induction, as to its authorship.

A. *The direct evidence* is contained in three passages: chs. i. 14, xix. 35, xxi. 24.

(*a.*) Ch. i. 14 (compared with 1 John i. 1), *ἐθεασάμεθα*. The *usus loquendi*, the tenses, the context, the parallels, alike confirm the natural impression that the writer is here placing himself among the immediate disciples of the Lord.

(*b.*) Ch. xix. 35. These words assert (1) that the evidence is that of an eye-witness, (2) that the witness answers to the idea of what true witness should be, and (3) that the eye-witness knows the facts to be as they are stated to be. (See on this whole subject Bleek-Mangold, *Einleitung*, §§ 92 and 107.) The force of *ἐκεῖνος* is discussed fully by Steitz and A. Buttmann (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1859, pp. 497 sqq., 1860, pp. 505 sqq., 1861, pp. 267 sqq.; and in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. für wissensch. Theol.* 1862, pp. 204 sqq.). Steitz is said to have abandoned his published opinions (Grimm's Wilke's *Clavis*, ed. Thayer, p. 195); but even Buttmann admits that a writer who in direct speech speaks of himself in the third person may use *ἐκεῖνος*.

(*c.*) Ch. xxi. 24 clearly assigns the authorship of the Gospel to "the beloved disciple" of *v.* 21, and that with regard to its form as well as to its material contents. He is the writer as well as the witness. A comparison of this passage with ch. xix. 35 shows that, while that is the statement of the writer, this is the evidence of others who of their personal knowledge bear testimony that the witness is true. From the first then this writing bore in its own substance the twofold assertion of autoptic testimony, both on the part of the writer and on that of those who published it.

B. *The indirect inference furnished by the writing.*

1. *The Nationality of the Author.*—In a work which looks backward so constantly to the Old Testament, and of which the subject-matter is so fully Jewish, it ought not to be difficult to say whether the writer is dealing with it from an intimate personal knowledge of Judaism past and present, or from the acquired knowledge of a stranger. And yet the Gospel must be studied chapter by chapter and verse by verse by the student who wishes to obtain a fresh impression of the facts. The result of such study will, it

is believed, be the conviction that no one who was not trained from childhood in the Jewish Scriptures, customs, life, hopes, could have written the Fourth Gospel. The following heads of subjects are given, not as in themselves full proofs, but as centres of thought around which the facts which are observed in study may be grouped :—

i. *The Citations of the Old Testament.*—The student will find as he reads the Gospel that the Old Testament is formally quoted sixteen times. These quotations are not confined to any part of the Gospel, nor to any persons. Some are in the discourses of the Lord (vii. 38, viii. 17, x. 34, xiii. 18, xv. 25); one is by John Baptist (i. 23); one is by Galilaeans (vi. 31); some are by the writer himself (ii. 17, xii. 14–15, 38, 40, xix. 24, 36, 37).

For the most part they are taken from the LXX. Some are quite free or reminiscences of the text (i. 23, vi. 31, vii. 38, 42); some occur in the Synoptic Gospels or elsewhere (i. 23, viii. 17, xii. 14–15, 38, 40, xix. 24, 37), and indicate a common use among the Christian brotherhood. It is moreover to be borne in mind that quotation from the Greek is natural in a Greek writing which is intended for Greek readers; but there are three instances in which competent judges find good reason for thinking that the writer shows a critical knowledge of the original :

Ch. vi. 45. The LXX. (Is. liv. 13) connects the words with the preceding verse. The quotation takes them as complete in themselves; following in this the Hebrew text.

Ch. xiii. 18. Cp. Ps. xli. (xl.), 9 (10). The LXX. reading is *ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πτερισμόν*. That of Aquil., Symm., and Theodot. is *κατεμεγαλύνθη μου*. The Hebrew text is אוכל לחמי הגדיל עלי עקב. The quotation has in accordance with the Hebrew *ἄρτον* (sing.) where the LXX. has *ἄρτους* (plur.), translates עקב by the ordinary *πτέρνα* instead of the exceptional *πτερισμόν*, and הגדיל by the quite unusual *ἐπ-αίρω*, which is the LXX. word for נשׂא or הרים instead of *μεγαλύνω*, which is the ordinary word for הגדיל, and is here found in all the Greek Versions. The English translation of the Psalm (A. V., and R. V. more fully, for it omits the marginal note) follows the reading of the Gospel. The Prayer Book Version follows the LXX. (through the Vulgate, *magnificavit super me supplantationem*) in its rendering, "hath laid great wait for me." What is more remarkable, though it seems to have escaped notice, is that our Lord is made to use the almost technical *τρώγων* (cp. Matt. xxiv. 38, John vi. 54–58—all in our Lord's discourses; nowhere else in N. T.) instead of the LXX. *ἐσθίων*.

Ch. xix. 37. Zech. xii. 10. The LXX. reads *ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωχρήσαντο*, "they shall look upon me because they have mocked me." The Hebrew is והביטו אלי את אשר־דקרו. The quotation here and in Rev. i. 7 (*αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν*) follows against all Greek Versions a reading אלי or אליו, which latter was afterwards supposed to be an anti-Messianic invention of the Jews (cp. Pusey, *Minor Prophets* in loc.; and De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones*, iii. 217 sqq.). It also translates with Rev. i. 7 דקרו correctly; but this with Theodot., *εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*; Aquil. and Symm., *ἐξεκέντησαν, ἐπεξεκέντησαν*.[c] The rendering of the LXX. is probably a mistake arising from the interchange of ד and ר. One of Kennicott's MSS. (355) does read דקרו. Jerome notes the difference, and the fact that the quotation is made direct from the Hebrew by one who is *Hebraeus ex Hebraeis* (in loc. and *Ep. lvii. ad Pammach.*).

It is in more than one way remarkable how this rendering of St. John became the recognized method of quotation in the post-Apostolic age. Thus Ignatius, *Trall.* x., *Smyrn.* iii.; Barnabas, vii. 9; Justin, *Apol.* i. 53, *Trypho* 32; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. 33, 11; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iii. 7.

The result of this examination of the citations from the Old Testament seems to be that, while it does not support all the statements which have been based upon them, it gives full support to the belief that the writer was a Jew, and furnishes, at least to some extent, reason for believing, and no shadow of reason for not believing, that the writer was a Palestinian.

ii. *The Formulae of Citation.*—The formulae with which the writer introduces his quotations furnish more distinct evidence of his relation to the Old Testament Scriptures than the quotations themselves. They may be classified as follows :—

καθὼς ἐστιν γεγραμμένον twice.

γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν or *ἐστιν γεγραμμένον* with *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις* or with *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ*, three (four) times.

These forms are peculiar to St. John, but are linked by the *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται* with the regular Pauline *καθὼς γέγραπται*, and represent the Rabbinic דכתיב.

καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν (cp. v. 42), which is parallel to the *γραφὴ λέγει*, which is used also by St. Paul and represents the Rabbinic אמר קרא.

The use of *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* with *ἡ γραφὴ κ.τ.λ.* may be compared with the regular formula of St. Matthew, *ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν κ.τ.λ.*, and St. James.

Isaiah is quoted as "the Prophet." Cp. Matt. frequently of Isaiah, and also of Jeremiah, Daniel, Jonah: so Peter of Joel (Acts ii. 16); so Acts viii. 28, 30; so Paul of Samuel (Acts xiii. 20) and of Isaiah (Acts xxviii. 25).

The people quote with the phrase *ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου* (ch. xii. 34), using the term "Law" for the Old Test. generally, as in ch. x. 34, and suggest by their words that they were speaking from memory of the Synagogue lessons. Just in the same way our Lord says, *Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη . . .* (Matt. v. 2).

iii. *Other instances of minute knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures.*—More striking than the instances of direct quotation are the light

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[c] Dr. Hatch's opinion (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 213) that the common source was an older translation, and that the Jews substituted *κατωχρήσαντο* in the LXX. for the original *ἐξεκέντησαν*, as adduced by Mr. J. A. Cross in *The Classical Review*, iv. 453 sqq., is characterized by Prof. T. K. Abbott as "utterly preposterous." See his reasons in *The Classical Review*, v. 11, and Mr. Cross's Reply, *ibid.* p. 142.

and undesigned touches which occur at every point in the Gospel, and give reminiscences of almost every Book in the Old Testament. Of Genesis and the other Books of Moses, of Samuel and of Kings, of Psalms and of Proverbs, of Isaiah in both parts, special knowledge will be expected and will be found; of Jeremiah, of Ezekiel, and of David; of Hosea, Joel, Micah, Zephaniah, Zechariah, and Malachi. The touches are of persons—Abraham, Moses, Jacob, David; of history, as of the manna, the circumcision, the brazen serpent, the well and the flocks at Sychar; of similes, as the Bridegooom, the living Water, the Shepherd, the Vine; of doctrines, as Life, Light, Truth, Righteousness, Peace.

iv. *The Relation of the great doctrinal positions of the Gospel to the Old Testament, and to the earlier Teaching of the New Testament.*—An exhaustive examination of the ideas of the Fourth Gospel, and a comparison of them with the ideas of the Old Testament, of the Synoptic Gospels, of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, ought to tell without much room for doubt whether the writer is a Jew or a Gentile. While such an examination would be in this place impossible, it is specially satisfactory to be able to refer to it as already done. The able treatises of Weiss (*Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, 1885, esp. vol. ii. pp. 311–416) and Lechler (*Apostolic and post-Apostolic Times*, ed. 3, 1886, esp. vol. ii. 163 sqq., 250 sqq.) are now easily accessible. The works of Franke (*Das alte Testament bei Johannes*, 1885) and Oscar Holtzmann (*Das Johannesevangelium untersucht und erklärt*, 1887) are from opposite standpoints of great value, though Franke is perhaps rather too much of an advocate. Two English works on this part of the subject also afford valuable guidance: Lias (*Doctrinal System of St. John*, 1875), and the remarkable *Introduction* by Dr. Reynolds in the *Pulpit Commentary, Gospel of St. John* (1888, see esp. pp. cxxviii.–cl.).

But two characteristic doctrinal positions demand a brief exposition, both from their own importance and as examples of the evidence which is to be furnished by this method. One of them, The Doctrine of the Logos,[d] will find its more fit place of treatment in a separate article [LOGOS]. The other is the Messianic Idea. The development of this doctrine is stated by the writer to be the purpose of the Gospel, ἵνα πιστεύητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (ch. xx. 31). Accordingly, as Weizsäcker notes, the Messianic question is of all Jewish questions which are bound up with the life of Jesus the one which is most fully dealt with in the Fourth Gospel (*Untersuchungen*, 1864, p. 260). It is moreover of all Jewish questions just that one which forms the best test of nationality and date. The destruction of Jerusalem changed the whole aspect of Messianic hope. If the Fourth Gospel is by St. John, the Messianic Idea ought to be treated with the intimate knowledge of a born Jew; and yet the Jewish hope of a Messianic kingdom must have ceased to exist for him when Jesus Christ was crucified two generations ago, and the national idea must have ceased to exist when Jerusalem itself ceased to exist as the centre of national life, and he who for a whole generation had lived in a new region of life must, in the blending of Judaism with Hellenism, have passed far away from the streets of Jerusalem or the shores of Galilee, and have found that the true Messiah is indeed of the Jews but for the world. This is what is *à priori* to be expected. The following passages may be taken as samples of what is actually to be found (cp. Franke, *Das alte Testament*, &c., pp. 166 sqq.):—

Ch. i. 19–28. Note the Messianic movement and expectation among the Jerusalem Jews at this period. John Baptist's answer, "I am not the Messias" (*v.* 20), shows what the unuttered question really was. "*The* prophet" (*v.* 21, cp. Deut. xviii. 15; Matt. xvi. 14, and ch. vii. 41, where in the same way "*the* prophet" is distinguished from the Messias) shows a knowledge which is natural and exact. If acquired, it must have been more prominent and explained for those who had acquired it. The Pharisees know (*v.* 25) that Baptism is connected with the Messianic work (cp. Ezek. xxxvi. 25; Zech. xiii. 1; Heb. x. 11).

Ch. i. 41 represents Andrew as telling his brother that they had found—and they had therefore previously sought together—the Messias. The term itself in its Hebrew (Aramaic) form (Μεσσίας or Μεσίας = מְשִׁיחָא, *stat. emph.* of מְשִׁיחַ) is found only here and in ch. iv. 25 in the New Testament.

Ch. i. 45 implies that these disciples had talked together of the coming Messias (cp. Deut. xviii. 18).

Ch. i. 49. Nathanael represents national hopes, as do the people in ch. xii. 13, which had no place after the destruction of Jerusalem; but their formula "King of Israel" exactly represents the Rabbinic מלכן וקדושן של ישראל and the Targumic מלכא משיחא.

Ch. i. 51 gives in sharp contrast to Nathanael's "Son of God: King of Israel," as though at once to protest against the merely national view of the Messianic reign, the title which was commonly used (more than seventy times) by Jesus of himself, "the Son of Man."

Ch. vi. 14, 15. The sign, the Prophet that cometh (cp. i. 21, 25; vii. 40, only in St. John), the desire to make Him a king (cp. i. 49), His withdrawal from those who had this desire as contrasted with His statement to the woman in ch. iv. 26, all is in complete harmony with the current Messianic expectation.

Ch. vii. 25–31. Note the distinction between Jerusalemites and provincials. Their question shows how fully the expectation of the Messiah had taken hold of their minds. This man does not seem to them to be the Christ; but why do the rulers who have plotted to kill Him, allow Him this freedom? Have the rulers, whose duty it is to decide, seen any reason to recognize him?

[d] Cp. Westcott's *St. John*, pp. 14–18; Soulier, *La Doctrine du Logos*, 1876; Siegfried, *Philo v. Alex.*, 1875; Edersheim, art. PHILO in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*; Klassen, *Die alttest. Weisheit u. d. Logos*, 1879; Réville, *La Doctrine du Logos*, 1881; Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, 1888 (specially); Excursus A in Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary*, i. 552–554, and *Bampton Lectures*, 1890, p. 431.

But no! they themselves knew about this man, and one of the Messianic signs was a sudden appearance (cp. Heb. vii. 3, ἀγενεαλόγητος, and the Rabbinic מקומם אחר; Dan. vii. 13; Mal. iii. 1; Sanh. 97 *a*; Mid. on Cantic. ii. 9; Justin, *c. Tryph.* p. 226 B; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hcb.*; and the Commentaries ad loc.).

Note also the conviction of the multitude (not, or at least not chiefly, the Jerusalemites), some of whom had seen more of the signs which He had wrought. Are the signs which they have a right to expect as a proof of Messiah's advent (cp. the answer to John Baptist in Matt. xi. 4, 5) greater than these?

Vv. 40–42. The vague feeling of the people about the Prophet and the Messias (cp. vi. 14, 15), while the Jerusalem officials distinguish carefully the Messias, the Prophet, and Elias (ch. i. 20–25). They knew that the Messias should be born in Bethlehem (cp. Mic. v. 2; Is. xi. 1; Jer. xxiii. 5), but are unaware of the fact that Jesus was born there, and the writer records the mistake as they made it.

Ch. xii. 13. Cp. ch. i. 49 and the parallels in the Synoptists. St. Mark's is the fullest form of the acclamation. St. John alone has the characteristic "King of Israel."

V. 34. Cp. ch. x. 34 and Is. ix. 7; Ps. cx. 4, lxxxix. 4 sq.; Ezek. xxxvii. 25. A statement which is quite natural from a Jew, but almost inexplicable on any other theory.

Ch. xix. 14–21. The examination before Pilate turns wholly on the Kingship; and the answer of the chief priests, "We have no king but Caesar," is the surrender of the Messianic hope.

The evidence then comes from every quarter, and in its entirety—which can only be suggested here—attains a strength which can hardly be resisted, that whoever wrote the Fourth Gospel wrote with a complete and full knowledge which would be impossible for anyone who was not a born Jew. And the more this evidence is examined, the more fruitful in conviction does it become. Heinrich Holtzmann does not believe that the writing is by St. John, but he sees no reason why it should not be as easily the work of a born Jew of the Dispersion as the Book of Wisdom or the Epistle to the Hebrews. So even Keim and Thoma, against Baur, Hilgenfeld, Strauss, Scholten, Schenkel (*Einleitung*, ed. 2, 1886, p. 468). Oscar Holtzmann thinks that the writing is later than St. John, but he is convinced that the writer is a Christian Jew of the Dispersion (*Das Johannesevangelium*, 1887, p. 74), and, what is much more important, his reviewer Schürer thinks this opinion to be in the highest degree probable (*Theolog. Ltzg.* 1887, No. 14).

In the face of these growing admissions, it has come to be unnecessary to meet at any length the old stock objections to the Jewish authorship. They will be found set forth in Davidson (*Introduction*, 1868, vol. ii. pp. 427 sqq.). In so far as they have any force they oppose the Palestinian or First Century—not the Jewish—authorship (cp. *infra*, p. 1754).

2. *Home and local surroundings of the Writer.*—The Gospel contains a considerable number of references to places in Palestine, and an examination of these should furnish evidence on the question whether the writer is dealing with these with the natural ease of the familiar knowledge of childhood, or is writing from the acquired knowledge of distance in both place and time. The evidence should be the more decisive, as the time of Ordnance surveys and geographical societies had not yet come, and any minute acquaintance with the subject would suggest with strong probability that the writer had direct knowledge. Once again the evidence is cumulative, and is furnished throughout the Gospel. The writer knows that Bethany is "beyond Jordan" (ch. i. 28), and a distinct place from the Bethany which is "about fifteen furlongs" from Jerusalem (ch. xi. 18). Philip is of Bethsaida, and this is the city of Andrew and Peter (ch. i. 44); Cana is "of Galilee" (chs. ii. 1, 11, iv. 46, xxi. 2; nowhere else named in the Bible); Capernaum on the shores of the lake is "down" from the higher land of Cana (ch. ii. 12); Aenon is known (but known to this writer only, for it is nowhere else mentioned) to be "near to Salim" (cp. *Palest. Explor. Fund Report*, 1874, pp. 141 sq.; *Picturesq. Palest.* vol. ii. p. 237, and article AENON in this *Dictionary*), and is known, as its name implies, to have "much water" (ch. iii. 23); Sychar (*'Askar*) is near to the well-known "parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph" (ch. iv. 5), and there is no confusion with Shechem by the writer, though there is by some of his critics (*Palest. Explor. Fund Report*, 1877, pp. 149 sq., 1876, p. 197; Ellicott's *New Test. Commentary: St. John*, ad loc.). He knows too that "Jacob's well was there" (*v.* 6) and that it was "deep" (*v.* 11), and that Mount Gerizim could be indicated ("this mountain," *v.* 20) by pointing to it. He alone of the New Testament writers knows the Sea of Galilee by its classical name of Tiberias (λίμνην Τιβεριάδα, Pausanias, v. 7, 4), and he gives both names in ch. v. 1 (cp. *v.* 23), but the later name only in ch. xxi. 1. No name was after the destruction of Jerusalem more sacred to a Jew.

The minute knowledge of Jerusalem and the Temple—a Jerusalem and a Temple, be it remembered, which the Roman armies destroyed in A.D. 70—is more striking even than that of the geography of Palestine. Examples of this occur in the scenes in ch. ii. 13–22, which imply topographical details; in ch. v. 2, where the present tense indicates reminiscence of the place, and the gate, the pool, the five porches, the Hebrew name, all tell of personal knowledge; in chs. vii. and viii., in technical knowledge of the ritual of the Temple and of the Treasury, where Jesus was teaching (*v.* 20, *vide* Commentaries ad loc.); in ch. ix. 7, the "Pool of Siloam" and the interpretation "Sent;" in ch. x. 22, 23, where both time and place are told ("winter," "Solomon's cloister"); in ch. xi. 18, where the distance of Bethany from Jerusalem is given as the rough estimate of a man who knows the places ("nigh unto Jerusalem—about fifteen furlongs off"); in ch. xviii. 1 and 2, where the "brook Kidron," frequent in the Old Testament, occurs alone in the New; in ch. xix. 13, where "Gabbatha" is given in the Aramaic form (גבּ בּיתּא ?), and *v.* 41, where the "garden" (κῆπος, cp. ch. xviii. 1) is peculiar to St. John.

Nor are these more than examples of details

which constantly occur. The impression which they leave deepens with every renewal of their study, until there is no room for doubting that the writer of this work was a Jew of Palestine, and that he was intimately acquainted with Galilee, Judaea, and Jerusalem before the occupation by the Roman armies under Titus.

3. *The Writer's relation to the events which he narrates.*—The Fourth Gospel is the presentation of a series of events in which a number of persons, and many details of time and place and circumstances, occur. It should therefore furnish evidence on the question whether the writer is describing that which he saw and heard, or with which he was in close contact, or is writing at a distance and giving impressions which he had received from others. The realism of an eye-witness, or one who is writing from direct reports, cannot be counterfeited, and the attempt always betrays itself. Here, too, the evidence is cumulative, and can only be estimated as a whole. The following examples are meant to suggest lines of study:—

Ch. i. 35–51. Note (α) The marks of time: "on the morrow" (*vv.* 35, 43); "about the tenth hour" (*v.* 39).

(β) Personal attitude: "was standing" (*v.* 35), "looked upon . . . as He walked" (*v.* 36), "heard him speak and . . . followed" (*v.* 37), "turned and beheld them following, and saith" (*v.* 38), "brought him unto Jesus. Jesus looked upon him and said" (*v.* 42), "was minded" (*v.* 43), "saw Nathanael coming" (*v.* 47), "Before Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee" (*v.* 48).

(γ) The actors in the scene. "John . . . and two of his disciples" (*v.* 35). He is not "John Baptist," but *the* John of this Gospel. "One of the two . . . Andrew, Simon Peter's brother" (*v.* 40), the other being the anonymous writer; "Simon the son of John . . . Cephas . . . Peter" (*v.* 42); "Philip . . . from Bethsaida, of the city of Andrew and Peter" (*v.* 44); "Nathanael" (*vv.* 45–51, cp. ch. xxi. 2), the Bartholomew of the Synoptists. All these are living and moving characters in the incident. They are all known to the writer, and by him made known to us.

Ch. ix. The man born blind. Note these touches of realism: "as Jesus passed by" (*v.* 1); the disciples' question in strict accord with Jewish belief, "this man or his parents" (*v.* 2); the details, "spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed his eyes with the clay . . . and came seeing" (*vv.* 6 and 7). The chatter of the neighbours and the assertion of the man (*vv.* 8–13); the appeal to the Pharisees, the Sabbath, the division among them and their question to the man (*vv.* 13–17); the appeal to the parents, their difficulty and hesitancy, the reason for it (*vv.* 18–24); the appeal to the man, his blunt frankness, which is too much for their subtlety, the exclusion from the synagogue (*vv.* 25–34): it is impossible to read all this without feeling that the account is necessarily that of one who saw and heard.

Ch. xxi. The appearance in Galilee. Note the group of the disciples: Nathanael quite incidentally called "of Cana in Galilee," explaining his position in chs. i. 45 and ii. 1; the "sons of Zebedee," occupying a position which it is difficult to explain except on the supposition that one of them is the writer (*v.* 2); the very words of Peter, "I go a fishing," and the reply (*v.* 3); the touch of time, "when day was now breaking" (*γινομένης*); the standing on the beach; the ignorance of the disciples (*v.* 4); the direct question and answer (*v.* 5); the "right side" (*v.* 6); the "disciple whom Jesus loved" and Peter (*v.* 7); the draught of fishes, "two hundred cubits" (*v.* 8); the "fire of charcoal" (again only in ch. xviii. 9), "and a fish laid thereon, and a loaf" (*v.* 9); the "great fishes, a hundred and fifty and three" (*v.* 11); the feeling of reverence (*v.* 12); the threefold commission to Peter, *ἀγαπᾷς-φιλεῖς, ἀρνία-προβάτια, ποίμαινε-βόσκε* (*vv.* 15–17); the prophecy of Peter's future (*vv.* 18, 19); of that of the beloved disciple (*vv.* 20–22); the mistake and the correction of it (*v.* 23).

Here again the whole scene is pictured with all the detail and life and movement which belong to a contemporary record.

These three examples are taken from different parts of the writing; but the whole of the historical portion is written with this life-like power and fulness of detail, which carries its own evidence. Compare other instances in ch. ii. 1–13 (the marriage at Cana), and *vv.* 14–16 (cleansing of the Temple); ch. vi. 5–14 (feeding of the five thousand); ch. xi. (raising of Lazarus); ch. xii. 20–23 (the Greeks); ch. xiii. 4, 5, 12 (the feet washing); ch. xviii. 1–13 (the betrayal); chs. xviii. and xix. (details of the Passion); ch. xx. 3–8 (the visit to the sepulchre).

Note further the exact knowledge of the time at which events took place. The knowledge of the feasts and the greater divisions of time is in itself much more full than in the Synoptists, and this is an important consideration; but as testifying to a personal witness, the smaller trifling notes of time which are not worth knowing, and yet, if known, are strong evidence of actual memory of the events, are much more important. Such are "the next day" (ch. i. 29, 35, 43), "the third day" (ch. ii. 1), "after two days" (ch. iv. 43), "the day following" (ch. vi. 22), "two days," "four days" (ch. xi. 6, 17), "six days before," "the next day" (ch. xii. 1, 12), "the first day of the week," "the same day at evening" (ch. xx. 1, 19), "about the tenth hour" (ch. i. 39), "by night" (ch. iii. 2), "about the sixth hour," "at the seventh hour" (ch. iv. 6, 52), "when even was now come" (ch. vi. 16), "and it was night" (ch. xiii. 30), "and it was early" (ch. xviii. 28), "early, when it was yet dark" (ch. xx. 1), "when the day was now breaking" (ch. xxi. 4).

The same kind of knowledge furnishing the same kind of evidence occurs with regard to numbers of persons or objects. In some cases they are known exactly, as "two disciples" (ch. i. 35), "six water-pots" (ch. ii. 6), "five husbands" (ch. iv. 18), "thirty and eight years" (ch. v. 5), "five loaves and two small fishes" (ch. vi. 9; also in Synoptists), "four soldiers" (ch. xix. 23), "two hundred cubits" (ch. xxi. 8), "hundred and fifty and three fishes" (ch. xxi. 11).

Sometimes an approximation or rough estimate is given, and this is in the present connexion more important than the exact statement.

It is the man who knows the circumstances who can make the guess. The water-pots contain "two or three firkins apiece" (ch. ii. 6); the disciples had rowed "about five and twenty or thirty furlongs" (ch. vi. 19); Bethany is "about fifteen furlongs off" (ch. xi. 18); the mixture of myrrh and aloes is "about a hundred pound weight" (ch. xix. 39); the disciples are not far from land, "about two hundred furlongs" (ch. xxi. 8).

The result of this examination, if we cannot deduce from it that the writer was necessarily an eye-witness, is to bring him at least into immediate contact with those who were. The argument has sometimes been overstated (cf. *Westminster Review*, 1890, pp. 172–182). But Bishop Lightfoot's final opinion, which records a review of eighteen years, is: "Additional study has only strengthened my conviction that this narrative of St. John could not have been written by any one but an eye-witness" (*Expositor*, January 1890, p. 2).

The writer moves, moreover, and that with the ease of familiar knowledge, in the inner circle of "the disciples'" life and thought. The following examples will illustrate this:—

Ch. ii. 11 ("believed on Him"), *v.* 22 ("... when therefore He was risen from the dead, His disciples remembered that He had said this unto them ..."); ch. iii. 22 sqq. (knowledge of what passed between John and his disciples); ch. iv. 2 (correction of mistake in report: "although ... but His disciples"), *v.* 33 (what the disciples said "one to another"); *v.* 6 (the spring of action: "when Jesus saw him lying, and knew ..."); ch. vi. 5–9 (Jesus, Andrew, and Philip), *vv.* 22–24 (intricate movement of the boats), *vv.* 70, 71 ("... one of you is a devil? He spake of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon ..."); ch. vii. 3 (what "His brethren" said unto Jesus); ch. ix. 2 ("His disciples asked Him .... Jesus answered"); ch. xi. 7, 8 ("... saith He to His disciples ... His disciples say unto Him ...."), *v.* 16 ("Thomas therefore, who is called Didymus, said unto his fellow-disciples ...."); ch. xii. 16 ("These things understood not the disciples at the first ...."), *vv.* 20–22 (the Greeks and Philip); ch. xiii. 6–11 (Simon Peter and the feet-washing), *v.* 22 ("looked ..., doubting of whom He spake"), *v.* 28 ("no man at the table knew .... Some thought ...."); ch. xiv. 5–14 (Jesus, Thomas, Philip, the Way, and the Father); ch. xvi. 17 ("What is this that He saith unto us ...?"); ch. xviii. 2 ("for Jesus ofttimes resorted thither ...."); ch. xx. 9 ("For as yet they knew not the Scriptures"), *v.* 19 ("when the doors were shut where the disciples were for fear of the Jews, Jesus came"), *v.* 25 (Thomas Didymus: "The other disciples therefore said unto him .... But he said unto them"); ch. xxi., especially *vv.* 3–5 (the appearance on the beach).

The writer is acquainted also with the feelings, thoughts, and springs of action of Jesus Himself. See in proof of this:—

Ch. ii. 24, 25 ("Jesus did not trust himself .... for He himself knew what was in man"); ch. iv. 1 ("When therefore the Lord knew ...."); ch. v. 6 (Bethesda: "When Jesus saw him lying, and knew ...."); ch. vi. 6 (Philip: "This He said to prove him, for He himself knew what He would do"), *v.* 15 ("Jesus therefore, perceiving that ...."), *v.* 61 ("But Jesus knowing in himself"), *v.* 64 ("For Jesus knew from the beginning ...."); ch. vii. 1 ("for He would not walk in Judaea, because ...."), *v.* 6 ("Jesus therefore saith unto them"), *v.* 10 ("not publicly, but as it were in secret"); ch. xi. 33 ("groaned in the spirit, and was troubled"), *v.* 54 ("Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews"); ch. xiii. 1 ("Jesus knowing that His hour was come .... loved them to the uttermost"), *v.* 3 ("knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands ...."), *v.* 11 ("For He knew him that should betray Him; therefore said He ...."), *v.* 21 ("... He was troubled in the spirit"); ch. xvi. 19 ("Jesus perceived that they were desirous to ask Him ...."); ch. xviii. 4 ("Jesus therefore, knowing all the things that were coming upon Him ...."); ch. xix. 28 ("Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished ....").

By a series of inductions then, each one being separately based upon a series of individual instances—and these, be it again noted, are but examples of instances which are to be found throughout the whole writing—the following results are arrived at:—

(1) The writer was a Jew; (2) he was a Jew acquainted with the Hebrew language; (3) he was personally acquainted with the topography of Palestine, and with minute details of the city and temple of Jerusalem, and his knowledge was therefore acquired before A.D. 70; (4) he was intimately acquainted with the life of the inner circle of the Apostles, and was therefore one of them; (5) he had special knowledge of the work and inner life of John Baptist; (6) he had special knowledge of the work and inner life of Jesus.

This is one set of conditions which is asserted of the writer by the writing itself.

There is another set of conditions which is not less positively asserted by the writing itself, and the problem of authorship requires that both sets of conditions shall be satisfied.

(α) If the author is a Jew, with a full and minute knowledge of Judaism, he is also a Jew to whom that Judaism is a thing of the far-off past, from which he has himself advanced into a new region of life and thought.

See as examples of this ch. ii. 6 ("after the manner of the purifying of the Jews"); ch. iv. 9 ("The Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans"); ch. v. 2 ("which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda"); ch. xix. 41 ("the manner of the Jews to bury").

"The Jews" (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) are not only spoken of throughout as a body from whom the writer is distinct, but they are represented as the opponents of the Lord. It was "the Jews" who said unto Him, "What sign shewest Thou unto us?" (ch. ii. 18); who "said unto him that was cured, It is the Sabbath day," and did "persecute Jesus and sought to slay Him, because He had done these things on the Sabbath day" (ch. v. 10, 16); who "murmured at Him because He said, I am the bread which came down from heaven" (ch. vi. 41); who ask, "Will He kill himself? because He saith, Whither I go ye cannot come" (ch. viii. 21); who upon two occasions "took up stones to stone Him" (chs.

viii. 59, x. 31); who "said unto Him, Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil" (ch. viii. 48, 52, 57); who in the case of the man who was born blind "did not believe concerning him that he had been blind," and had agreed about Jesus, "that if any man did confess that He was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue" (ch. ix. 18, 22). Joseph of Arimathaea was "a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews" (ch. xix. 28), and "the doors were shut when the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews" (ch. xx. 19).

The writer thinks also of "the Passover of the Jews" (chs. ii. 13, xi. 55); of the "feast of the Jews" (chs. v. 1, vi. 4, vii. 2); of a "ruler of the Jews" (ch. iii. 1); of "the Jews' preparation day" (*παρασκευή*, ch. xix. 42).

It is not surprising that many critics have felt the force of this distinctness and distance from Judaism so fully, that they have come to the conclusion that the writer could not have been himself a Jew; but these thoughts and words are to be considered in connexion with those which have been adduced above (p. 1749 sq.), and also with such references as the following (cp. Oscar Holtzmann, *Das Johannesevangelium*, pp. 193–4):—

The woman of Samaria asks Jesus, "How is it that thou *being a Jew* . . . ?" and Jesus tells her, "Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship, for *salvation is of the Jews*" (ch. iv. 9, 22).

Moses is recognized as the true lawgiver (chs. i. 17, vii. 19), and God spake unto him (ch. ix. 29). Jesus says to the Jews, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day" (ch. viii. 56). Isaiah "saw His glory and spake of Him" (ch. xii. 41).

Nathanael is "an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile"; and he uses the terms "Son of God" and "King of Israel" as titles which coalesce in the person of Jesus (ch. i. 47; cp. ch. xix. 15, 21).

(*β*) An exact study of the thoughts and words of the Gospel makes it necessary to believe that the writer was largely influenced by the teaching of St. Paul—unless indeed it is admitted that St. Paul was acquainted with the Johannine tradition[a]—and in particular that he was placed in philosophical and theological circles identical with or closely allied to those of the Epistle to the Colossians, and to those of the encyclical Asiatic letter which is known to us as the Epistle to the Ephesians. The full proof of this is to be found only in a complete list of parallel passages and in a Greek concordance; and if we bear in mind the difference of subject-matter between the Gospel and these letters, it is not less than full proof. In this place space cannot be found for more than a general reference, and the student will not need more guidance than is furnished by his concordance and his commentaries. A specially valuable examination of the relation between the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians will be found in Heinrich Holtzmann's *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe*, 1872. The relations of both to John are investigated in pp. 267–271, and parallels are shown to exist between the Gospel and the Colossian Epistle which must be more than accidental, while in the Ephesian Epistle they become even more striking. The following examples are sufficient to show how real the grounds of comparison are:—

Οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς. John iii. 13.	Τὸ ἀνέβη τί ἐστιν εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη; Ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν. Eph. iv. 9, 10.
Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ φαῦλα πράσσων μισεῖ τὸ φῶς καὶ οὐκ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῇ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, Ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἵνα φανερωθῇ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα. John iii. 20, 21.	Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐλέγχετε (i.e. the ἔργα τοῦ σκότους). Τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐλεγχόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς φανεροῦται· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον φῶς ἐστιν. Eph. v. 11, 13.
Περιπατεῖτε ὡς τὸ φῶς ἔχετε. John xii. 35.	Ὡς τέκνα φωτὸς περιπατεῖτε. Eph. v. 8.

Cp. also John i. 5 with Eph. iv. 18, v. 8–14.
John i. 14 with Eph. i. 13.
John iii. 12 with Eph. i. 3, 20; ii. 6.
John iii. 13 with Eph. iv. 8–10.
John xiii. 34 with Eph. i. 15; iv. 2, 26, 32; v. 21.
John xiv. 30 with Eph. ii. 2.
Cp. further John i. 4 and Col. i. 15–17.
John i. 14, 16 and Col. i. 19; ii. 9, 10.
John i. 18 and Col. i. 15.
"Light and darkness" (John generally), Col. i. 12, 13.
John iii. 3 and Col. iii. 1, 2, 9, 10.
John vi. 32, 33 and Col. ii. 17.
John xiii. 34 and Col. iii. 13.
John xiv. 6 and Col. ii. 3.
John xviii. 37, xv. 15, xvii. 26 and Col. i. 26, 27.

See especially Oscar Holtzmann, *op. cit.* pp. 174–5, who thinks it certain that the Colossian Epistle stands between St. Paul (!) and the Fourth Gospel.

(*γ*) A careful comparison of the Gospel with the First Epistle of Peter brings out also points of resemblance which are sufficiently striking to warrant the deduction that the writings are in some way connected with each other:—

Οἳ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν. John i. 13.	Ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος. 1 Pet. i. 23.
Ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν. John iii. 3. (See the context.)	Ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς. 1 Pet. i. 3. (The word occurs here only in the New Testament. Cp. Justin Martyr, *Apology*, i. 61.)
Ἰδὲ ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. John i. 29, 36.	Ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου. 1 Pet. i. 19. (Elsewhere in New Testament only in Acts viii. 32, in quotation from Is. liii. 7.)
Πρόβατα, ποιμήν, ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου. John x. 2–16; xxi. 16, 17.	Ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν. 1 Pet. ii. 25.

[a] Cp. P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage*, 1890. The English reader will find Ewald's arguments and further references in Knowling's *Witness of the Epistles*, 1892, pp. 329 sqq.

	Ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ . . . . τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.
Ὅτι ἑώρακάς με πεπίστευκας· μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες. John xx. 29.	Ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύοντες δὲ . . . . 1 Pet. i. 8.

(δ) If a like process of comparison is applied to the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle of James, it furnishes results which, when the ethical nature of the Epistle is borne in mind, are scarcely less striking:—

Cp. James i. 18 with John iii. 3 and 13; James iv. 5 with John iii. 5; James ii. 12 and i. 25 with John viii. 31; James ii. 1 with John v. 44; James v. 14 with John xv. 16, xvi. 23; James v. 19 with John v. 24: and see especially the examination of these passages in Dr. Paul Ewald's *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage* (1890). Cp. also Zeller on the literary dependence of St. James upon the Apocalypse in the *Zeitschrift wiss. Theol.*, 1863, pp. 93–96; Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung*, 1875, p. 540; and Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, 1886, p. 510.

(ε) It seems further to be clear from a study of the thoughts and words of the Gospel, that it is closely connected with the circles of thought which had Asia Minor, and especially Ephesus, for a centre. We have seen above its connexion with the Asiatic Epistles of St. Paul; and if we regard not so much individual expressions as the tone of the whole, we should say that the Gospel was more like the Epistle to the Hebrews than any other writing in the New Testament. Tobler (cp. *supra*, p. 1746) has founded upon this general tone of the Gospel an ingenious argument that it was the work of Apollos, and the general position of critics who do not accept the Johannine authorship is that there are so many traces of the language and thought which is associated with Philo and Alexandria, that it is impossible to believe that the author was not a pupil of the Alexandrian school. Nor is it any matter of surprise that men who have directed their attention chiefly to this one aspect of the question should have come to this conclusion. The matter of surprise is that the influence of Philo should have been denied. The natural impression on reading of *Λόγος*, *ἄρχων*, *μονογενῆς*, *πρωτότοκος*, *ζωή*, *ἀλήθεια*, *φῶς*, *παράκλητος*, *πλήρωμα*, is that we are in contact with the *περὶ χερουβίμ* and *περὶ κοσμοποίας*. The error here, as so often, is to press part of the truth until it becomes entire error; but it is also entire error to deny part of the truth. Both extremes are false. The truth remains as one, but as only one, of the factors of our problem, that the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is to be sought upon Ephesian ground.

We have now surveyed, very cursorily indeed, but with such fulness as our present scope and space permit, the conditions of authorship which are required by the writing before us. A more complete statement of them may be sought in the chief works upon the Gospel to which reference is made in this article. But taking only the main points as they here present themselves, we have a problem which is sufficiently complex. The writer must have been a disciple of John Baptist; an eye-witness or in contact with those who were; one of the inner group of the disciples of Jesus; a Jew by birth and training; a Greek by culture and surroundings at the time he wrote; a Jew with a foot on each side of the great chasm which was caused by the destruction of Jerusalem; a Palestinian; an Ephesian; in contact with St. Peter and St. James, the brother of our Lord; a follower of St. Paul. These are some of the wards of the lock which we are asked to turn. History gives its key in the person of John, the son of Zebedee (cp. article JOHN, THE APOSTLE), whose life fulfils every condition, and turns the lock. Theory has tried in vain to prove that this is not the key, and has tried in vain to find another.

II. DATE OF THE GOSPEL.

If the Gospel was written by John, the son of Zebedee, the question of its date is reduced to comparatively narrow limits. Irenaeus tells us (*Adv. Haer.* ii. ch. xxii. 5; iii. ch. iii. 4) that St. John lived to the "time of Trajan" (A.D. 98–117. Cp. article JOHN, THE APOSTLE). This means that his death is to be placed early in the reign of Trajan, and that the close of the first century is a *terminus ad quem*. To fix, on the other hand, a *terminus a quo*, is a more difficult task. If the last chapter is regarded as an appendix, and there seems to be every reason for supposing that it is so, though an appendix which was absent from no published copy of the Gospel, and is to be traced to the same source (*vv.* 24 and 25 are to be regarded from another point of view), it follows that the Gospel is to be placed at an interval of perhaps some years before the close of the Apostle's life. The general opinion of the early Church pointed to A.D. 85 or 86. Without fixing limits so narrow, it may be said with great probability that the date is subsequent to A.D. 80, and not much if any earlier than A.D. 90.

Irenaeus asserts that "he put forth his Gospel while he abode in Ephesus in Asia" (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 1; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 8), and there is no sufficient reason to question this statement (cp. Ellicott's *New Test. Commentary*, i. pp. 376–7 and 551).

III. MATTER AND CHARACTERISTICS.

A. *Purpose and Scheme.*—The earliest external statement of the origin of this Gospel which is now known is probably that of the Muratorian Fragment. It represents the author as being entreated by his fellow-disciples and bishops, and consenting, after fasting and a revelation to Andrew that John should relate all things with the recognition of them all (cp. Tregelles, *Canon Muratorianus*, 1867, pp. 1–21 and 32–35). The statement of Irenaeus that the purpose was to meet the error of Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans (*Adv. Haer.* iii. ch. xi.) is not inconsistent with the statement of the Fragment, and is of special interest from the writer's immediate connexion with the school of St. John. It meets us again (but with the Ebionites substituted for the Nicolaitans) in Tertullian (*De Praesc. adv. Haer.* xxxiii.), Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 12), and Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.* ix.). Eusebius represents Clement of Alexandria as stating that John

perceived that what had reference to the body was sufficiently told, and that, encouraged by his friends and urged by the Spirit, he wrote a spiritual Gospel (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 15); and he himself expands this statement into a more definite expression of the complementary nature of the work (*op. cit.* iii. 24). From the first, then, the distinct but not opposed elements of dogmatic teaching, polemical removal of error, and historical addition to previously existing records, are recognized in the purpose of the Gospel. Modern writers have too frequently pressed one of these elements to the exclusion of others, and have sometimes with little reason found more limited objects, as the answer to the errors of Docetism (see esp. Schneckenburger, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in N. T.*, 1832, pp. 60 sqq.), or to the disciples of John Baptist (cp. art. *Johannesjünger*, Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. iii. pp. 324 sqq.).

The traditional view of the purpose is not opposed to that which is expressed in the writing itself, but it is singular that attention has been so seldom directed to the definite terms in which the object is declared by the author, and in which his method of selection is declared both by himself and his amanuensis or editor. Some only of the many signs which Jesus did are written in this book—"if all the things which He did should be written, the world itself would not contain the books"—and these are written to establish faith in the Messiahship, to prove that "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (chs. xx. 30, 31, and xxi. 25).

The work then is a series of chronicles rather than a history, and the related events and discourses are chosen with an express dogmatic purpose which is throughout the ruling idea. The life of Jesus is a revelation, accepted and understood by faith, denied and rejected by unbelief. The great facts of this revelation, and the conflict of these opposing principles, are the subjects of the writing; Ephesus, its theology, philosophy, language, form necessarily the framework in which these subjects are set (cp. *Bampton Lectures*, 1890, pp. 427 sqq.).

The following outline will serve to show the progress of thought:—

i. PROLOGUE: Man and the eternity of the past (ch. i. 1–18).
THE WORD
(1) *was God* (*vv.* 1–5);
(2) *became man* (*vv.* 6–13);
(3) *revealed the Father* (*vv.* 14–18).

ii. MANIFESTATION OF JESUS (chs. i. 19–iv. 54).
1. WITNESS OF THE BAPTIST (ch. i. 19–40).
2. MANIFESTATION TO INDIVIDUALS (chs. i. 41–ii. 11):
(1) *to first disciples—witness of man* (ch. i. 41–51);
(2) *at Cana of Galilee—witness of nature* (ch. ii. 1–11).
3. MANIFESTATION IN PUBLIC (chs. ii. 12–iv. 54):
(1) *in Jerusalem—the Temple* (ch. ii. 12–22);
(2) *in Jerusalem—the city; Nicodemus* (chs. ii. 23–iii. 21);
(3) *in Judaea—the Baptist* (ch. iii. 22–36);
(4) *in Samaria—the woman; the people* (ch. iv. 1–42);
(5) *in Galilee—the people; the courtier* (ch. iv. 43–54).

iii. THE FULLER REVELATION: GROWTH OF UNBELIEF AMONG THE JEWS (ch. v. 1–xii. 50).
1. LIFE (chs. v.–vi. 71).
(1) *This based upon the unity of the Son with the Father* (ch. v.).
(2) *The Incarnation life for mankind* (ch. vi.).
Result: On one hand, defection; on the other, fuller confession (ch. vi. 59–71).
2. TRUTH; LIGHT; LOVE (chs. vii. 1–x. 42).
(1) *Truth* (ch. vii.).
Result: Division among the people and in the Sanhedrin (*vv.* 40–52).
(2) *Light; the man born blind* (chs. viii. 12–ix. 41).
Result: Objections of the Pharisees; spiritual light and darkness (ch. ix. 35–41).
(3) *Love; the Good Shepherd; the feast of Dedication* (ch. x. 1–42).
Result: Charge of blasphemy; escape beyond Jordan; many believed there (*vv.* 31–42).
3. FULLER REVELATION OF LIFE, TRUTH, LIGHT, LOVE; MORE HOSTILE UNBELIEF OF THE JEWS (chs. xi.–xii. 50).
Lazarus raised; the Sanhedrin; the supper at Bethany; the entry into Jerusalem; the wider kingdom; the Greeks.
Result: Conflict throughout this section issuing in rejection by the Jews of light (ch. xii. 46), love (47), truth (49), life (50).

iv. THE FULLER REVELATION: GROWTH OF FAITH AMONG THE DISCIPLES (chs. xiii. 1–xvii. 26).
1. LOVE IN HUMILIATION (ch. xiii. 1–34).
The feet-washing; the interpretation of it; the betrayal.
2. LAST WORDS OF LOVE TO THE FAITHFUL (chs. xiii. 31–xvi. 33).
The Father's House; the Paraclete; the True Vine; their relation to Himself and to the world.
3. LOVE IN THE INTERCESSORY PRAYER (ch. xvii. 1–26).

v. CLIMAX OF UNBELIEF: SURRENDER AND CRUCIFIXION (chs. xviii. 1–xix. 42).
1. BETRAYAL AND APPREHENSION (ch. xviii. 1–11).
2. TRIALS BEFORE JEWISH TRIBUNALS (*vv.* 12–27).
Denial by St. Peter (*vv.* 17, 25, 27).
3. TRIALS BEFORE THE ROMAN PROCONSUL (chs. xviii. 28–xix. 16).
4. SUBMISSION TO DEATH (ch. xix. 17–42).

vi. CLIMAX OF FAITH: RESURRECTION AND PROOFS (ch. xx.).
1. SS. PETER AND JOHN AT THE SEPULCHRE (*vv.* 1–10).
2. MARY MAGDALENE AT THE SEPULCHRE (*vv.* 11–18).

3. First Appearance to the Ten (*vv.* 19–23).
4. Appearance to the Eleven (*vv.* 24–29).
. . . to Thomas: "My Lord and my God."
5. End of Writing when this Climax is reached; the Purpose (*vv.* 30–31).

vii. EPILOGUE: THE FUTURE (ch. xxi.).
1. The Draught of Fishes (*vv.* 1–8).
2. The Breakfast; the Third Manifestation to the Disciples (*vv.* 9–14).
3. The Test and the Commission (*vv.* 15–23).
St. Peter's Love and Faith.
4. Attestation of the Truth of the Gospel (*vv.* 24, 25).
(1) *by fellow-disciples* (*v.* 24).
(2) *by the amanuensis* (*v.* 25).

(For details of this analysis, cp. Ellicott's *New Test. Commentary*, vol. i. *St. John*, or better Luthardt's *Das Johanneische Evangelium*, ed. 2, 1875, upon which it is based: and for a full description of the principles of arrangement, cp. Hönig, *Die Construction d. 4ten Ev.* in *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.* 1871, pp. 535 sqq.; *Beiträge z. d. 4ten Ev.*, ibid. 1883, pp. 216 sqq., and 1884, pp. 85 sqq.; and also H. Holtzmann, *Ueber die Disposition d. 4ten Ev.*, ibid. 1881, pp. 257 sqq.)

B. *Relation to the Apocalypse.* (Cp. art. Revelation.)—The relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Apocalypse presents a problem of greater difficulty. The difference in style; the Hebraic cast of thought and phrase; the halting Greek; the absence or infrequent use of characteristic Johannine words, such as *φῶς*, *σκοτία*, *κόσμος*, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, and of favourite Johannine particles, as *καθώς*, *μέν*, *μέντοι*, *πάντοτε*, *πώποτε*; the presence of expressions such as *οἰκουμένη*, *ὑπομενή*, *κρατεῖν τὸ ὄνομα*, *παντοκράτωρ*, *ἀρνίον*; the changed use or form of the same word (as *οὖν*, illative only; *ἀμήν*, not doubled; *ἰδού*, not *ἴδε*; *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, never *Ἱεροσόλυμα*), at once strike the thoughtful reader, and have formed one of the commonplaces of criticism from the days of Dionysius of Alexandria downwards. Dionysius was not indeed wholly free from interest in seeing the differences between the two writings, and in excluding the Apocalypse from the circle of Johannine writings, because it differed so widely from the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle, inasmuch as it also differed from his own position in the Chiliastic controversy (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 24, 25). The writings are different; the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle are by John, the son of Zebedee; therefore the Apocalypse, though it is the work of some holy and inspired man, is not by John. Such is the argument of the third century. The writings are different; no conclusion of modern criticism is more certain than this; John cannot be the author of Gospel and Epistle on the one hand, and of the Apocalypse on the other; the Apocalypse is the best attested writing of the New Testament; therefore the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle are not by John. Such has sometimes been the argument of the nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, though the evidence for the authorship of the Apocalypse is strong, it cannot be compared with that which exists for the Gospel, and is not equal to that which exists for the Epistle; much less *is* it equal to that which results from the combined and mutually supporting testimony which exists for the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle considered in their established unity. If we are placed in this dilemma, there can be no question as to which alternative we must choose. We must accept the criticism of the third century, and not that of the nineteenth.

But does the dilemma really exist? Granted what we may, for the sake of brevity, call the distinctly Hebraic colouring of the Apocalypse and the distinctly Greek colouring of the Gospel, is it not possible that these colours might have been, and as a matter of fact were, blended in the life of one man? We have seen above (p. 1750) that the Fourth Gospel itself necessarily requires as a condition of authorship a Hebrew of Hebrews, though it requires also that this Hebraism should have been in the far past, and that Judaism should, in the author's conception of the Christ, have developed into a religion of humanity. The probable chronology of the life and writings of the Apostle John would place the Apocalypse some thirty years earlier than the Gospel, the one at the close of the Hebrew, the other at the close of the Greek, period of his life: the one when his thoughts were wholly Hebrew, though for Greek readers he endeavoured to express them in Greek; the other when his thoughts and language had been for a generation Greek, though he can never lose the Shibboleths of his earlier life.

A theory of the composition of the Apocalypse which has lately attracted a good deal of attention, chiefly perhaps because it has won the adhesion of Dr. Adolf Harnack, is based upon the view that the author has worked over an earlier Hebrew Apocalypse. Without entering here upon a discussion which does not fall within our present subject, it may be useful to refer to Harnack and Von Gebhardt's *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. ii., Heft 3; *Die Offenbarung Johannis, eine Jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung von E. Vischer, mit einem Nachwort von Adolph Harnack*, 1886, and to the criticism of Schoen in his *Origine de l'Apocalypse*, 1887, which also contains a useful account of the literature of the subject. The theological reviews have naturally discussed this question from both sides, and articles of special interest by MM. Ménégoz, Bovon, and Bruston have appeared in the *Revue de Théologie de Lausanne*, 1888.

Without regarding Vischer's theory as established, the existence of a wide field of Hebrew Apocalyptic literature, which cannot be questioned, may more than explain, if any explanation is needed, the strong Jewish colouring of the New Testament Apocalypse. But, as a matter of fact, the diversity of style between the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse has by many critics been made unduly prominent, and the similarity of style and matter has been unduly kept in the background. Here, again, the eye has seen that which it looked for. Let

it look at the Apocalypse with the view of noting the resemblance between it and the Gospel:—

(1) It will be found, on careful examination, that the composition of the works as a whole is, with all their many differences, on the same general plan. It has often been urged that the Apocalypse is arranged on a careful plan, in which the numbers ten, seven, three recur, and the Gospel is an even unarranged flow of narrative. We have seen, in the analysis of the Gospel (p. 1757), that it is also constructed on an elaborate plan, which in its leading features closely resembles that of the Apocalypse. It has been often argued, indeed, that the Gospel cannot be strictly historical, just because its materials take the shape of an ideal composition.

(2.) The doctrinal positions are at root the same, though from the very different nature of the two writings this is not always apparent upon the surface. This is an axiom even of the Tübingen School, for it is necessary to the position that the writer of the Gospel sought to use the authority of John, the author of the Apocalypse, and therefore placed himself in the position of the seer (cp. Baur, *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, p. 132; *Die kanonischen Evangelien*, p. 380 f). And it has been abundantly established by more than one of the writers on the Theology of St. John to whom reference has been already made. The question is one which can be dealt with only in a treatise. It will be sufficient to quote here the results of a full examination which has been made by Von Gebhardt in his *Doctrine of the Apocalypse*. He deduces from a lengthy investigation the following result:—"If, therefore, the relation discovered by us to exist between the doctrine of the two is not to remain an insoluble enigma, we must acknowledge that *the author of the Apocalypse* is also the author of *the Gospel and the Epistles;* and indeed, since the origin of the former with the Apostle John is not inconsistent, either with external or internal evidence, . . . that the author is *the Apostle John;* a result which agrees with tradition, and is confirmed by it, as also on its own side it confirms the tradition" (Eng. Tr. p. 413).

(3.) The lexical and grammatical forms, in the midst of variety which has been in part exaggerated and in part admits of natural explanation, present a substantial agreement which at least suggests common authorship. Dr. Weiss (*Einleitung*, 2nd ed., 1889, pp. 466–7) gives the following list of terms, apart from merely insignificant words, which are common to the Apocalypse and the Gospel:—

ἡ ἄμπελος, ἄνεμος μέγας, ἀρνίον, δαιμόνιον (not δαίμων), δηνάριον, δόξα (δ. τ. θεοῦ, δόξαν διδόναι), ἐξουσία (o. inf. ἐξ. ἔχειν), ἡ ἔρημος, ἡ ἡμέρα (ἐκείνη), θερισμός, θλῖψις (θλ. ἔχειν), θρίξ (τρίχες), θύρα (metaph.), κάλαμος, καταβολὴ κόσμου, κλέπτης (figuratively), κοιλία, κόπος, κρῖμα, κύριε (in address), λαμπάς, λύχνος, μάννα, μέρος (ἔχειν), μέτρον, μύρον, νύμφη and νυμφίος, ὁδός, c. gen., ὄφις, ὄψις, πηγὴ (ὕδατος) and ποταμοὶ (ὕδατ. ζ.), πῆχυς, πλοῖον, ποτήριον, πρόβατα, σατανᾶς, σημεῖον, σῖτος, σκεῦος, σπηλαῖον, στάδιος, στέφανος, ὕδατα, υἱὸς τ. ἀνθρ., φοῖνιξ, φρέαρ, φυλακή, διὰ τὸν φόβον, φωνή (μεγάλη φ., ἀκούειν τῆς φ.), χιλίαρχος, χόρτος, ψεῦδος, ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα (ἐκείνη ἡ ὥρ.), ἄπιστος, βαδύς, γυμνός, δικαία κρίσις, δεῦρο (δεῦτε), ἐντεῦθεν and ἐκεῖθεν, ἐβραϊστί, ἐγγύς (of time), θαυμαστός, ἴσος, ἐν λευκοῖς, λίθινος, μέσον, μέλας, ναί, ὅσος and τοσοῦτος, πορφυροῦς, πτωχός, ταχύ, ἔμπροσθεν, ὀπίσω, ἐπάνω, ὑποκάτω, ἁγιάζειν, ἀγοράζειν, αἴρειν λίθον, ἀναβαίνειν (to heaven), ἀνοίγειν, ἀπέρχεσθαι πρός, ἁρπάζειν, βάπτειν, βαστάζειν, γεμίζειν τι ἔκ τιν., δέειν (δεδεμένος), διψᾶν, δοξάζειν (τ. ὄνομα), ἐκβάλλειν ἔξω, ἐκκεντεῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐκχέειν, ἐλέγχειν, ἐπιτιθέναι, εἴρηκα, ἐρευνᾶν, ὁ ἐρχόμενος (ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε), ἑτοιμάζειν, εὐχαριστεῖν, θαυμάζειν διά, θεραπεύειν, θερίζειν, ἱστάναι (ἕστηκα, ἑστώς, ἔστην), ἰσχύειν, καθῆσθαι and καθίζειν, καίεσθαι, καταβαίνειν ἐκ τ. οὐρ., καταφαγεῖν, κατηγορεῖν, κλαίειν, κοπιᾶν, κράζειν, κρατεῖν, κρύπτειν ἀπό, κυκλοῦν, λαλεῖν μετά (λέγων), λαμβάνειν ἐκ, λούειν, μεθυσθῆναι, μέλλειν, μνησθῆναι, μνημονεύειν, ξηραίνειν, ὁδηγεῖν, παίειν, παρεῖναι, πεινᾶν, πειράζειν, πέμπειν, περιβάλλειν, πιάζειν, πίνειν, πίπτειν (πρὸς τ. πόδας), πνέειν, ποιμαίνειν, προσκυνεῖν, προφητεύειν, πωλεῖν, σημαίνειν, σκηνοῦν, συμβουλεύειν, συνάγειν, συντρίβειν, σύρειν, σφάττειν, σφραγίζειν, τελεῖν, τηρεῖν ἐκ, τίκτειν, τρέχειν, φαγεῖν ἐκ, φέρειν (οἴσειν), φεύγειν (φεύξεσθαι) ἀπό, φιλεῖν; φοβεῖσθαι (μὴ φοβεῖσθε), φωνεῖν, φωτίζειν, χορτάζεσθαι.

The following words are found alike in the Apocalypse and the Epistle:—

εἴδωλα, σκάνδαλον, ψευδοπροφήτης, ἰσχυρός, ψεύδεσθαι, ποιεῖν τ. δικαιοσύνην.

The following words are common to all the Johannine writings:—

διάβολος, διδαχή, ἐντολαί, κρίσις, μαρτυρία and μαρτυρεῖν, μισθός, ὄνομα (διὰ τ. ὄν.), σπέρμα, χρείαν ἔχειν, ὥρα, ἀληθινός, ἄρτι, ἔσχατος (of time), ὅλος, ὅμοιος (with dat.), πᾶς (never ἅπας) with a following articled Participle and with a following negative, ὅταν, ἵνα μή, ἐνώπιον, αἴρειν, ἀποστέλλειν, ἀρνεῖσθαι, οἶδα ποῦ (πόθεν), εἰσ- and ἐξέρχεσθαι, ἥκειν, θεωρεῖν, θαυμάζειν, κεῖσθαι, κλείειν, λύειν, μένειν, μισεῖν, νικάν, ὁμολογεῖν, ὄψεσθαι, περιπατεῖν, πλανᾶν, πληροῦν (πεπληρωμένος), τηρεῖν (τ. ἐντ., τ. λογ.), ὑπάγειν, φαίνειν, φανεροῦν, χαίρειν.

Cp. especially *Character of the Greek of the Apocalypse*, Randell, *Pulpit Comm.*: Revelation, pp. xxii. sqq.

C. *Relation to the Johannine Epistles.*—The general questions connected with these Epistles are dealt with in separate articles [JOHN, EPISTLES OF; JOHN, FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF], in which good reason is shown for believing that all of them, and very strong reason is shown for believing that the First Epistle in particular, are to be traced to St. John.

But this seems to be the right place to inquire what relation exists between the Gospel and the Epistles, especially the First.

f "So dass die Kritik sich hier in dem eigenen Falle befindet, zwei scheinbar ganz widersprechende Behauptungen aufstellen zu müssen, dass der Evangelist unmöglich der Apokalyptiker seyn kann, und dass der Evangelist selbst nichts anders seyn will als der Apokalyptiker . . . zwischen dem Evangelium und der Apokalypse auch wieder eine gewisse Analogie und Verwandtschaft stattfindet . . . ."

It can hardly be maintained seriously, though efforts have been made to do so in the interests of the negative criticism of the Gospel, that this writing does not bear unmistakable marks of unity of authorship with the Fourth Gospel. Most of the Commentaries and Introductions contain lists of words and phrases which, if they are treated not as lists but compared with the parallel passages and context, leave no room for doubt. One of the best is that in De Wette's *Einleitung* (§ 177 a), which is itself based upon the earlier lists of Eichhorn and Schultze.

Whatever, then, is the relation of time or interdependence of these writings; whether the Epistle is to be regarded as a pastoral letter, or as being prior to, or as a postscript to the Gospel—and this question, perhaps, does not admit of decision, because the matter of the Gospel must have been largely in oral circulation before it was reduced to its present written form—the two writings come from the same hand. For our present purpose the importance of this lies in the fact that the external evidence for the First Epistle, especially the decisive evidence of Papias and Polycarp (cp. p. 1743), becomes evidence for the Fourth Gospel also.

The Second and Third Epistles (cp. p. 1766) have not been universally received into the Canon, but their character will account for this, and there is no sufficient reason to doubt that they are also writings of the Apostle. They do not, however, contribute important additional evidence, as the First does, in the questions which concern the Gospel, and they need not therefore be further dealt with here.

D. *Relation to the Synoptic Gospels.*—The problems connected with the origin and sources of the Gospels are treated as a whole in an earlier article [GOSPELS]; but it belongs to this place to deal with some details which specially concern the Fourth Gospel. The reader is at once conscious as he passes from the common record which is supplied by the earlier Gospels to that which bears the name of St. John, that he enters upon a region which in part at least is new. The scene, the time, the thoughts, the expressions, the persons are to a considerable extent different. The divergence, when he comes to examine it carefully, is not indeed quite so great as appears at first sight, nor is the harmony of the three quite so complete: but when it is remembered, for instance, that in the Fourth Gospel there is no mention of *scribes* or *publicans*, of *lepers* or *demoniacs*, and that there is no mention in the Synoptics of Nathanael or Nicodemus or Lazarus, and only a bare mention of Andrew, Philip, Thomas, and Judas (not Iscariot); or how the earlier narratives all circle round the Sea of Galilee, while the later has its centre in Jerusalem; or how frequently the discourses in the Synoptics take the form of parables, while St. John gives no clear instance of this form of teaching, we are justified in thinking of the three earlier Gospels as presenting together one picture of the life of Jesus Christ, and of the Fourth Gospel as presenting a second—a distinct if not a different—picture, which is to be compared with it.

If the Gospel belongs in time to the close of the first century and in place to Ephesus (cp. *supra*, p. 1756), and if its purpose and scheme is that which has been traced above (*ibid.*), this general difference of thought, language, and tone is at once natural and necessary. (Cp. *Bampton Lectures*, 1890, Lecture viii.) This general difference is moreover, so far from being an argument against the authenticity, strong evidence in its favour. A forger would not have dared to publish a work of such striking independence. The limits of the present article necessarily exclude any full discussion of the general differences or of particular discrepancies, real or imaginary. Both are examined in detail in the best modern *Commentaries* and *Introductions*. The following points about which special difficulty has not unfrequently been felt, demand however brief notice:—

(1.) *The duration of our Lord's ministry.*—The alleged discrepancy is based upon the assumption, for which there is no foundation in fact, that the Synoptists represent the ministry of our Lord as extending over one year only, while St. John names at least three Passovers (chs. ii. 13; vi. 4; xi. 55). A careful study of the chronological limits furnished by the Synoptists will show that the only necessary *terminus a quo* is A.D. 28, "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar" (Luke iii. 1), and the only necessary *terminus ad quem* is the recall of Pontius Pilate in A.D. 37. Any chronology of the Life of Jesus which does not extend the ministerial activity beyond the decennium A.D. 28–37 is therefore permitted by the Synoptists, but it is significant that they give no assistance in forming one. The three Passovers of the Fourth Gospel imply that the ministry extended over more than two years, but without any hint as to how much more. Biographical details were not within the scope of the Evangelists, nor consistent with the method by which the Gospels were committed to writing.

It is not easy, however, to resist the impression that the events and teaching recorded by the Evangelists imply a period not less than, perhaps much more than, the minimum indicated in the Fourth Gospel; and attention has been too seldom directed to the statement of Irenaeus that our Lord's work as a Teacher extended over his fortieth year—a statement which he traces through the witness of all the elders who were connected with John, the disciple of the Lord, in Asia to John himself (*Adv. Haer.* ii. ch. xxii. 3, ed. Harvey, i. 330–332). This would make the period of the ministry extend over ten years (Luke iii. 23).

The not uncommon patristic opinion, based upon an unwarranted interpretation of Isaiah lvi. 2, was that the ministry extended for only one year (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i.; Origen, *Princ.* 4, 5). But cp. article JESUS CHRIST, *supra*, p. 1675; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, vol. ii. Excursus viii.; and Browne, *Ordo Saeclorum*, 1844, pp. 53–94.

(2.) *The scene of our Lord's ministerial work.*—The work and teaching of our Lord as recorded by the Synoptists has its centre in Galilee, while St. John places it in Jerusalem. This can create a difficulty only in the minds of those who do not realize the fact that Jerusalem was the centre of the life of John himself for a considerable period (cp. *supra*, p. 1732 sq.), and do not realize the fragmentary nature of all the evangelic records. As the difficulty is commonly

stated, two series of facts are moreover forgotten:

(*a*) The Synoptic Gospels record and imply a ministry in Judaea before the final Passover: cp. Luke iv. 44, εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῆς Ἰουδαίας; Luke x. 38–41 (Martha and Mary); Matt. xxiii. 37, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem . . . *how often* would I have gathered thy children together" (cp. Luke xiii. 31–34); Matt. xxi. 2 and xxvi. 18, both as involving previous minute acquaintance with individuals and localities.

(*b*) The Fourth Gospel records and implies a ministry in Galilee: cp. chs. i. 43; iv. 3 (noting πάλιν, which is omitted by good authorities, but is with strong probability to be regarded as part of the text); iv. 43–54; v. 1 ("Jesus went up to Jerusalem"); vi. (esp. *v.* 4, indicating a passover which Jesus spent in Galilee); vii. 1–13 (esp. *v.* 1, "Jesus walked in Galilee; for He would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill Him"; x. 22 (implying a *return* to Jerusalem); x. 40 ("beyond Jordan into the place where John at first baptized," *i.e.* probably to *Tellanihje*, to the N. of the Sea of Galilee on the E. of Jordan); xi. 7, 8; xxi.

A study of the Gospels as a combined narrative (cp. *e.g.* the arrangement in Tischendorf's *Synopsis Evangelica*, or Wieseler's *Chronologische Synopse*) shows, with even our present imperfect knowledge of these fragments, that they are parts of a great whole. We lack the materials for a complete restoration; there is sufficient to show that the materials which we have are the complements of each other.

(3.) *The Discourses of our Lord.*—"Si Jésus parlait comme le veut Matthieu, il n'a pu parler comme le veut Jean." In these words M. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, 1863, p. xxix.) gives a concise statement of a difficulty which has been often expressed and has been felt to be a very real one. The student who reads the Sermon on the Mount side by side with the Capernaum sermon of the sixth chapter of St. John, or compares the parables of the Synoptists with the farewell of the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the Fourth Gospel, naturally feels that there is a wide difference, and that some explanation of this difference is needed. The difficulty is apparently increased also by the further fact that the style of our Lord's discourses in the Fourth Gospel, while it differs from the style of the teaching in the Synoptists, agrees largely with that of the narratives by St. John, that of other speakers in the Gospel, and that of the Johannine Epistles. But the student who will carefully examine the facts will find that the difficulty has been too strongly stated, and that in even the small portion of our Lord's teaching which we possess there is much which is common to the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel.

Full lists of parallel passages are given by Godet, *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de S. Jean*, ed. 3, vol. i. pp. 197 sqq., and Luthardt, *Das johanneische Evangelium*, 1875, pt. i. pp. 243 sqq. Some of these passages taken singly may not prove much, but as a whole they go far to remove the difficulty. Three of the passages in the Synoptists present the striking characteristics of the Johannine discourses:—

"At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in Thy sight. All things are delivered unto Me of My Father; and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him" (Matt. xi. 25–27; cp. John iii. 35 and vi. 46).

"Every plant, which My heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up" (Matt. xv. 13; cp. John xv. 2).

"All things are delivered to Me of My Father; and no man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him" (Luke x. 22).

It will be found also that a very considerable proportion of the words used in the discourses of our Lord, as recorded by St. John, is not found in the other portions of the Johannine writings. The *Commentary* by Dr. Reynolds, to which reference has been more than once made in this article, contains a fresh investigation of this subject made for the author by the Rev. W. H. Beckett, from which it appears, among other important results, that "more than a hundred and forty-five words are put by the Evangelist into the lips of our Lord, but never used by himself; of which thirty-eight are found in the Synoptic records of our Lord's words, and of which fourteen are peculiar to the Johannine writings," and that there are "nearly five hundred words (a not inconsiderable vocabulary) which are used by the writer when pursuing his narrative or recording the words of others, not our Lord's, or developing in hortatory form his own personal conceptions of doctrine or duty" (*op. cit.* p. cxxiii).

But when all overstatements of the case are cancelled, and the residuum of facts according to our present knowledge is alone left, there remains a large element in the Johannine presentation of the discourses which is widely different from that of the Synoptists. The following facts seem sufficient to explain it:—

(i.) The presentation in each case is a linguistic translation. That our Lord spoke in Aramaic is in a very high degree probable; that there was an original Aramaic written record is far from improbable (cp. *Expositor*, 1891, January, et sqq.).

(ii.) The Johannine presentation is a linguistic translation into the Ephesian Greek of the last decade of the first century. It is therefore necessarily different (cp. *Bampton Lectures*, 1890, Lecture viii.).

(iii.) The Johannine presentation is of discourses spoken in Jerusalem or in the presence of Jews of the educated classes. (The discourse of ch. vi. is not an exception. Cp. *v.* 47.)

(iv.) The whole of the discourses of our Lord, as now preserved, can form but a small portion of His teaching. They are selections from the treasures of the apostolic Church. They bear necessarily the impress of the individual Church and the individual writer, the divinely ordered channels through which they have been handed down.

(v.) St. John stood in a closeness of relation to our Lord—spiritual as well as natural—after

the completion of the ministry (ch. xix. 27), as well as before its commencement, which no other Evangelist shared.

(vi.) St. John himself records the promise of the Paraclete "to teach all things, and to bring all things to remembrance *whatsoever I have said unto you*," and "to guide into all the truth" (cp. Excursus D in Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary*, i. 557).

(4.) *The Day of our Lord's Death.*—The discussion of this question belongs to the article PASSOVER (*q. v.*). In so far as it relates to a comparison of the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptists, it is sufficient to remark here:

(*a*) That in the opinion of many scholars of candour and eminence who have devoted special attention to the question, there is no discrepancy. To take one example: C. E. Caspari, after a careful examination of the statements in each Gospel, and of the Jewish and Christian tradition, asserts, "The earliest Christian tradition consequently taught that Jesus held the supper on the 14th Nisan on the night of the Thursday; that on the same Jewish night-day (but, according to Western reckoning, on the Friday), at the time of slaying the Paschal lamb, He was crucified; and that on the following day (Saturday) was the great Paschal festival. The Christian tradition, rightly understood, teaches thus—as all the Gospels, and as Jewish tradition—that Jesus was crucified on the 14th Nisan, a Friday. If afterwards, in the angry Paschal controversy which ensued, another opinion prevailed, this does not concern us" (*Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, pp. 216, 217). It is impossible to urge, in the presence of the solutions which have been arrived at, that the question is insoluble.

(*b*) That our present knowledge of the Passover ritual, and of the exceptions to it at the time of this Passover, is too uncertain to warrant any such deduction as that the Fourth Gospel is in this respect opposed to the Synoptists.

(*c*) That if it were necessary to hold the position that the statements are opposed, it would be on every ground necessary also to accept the Johannine statement. It is moreover supported by St. Paul (1 Cor. v. 7 and xi. 23).

(*d*) That if it were necessary to hold the position that the statements were opposed, the fact of a conflicting statement would of itself furnish a strong argument in favour of apostolic authorship. Who but an eye-witness would venture upon such a point to correct the current tradition?

(Cp. in addition to the *Commentaries* and *Introductions*, Caspari *ut supra*, Eng. tr., pp. 192–217; Andrews, *Life of our Lord upon the Earth*, 1863, pp. 367–397; Hutton, *Theological Essays*, ed. 3, 1888, pp. 215 sqq.; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, Excursus x.; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, ii. 479 sqq.[g]; Schürer, *De Controversiis paschalibus, secundo p. Chr. nat. saeculo exortis*, 1869; *Die Passahstreitigkeiten des 2. Jahrhunderts* in *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1870, pp. 182–284. A *resume* of Dr. Schürer's arguments is given in Luthardt, *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, Eng. tr., 1875, pp. 154–165.)

[g] It may be allowable to remark here that the view ascribed to "Archdeacon Watkins" on p. 482 of this work is not his.

[IV. THE TEXT.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the same authorities are available for the text of the Fourth Gospel as for that of the other Gospels. At their head stand the great *codices*: *Sinaiticus* (ℵ, saec. iv.); *Alexandrinus* (A, saec. v.), wanting vi. 50–viii. 52; *Vaticanus* (B, saec. iv.); *Ephraemi* (C, saec. v.), important fragments; *Bezae* (D, saec. vi.), the whole except i. 16–iii. 26, a later hand supplying (perhaps from the original text) xviii. 13–xx. 13. The Gospel is also contained in another leading MS., *Cod. Regius Parisiensis* (L, saec. viii.). The Fourth Gospel is one of two preserved in Tischendorf's MS. now in the Bodleian (Λ, saec. ix.); but no portion of it is contained in the recently discovered *Codd. purpurei, Rossanensis* (Σ, saec. vi.) and *Beratinus* (Φ, saec. vi.), or in the valuable fragments designated RZΞ. The Gospel is complete in EKMSUΓΨ and Ω (two Athos MSS. not yet collated, both ascribed to saec. viii.–ix.), and nearly complete in FGHΔΠ.

The following fragmentary MSS. contain portions of St. John's Gospel only: I^1 and I^b (both saec. v.), O (saec. ix.), T^a (a Graeco-Thebaic MS. attributed very doubtfully to saec. v.), W^e (saec. ix.). Fragments of this as well as of other Gospels are found in F^a (saec. vii. in.), N (saec. vi. ex.), P (saec. vi.), Q (saec. v.), T^b (attributed to saec. vi.), and T^d (attributed to saec. vii.); also in T^{wol}, which is similar to, though not, as was at one time thought, a part of the same MS. as T^a, X (saec. ix. ex.), Y (saec. viii.). Of these the most important are those which come under the designations I P Q T X Y, especially T, and in a lower measure X, which is extant on a larger scale and in this Gospel not unfrequently sides with the better authorities.

Minuscule, or as they are commonly called, cursive MSS., contain as a rule the full *Tetraevangelium*, and maintain the same character throughout. The writer of this is not aware of a case in which the text of St. John's Gospel stands out so distinctly as that of St. Mark in the cursive which is variously numbered 2^{pe} by Muralt, its collator, 81 by Westcott and Hort, 473 by Scrivener, and 565 by Gregory (compare the equally distinctive text of Δ in the same Gospel). It is a peculiarity of the group 13–69–124–346–788–826 (possibly also of the allied MS. 543,[h] though this is not expressly stated: see Gregory, *Prolegomena* on the MSS. in question) to place the section "of the Adulteress" immediately after Luke xxi. 38. Most, if not all, of these MSS. appear to have been written in Calabria. Other MSS., such as 1me 135, 237, 259, 301, 565, but at a more recent date and with an evident consciousness of its questionable character, place the section at the end of the Gospel.

For the Ante-Hieronymian or Old-Latin Version the leading MSS. (*abdef*) are extant, though with *lacunae*. In the second line would come the MSS. designated *m* (extracts contained in the so-called *Speculum Augustini*, the text of

[h] 543=Scrivener's 556; 826=Scrivener's 624; 788 is not in Scrivener's list.

which has been identified substantially with that used by the Spanish writer Priscillian, †385 A.D.: see *Classical Review*, 1890, p. 416 sq.), *qr* and the fragment *p* which contains only John xi. 14–44. To the same class would belong the larger fragments from Sarezzano (*j*), of which specimens only were published by Amelli in 1872. The MSS. *c ff*$_2$ *l δ* are perhaps fundamentally Vulgate MSS., though containing numerous Old-Latin readings. The same should apparently be said of *Cod. Sangermanensis* (*g*^{1}), on the testimony of Prof. S. Berger (*Bulletin Critique*, 1891, p. 302). Of these MSS., *e* is the nearest representative of the Cyprianic form of the text current in Africa; *f* and *q* belong to the type which is commonly called Italian; *r* and the fragment *p* are distinctively Irish; but there seems to be more crossing and intermixture of types than in the other Gospels.

MSS. of Jerome's Version exist in great numbers. Special mention need, perhaps, be made only of the beautiful little Stonyhurst MS. (=S in Bishop Wordsworth's edition). This MS. contains only St. John's Gospel, and was found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, who died A.D. 687 (facs. in *Pal. Soc.* ser. i. pl. 17; Westwood, *Pal. Sacr. Pict.* pl. 11).

Of the *Egyptian Versions* the Memphitic (Bahiric) is complete; the Thebaic (Sahidic) has as yet been published only in fragments, but materials sufficient to make up a complete text are already known to exist in European libraries (especially at Paris), and their publication is but a question of time. The third Egyptian Version, called Bashmuric, is only a dialectical variation of the Thebaic: as yet St. John iv. 28–53 is all that has been published of the Gospels.

Of the *Syriac Versions*, the critic has access to the Peshitto and Harclean, the latter revised from the older Philoxenian (508 A.D.) by Thomas of Harkel in 616 A.D. For nearly the whole of the N. T. the Philoxenian has been lost, but Bernstein thought that he had come across the traces of it in a single MS. at Rome, collations of which for a few chapters of St. John are given in his work *De Charklensi N. T. transl. Syriac. Comment.* (Breslau, 1837). The Curetonian Syriac, which is considered by many scholars to represent the oldest form of the Syriac Version, is extant for St. John i. 1–43; iii. 5–viii. 19 (omitting vii. 53–viii. 11); xiv. 10–12, 16–19, 21–29. These portions have been turned back into Greek in a trustworthy manner by Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 39–53.

The *Aethiopic* and *Armenian Versions* of St. John's Gospel are complete, but the printed texts need revision from a wider collation of MSS. The *Gothic* is extant for St. John i. 29; iii. 3–32; v. 21–23; 35–38; 45–xii. 49; xiii. 11–xix. 13.

The patristic evidence supplies not only numerous quotations, but considerable commentaries. Earliest of these is the Commentary of the Gnostic Heracleon, the fragments of which have been carefully re-edited by Mr. A. E. Brooke in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies* (1891). These fragments are preserved in Origen's great work on St. John, of which large remains have come down to us. For an account of this Commentary, which was written in part at least at Alexandria, and before the year 228 A.D., see especially *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* iv. 113 sq. The Commentary of Cyril of Alexandria († 444 A.D.) is almost complete, and has been edited as critically as the scanty MS. materials admit by the late P. E. Pusey (Oxford, 1872). From the Antiochene school we have a series of Homilies by St. Chrysostom, written before 398, and also considerable fragments of a Commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428 A.D.). The Latin Church contributes the Homilies of St. Augustine (*c.* 416 A.D.). Other works are too late to be of much importance for textual criticism, unless it is perhaps the *Catenae* edited by Corderius (Antwerp, 1628) and Cramer (Oxford, 1844).

The most conspicuous feature in the earlier textual history of St. John's Gospel is the group of readings belonging to what is commonly known as the "Western Text." The authorities for these readings are frequently headed by ℵD, and include MSS. of the Old-Latin and the Curetonian Syriac, where it is extant. The Western element in ℵ is more marked in this Gospel than elsewhere. Characteristic readings of the broader Western type would be *e.g.* St. John i. 4 *ἐστίν*, ii. 3 *οἶνον οὐκ εἶχον, ὅτι συνετελέσθη ὁ οἶνος τοῦ γάμου*, iii. 25 *Ἰουδαίων*, 31 *om. ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν*, iv. 9 *om. οὐ γὰρ συγχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις*. Sometimes the Western group of authorities is broken up, and a reading is found in one section of it but not in another. Thus the famous *pericope adulterae* (St. John vii. 53–viii. 11) is found in D *e*, and it was originally contained in *δ*, but it is wanting in *a* Syr.-Cur. It seems not unlikely that this section was transferred to the Canonical Gospel from the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39. 16). In like manner the interpolation in v. 3 (*ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν*) was introduced before the larger interpolation in the next verse (*ἄγγελος γὰρ . . . νοσήματι*). The addition at the end of iii. 6 was also introduced at two stages, *quia* (*quoniam*) *deus spiritus est* (1) *et ex* (*de*) *deo natus est* (2). Some of these readings which were originally Western found their way into the later ecclesiastical text, and thence into the copies which possessed the field after the invention of printing: so the two larger interpolations just mentioned, and the reading (*δ*) *μονογενὴς υἱὸς* in i. 18, which there can be little doubt should, in spite of its great antiquity, yield to *μονογενὴς θεός*. (On this reading see especially Dr. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, Camb. and Lond. 1876, with which may be compared on the other side Dr. Ezra Abbot, *Critical Essays*, Boston, 1888, pp. 241–285. On the text of St. John generally, besides the critical editions, Dr. Westcott's Commentary deserves to be specially consulted, also the critical notes by Weiss in the sixth or later editions of Meyer's Commentary. Meyer himself and Godet are not trustworthy guides in textual criticism. In respect to the materials of criticism, the best authorities are Scrivener, *Introduction*, ed. 3, Cambridge, 1883, and Gregory, *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf, part i. 1884, part ii. 1890. Dr. Gregory's notation, which unfortunately differs somewhat from Scrivener's, for the more recently added cursives, has been followed in this article.) [W. S—y.]]

V. Literature.

The full references which have been given in the course of this article make it unnecessary to refer at any length to the literature of the subject. To do so would indeed be in any case to travel over beaten paths, for the *Literature of the Fourth Gospel* has been exhaustively treated by experts. Lampe (*Commentarius analytico-exegeticus*, 3 vols. 4°, Basiliae, 1725–27) gives a full account of the works down to his own time. Lücke (cp. p. 1748) adds a short but valuable literary sketch of the discussions on the authenticity (ed. 3, 1840, pp. 89 sqq.). Dr. C. R. Gregory, the translator of Luthardt's *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, 1875, has enriched that work by an enlarged and almost complete conspectus of *Literature* from 1792–1875. Dr. Ezra Abbot (†1884) contributed not only to the early literature of the subject in his *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (1880), but also contributed from his minute knowledge of the subject to Dr. Gregory's list which has just been mentioned, and to the American edition of this Dictionary.

The most recent literature is very fully given in the *Introductions*, and specially in Bleek-Mangold, *Einleitung in das Neue Test.*, ed. 2, 1886; Weiss (Bernhard), *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Neue Test.*, ed. 2, 1889 (Eng. tr. of ed. 1, 1887–8); Holtzmann (H. J.), *Lehrbuch d. Hist. krit. Einleitung in das Neue Test.*, ed. 2, 1886; cp. also *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Test.* vol. iv. 1890, p. 20.

On the present position of the "Johannine Question," reference should be made to a paper by Dr. Schürer (*Ueber den gegenwürtigen Stand d. Johanneischen Frage*, Giessen, 1889), and especially to a series of articles by Dr. Sanday in the *Expositor*, 1891, Nov., Dec.; 1892, Jan., March, April, and May.

Of special *Commentaries*, Luthardt's (ed. 2, 1875–76), Godet's (ed. 3, 1881–85), and Westcott's reprinted from *The Speaker's Commentary* in 1881, have obtained an acknowledged and well-known position. Of the smaller *Commentaries*, that by Holtzmann referred to above and that by Dr. Plummer in the *Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools* may be specially named, though written from different points of view. A recent work which forms part of *The Pulpit Commentary—The Gospel of St. John, Introduction and Exposition*, by Dr. Reynolds, 1888—is the result of much independent thought and work, as well as of full knowledge of the work of others. It is a very valuable contribution to the study of St. John's Gospel and the many connected questions, and it is much to be desired that the introduction and critical notes should be re-edited and published in a more convenient form.

To these and many other works the writer of the present article has been under constant obligation. One special obligation he must not leave unnoticed. When his task was completed, the space occupied, which seemed but too small for the extent of the subject, was larger than could be afforded for a single article. Dr. Sanday generously undertook the tedious task of compression. The reader will not need to be assured that compression is far from being the only gain which is derived from Dr. Sanday's care and knowledge. He has also written the section on the text in substitution for a longer one. [H. W. W.]

JOHN, ST., THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF. I. *Title.*—In the Alexandrine and Vatican MSS. the heading of the Epistle is only Ἰωάννου (or Ἰωάνου) ᾱ, that is, "John's First;" in the Sinaitic MS. the word ἐπιστόλη is added, "John's First Epistle." In later MSS. the epithet καθολικὴ is prefixed to ἐπιστόλη, and the designation of τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου or τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλου precedes or follows Ἰωάννου, making the full title to be "The Catholic Epistle of John the holy Apostle," or "of John the Evangelist and Apostle." For the force of the word "Catholic" in this connexion, see JAMES, EPISTLE OF, p. 1520. Origen is the first writer who applies the term Catholic to St. John's First Epistle. Whether it is an Epistle in the proper sense of the word, has been questioned. It does not begin or end in the epistolary style. It may best be regarded as a Pastoral Letter. In one late Latin MS. the title is *Epistola ad Sparthos*, which has been regarded as a misreading either for *Epistola ad Sparsos*, meaning the Diaspora or Dispersion, or *Epistola ad Parthos*. St. Augustine (*Quaestionum Evangeliorum*, ii. 39) quotes 1 John iii. 2 as "dictum a Joanne in Epistolâ ad Parthos;" and his treatises on the Epistle are headed "in Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos" (tom. iii. p. 1976, ed. Migne). It is probable that this title came from a misunderstanding of the title of some Greek MS., Ἐπιστόλη Ἰωάννου τοῦ παρθένου, the name πάρθενος being sometimes given to St. John. And yet this explanation cannot be the right one, if it be true, as Bede reports (*Prol. super vii. Canon. Epist.*), that Athanasius regarded it as addressed to the Parthians. But of this we have no evidence beyond Bede's statement.

II. *Author and authenticity.*—The external evidence is of the most satisfactory nature. Eusebius places it in the list of ὁμολογούμενα or "acknowledged" books (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25), and we have ample proof that it was received as the production of the Apostle John in the writings of Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philipp.* c. vii.); Papias, as quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39); Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* iii. 18); Origen (*apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25); Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. ii.); Tertullian (*adv. Prax.* c. xv.); Cyprian (*Ep.* xxviii.): and there is no voice in antiquity raised to the contrary. The Muratonian Canon speaks only of two Epistles of John, but this probably means our Epistle, and the Second and Third Epistles reckoned together as one. The Peshitto Version contains the First Epistle.

On the ground of internal evidence the authenticity of the Epistle has been questioned by Lange (*Die Schriften des Johann. übersetzt und erklart*, vol. iii.); Bretschneider (*Probabilia de Evang. et Epist. Joan. Ap. indole et origine*); Zeller (*Theologische Jahrbucher* for 1845). The objections made by these critics are too slight to be worth mentioning. On the other hand, the internal evidence for its being the work of St. John from its similarity in style, language, and doctrine to the Gospel, is overwhelming. Macknight (*Preface to First Epistle of John*) has drawn out a list of nineteen passages in the Epistle which are so similar to an equal number

of passages in the Gospel that we cannot but conclude that the two writings emanated from the same mind, or that one author was a strangely successful copyist both of the words and of the sentiments of the other. Westcott, in like manner, has made a list of twenty characteristic words found both in the Gospel and in the Epistle, and nineteen sentences in which verbal coincidences occur. The hypothesis of conscious imitation by a copyist is, in Dr. Westcott's judgment, excluded by the subtlety of the coincidences, joined with differences discoverable in the parallel passages of the Gospel and the Epistle, the similarity of which consists not only in their diction but in their thoughts (*Introduction to the First Epistle of St. John*). Sinclair presents us with twenty-three parallel passages (*Ellicott's Commentary*, iii. 468). Ewald says that "no one can fail to perceive that the self-same author and Apostle must have composed both writings" (*Die Johann. Schriften*, i. 431). The allusion of the writer to himself is such as would suit St. John the Apostle, and very few but St. John (1 Ep. i. 1).

Thus we see that the high probability of the authorship is established both by the internal evidence and by the external evidence taken apart. Unite them, and this probability rises to a moral certainty.

III. Date and place.—There is considerable diversity of opinion as to the time at which the Epistle was written. Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Benson, Macknight, fix a date previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, understanding (but probably not correctly) the expression "It is the last time" (ii. 18) to refer to the Jewish Church and nation. Lardner, Whiston, Lampe, Mill, Le Clerc, Basnage, Beausobre, Dupin, Davidson, Sinclair, Westcott, assign it to the close of the first century. This is the more probable date. There are several indications of the Epistle being posterior to the Gospel. "The Epistles," says Westcott, "give later growths of common and characteristic ideas" (*Introduction*). Like the Gospel, it was probably written from Ephesus. Grotius fixes Patmos as the place at which it was written; Macknight, Judaea. But a late date would involve the conclusion that it was Ephesus. And this conclusion is strengthened by iv. 3, which condemns the heresy of Cerinthus, whose headquarters were Asia Minor.

IV. *The persons addressed.* — However the error as to the Parthians, above related, arose, we may take it as certain that the Epistle was not addressed to them. There is however a somewhat widely spread Latin tradition to that effect, resting on the authority of St. Augustine, Vigilius of Thapsus, Cassiodorus, and Bede; and it is defended by Estius. The Greek Church knew no such report. Lardner is clearly right when he says that the Epistle was primarily meant for the Churches of Asia under St. John's inspection, to whom he had already orally delivered his doctrine (i. 3, ii. 7).

V. *Contents and character.*—It is a mistake to regard the Epistle as primarily controversial. Its main object was not to oppose the errors of the Docetae (Schmidt, Bertholdt, Niemeyer), nor of the Gnostics (Kleuker), nor of the Nicolaitans (Macknight), nor of the Cerinthians (Michaelis), nor of all of them together (Townsend), nor of the Sabians (Barkey, Storr, Keil), nor of Judaizers (Loeffler, Semler), nor of apostates to Judrism (Lange, Eichhorn, Hämlein): the leading purpose of the Apostle appears to be rather constructive than polemical. St. John is remarkable both in his history and in his writings for his abhorrence of false doctrine, but he does not attack error as a controversialist. He states the deep truth and lays down the deep moral teaching of Christianity, and in this way rather than directly condemns heresy. In the introduction (i. 1–4) the Apostle states the purpose of his Epistle. It is to declare the Word of life to those whom he is addressing, in order that he and they might be united in true communion with each other, and with God the Father, and His Son Jesus Christ. He at once begins to explain the nature and conditions of communion with God, and, being led on from this point into other topics, he twice brings himself back to the same subject. The first part of the Epistle may be considered to end at ii. 28. The Apostle begins afresh with the doctrine of sonship or communion at ii. 29, and returns to the same theme at iv. 7. His lesson throughout is, that the means of union with God are, on the part of Christ, His atoning Blood (i. 7, ii. 2; iii. 5, iv. 10, 14, v. 6) and advocacy (ii. 1)—on the part of man, holiness (i. 6), obedience (ii. 3), purity (iii. 3), faith (iii. 23, iv. 3, v. 5), and above all love (ii. 7, iii. 14, iv. 7, v. 1). St. John is designated the Apostle of Love, and rightly; but it should be ever remembered that his doctrine of "Love" does not exclude or ignore, but embraces both faith and obedience as constituent parts of love. Indeed, St. Paul's "Faith that worketh by Love," and St. James's "Works that are the fruit of Faith," and St. John's "Love which springs from Faith and produces Obedience," are all one and the same state of mind described according to the first, third, or second stage, into which we are able to analyse the complex whole.

There are two doubtful passages in this Epistle: ii. 23, "but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also;" and v. 7, "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." The question of their authenticity is argued at length by Mill (note at the end of 1 John v.) and Horne (*Introduction to H. S.* iv. p. 448, Lond. 1834). The first of these passages is genuine. It is found in all the better MSS. and was omitted by a not uncommon error, the scribe's eye passing on from the first clause to the second, and confounding them together, owing to their ending with the same three words, τὸν πατέρα ἔχει. The second is spurious. It is contained in four only of the 180 MSS. of the Epistle: the Codex Guelpherbytanus of the seventeenth century, the Codex Ravianus of the sixteenth century, both of which are merely copies from the printed text, and therefore no authorities at all; the Codex Britannicus or Monfortianus of the fifteenth or sixteenth century; and the Codex Ottobonianus of the fifteenth century. It is not found, except by modern insertion, in the Syriac Versions, in the Coptic, the Sahidic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, the Arabic, the Sclavonic, nor in any ancient Version except the Latin; and the best editions of even the Latin Versions omit it. It was not quoted by one

Greek Father or writer previous to the fourteenth century. It was not inserted in Erasmus's editions of the Greek Testament, published in 1516 and 1519, nor in that of Aldus, 1518; nor in that of Gerbelius, 1521; nor of Cephalaeus, 1524; nor of Colinaeus, 1534; nor in Luther's version of 1546. It originated as a gloss or mystical interpretation of the meaning of the "three that bear witness,"—"the Spirit" being supposed to represent the Father, "the water" the Holy Ghost, and "the blood" the Son. Cyprian (*De Unitate Ecclesiae*, v.), Facundus (*Pro def. tr. Cap.* i. 3), Augustine (*cont. Max.* ii. 22; *De Civ. Dei*, v. 11) seem to have known and accepted this interpretation. The first person who represents the gloss as making part of the text is Vigilius of Thapsus, who lived at the end of the fifth century. In the sixth century it is quoted by Fulgentius as belonging to the text, and its position there is defended by a prologue falsely attributed to St. Jerome. Hence in the seventh century it was introduced by a scribe into a copy of the Old Latin text that he was making, and in the ninth century it found its way in like manner into the text of two Codices of the Vulgate. Next it was translated into Greek, first apparently in 1215, as making part of the Greek version of the Acts of the Council of the Lateran, and at length for the first time it found its place, as stated above, in the fifteenth century, in a Greek Codex—the Ottobonianus, which however is as much Latin as Greek, having both the Latin and the Greek text in parallel columns. It never made good its entrance into more than one other Greek Codex, the Montfortianus, which is not above suspicion. Erasmus, attacked by Stunica for omitting the passage in the first two editions of his Greek Testament, promised to introduce it, if one Greek MS. containing it could be shown him. A "Codex Britannicus," which has been identified with the Codex Montfortianus, was brought to his notice; and in accordance with his promise he inserted the words in his edition of 1522, but without any belief in their being genuine. Against such an amount of external testimony no internal evidence, however weighty, could be of avail.

For the exposition of the passage as containing the words in question, see (as quoted by Horne) Bp. Horsley's *Sermons* (i. p. 193). For the same passage interpreted without the disputed words, see Sir Isaac Newton's *Hist. of Two Texts* (Works, v. p. 528, Lond. 1779). See also Emlyn's *Enquiry*, &c., Lond. 1717. See further, Travis (*Letters to Gibbon*, Lond. 1785); Porson (*Letters to Travis*, Lond. 1790); Bishop Marsh (*Letters to Travis*, Lond. 1795); Michaelis (*Introd. to New Test.* iv. p. 412, Lond. 1802); Griesbach (*Diatribe* appended to vol. ii. of *Greek Test.* Halae, 1806); Butler (*Horae Biblicae*, ii. p. 245, Lond. 1807); Clarke (*Succession*, &c., i. p. 71, Lond. 1807); Bishop Burgess (*Vindication of* 1 *John* v. 7, Lond. 1822 and 1823; *Adnotationes Millii*, &c., 1822; *Letter to the Clergy of St. David's*, 1825; *Two Letters to Mrs. Joanna Baillie*, 1831, 1835), to which may be added a dissertation in the *Life of Bp. Burgess*, p. 398, Lond. 1840; Scrivener (*Six Lectures on the Text of the New Test.* p. 201, Lond. 1875); Westcott (*The Epistles of St. John*, p. 193, Lond. 1883). [F. M.]

JOHN, ST., THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF. I. *Title.*—One late cursive MS. (62) entitles the Second Epistle *Ἰωάννου β πρὸς Πάρθους*, and the *Adumbrationes* of Clement of Alexandria describe it as "scripta ad virgines," in continuation of the mistake already pointed out. Their proper title is simply *Ἰωάννου* B, *Ἰωάννου* Γ.

II. *Author and authenticity.*—The two Epistles are placed by Eusebius in the class of *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, and he appears himself to be doubtful whether they were written by the Evangelist, or by some other John (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25). The evidence of antiquity in their favour is not very strong, but yet it is considerable. Irenaeus quotes from the Second Epistle and attributes it to "John, the Lord's disciple" (*Adv. Haer.* i. 16). Clement of Alexandria speaks of the First Epistle as *the larger* (*Strom.* lib. ii.); and if the *Adumbrationes* be his, he bears direct testimony to the Second Epistle (*Adumbr.* p. 1011, ed. Potter). Origen appears to have had the same doubts as Eusebius (*apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25). Dionysius (*apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 25) attributes them to St. John, but not without hesitation. Aurelius quoted them in the Council of Carthage, A.D. 256, as St. John's writing (Cyprian, *Op.* ii. p. 120, ed. Oberthür). Alexander of Alexandria (*apud* Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 6), A.D. 321, attributes the Second Epistle to "the Blessed John." Ephrem Syrus recognises them as canonical in the fourth century, though they are not in the Peshitto Syriac Version. In the fifth century they are almost universally received. A homily, wrongly attributed to St. Chrysostom, declares them uncanonical.

If the external testimony is not perfectly decisive, the internal evidence is peculiarly strong. Mill has pointed out that of the 13 verses which compose the Second Epistle, 8 are to be found in the First Epistle. Either then the Second Epistle proceeded from the same author as the First, or from a conscious fabricator who desired to pass off something of his own as the production of the Apostle. But if the latter alternative had been true, the fabricator in question would assuredly have assumed the title of John *the Apostle*, instead of merely designating himself as John *the elder*, and he would have introduced some doctrine which it would have been his object to make popular. The title and contents of the Epistle are strong arguments against a fabricator, whereas they would account for its non-universal reception in early times. And if not the work of a fabricator, it must from style, diction, and tone of thought, be the work of the author of the First Epistle, and, we may add, of the Gospel.

The reason why St. John designates himself as *πρεσβύτερος* rather than *ἀπόστολος* (2 Ep. 1; 3 Ep. 1), is no doubt the same as that which made St. Peter designate himself by the same title (1 Pet. v. 1), and which caused St. James and St. Jude to give themselves no other title than "the servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (James i. 1); "the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James" (Jude 1). St. Paul had a special object in declaring himself an Apostle. Those who belonged to the original Twelve had no such necessity imposed upon them. With them it was a matter of in-

difference whether they employed the name of Apostle like St. Peter (1 Pet. i. 1; 2 Pet. i. 1), or adopted an appellation which they shared with others, like St. John and St. James and St. Jude. Westcott supposes the title to describe an official position in the Church of Asia Minor.

III. *Date and place.*—The two shorter Epistles were probably written about the same time and from the same place as the First Epistle, that is, from Ephesus, near the end of the first century.

IV. *Persons addressed.*—The Second Epistle is addressed ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ. This expression cannot mean the Church (Jerome; Salmon), nor a particular Church (Cassiodorus), nor the elect Church which comes together on Sundays (Michaelis), nor the Church of Philadelphia (Whiston), nor the Church of Jerusalem (Whitby). An individual woman who had children and a sister and nieces, is clearly indicated. Whether her name is given, and if so, what it is, has been doubted. According to one interpretation, she is "the Lady Electa;" to another, "the elect Kyria;" to a third, "the elect Lady." The first interpretation is that of Clement of Alexandria (see *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* i. 564), Wetstein, Grotius, Middleton. The second is that of Benson, Carpzov, Schleusner, Heumann, Bengel, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Lücke, Neander, Davidson. The third is the rendering of the A. and R. VV., Mill, Wall, Wolf, Le Clerc, Lardner, Beza, Eichhorn, Newcome, Wakefield, Macknight. For the rendering "the Lady Electa" to be right, the word κυρίᾳ must have preceded (as in modern Greek) the word ἐκλεκτῇ, not followed it; and further, the last verse of the Epistle in which her sister is also spoken of as ἐκλεκτὴ is fatal to the hypothesis. The rendering "the elect Kyria" is probably wrong, because there is no article before the adjective ἐκλεκτῇ. It remains that the rendering of the A. and R. VV. is probably right, though here too we should have expected the article. Westcott considers the problem of the address insoluble with our present knowledge.

The Third Epistle is addressed to Gaius or Caius. We have no reason for identifying him with Caius of Macedonia (Acts xix. 29), or with Caius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4), or with Caius of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14), or with Caius bishop of Ephesus, or with Caius bishop of Thessalonica, or with Caius bishop of Pergamos. He was probably a convert of St. John (3 Ep. *v.* 4), and a layman of wealth and distinction (3 Ep. *v.* 5) in some city near Ephesus.

V. *Contents and character.*—The object of St. John in writing the Second Epistle was to warn the lady, to whom he wrote, against abetting the teaching known as that of Basilides and his followers, by perhaps an undue kindness displayed by her towards the preachers of the false doctrine. After the introductory salutation, the Apostle at once urges on his correspondent the great principle of Love, which with him (as we have before seen) means right affection springing from right faith and issuing in right conduct. The immediate consequence of the possession of this Love is the abhorrence of heretical misbelief, because the latter, being incompatible with right faith, is destructive of the producing cause of Love, and therefore of Love itself. This is the secret of St. John's strong denunciation of the "deceiver" whom he designates as "anti-Christ." Love is with him the essence of Christianity; but Love can spring only from right faith. Wrong belief therefore destroys Love and with it Christianity. Therefore says he, "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds" (2 Ep. 10, 11).

The Third Epistle was written for the purpose of commending to the kindness and hospitality of Caius some Christians who were strangers in the place where he lived. It is probable that these Christians carried this letter with them to Caius as their introduction. It would appear that the object of the travellers was to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles without money and without price (3 Ep. *v.* 7). St. John had already written to the ecclesiastical authorities of the place (ἔγραψα, *v.* 9, not "scripsissem," *Vulg.*); but they, at the instigation of Diotrephes, had refused to receive the missionary brethren, and therefore the Apostle now commends them to the care of a layman. It is probable that Diotrephes was a leading presbyter who held Judaizing views, and would not give assistance to men who were going about with the purpose of preaching solely to the Gentiles. Whether Demetrius (*v.* 12) was a tolerant presbyter of the same community, whose example St. John holds up as worthy of commendation in contradistinction to that of Diotrephes, or whether he was one of the strangers who bore the letter, we are now unable to determine. The latter supposition is the more probable.

The contents of this Epistle have light thrown upon them in a singularly interesting manner by *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, published by Bryennius at Constantinople in 1883. In substance this document is little later than St. John's Epistle, and we see in it a system already working, according to which "apostles and prophets" were in the habit of moving from place to place, staying one or two days, during which they were supported by the charity of the brethren, and then moving on. The following passages illustrate the condition of the Church at the time of St. John's Epistle with surprising vividness:—"Whoever then shall come and teach you all the foregoing, receive him; but if the teacher turn and teach you another doctrine, so as to overthrow this, you must not listen to him; but if his object is to teach righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord....Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord; but he shall not abide more than one day, and if need be, one more; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. Let the apostle who comes out receive nothing but bread to last him until he reach his destination; but if he asks for money, he is a false prophet. ...If he who comes is a wayfarer, help him as much as you can, but he shall not remain with you more than three or four days, if need require; and if he wishes to settle with you, if he is a workman let him labour, and so let him eat.... But every true prophet who wishes to remain with you is worthy of his meat; so too

a true teacher, like the labourer, is also worthy of his meat" (chaps. xi. xii. xiii.). It seems evident that the "brethren and strangers withal" in whose behalf St. John writes, were "apostles or prophets," or as we should now say evangelists, and we may conjecture that Diotrephes excused his haughty rejection of them on the ground that they were unworthy or "false prophets."

Both these Epistles apply to individual cases of conduct the principles which had been laid down in their fulness in the First Epistle. The title Catholic does not properly belong to them. It became attached to them, although addressed to individuals, because they were of too little importance to be classed by themselves, and, so far as doctrine went, were regarded as appendices to the First Epistle.

VI. *Bibliography.*—The best English edition of the Three Epistles is Westcott's *Epistles of St. John*, the Greek text with notes and essays (Lond. 1883). This volume, supplemented by the Greek Testaments of Alford, Wordsworth, and Ellicott, will give the English reader all that he can require for the elucidation of the text. In T. & T. Clark's series will be found translations of Lücke's *Commentar über die Briefe des Evangelisten Johannis* (Edinb. 1837); Ebrard's *Die Briefe Johannes* (Edinb. 1860); Braune's Commentary in Lange's series, and Huther's in Mayer's. See also F. D. Maurice's *The Epistles of John: Lectures on Christian Ethics*, Lond. 1867; Salmon, *Introd to N. T.*[4] pp. 290–295. [F. M.]

JOI'ADA (יוֹיָדָע = יְהוֹיָדָע = *Jehovah hath known*; B. Ἰωαδά, A. Ἰωιαδά; *Joiada*), high-priest after his father Eliashib, but whether in the lifetime of Nehemiah is not clear, as it is doubtful whether the title in Neh. xiii. 28 applies to him or his father. One of his sons married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. He was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son Jonathan, or Johanan (Neh. xii. 11, 22). Josephus calls this Jehoiada, Judas. [A. C. H.]

JOI'AKIM (יוֹיָקִים = יְהוֹיָקִים; BA. Ἰωακείμ; *Joacim*), a high-priest, son of the renowned Jeshua, who was joint leader with Zerubbabel of the first return from Babylon. His son and successor was ELIASHIB (Neh. xii. 10). In Neh. xii. 12–26 is preserved a catalogue of the heads of the various families of priests and Levites during the high-priesthood of Joiakim.

The name is a contracted form of JEHOIAKIM.

JOI'ARIB (יוֹיָרִיב = יְהוֹיָרִיב; A. Ἰωαρείμ; *Joarib*). **1.** (Ἰωαρίμ, B. Ἀρέβ, A. Ἰωαρείμ; *Joiarib.*) A layman who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra viii. 16).

2. (Neh. xi. 10, Ἰωαρίβ, B. Ἰωρείβ, A. Ἰωρίβ, ℵ. Ἰωρείμ; in xii. 6, 19, B. omits, ℵA. Ἰωιαρίβ; *Joarib, Joiarib.*) The founder of one of the courses of priests, elsewhere called in full JEHOIARIB. His descendants after the Captivity are given in Neh. xii. 6, 19, and also in xi. 10; though it is possible that in this passage another person is intended.

3. (Ἰωαρίβ, B. Ἰωρείβ, A. Ἰωιαρίβ; *Joiarib.*) A Shilonite—*i.e.* probably a descendant of SHELAH the son of Judah—named in the genealogy of Maaseiah, the then head of the family (Neh. xi. 5).

JOK'DE-AM (יָקְדְעָם = *firebrand of the people* (?); Ἀρικάμ, B. Ἰαρεικάμ, A. Ἰεκδαάμ; *Jacadaam*), a city of Judah, in the mountains (Josh. xv. 56), named in the same group with Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and therefore apparently to be looked for south of Hebron, where they are situated. It has not, however, been yet met with, nor was it known to Eusebius and Jerome. [G.] [W.]

JO'KIM (יוֹקִים = *Jehovah establishes*; Ἰωακείμ, BA. Ἰωακείμ; *qui stare fecit solem*), one of the sons of Shelah (the third according to Burrington) the son of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 22), of whom nothing further is known. It would be difficult to say what gave rise to the rendering of the Vulgate or the Targum on the verse. The latter translates, "and the prophets and scribes who came forth from the seed of Joshua." The reading which they had was evidently יָקִם, which some Rabbinical tradition applied to Joshua, and at the same time identified Joash and Saraph, mentioned in the same verse, with Mahlon and Chilion. Jerome quotes a Hebrew legend that Jokim was Elimelech the husband of Naomi, in whose days the sun stood still on account of the transgressor of the Law (*Quaest. Heb. in Paral.*).

JOK'ME-AM (יָקְמְעָם = *may the people rise* (?): in 1 K., B. Λουκάμ; A., united with preceding word, Μεμβραδὲι ἐκ Μαάν; in 1 Ch. ἡ Ἰεκμαάν, B. Ἰκαάμ: *Jecmaan, Jecmaam*), a city of Ephraim, given with its suburbs to the Kohathite Levites (1 Ch. vi. 68). The catalogue of the towns of Ephraim in the Book of Joshua is unfortunately very imperfect (see xvi.), but in the parallel list of Levitical cities in Josh. xxi. KIBZAIM occupies the place of Jokmeam (*v.* 22). The situation of Jokmeam is to a certain extent indicated in 1 K. iv. 12, where it is named with places which we know to have been in the Jordan valley at the extreme east boundary of the tribe. (Here the A. V. has, probably by a printer's error, JOKNEAM.) This position is further supported by that of the other Levitical cities of this tribe—Shechem in the north, Bethhoron in the south, and Gezer in the extreme west, leaving Jokmeam to take the opposite place in the east (see, however, the contrary opinion of Robinson, iii. 115, note). With regard to the substitution of Kibzaim—which is not found again—for Jokmeam, we would only draw attention to the fact of the similarity in appearance of the two names, יקמעם and קבצים. Conder, adopting the view that Jokmeam is Kibzaim, identifies it with *Tell el-Kabûs*, near Bethel (*Hbk.* p. 417). [G.] [W.]

JOK'NE-AM (יָקְנְעָם [cp. Olshausen, *Hdbk.* § 277, *k*, 3]: Ἰεκόμ; Ἰεκμάν, ἡ Μαάν; A. Ἰεκονάμ, Ἰεκνάμ, ἡ Ἐκνάμ: *Jochanan, Jeconam, Jecnam*), a city of the tribe of Zebulun, allotted with its suburbs to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 34), but entirely omitted in the catalogue of 1 Ch. vi. (cp. *v.* 77). It is doubtless the same place as that which is incidentally named in connexion with the boundaries of the tribe—"the torrent which faces Jokneam" (xix. 11), and as the Canaanite town, whose king was killed by Joshua—"Jokneam of Carmel" (xii.

22). The requirements of these passages are sufficiently met by the modern site *Tell Keimûn*, an eminence which stands just below the eastern termination of Carmel, with the Kishon at its feet about a mile off. Dr. Robinson has shown (*B. R.* iii. 115, note) that the modern name is legitimately descended from the ancient: the CYAMON[a] of Judith vii. 3 being a step in the pedigree (see also Van de Velde, i. 331, and *Memoir*, p. 326; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 241 sq.; Sepp, *Heil. Land*, ii. 551). Jokneam is found in the A. V. of 1 K. iv. 12, but this is unwarranted by either Hebrew text, LXX. A. or Vulgate (both of which have the reading Jokmeam; the LXX. B. is quite corrupt), and also by the requirements of the passage, as stated under JOKMEAM. [G.] [W.]

JOK-SHAN (יָקְשָׁן, *trapper*; Ἰεξάν; *Jecsan*), a son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2, 3, J; 1 Ch. i. 32), and Father of the *benê Yoḳshân*, whose main stocks were Sheba and Dedan; that is, the more northern branches of these two great Arabian peoples. Although Keturite Arabs find no place in the lists of the later Arab genealogists, yet mention is made of a tribe *Ḳaṭûrâ* (قطورا), which lived along with the kindred tribe of G'urhum [JOKTAN] in the neighbourhood of Mecca (*Ibn Coteiba*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 14; Ritter, xii. 19; Knobel). The reason why some of the tribes which traced their descent from Keturah can no longer be verified, is doubtless, as Dillmann suggests, that they early became extinct, or were absorbed into other tribal combinations. So far as their names have been identified, they appear to have dwelt on the western side of the Arabian peninsula [ZIMRAN; MEDAN; MIDIAN; SHEBA; DEDAN]. Jokshan, which looks like a dialectical variant of Joktan,[b] is connected by the Arab genealogists with the tribe of *Yâḳish* (ياقش) in Yemen (*ZDMG.* x. 31), perhaps on account of his relation to Sheba (see Dillm. *Die Genesis*, x. 7, xxv. 1–4). [E. S. P.] [C. J. B.]

JOK-TAN (יָקְטָן, *Yoḳtân*, incola; cp. قطن, incoluit: Ἰεκτάν: *Jectân*; Ἰοὐκτας, Jos. *Ant.* i. 6, § 4), son of Eber, and "Father" of thirteen[c] peoples, whose seats lay in the south-west and south of Arabia (Gen. x. 25; 1 Ch. i. 19). Saadiah's Arabic Version of the O. T. gives *Ḳaḥṭân* (قحطان) for Joktan; and the Arab genealogists, partly, no doubt, on the ground of the Biblical data, reckon Kahtan-Joktan as the tribal ancestor of the pure Arabian stocks, as distinguished from the Ishmaelite peoples of the north (Gen. xxv. 12–16), and the extinct, aboriginal tribes of 'Âd, Thamûd, and the rest. The name survives as that of a small district north of *Nag'rân*, and as a tribal designation. Niebuhr mentions also *Ḳoḥtan*, a town in Hadhramaut. In antiquity, doubtless, it had a much wider scope.

The *benê Yoḳtân* are enumerated in Gen. *l. c.* as follows: Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, Jobab. The first, which has the Arabic article *'al* prefixed, has been compared with *Amduda* or *Mâdudi*, a township of Hadhramaut (Wellsted; K. Niebuhr). Dillmann mentions also a personal name Mawaddad, occurring in the Himyarite inscriptions (*ZDMG.* xix. n. 20, 4). In Jâḳût's Mu'g'am iii. 119, we find the important statement that المودّاذ ('al-Maudâd) and سالف (Sâlif) were two sons of Yuḳṭân, who were both included under the designation of سلف (*Sulaf* or *Salif*). As-

[a] For the legend connecting Cyamon, *Tell Keimûn*, with Cain, see *PEF. Mem.* ii. 48, and Sepp, ii. 551.

[b] The change of letters in *Yoḳshân* and *Yoḳṭân* reminds one of *Shâ'ûl* and *Ṭâlût* (*i.e.* Saul).

[c] The LXX., however, reduces them to the normal number of twelve (cp. Israel, Ishmael, Edom), in Gen. *l. c.* by omitting Obal, in Chron. by reading Κεδουρὰν for Jerach-Hadoram.

The sons of Ḳaḥṭân were fourteen, according to a tradition preserved by Hishâm ibn Muḥammad 'al-Kalbî. The same writer traces قحطان بن عبر *Ḳaḥṭân ibn 'Abir*, that is, Joktan ben 'Eber, back to Noah, through Shelah, Arphaxad, and Shem, after Gen. x. 21–25. This is followed by a list of tribal names, of which *only Sabâ* (Sheba) can be recognised in the Biblical catalogue of the Benê Joktan. The glosses appended to some of the names—*e.g.* سبا, وهو عامر, "Sabâ; and he is 'Âmir,"—show that the same tribes were known by different designations (Hishâm ibn Muḥammad 'al-Kalbî, *G'amharat ul-nasab*, B.M. MSS. add. 22376).

Another account assigned only two sons to Ḳaḥṭân, viz. Ya'rub and G'urhum. From Ya'rub's grandson Sabâ, *i.e.* Sheba, sprang the tribes of Yaman; from G'urhum, those of the Hig'âz: see the references, *ap.* Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 1212. According to Ahmad ibn 'Abd-'Allâh 'al-Kalkashandî, again, Ḳaḥṭân had four sons, G'urhum, 'as-Sulaf, Ya'rub, and Ḥadhramaut.

Ibn Khaldûn writes as follows (with express reference to the Biblical account): "In the Torah it is stated that Eber begat two children, Peleg and Joktan. And, according to the most trustworthy of the genealogists, Joktan is Ḳaḥṭân, the Arabs arabizing him thus. And from Peleg are descended Abraham and his branches. . . . And from Joktan are derived many branches. In the Torah thirteen of his children are mentioned, viz. Almodad (the arabization of which is مضاض, who is G'urhum; and Iram, who is حضور [like Hadoram]; and Sheleph, who is the people of as-Silfan; and Sabâ, who is the people of Yemen of Himyar, the Tubba'a and Kahlân; and Hazarmaveth, who is Ḥadhramaut. These are five. And there are eight others, whose names we will give. These, however, being Hebrew, we have not stopped to give any interpretation of them; nor is it known from what stocks they are. They are Jerah, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab. And according to the genealogists G'urhum is of the children of Joktan, but I know not from which of them. And Hishâm al-Kalbî says, al-Hind and al-Sind [India] are of Ophir, the son of Joktan. But God knows best." (*Targ'umân al-'ibar*, Bulak ed. ii. 1, pp. 7, 8. Communicated by A. G. Ellis.) Upon the whole, two things are clear: (1) that there is no uniform and independent Arab tradition about the original Arabian stocks; (2) that the Biblical account supplies a credible relation of the names and situation of the principal Arabian peoples contemporaneous with the writer.

Salif or *as-Sulaf* is the name of a tribe in Yaman (*ZDMG.* xi. 153 sqq.); cp. also *Salfiyah* (سلفية), a district S.W. of *Sanaa* (صنعا; K. Niebuhr, Knobel). Hazarmaveth is *Ḥaḍhramaut*, the southern coastland, E. of Yaman; Yerah has not been identified. Hadoram[d] we would equate with the *G'urhum* (جرهم) of the Arab genealogies. G'urhum may represent an original Juram (יוֹרָם = הֲדוֹרָם, 2 Sam. viii. 10; 1 Ch. xviii. 10); and the phonetic changes involved in the transition from Joram to *G'urhum* may be paralleled by Jetur—*G'eidūr*, and Abram—Abraham. The tribes of Hadoram would thus belong to the *Ḥij'āz*, and their seats would be in the neighbourhood of Mecca, about the middle of the W. coast of Arabia.

Uzal was long since recognised in *'Azāl*, the old name of *Sanaa*, the capital of Yaman (Ges. *Thes.*; Assemani, *BO.* i. 360). Diḳlah means "palm," Arab. دقلة; and, as a tribal designation, may be compared with *Banū dhī nakhlāt*, "Sons of the owner of palm-trees," the name of a tribe derived from *Śabā* (Sheba), but of uncertain filiation ('al-Ḳalḳashandī). Obal, who is called Ebal (עיבל) in Ch., and in Sam. Vulg. of Gen., and by Josephus, appears as Γεμιδν in LXX. of Ch., *i.e.* possibly עמין. He may be the same as *'Āmilah* (عاملة), a son of *Sabā*, in 'al-Ḳalḳashandī's genealogy.[e] Abimael, or as it may have been originally written Abumael, *i.e.* 'Abū-Mā'il, "father of Mā'il," a thoroughly Arabic appellation, may be the original of the *Wā'il* (وائل), son of Himyar, son of Sabā, in the same list. In a genealogy of Ḥadhramaut we find also Wā'il ibn Ḳaṭan, where Ḳaṭan is clearly a double of Joḳṭān. Sheba is, of course, the well-known district of Sabā in Yaman. Ophir has perhaps been the subject of more dispute than any other name in the entire list. Yet, like his brethren, Ophir must certainly represent a people of southern, and probably south-eastern, Arabia (so Dillmann). With the name of OPHIR we would compare that of *Wā'il's* (Abi-mael's) brother *'Abīr* (ابير; *'ābīr?*), son of *Himyar*, son of *Sabā*, in 'al-Ḳalḳashandī's genealogy of *Ḳaḥṭān*. The names differ but slightly; and *'Abīr* descends from *Sabā* in the Arabic list, as *'Ophīr* (old *'Afīr*, and possibly *'Abīr*) follows *Sheba* in the Biblical one. This identification shows that the Arabian genealogists knew at least that Ophir-*'Abīr*, like the other sons of Joktan-*Ḳaḥṭān*, must be sought in Arabia itself, and not in Africa (*Sofālah*), much less India (*Abhīrā*). As to HAVĪLAH, Dillmann has observed that, while there must have been a place so named in N. Arabia on the Persian Gulf (Gen. xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7; cp. Gen. ii. 11), which might answer to Strabo's Χαυλοταῖοι (xvi. 4. 2), and Niebuhr's *Huwailah* in Bahrein; this wide-spread stock may also have left traces in the *Ḥaulān* of Yaman (Niebuhr; Sprenger): cp. Ptolemy's Ταῦλα (vi. 7, 41) in South Yaman (Bochart). Lastly, JOBAB is a doubtful name, as is indicated by the fluctuation of the LXX. between Jobab, Jobad, and Oram. We may, however, be assured that his settlements were not remote from those of his brother-tribes.[f]

Having thus gained an approximate idea of the locality of the Joktanite peoples, we proceed to consider the obscure statement of their bounds, Gen. x. 30: "And their seat was from *Mēshā* to *Sĕphār*, (and ?) the hill-country of the East." A Hebrew writer would naturally state the limits from the better known west to the less known east; and this order the language itself clearly implies. Mesha must, therefore, have been some well-known place in the western coast-land; possibly *Bīshah* or *Baishah* in Northern Yaman, which Edrīsī calls *Baishat Yaḳṭān* (so Knobel; Sprenger), hardly Musa (Ptol. vi. 8) or Muza (Arrian, Pliny), that is, موزع *Mūza'*, or موسع *Mausiʿ*, which lie too far south. Sephar, the eastern limit, may perhaps be *Zafār* (ظفار), on the east coast of Ḥadhramaut, although there is a difficulty about the letters of the Arabic name, which would imply a Hebrew צפר, while the Heb. ספר would rather imply شفار. Gesenius and others make "the hill-country of the East" to be the highlands of Nag'd in Central Arabia. But even if the bounds of Joktan were stated from east to west, as they assume, a line drawn from *Maisān* (ميسان), at the head of the Persian Gulf, to Nag'd, does not seem a very precise demarcation of tribes that inhabited the western and southern coastlands of Arabia. The region of the "Frankincense Mountains," between Ḥadhramaut and Mahrah (Ritter, xii. 264), suits better, as Knobel and others have suggested. [C. J. B.]

The settlements of the sons of Joktan are specially examined in the separate articles bearing their names, and generally in ARABIA. They colonised the whole of the south of the peninsula, the old "Arabia Felix," or the Yemen (for this appellation had a very wide significance in early times), stretching, according to the Arabs (and there is in this case no ground for doubting their general correctness), to Mecca, on the north-west, and along nearly the whole of the southern coast eastwards, and far inland. At Mecca, tradition connects the two great races of Joktan and Ishmael, by the marriage of a daughter of G'urhum the Joktanite with Ishmael. It is

[d] Michaelis and Gesenius thought that the Sam. אדורם indicated the 'Αδραμῖται (Ptol. vi. ?) or Atramitae (Plin. vi. 28), but these names belong to Hazarmaveth (see Dillmann, *Dict. Gen.* ad loc.).

[e] The LXX. form of the name resembles عمان, *Omān*, the district E. of Ḥadhramaut, on the Persian Gulf.

[f] Possibly יעזר, the *Ya'rub* (يعرب) of the Arabian genealogists, lies concealed under the corruptions of this name.

necessary in mentioning this G'urhum, who is called a "son" of Joktan (Ḳaḥṭān), to observe that "son" in these cases must be regarded as signifying "descendant" (cp. CHRONOLOGY), and that many generations (though how many, or in what order, is not known) are missing from the existing list, between Ḳaḥṭān (embracing the most important time of the Joktanites) and the establishment of the comparatively-modern Himyarite kingdom. From this latter date, stated by Caussin, *Essai*, i. 63, at B.C. *cir.* 100, the succession of the Tubba's is apparently preserved to us.[s] At Mecca, the tribe of G'urhum long held the office of guardians of the Caaba, or temple, and the sacred enclosure, until they were expelled by the Ishmaelites (Ḳuṭb'ad-Dīn, *Hist. of Mecca*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 35 and 39 seqq.; and Caussin, *Essai*, i. 194). But it was at Sabā, the Biblical Sheba, that the kingdom of Joktan attained its greatness. In the south-western angle of the peninsula, San'ā (Uzal), Sabā (Sheba), and Ḥadhramaut (Hazarmaveth), all closely neighbouring, formed together the principal known settlements of the Joktanites. Here arose the kingdom of Sheba. The dominant tribe from remote ages was that of Sabā (the *Sabaei* of the Greeks): while the family of Himyar (*Homeritae*) held the first place in the tribe. The kingdom called that of Himyar we believe to have been merely a late phase of the old Sheba, dating, both in its rise and its name, only shortly before our era.

Next in importance to the tribe of Sabā was that of Ḥadhramaut, which, till the fall of the Himyarite power, maintained a position of independence and a direct line of rulers from Ḳaḥṭān (Caussin, i. 135–6). Joktanite tribes also passed northwards, to Ḥīrah, in El-'Irāḳ, and to the Ḥaurān, near Damascus. The emigration of these and other tribes took place on the occasion of the rupture of a great dyke (the Dyke of El-'Arim), above the metropolis of Sabā; a catastrophe that appears, from the concurrent testimony of Arab writers, to have devastated a great extent of country, and destroyed the city Ma'rib, the Maryab of the inscriptions, or Sabā. This event forms the commencement of an era, the dates of which exist in the inscriptions on the Dyke and elsewhere. (See the extracts from El-Mas'ūdī and other authorities, edited by Schultens; Caussin, i. 84 seqq.; D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, ii. 981; *ZDMG.* xxxi. 61 sqq.; and ARABIA.)

The position which the Joktanites hold (in native traditions) among the successive races who are said to have inhabited the peninsula has been fully stated in art. ARABIA; to which the reader is referred for a sketch of the inhabitants generally, their descent, history, religion, and language. There are some existing places named after Joktan and Ḳaḥṭān ('Al-Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert; Niebuhr, *Descr.* 238); but there seems to be no safe ground for attaching to them any special importance, or for supposing that the name is always ancient, when we remember that the whole country is full of the traditions of Joktan.

[E. S. P.] [C. J. B.]

s It is curious that the Greeks first mention the Himyarites in the expedition of Aelius Gallus, towards the close of the 1st century B.C., although Himyar himself lived long before; agreeing with our belief that his family was important before the establishment of the so-called kingdom. See Caussin, *l. c.*

JOK'THE-EL (יָקְתְאֵל). **1.** (Ἰαχαρεήλ, B. Ἰακαρεήλ, A. Ἰεχθαήλ; *Jecthel*), a city in the low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 38), named next to Lachish—now *Tell el-Hesy*, on the road between *Beit Jibrîn* and Gaza. The name does not appear to have been yet discovered.

2. (Ἰεθοήλ, B. Καθοήλ, A. Ἰεκθοήλ; *Jecthel.*) "God-subdued," the title given by Amaziah to the cliff (הַסֶּלַע, A. V. Selah)—the stronghold of the Edomites—after he had captured it from them (2 K. xiv. 7). The parallel narrative of 2 Ch. xxv. 11–13 supplies fuller details. From it we learn that, having beaten the Edomite army with a great slaughter in the "Valley of Salt," Amaziah took those who were not slain to the cliff, and threw them headlong over it. This cliff is asserted by Eusebius (*s. v.* πέτρα, *OS.*[2] p. 279, 71) to be "a city of Edom, also called by the Assyrians (Syrians) Rekem," by which there is no doubt that he intends Petra (*OS.*[2] p. 280, 94, *s. v.* Ῥεκέμ, and the quotations in Stanley's *S. & P.* p. 94, note). The title thus bestowed is said to have continued "unto this day." This, Keil remarks, is a proof that the history was nearly contemporary with the event, because Amaziah's conquest was lost again by Ahaz less than a century afterwards (2 Ch. xxviii. 17). [G.] [W.]

JO'NA (Ἰωάνης [Westcott and Hort]; *Jona*), the father of the Apostle St. Peter (John i. 42), who is hence addressed as Simon Bar-jona in Matt. xvi. 17. In the A. V. of John xxi. 15–17 he is called JONAS, though the Greek is Ἰωάνης, and the Vulg. *Johannes* throughout. (The R. V. rendering is "*son* of John.") The name in either form would be the equivalent of the Hebrew Johanan.

JON'ADAB. **1.** (יוֹנָדָב, and once יְהוֹנָדָב, *i.e.* Jehonadab = *Jehovah hath impelled*; Ἰωναδάβ; *Jonadab*), son of Shimeah and nephew of David. He is described as "very subtil" (σοφὸς σφόδρα; the word is that usually translated "wise," as in the case of Solomon, 2 Sam. xiii. 3). He seems to have been one of those characters who, in the midst of great or royal families, pride themselves, and are renowned, for being acquainted with the secrets of the whole circle in which they move. His age naturally made him the friend of his cousin Amnon, heir to the throne (2 Sam. xiii. 3). He perceived from the prince's altered appearance that there was some unknown grief—"Why art *thou*, the king's son, so lean?"—and, when he had wormed it out, he gave him the fatal advice for ensnaring his sister Tamar (*vv.* 5, 6).

Again, when, in a later stage of the same tragedy, Amnon was murdered by Absalom, and the exaggerated report reached David that all the princes were slaughtered, Jonadab was already aware of the real state of the case. He was with the king, and was able at once to reassure him (2 Sam. xiii. 32, 33).

2. Jer. xxxv. 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 19, in which

it represents sometimes the long, sometimes the short Heb. form of the name. [JEHONADAB.]

[A. P. S.]

JONAH, BOOK OF. This small book presents no special difficulties in respect of its vocabulary or grammar; as regards its contents, it differs from other Books in the collection of the twelve Minor Prophets, in being a narrative of events connected with the delivery of a prophecy, the substance of which is given briefly and in general terms. The contents of the Book are too well known to require recapitulation. As to its character, and the object with which it was written, very great diversity of opinion exists. The bibliographical notice at the end of this article shows the extent of the literature connected with the subject, and will enable the reader to trace this diversity of opinion in detail.

According to the traditional view, held with very few exceptions by all writers until the beginning of last century, the Book is regarded as *historical*, and composed either (1) by the Prophet himself or (2) a later author.

Neither the name of the work, nor the use of the third person with reference to Jonah, affords evidence as between (1) and (2). The portraiture of Jonah, who appears in an unfavourable light, seems best explained by supposing that the Prophet relates his own shortcomings, thereby testifying his repentance. The nobler side of a mixed character is thus exhibited.

The chief considerations urged in support of the historical character of the Book are:—

a. There is no indication that the Book should be regarded in any other light. It contains a circumstantial narrative, mentioning known persons and places.

b. The relations of Israel to the surrounding nations before and during the time of the Prophet. Ruth the Moabitess; the sojourn of David's parents in Moab; his friendly relations with foreigners,—Achish, Ittai, Hiram; similar examples in the case of Solomon and later kings; the connexion of Elijah and Elisha with Syria; the residence of the latter in Damascus; the utterances of Amos against foreign nations, are evidences not only of friendly intercourse with, but also of religious influence exerted by the prophetic order on their heathen neighbours. Such friendly relations belong to the earlier history of the nation, before the days of Assyrian supremacy and oppression; and subsequent misfortunes developed a feeling of mistrust and illwill towards foreigners which made such relations no longer possible. Although the mission of Jonah and its results are without exact parallel in the O. T. Scriptures, the facts noted above, and the consideration that their occurrence is limited to a period which closes not long after the time of Jonah, may be urged in favour of its probability.

c. The mission was fitted to enforce on Israel the teaching found in the prophets of Jeroboam's reign. They set forth God as the righteous Judge of *all* nations, Who would make use of the heathen for the discipline of Israel, that Israel's iniquity was great, and the punishment thereof was impending. What more appropriate enforcement of these truths than to exhibit, as a model of repentance, a heathen nation which was their counterpart in iniquity? The men of Nineveh would give form to the warnings which the Prophets had expressed in words. They would rescue or rise in judgment against that generation, as against a later one.

d. The typical character of the narrative. This must be considered in estimating its probability. If under the Old Dispensation the words and deeds of God's servants point out the Christ of the Gospels, we should expect to find some indication of the central truth of the Resurrection, and it is difficult to conceive how such indication could be made, except by introducing events of a most unusual and startling character. In the N. T., the events of Jonah's life are treated as having more than a mere historical interest, and the most remarkable incident in it as foreshadowing that death and resurrection which is the foundation of the Christian faith (St. Matt. xii. 39–41; St. Luke xi. 29, 30, 32). For discussion of these passages cf. *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. vi. pp. 577–9, Introd. to Jonah; Wordsworth on St. Matt. xii. 40; Meyer, *Comment. u. d. N. T.* (1864), I. i. p. 296 *sq.*

We proceed to notice some of the objections raised against the historical character of the Book.

(*a.*) The lack of detail in the narrative,—*e.g.* the place where Jonah was cast up, his journey to Nineveh, return, the name of the king; while minute details are added where they seem to point the moral of the story,—*e.g.* the conduct of the sailors and of the Ninevites contrasted with the behaviour of the Prophet.

(*b.*) The improbability of such a mission with such results. The Assyrians, from their own records as from Scripture, appear as idolaters, trusting in their own gods, and despising those of other nations. Their reception of the Prophet is scarcely in harmony with their character.

(*c.*) Of this movement, so unusual in its character and affecting all classes, no trace appears either in the O. T. or other history. No prophet enforces on Israel the lesson which repentant Nineveh is designed to teach, and those who denounce the incurable wound of the bloody city pass over in silence what would increase the certainty of vengeance, that though a prophet had been among them, they had turned back to their evil way.

(*d.*) The prominence of the miraculous element, and especially the deliverance of the Prophet by help of the great fish.

The reader will note that the paragraphs *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), are in great measure opposing opinions on the points at issue.

Aim and object of the work.—All commentators admit the didactic aim of the writer, and many consider that the actions described have a symbolical meaning. The questions—what does the Book teach? what does it symbolise?—are to a great extent independent of the controversy as to its historical character.

The concluding verses iv. 10, 11, point out the greatness of the city, the ignorance and helplessness of those within it, as reasons for the mercy shown, as recorded in iii. 10. The Prophet himself acknowledges that the Divine action is in accordance with His revelation of Himself, and that it had prompted him to disobedience at the first (iv. 2). God, slow to anger and of great

kindness, and repenting of the evil if man will turn from his wickedness, is the lesson set forth in the Book itself. The Prophets, especially Jeremiah and Ezekiel, speak in a similar strain (cp. Jer. xviii. 7, 8; xxvi. 3; Ezek. xviii. and xxxiii.), and present such close parallels of thought and diction that some assign the Book to this period, and its authorship to one of these prophets or a contemporary.

Further, the Book shows that God's mercy is not confined to His own people,—a lesson which the Jews were slow to learn, and which required enforcement by means of vision, even under the Christian dispensation.

In the Gospels (see passages quoted above), the heathen nation repenting at the preaching of Jonas is held up as a warning to non-repentant Israel. A contrast is implied which is not pointed out in the Book, and in respect of one special sin, that of impenitence. A double contrast may be noted (is it too much to say that it is implied?) between the conduct of Jonah and (1) the sailors, (2) the Ninevites. Are we warranted in expanding the contrast in detail, and considering the conduct of the Prophet as an illustration of the failings of Israel? Disobedient at first, angry afterwards, at the mercy extended to the repentant city, the Prophet is regarded by many as the representative of the Hebrew people, at one time evading compliance with the Divine commands, at another jealous and displeased because of favour showed to other nations.

And since the Prophet, in respect of the most remarkable circumstance recorded of him, is regarded as a type of Christ, may not other details of the narrative be viewed in the same light? The various attempts to interpret the Book typically and allegorically suggest how this portion of Scripture may be "profitable for instruction," if we cannot say that it was *designed* to teach all that commentators have put forward. Here we can only give a brief sketch of each method.

J. Tarnovius (*in Prophetam Jonam Commentarius*, 1622) pursues the typical treatment of the narrative into the fullest detail: Jonah, in his name and that of his father, in being sent to the heathen as well as being a Prophet of Israel, in giving himself up to secure the safety of his fellow-voyagers, &c., may serve to remind us of One greater than Jonah (cp. among moderns Kaulen, *Librum J. Proph. exposuit*, Mogunt. 1862).

The allegorical treatment of the narrative may be illustrated by Kleinert's view. He sees in Jonah the nation with a prophetic call, in whom all families of the earth shall be blessed. Nineveh represents the heathen world in its greatness and ignorance, the object of Divine compassion. Israel seeks to evade its mission, and devotes itself to worldly pursuits (Jonah flees to Tarshish); but God punishes the nation by adversity (the storm) and by a captivity which threatens its very existence (Jonah swallowed up by the great fish). When they cry unto the Lord, He delivers them (Jonah's prayer and rescue), but their mission, still unaccomplished, remains the same. Repentant Nineveh shows how the Lord is found of them that sought Him not, while He stretches out His hands to a rebellious people.

The symbolical use of expressions similar to those in the Book of Jonah, by other writers of the O. T., may be noted, in support of this method of interpretation. Action closely resembling that of the Prophet is described in Ps. lv. 6–8, "Oh that I had wings like a dove!" (the name Jonah signifies "dove"); cp. Ps. cxxxix. 7–10. The word "dove" is also applied to Ephraim (Hos. vii. 11, xi. 11). The storm and overflowing waters are common symbols of God's visitations, in the midst of which He pours out upon His people the spirit of deep sleep (Is. xxix. 10; the same root being used as in Jonah i. 5, "was fast asleep"). The monsters of the deep—leviathan the swift serpent, leviathan the crooked serpent, the dragon that is in the sea (Is. xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 13)—are the great powers that oppress Israel.[a] Their action is described as "devouring" (Jer. l. 17); and in the expressions "he hath swallowed[b] me up like a dragon" (Jer. li. 34), "I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed[b] up" (*ib.* 44), words used with reference to the most remarkable incidents recorded of Jonah, are used symbolically with reference to Babylon.

If this allegorical treatment of the first part of the Book be accepted, it follows that the latter part must also be interpreted with reference to the Babylonian kingdom. The *greatness* of Nineveh, on which emphasis is laid (i. 2; iii. 2, 3; iv. 11), must then be taken as indicating that city which was the scene of the Captivity—the *great* Babylon (Dan. iv. 27). Its fall had been predicted: but the returned exiles wondered when she would be made to drink the cup of God's fury; in their day of small things they longed for the day of vengeance upon the great nations. The Prophets encouraged them in their hopes (Hag. ii. 7, 22; Zech. i. 15, 21), but it was necessary to point out the conditional character of all prophecy,—how man may make even God's Prophet seem a deceiver if he will take hold of the promises held out to the penitent. This is the situation described in the latter part of the Book. But here the incident of the gourd corresponds in some degree to the deliverance of the Prophet in the earlier section. Is this also to receive an allegorical interpretation? Dr. Wright (the second of whose *Biblical Essays* is an exegetical study of the Book of Jonah) suggests that the Prophet, exceeding glad of the gourd (iv. 6), represents the spirit in which the returned Jews welcomed the restoration of the Davidic house in the person of Zerubbabel. The figure had been applied to his predecessor—"under his shadow we shall live among the heathen" (Lam. iv. 20). But David's throne awaited David's Lord,—the prince of the royal line soon passed away—the gourd withered as in a night. This additional exposition subjects the whole narrative to a uniform treatment, by filling up a gap left by former interpreters of this school.

Language.—Certain words which occur only in later Books are found in this Book:—

סְפִינָה (ἅπ. λεγ.), a "decked" vessel. The common word אֳנִיָּה, "ship," is also used.

[a] See, however, the notes in Cheyne's *Isaiah*, vol. i. p. 151.

[b] The same Heb. verb as in Jonah i. 17 (ii. 1, Heb.).

מַלָּח, "sailor," and in Ezek. xxvii. 9, 27, 29 only. The late Prof. Wright (*Comp. Gr. of Semitic Languages*, p. 50) says that this word has nothing to do with מֶלַח, "salt."

רַב הַחֹבֵל, "chief of the sailors;" חבל in plural in Ezek. xxvii. 8, 27, 28, 29 only.

These are all nautical terms, and the Hebrew vocabulary is not rich in these, nor is there much, if any, opportunity for their use in earlier Books.

יִתְעַשֵּׁת. The root occurs Jer. v. 28 (verb); Cant. v. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 19; Job xii. 5; Ps. cxlvi. 4; and in one form of the numeral xi. עַשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר (עַשְׁרֵה). For its meanings, see Lex. *s. v.*

רִבּוֹ, Hos. viii. 12 (כתיב) and later books, and Chald.

טַעַם, "decree." טַעַם, Ezra and Daniel; also the usage of מִנָּה (appoint), קָרָא (cry or preach), and the form שֶׁ compounded with other words, for the relative.

With our slight knowledge of the historical development of the Hebrew language and of its dialectic variations, it is difficult to draw any inferences from these slender data. For a fuller discussion, cf. Pusey's *Introd.* pp. 249–251, and (on the other side) Friedrichsen's *Excursus*, p. 179 sq.

The hymn (ch. ii.) contains many expressions similar to those in the Psalms, *e.g.* Ps. xviii. 4–6, xxxi. 6, 7, 22, cxlii. 3, xlii. 7, cxx. 1; Lam. iii. 54. If we consider *all* these to be borrowed, a late date must be assigned to it, but many (and among them critics who reject the historical view) consider it to be an old hymn, "a genuine hymn of the Prophet Jonah." We have here no sure ground for drawing inferences as to date. For fuller discussion, cp. Friedrichsen's *Excursus*, and Introd. to Jonah in *Speaker's Comm.*

Between this Book and the account of the prophet Elijah contained in 1 K. xvii.–xix., many points of resemblance have been noted. In both a prophet is impatient, and God's power over His creation is employed to instruct him. The verbal coincidences are also close; the expression וישאל את נפשו למות is common to both. Cp. 1 K. xvii. 4, 9, xix. 6, 11, with Jonah i. 4, 17, ii. 10, iv. 6, 7, 8; and 1 K. xix. 4, with Jonah iii. 4, iv. 3, 5, 8; 1 K. xix. 5, 7, 8, with Jonah i. 2, 3, iii. 2, 3.

Jonah, like Elijah, was a Prophet of the northern kingdom. Are these sufficient grounds for suggesting a community of origin?

Commentators of all shades of opinion have, with such few exceptions, pronounced in favour of the unity of the Book, that it seems hardly necessary to adduce any evidence under this head. The following passages may be compared—i. 2 and iii. 2; i. 3 and iii. 3; i. 10, 16, and iv. 1; i. 2 and iv. 2—as showing similarity of expression. We leave it to the reader to note references in chs. iii. iv. to ch. i., and to draw an inference from comparing i. 10, 16, with iv. 5.

For a general view of the literature connected with this Book, the reader may consult:—A series of articles in *The O. T. Student*, Chicago, 1883–4, "Is the Book of Jonah historical?" which contain references to the principal authors. Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, pt. ii., with alphabetical and chronological lists of authors referred to. P. Friedrichsen, *Kritische Uebersicht der verschiedenen Ansichten von dem Buche Jonas, &c.* Leipzig, 1841 (2nd ed.). The first defends, the other two reject, the historical view. Prof. Driver's *Introd. to the O. T.* should also be consulted.

An interesting list of works is contained in *Jonae propheticus liber expos. lit. et Exeg. illustr. a J. Bircherodio*, Hafniae, 1686; and a list in Rosenmüller, *Sch. in V. T.* (carried up to 1826).

The following list is arranged according to the standpoint of the different authors.

I. Supporters of the historical view:—

1. As regards the *whole* Book. J. Hooper (Bp.), *Sermons upon the Prophet Jonas*, London, 1550; *P. Baronis Praelec. 39 in Jonam*, Lond. 1579; *Lectures on Jonah*, by J. King, Lond. 1594–1618; G. Abbott (Arch. of Cant.), *Commentary upon Jonah*, Lond. 1600, reprinted Lond. 1845 (Homiletical); Rob. Abbott (Bp. of Salisbury) on Jonah, 1609; Newcome, 1785; Beard (*People's Dict. of B.*); Drake, *Notes on Jonah and Hosea*, 1853; Pusey, *Minor Prophets*; Huxtable (*Speaker's Comm.*); Hävernick, *Einleitung i. d. A. T.*; *Joh. Tarnovii in proph. J. Comm.*, Rostoch. 1622 (the typical character of the Book drawn out); Delitzsch, Baumgarten, Küper, Niebuhr; Redford, *Studies in the Book of Jonah*, 1883.

2. With modifications. (i.) Less, Göttingen, 1782 (a vessel bearing the name or sign of a fish rescued Jonah); Anton in Paulus, *Repertorium*, Jena, 1791 (a fish *approached* Jonah, by help of which he was brought to land). (ii.) The miraculous portion an addition to the original story: Ammon, Erlangen, 1794; Thaddäus, Bonn, 1786. (iii.) A vision or dream is described: Grimm, Düsseldorf, 1789; Sonnenmayer, in Augusti's *Theol. Monatschrift*, 1802.

The above are attempts to remove the miraculous element. They either deal arbitrarily with the narrative, or assign unusual meanings to certain Hebrew words. For discussion of these views, cp. Friedrichsen, pp. 27–35, 60–68.

A modification of iii. is suggested in an article in the *Journal of Sacred Lit.*, vol. viii. 1866, p. 110 sqq. The events related in i. 6–ii. 10 were seen by Jonah in a dream. Being brought to land in an unconscious state, he considered them as a reality experienced by him, and so related them. The same article contains a careful discussion as to how far the references to the narrative in the N. T. necessarily imply its historical reality.

II. Those who reject the historical view (those who allow a small residuum of fact not recoverable with certainty are here included) maintain that the Book is—

1. A didactic narrative, containing a moral lesson.

2. An allegory, in which the events are symbolical, signifying a connected series of truths.

3. Based on a foreign myth.

1. (i.) Müller, *Jona eine moralische Erzählung* (in Paulus, *Memorabilien*, Leipzig, 1794): mercy shown to the penitent. So Kalisch, *Bible Studies*; Bergmann, *Jonah (e. alt. test. Parabel) übers. u. erkl.* Strassburg, 1885.

(ii.) Relations of Jew and Gentile: Semler ("deum etiam aliis gentibus prospicere adjumenta melioris et salubris cognitionis non tantum Judaeos curare"). Similarly Pareau, ascribing the Book to Jonah, a parable based on real events (might be classed with I. 2). Eichhorn; Michaelis (against Jewish pride and contempt of other nations). Similarly Böhme, Bruno Bauer. Nachtigal divides the Book into three, drawing a lesson compounded of the two preceding views. Bleek (*Introd. O. T.*) considers its aim similar to i. and ii.

(iii.) Special reference to the prophetic office. Herder (the Prophets and their failings): so Köster and (partly) Niemeyer, who giving as the moral, God's thoughts higher than man's thoughts, thinks the chief reference is to the Prophets. Hezel (a warning to Prophets, but with other subsidiary teaching). Hitzig (apologetic with reference to unfulfilled prophecy). Paulus, *Mem.*, 1794 (similar, combined with i.). Jäger (*Ueber den... Endzweck des Buch's Jonah*, Tüb. 1840, reprinted from *Tüb. Zeitsch.*), with reference to Babylon.

2. (i.) Jonah a symbol of Jewish nation. Meyer (with much similarity to Müller, drawing same lesson). Stäudlin (the Prophet's actions symbolical, as in Jer. xiii. 1–11, with the lesson of 1 i.).

(ii.) The whole narrative treated as an allegory. Keil; Kleinert in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, trans. (with additions), in T. and T. Clark's *Commentary*, without rejecting the historical character (see above for detail); J. S. Bloch, *Stud. z. Geschichte der Samml. d. alt. heb. Literatur*, Leipzig, 1875; *Jonah, A Study in Jewish Folklore and Religion*, by T. K.; (Prof.) Cheyne in *Theol. Rev.* vol. xiv. 1877, p. 211; *Biblical Essays*, by C. H. H. Wright, D.D., T. and T. Clark, 1886.

(iii.) The characters are intended to represent the contemporaries of the author. H. v. der Hardt, a picture of the times in which Jonah lived, and the coming downfall of the northern kingdom; but in a later work he considers the times of Manasseh and Josiah are described (1719–23). Krahmer: the conduct of the Jews towards the Samaritans after the return from captivity is reproved by this Book. A moral lesson, like 1 i. and ii., and some of the details borrowed from myth.

3. The influence of myth is urged by Rosenmüller; Gesenius, *Hallische Literaturz.*, 1813; Bertholdt, Krahmer, Forbiger, and Friedrichsen, who refer to the legends of Hesione and Andromeda; and by F. C. Bauer, *Der Proph. Jonas, ein Assyr. Babyl. Symbol*, in Ilgen's *Zeitsch.*, 1837, the Babylonian myth of Oannes and ceremonies connected with the cult of Adonis are appealed to. Some account of these and similar myths may be found in Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 306, and *Early History of Mankind*, p. 337, who points out the similarity of parts of these myths to the rescue of Jonah by the fish. But the common element seems limited to a seamonster and the neighbourhood of Joppa; and for some details the myths may be indebted to the Hebrew.

In addition to these works, we may note *Jonas Illustratus*, by J. Leusden, Trajecti ad Rhenam, 1656, which contains the commentaries of Rashi, Aben Ezra, and Kimchi, with translations and notes; a useful help towards acquiring some knowledge of Rabbinic Hebrew.

[A. T. C.]

JONAH (יוֹנָה; Ἰωναῖ, LXX. and Matt. xii. 39), a prophet, son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher. His name is associated (2 K. xiv. 25) with that of Jeroboam, and it is probable, though not certain, that he lived during the reign of that king.

The passages in 2 K. x. 32, 33; xiii. 3–7, 22–25; xiv. 25–27, with a few references in the prophetical writings, contain all the information afforded in Scripture concerning the relations of the kingdom of Israel with their eastern neighbours during the century of the house of Jehu. From these brief notices we learn that the Syrians (and the Ammonites) had in Jehu's reign ravaged the eastern frontier of the Israelite kingdom with merciless severity (2 K. x. 32; Amos i. 3, 13). Under his successor Jehoahaz the kingdom continued in subjection. The next king (Joash), encouraged and at the same time admonished by the prophet Elisha (2 K. xiii. 14–19), recovered some of the cities which had fallen into the enemy's hand (*v.* 25), but the complete restoration of the kingdom was effected during the brilliant reign of Jeroboam II., who "restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain, according to the word of the Lord God of Israel, which He spake by the hand of His servant Jonah."

The promise of returning prosperity may have been delivered by Jonah at any time between the defeat of Jehu and the victories of Jeroboam, and the writer of the narrative in 2 K. xiv. 25–27 may combine a prophecy of an earlier period with the record of its fulfilment.

A modern critic[a] is of opinion that a further portion of Jonah's message is preserved in "the burden of Moab (Is. xv. xvi.), which embodies the substance of an earlier prophecy."[b] For the discussion of the hypothesis, cp. Hitzig, *Der Proph. J. Orakel ü. Moab*, Heidelb. 1831; *Der Proph. Jesaja*, 1833; and Cheyne's *Isaiah*.

[A. T. C.]

JO'NAN (Ἰωνάν; *Jona*), son of Eliakim, in the genealogy of Christ, in the 7th generation after David, *i.e.* about the time of king Jehoram (Luke iii. 30). The name is probably only another form of Johanan, which occurs so frequently in this genealogy. The sequence of names, Jonan, Joseph, Juda, Simeon, Levi, Matthat, is singularly like that in *vv.* 26, 27, Joanna, Judah, Joseph, Semei, Mattathias. [A. C. H.]

JO'NAS. **1.** (B. Ἰωανᾶς, A. Ἰωνᾶς; *Elionas.*) This name occupies the same position in 1 Esd. ix. 23 as Eliezer in the corresponding list in Ezra x. 23. Perhaps the corruption originated in reading אליעני for אליעזר, as appears to have been the case in 1 Esd. ix. 32 (cp. Ezra x. 31). The former would have caught the compiler's eye from Ezra x. 22, and the original form Elionas, as it appears in the Vulg., could easily have become Jonas.

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[a] Hitzig.

[b] xvi. 13: "This is the word which the Lord hath spoken concerning Moab since that time." The R. V. has "in time past."

2. (Ἰωνᾶς; *Jonas.*) The prophet Jonah (2 Esd. i. 39; Tob. xiv. 4, 8; Matt. xii. 39, 40, 41; xvi. 4).

3. (Ἰωάννης; *Johannes*), John xxi. 15–17. [JONA.]

JON'ATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן, *i.e.* Jehonathan, and יוֹנָתָן; the two forms are used almost alternately: Ἰωνάθαν, Jos. Ἰωνάθης: *Jonathan*). **1.** The eldest son of king Saul. The name (*the gift of Jehovah*, corresponding to *Theodorus* in Greek) seems to have been common at that period; possibly from the example of Saul's son (see JONATHAN, the nephew of David, JONATHAN, the son of Abiathar, JONATHAN, the son of Shage, and NATHAN the prophet).

He first appears some time after his father's accession (1 Sam. xiii. 2). If his younger brother Ishbosheth was 40 at the time of Saul's death (2 Sam. ii. 8), Jonathan must have been at least 30 when he is first mentioned. Of his own family we know nothing, except the birth of one son, five years before his death (2 Sam. iv. 4). He was regarded in his father's lifetime as heir to the throne. Like Saul, he was a man of great strength and activity (2 Sam. i. 23), of which the exploit at Michmash was a proof. He was also famous for the peculiar martial exercises in which his tribe excelled—archery and slinging (1 Ch. xii. 2). His bow was to him what the spear was to his father: "the *bow* of Jonathan turned not back" (2 Sam. i. 22). It was always with him (1 Sam. xviii. 4; xx. 35). It is through his relation with David that he is chiefly known to us, probably as related by his descendants at David's court. But there is a background, not so clearly given, of his relation with his father. From the time that he first appears he is Saul's constant companion. He was always present at his father's meals. As Abner and David seem to have occupied the places afterwards called the captaincies of "the host" and "of the guard;" so he seems to have been (as Hushai afterwards) "the friend" (*cp.* 1 Sam. xx. 25; 2 Sam. xv. 37). The whole story implies, without expressing, the deep attachment of the father and son. Jonathan can only go on his dangerous expedition (1 Sam. xiv. 1) by concealing it from Saul. Saul's vow is confirmed, and its tragic effect deepened, by his feeling for his son, "though it be Jonathan my son" (*ib.* xiv. 39). "Tell me what thou hast done" (*ib.* xiv. 43). Jonathan cannot bear to believe his father's enmity to David, "My father will do nothing great or small, but that he will show it to me: and why should my father hide this thing from me? it is not so" (1 Sam. xx. 2). To him, if to any one, the wild frenzy of the king was amenable—"Saul hearkened unto the voice of Jonathan" (1 Sam. xix. 6). Their mutual affection was indeed interrupted by the growth of Saul's insanity. Twice the father would have sacrificed the son: once in consequence of his vow (1 Sam. xiv.); the second time, more deliberately, on the discovery of David's flight: and on this last occasion a momentary glimpse is given of some darker history. Were the phrases "son of a perverse rebellious woman," "shame on thy mother's nakedness" (1 Sam. xx. 30, 31), mere frantic invectives? or was there something in the story of Ahinoam or Rizpah which we do not know? "In fierce anger" Jonathan left the royal presence (*ib.* 34). But he cast his lot with his father's decline, not with his friend's rise, and "in death they were not divided" (2 Sam. i. 23; 1 Sam. xxiii. 16).

His life may be divided into two main parts.

1. The war with the Philistines; commonly called, from its locality, "the war of Michmash" (1 Sam. xiii. 22, LXX.); as the last years of the Peloponnesian war were called for a similar reason "the war of Decelea." In the previous war with the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 4–15) there is no mention of him; and his abrupt appearance, without explanation, in xiii. 2, may seem to imply that some part of the narrative has been lost.

He is already of great importance in the state. Of the 3000 men of whom Saul's standing army was formed (xiii. 2; xxiv. 2; xxvi. 1, 2), 1000 were under the command of Jonathan at Gibeah. The Philistines were still in the general command of the country; an officer was stationed at Geba, either the same as Jonathan's position or close to it. In a sudden act of youthful daring, as when Tell rose against Gesler, or as in sacred history Moses rose against the Egyptian, Jonathan slew this officer,[a] and thus gave the signal for a general revolt. Saul took advantage of it, and the whole population rose. But it was a premature attempt. The Philistines poured in from the plain, and the tyranny became more deeply rooted than ever. [SAUL.] Saul and Jonathan (with their immediate attendants) alone had arms, amidst the general weakness and disarming of the people (1 Sam. xiii. 22). They were encamped at Gibeah, with a small body of 600 men; and as they looked down from that height on the misfortunes of their country, and of their native tribe especially, they wept aloud (ἔκλαιον, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiii. 16).

From this oppression, as Jonathan by his former act had been the first to provoke it, so now he was the first to deliver his people. On the former occasion Saul had been equally with himself involved in the responsibility of the deed. Saul "blew the trumpet;" Saul had "smitten the officer of the Philistines" (xiii. 3, 4). But now it would seem that Jonathan was resolved to undertake the whole risk himself. "The day," the day fixed by him (γίνεται ἡ ἡμέρα, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiv. 1), approached; and without communicating his project to any one, except the young man whom, like all the chiefs of that age, he retained as his armour-bearer, he sallied forth from Gibeah to attack the garrison of the Philistines stationed on the other side of the steep defile of Michmash (xix. 1). His words are short, but they breathe exactly the ancient and peculiar spirit of the Israelite warrior. "Come, and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised; it may be that Jehovah will work for us: for there is no restraint to Jehovah to save by many or by few." The answer is no less

[a] (A. V. and R. V. "garrison") τὸν Νασείβ, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 4. See Ewald, ii. 476. Versions and commentators are divided as to the meaning to be assigned to נְצִיב. See Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, on 1 Sam. x. 5. He prefers with Klosterman the sense of *pillar*.

characteristic of the close friendship of the two young men: already like to that which afterwards sprang up between Jonathan and David. "Do all that is in thine heart; . . . behold, *I* am with thee: as thy heart is my heart" (LXX.; 1 Sam. xiv. 7). After the manner of the time (and the more, probably, from having taken no counsel of the high-priest or any prophet before his departure), Jonathan proposed to draw an omen for their course from the conduct of the enemy. If the garrison, on seeing them, gave intimations of descending upon them, they would remain in the valley: if, on the other hand, they raised a challenge to advance, they were to accept it. The latter turned out to be the case. The first appearance of the two warriors from behind the rocks was taken by the Philistines as a furtive apparition of "the Hebrews coming forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves;" and they were welcomed with a scoffing invitation (such as the Jebusites afterwards offered to David), "Come up, and we will show you a thing" (xiv. 4–12). Jonathan immediately took them at their word. Strong and active as he was, "strong as a lion, and swift as an eagle" (2 Sam. i. 23), he was fully equal to the adventure of climbing on his hands and feet up the face of the cliff. When he came directly in view of them, with his armour-bearer behind him, they both, after the manner of their tribe (1 Ch. xii. 2), discharged a flight of arrows, stones, and pebbles [b] from their bows, crossbows, and slings, with such effect, that twenty men fell at the first onset [ARMS, pp. 239, 240]. A panic seized the garrison, thence spread to the camp, and thence to the surrounding hordes of marauders; an earthquake combined with the terror of the moment; the confusion increased; the Israelites who had been taken slaves by the Philistines during the last three days (LXX.) rose in mutiny: the Israelites who lay hid in the numerous caverns and deep holes in which the rocks of the neighbourhood abound, sprang out of their subterranean dwellings. Saul and his little band had watched in astonishment the wild retreat from the heights of Gibeah—he now joined in the pursuit, which led him headlong after the fugitives, over the rugged plateau of Bethel, and down [c] the pass of Beth-horon to Ajalon (xiv. 15–31). [GIBEAH.] The father and son had not met on that day. Saul only conjectured his son's absence from not finding him when he numbered the people. Jonathan had not heard of the rash curse (xiv. 24) which Saul invoked on any one who ate before the evening. In the dizziness and darkness (Hebrew, 1 Sam. xiv. 27) that came on after his desperate exertions, he put forth the staff which apparently had (with his sling and bow) been his chief weapon, and tasted the honey which lay on the ground as they passed through the forest. The pursuers in general were restrained even from this slight indulgence by fear of the royal curse; but the moment that the day, with its enforced fast, was over, they flew, like Muslims at sunset during the fast of Ramadan, on the captured cattle; and devoured them, even to the brutal neglect of the Law which forbade the dismemberment of the fresh carcases with the blood. This violation of the Law Saul endeavoured to prevent and to expiate by erecting a large stone, which served both as a rude table and as an altar; the first altar that was raised under the monarchy. It was in the dead of night after this wild revel was over that he proposed that the pursuit should be continued till dawn; and then, when the silence of the oracle of the high-priest indicated that something had occurred to intercept the Divine favour, the lot was tried, and Jonathan appeared as the culprit. Jephthah's dreadful sacrifice would have been repeated; but the people interposed in behalf of the hero of that great day; and Jonathan was saved [d] (xiv. 24–46).

2. This is the only great exploit of Jonathan's life. But the chief interest of his career is derived from the friendship with David, which began on the day of David's return from the victory over the champion of Gath, and continued till his death. It is the first Biblical instance of a romantic friendship, such as was common afterwards in Greece, and has been since in Christendom; and is remarkable both as giving its sanction to these, and as filled with a pathos of its own, which has been imitated, but never surpassed, in modern works of fiction. "The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul"—"Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (1 Sam. xviii. 1; 2 Sam. i. 26). Each found in each the affection that he found not in his own family: no jealousy of rivalry between the two, as claimants for the same throne, ever interposed: "Thou shalt be king in Israel, and I shall be next unto thee" (1 Sam. xxiii. 17). The friendship was confirmed, after the manner of the time, by a solemn compact often repeated. The first was immediately on their first acquaintance. Jonathan gave David as a pledge his royal mantle, his sword, his girdle, and his famous bow (xviii. 4). His fidelity was soon called into action by the insane rage of his father against David. He interceded for his life, at first with success (1 Sam. xix. 1–7). Then the madness returned and David fled. It was in a secret interview during this flight, by the stone of Ezel, that the second covenant was made between the two friends, of a still more binding kind, extending to their mutual posterity—Jonathan laying such emphasis on this portion of the compact, as almost to suggest the belief

[b] We have taken the LXX. version of xiv. 13, 14, *ἐπέβλεψαν κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἰωνάθαν, καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς . . . . ἐν βόλισι* [*καὶ ἐν πετροβόλοις*, om. in BNA.] *καὶ κόχλαξιν τοῦ πεδίου*, for "they fell before Jonathan . . . . within as it were a half acre of ground, which a yoke of oxen might plough." The alteration of the Hebrew necessary to produce this reading of the LXX., is given by Kennicott (*Dissert. on 1 Chron. xi.* p. 453; cp. Driver, in loco, who questions the rendering "pebbles"). Ewald (ii. 480) makes this last to be, "Jonathan and his friend were as a yoke of oxen ploughing, and resisting the sharp ploughshares."

[c] In xiv. 23, 31, the LXX. reads "Bamoth" for "Beth-aven," and omits "Ajalon."

[d] Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 6, § 5) puts into Jonathan's mouth a speech of patriotic self-devotion, after the manner of a Greek or Roman. Ewald (ii. 483) supposes that a substitute was killed in his place. There is no trace of either of these in the sacred narrative.

of a slight misgiving on his part of David's future conduct in this respect. It is this interview which brings out the character of Jonathan in the liveliest colours—his little artifices—his love for both his father and his friend—his bitter disappointment at his father's unmanageable fury—his familiar sport of archery. With passionate embraces and tears the two friends parted, to meet only once more (1 Sam. xx.). That one more meeting was far away in the forest of Ziph, during Saul's pursuit of David. Jonathan's alarm for his friend's life is now changed into a confidence that he will escape: "He strengthened his hand in God." Finally, and for the third time, they renewed the covenant, and then parted for ever (1 Sam. xxiii. 16–18).

From this time forth we hear no more till the battle of Gilboa. In that battle he fell, with his two brothers and his father, and his corpse shared their fate (1 Sam. xxxi. 2, 8). [SAUL.] His ashes were buried first at Jabesh-Gilead (do. *v.* 13), but afterwards removed with those of his father to Zelah in Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 12). The news of his death occasioned the celebrated elegy of David, in which he, as the friend, naturally occupies the chief place (2 Sam. i. 22, 23, 25, 26), and which seems to have been sung in the education of the archers of Judah, in commemoration of the one great archer, Jonathan: "He bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow" (2 Sam. i. 17, 18. See Driver, *Notes*, &c., in loco).

He left one son, aged five years old at the time of his death (2 Sam. iv. 4), to whom he had probably given his original name of Meribbaal, afterwards changed for Mephibosheth (cp. 1 Ch. viii. 34, ix. 40). [MEPHIBOSHETH.] Through him the line of descendants was continued down to the time of Ezra (1 Ch. ix. 40), and even then their great ancestor's archery was practised amongst them. [SAUL.]

2. (יְהוֹנָתָן.) Son of Shimeah, brother of Jonadab, and nephew of David (2 Sam. xxi. 21; 1 Ch. xx. 7). He inherited the union of civil and military gifts so conspicuous in his uncle. Like David, he engaged in a single combat and slew a gigantic Philistine of Gath, who was remarkable for an additional finger and toe on each hand and foot (2 Sam. xxi. 21). If we may identify the Jonathan of 1 Ch. xxvii. 32 with the Jonathan of this passage, where the word translated "uncle" may be "nephew," he was (like his brother Jonadab) "wise"—and, as such, was David's counsellor and secretary. Jerome (*Quaest. Heb.* on 1 Sam. xvii. 12) conjectures that this was Nathan the prophet, thus making up the eighth son, not named in 1 Ch. ii. 13–15. But this is not probable.

3. The son of Abiathar, the high-priest. He is the last descendant of Eli, of whom we hear anything. He appears on two occasions. 1. On the day of David's flight from Absalom, having first accompanied his father Abiathar as far as Olivet (2 Sam. xv. 36), he returned with him to Jerusalem, and was there, with Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, employed as a messenger to carry back the news of Hushai's plans to David (xvii. 15–21). 2. On the day of Solomon's inauguration, he suddenly broke in upon the banquet of Adonijah, to announce the success of the rival prince (1 K. i. 42, 43). It may be inferred from Adonijah's expression ("Thou art a valiant man, and bringest good tidings"), that he had followed the policy of his father Abiathar in Adonijah's support.

On both occasions, it may be remarked that he appears as the swift and trusty messenger.

4. The son of Shammah the Hararite (1 Ch. xi. 34; 2 Sam. xxiii. 32; see Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of BB. of Sam.* in loco). He was one of David's heroes (*gibborim*). The LXX. makes his father's name *Sola* (Σωλά), and applies the epithet "Ararite" (ὁ Ἀραρί) to Jonathan himself. "Harar" is not mentioned elsewhere as a place; but it is a poetical word for "Har" (mountain), and, as such, may possibly signify in this passage "the mountaineer." Another officer (Ahiam) is mentioned with Jonathan, as bearing the same designation (1 Ch. xi. 35).

[A. P. S.]

5. (יְהוֹנָתָן.) The son, or descendant, of Gershom the son of Moses, whose name in the Masoretic copies is changed to Manasseh, in order to screen the memory of the great lawgiver from the disgrace which attached to the apostasy of one so closely connected with him (Judg. xviii. 30). While wandering through the country in search of a home, the young Levite of Bethlehem-Judah came to the house of Micah, the rich Ephraimite, and was by him appointed to be a kind of private chaplain, and to minister in the house of gods, or sanctuary, which Micah had made in imitation of that at Shiloh. He was recognised by the five Danite spies appointed by their tribe to search the land for an inheritance, and who lodged in the house of Micah on their way northwards. The favourable answer which he gave when consulted with regard to the issue of their expedition probably induced them, on their march to Laish with the warriors of their tribe, to turn aside again to the house of Micah, and carry off the ephod and teraphim, superstitiously hoping thus to make success certain. Jonathan, to whose ambition they appealed, accompanied them, in spite of the remonstrances of his patron; he was present at the massacre of the defenceless inhabitants of Laish, and in the new city which rose from its ashes he was constituted priest of the graven image, an office which became hereditary in his family till the Captivity. The Targum of R. Joseph, on 1 Ch. xxiii. 16, identifies him with Shebuel, the son of Gershom, who is there said to have repented (עָבַד תְּחוּבָא) in his old age, and to have been appointed by David as chief over his treasures. All this arises from a play upon the name Shebuel, from which this meaning is extracted in accordance with a favourite practice of the Targumist.

6. (יוֹנָתָן.) One of the sons of Adin (Ezra viii. 6), whose representative Ebed returned with Ezra at the head of fifty males, a number which is increased to two hundred and fifty in 1 Esd. viii. 32, where Jonathan is written Ἰωνάθας.

7. A priest, the son of Asahel, one of the four who assisted Ezra in investigating the marriages with foreign women, which had been contracted by the people who returned from Babylon (Ezra v. 15; 1 Esd. ix. 14).

8. A priest, and one of the chiefs of the fathers in the days of Joiakim, son of Jeshua. He was the representative of the family of Melicu (Neh. xii. 14).

9. *One of the sons of Hareah, and brother of* Johanan (Jer. xl. 8). The LXX. in this passage omits his name altogether, and in this they are supported by two of Kennicott's MSS., and the parallel passage of 2 K. xxv. 23. In three others of Kennicott's it was erased, and was originally omitted in three of De Rossi's. He was one of the captains of the army who had escaped from Jerusalem in the final assault by the Chaldeans, and, after the capture of Zedekiah at Jericho, had crossed the Jordan, and remained in the open country of the Ammonites till the victorious army had retired with their spoils and captives. He accompanied his brother Johanan and the other captains, who resorted to Gedaliah at Mizpah, and from that time we hear nothing more of him. Hitzig decides against the LXX. and the MSS. which omit the name (*Der Proph. Jeremias*), on the ground that the very similarity between Jonathan and Johanan favours the belief that they were brothers. [W. A. W.]

10. יוֹנָתָן; Ἰωνάθαν.) Son of Joiada, and his successor in the high-priesthood. The only fact connected with his pontificate recorded in Scripture, is that the genealogical records of the priests and Levites were kept in his day (Neh. xii. 11, 22), and that the chronicles of the state were continued to his time (ib. 23). Jonathan (or, as he is called in Neh. xii. 22, 23, John) lived, of course, long after the death of Nehemiah, and in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Josephus, who also calls him John, as do Eusebius[a] and Nicephorus likewise, relates that he murdered his own brother Jesus in the Temple, because Jesus was endeavouring to get the high-priesthood from him through the influence of Bagoses the Persian general. He adds that John by this misdeed brought two great judgments upon the Jews: the one, that Bagoses entered into the Temple and polluted it; the other, that he imposed a heavy tax of fifty shekels upon every lamb offered in sacrifice, to punish them for this horrible crime (*A. J.* xi. vii. § 1). Jonathan, or John, was high-priest for thirty-two years, according to Eusebius and the Alexandr. Chron. (Sedd. *de Success. in P. E.* cap. vi. vii.). Milman speaks of the murder of Jesus as "the only memorable transaction in the annals of Judaea from the death of Nehemiah to the time of Alexander the Great" (*Hist. of Jews*, ii. 29).

11. Father of Zechariah, a priest who blew the trumpet at the dedication of the wall (Neh. xii. 35). He seems to have been of the course of Shemaiah. The words "son of" seem to be improperly inserted before the following name, *Mattaniah*, as appears by comparing xi. 17. [A. C. H.]

12. (Ἰωνάθας.) 1 Esd. viii. 32. [See No. 6.]

13. A son of Mattathias, and leader of the Jews in their war of independence after the death of his brother Judas Maccabaeus, B.C. 161 (1 Macc. ix. 19 sq.). [MACCABEES.]

14. A son of Absalom (1 Macc. xiii. 11), sent by Simon with a force to occupy Joppa, which was already in the hands of the Jews (1 Macc. xii. 33), though probably held only by a weak garrison. Jonathan expelled the inhabitants (τοὺς ἔνοικας ἐν αὐτῇ; cp. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6, § 3) and secured the city. Jonathan was probably a brother of Mattathias (2) (1 Macc. xi. 70).

15. A priest who is said to have offered up a solemn prayer on the occasion of the sacrifice made by Nehemiah after the recovery of the sacred fire (2 Macc. i. 23 sq.: cp. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* iv. 184 sq.). The narrative is interesting, as it presents a singular example of the combination of public prayer with sacrifice (Grimm, *ad* 2 *Macc.* l. c.). [B. F. W.]

JON'ATHAS (BA. Ἰαθάν, ℵ. Ναθάν [v. 14]; Vulg. om., Old Lat. *Jonathus*, al. *Nathan*), the Latin form of the common name Jonathan, which is preserved in the E. V. of Tobit v. 13. [B. F. W.]

JONATH ELEM RECHOKIM, or, more correctly, *Yōnath Ēlem Rechōqīm*, occurs only once in the Bible, where it forms in Hebrew part of the first, or introductory, verse of Ps. lvi. It would be impossible to collect more nonsense written on three whole Psalms than what has been written on these three words alone. The Septuagint and Targumist agree on the whole, and apply these three words to Israel absent from the Temple and the Holy Land. The incorrectness of this explanation is, however, proved not merely from the contents of the Psalm, which is evidently an expression of David as an individual, but also from the other half of the very superscription itself. Rashi, who rightly applies this Psalm to David, explains *Yōnath Ēlem Rechōqīm* as a dumb dove far away from its country. This explanation, though not exactly ungrammatical, is inelegant, if not awkward. Ibn 'Ezra, as usual, takes these three words to be "the commencement of a poem which along with its tune was, in ancient times, well known." He does not, however, explain these three difficult words themselves. His theory has been shown in the articles AIJELETH SHAHAR, ALAMOTH, AL-TASCHITH, &c., to be both anachronistic and otherwise illogical. Qimchi half agrees with the Septuagint and Targum and half with Rashi, without, however, giving a satisfactory grammatical account of the three words in question. The truth is, *Yōnath Ēlem Rechōqīm* represented the music-band which played on the most loudly-sounding instruments, both of wind and percussion, then in existence: trumpets, cymbals, castanets, kettle-drums, &c. The players on these powerful instruments were then, as now and ever, for harmony's sake, placed at some distance from the other players. Now, *Yōnath* (root יָנָה, "to press hard") is the feminine active participle in the construct state, whilst *Ēlem* (אִלֵּם, "power"), the genitive of that construct state, is, as usual, used adjectively. These words, together with *Rechōqīm* ("distant places;" cf. Ps. lxv. 6 [5]), give us the construction of this peculiar, but by no means incorrect or even inelegant, superscription. The whole of the first five words in Hebrew signifies "To the director of the band which produces the most powerfully sounding music from distant places."

We may remark that the nature of the music played by that band fully harmonises with the contents of the Psalm which it was to accompany. As in that kind of music sounds overpower

[a] *Chron. Can.* lib. poster. p. 340. But in the *Demonst. Evang.* lib. viii., Jonathan.

sounds, but yet those apparently destructive notes produce the right harmony, so in this Psalm sentiments (*vv.* 4, 5, 8–12; E.V. 3, 4, 7–11) overpower sentiments (*vv.* 2, 3, 6, 7; E.V. 1, 2, 5, 6), not to destroy, but to make the whole into a more perfect harmony.

[S. M. S.-S.]

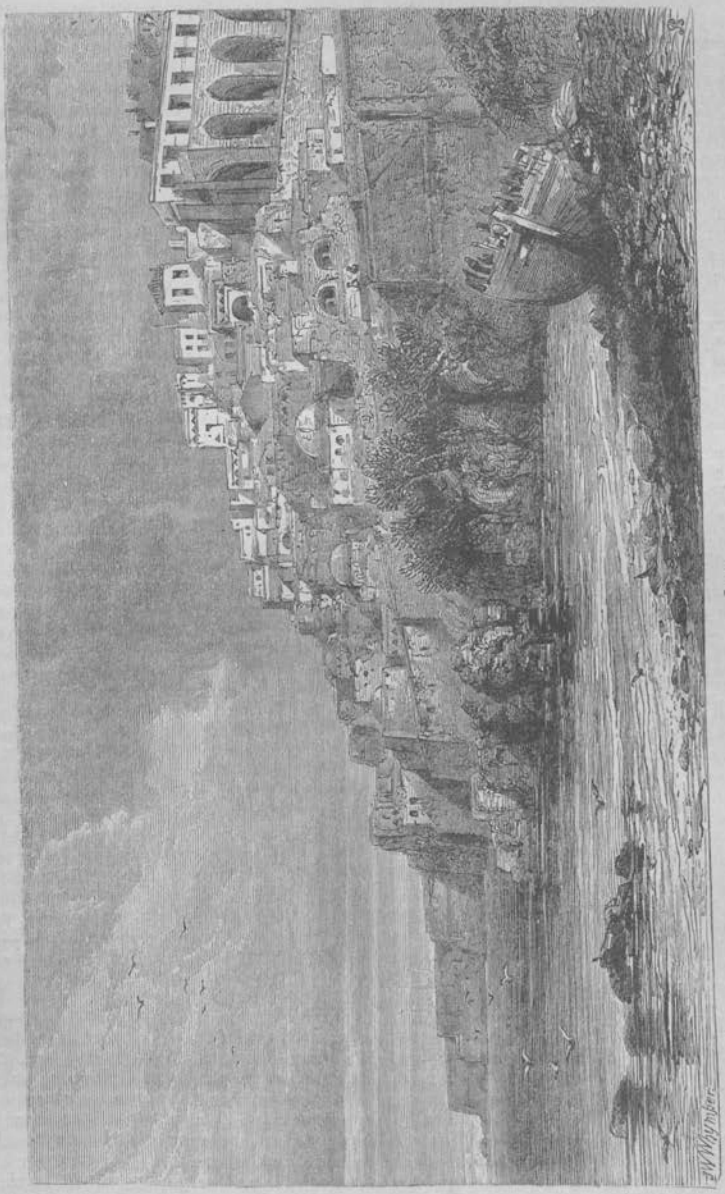
JOPPA (יָפוֹ, i.e. *Yāfō*, "beauty;" the A. V. follows the Greek form, except once, JAPHO: Ἰόππη, LXX., N. T.; Vulg. *Joppe;* Ἰόπη, Joseph.—at least in the most recent editions—Strabo, and others: now *Yâfa* or *Jaffa*), a town on the S.W. coast of Palestine, the port of Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, as it has been ever since. Its etymology is variously explained; some deriving it from "Japhet," others from "Iopa," daughter of Aeolus and wife of Cepheus, Andromeda's father, its reputed founder; others interpreting it "the watch-tower of joy," or "beauty," and so forth (Reland, *Palest.* p. 864). The fact is, that from its being a seaport, it had a profane as well as a sacred history. Pliny, following Mela (*De situ Orb.* i. 12), says that it was of antediluvian antiquity (*N. H.* v. 14); and even Sir John Maundeville, in the 14th century, bears witness—though it must be confessed a clumsy one—to that tradition (*E. T.* p. 142). According to Josephus, it originally belonged to the Phoenicians (*Ant.* xiii. 15, § 4). Here, writes Strabo, some say Andromeda was exposed to the whale (*Geog.* xvi. p. 759; cp. Müller's *Hist. Graec. Fragm.* vol. iv. p. 325, and his *Geog. Graec. Min.* vol. i. p. 79), and he appeals to its elevated position in behalf of those who laid the scene there; though, in order to do so consistently, he had already shown that it would be necessary to transport Aethiopia into Phoenicia (Strab. i. p. 43). However, in Pliny's age—and Josephus had just before affirmed the same (*B. J.* iii. 9, § 3)—they still showed the chains by which Andromeda was bound; and not only so, but M. Scaurus the younger, the same that was so much employed in Judaea by Pompey (*B. J.* i. 6, § 2 et seq.), had the bones of the monster transported to Rome from Joppa—where till then they had been exhibited (Mela, *ibid.*)—and displayed them there, during his aedileship, to the public amongst other prodigies. Nor would they have been uninteresting to the modern geologist, if his report be correct. For they measured forty feet in length; the span of the ribs exceeding that of the Indian elephant; and the thickness of the spine or vertebra being one foot and a half ("sesquipedalis," *i.e.* in circumference—when Solinus says "semipedalis," he means in diameter; see Plin. *N. H.* ix. 5 and the note, Delphin ed.). Reland would trace the adventures of Jonah in this legendary guise (see above); but it is far more probable that it symbolises the first interchange of commerce between the Greeks, personified in their errant hero Perseus, and the Phoenicians, whose lovely—but till then unexplored—clime may be well shadowed forth in the fair virgin Andromeda. Perseus, in the tale, is said to have plunged his dagger into the right shoulder of the monster. Possibly he may have discovered or improved the harbour, the roar from whose foaming reefs on the north could scarcely have been surpassed by the barkings of Scylla or Charybdis. Even the chains shown there may have been those by which his ship was attached to the shore. Rings used by the Romans for mooring their vessels are still to be seen near Terracina, in the S. angle of the ancient port.

Returning to the province of history, we find that Japho or Joppa was situated in the portion of Dan (Josh. xix. 46) on the coast towards the south; and on a hill so high, says Strabo, that people affirmed (but incorrectly) that Jerusalem was visible from its summit. Having a harbour attached to it—though always, as still, a dangerous one—it became the port of Jerusalem, when Jerusalem became the metropolis of the kingdom of the house of David, and certainly never did port and metropolis more strikingly resemble each other in difficulty of approach both by sea and land. Hence, except in journeys to and from Jerusalem, it was not much used. In St. Paul's travels, for instance, the starting points by water are, Antioch (Acts xv. 39, *viâ* Seleucia, it is presumed—xviii. 22, 23, was probably a land journey throughout), Caesarea (ix. 30, and xxvii. 2), and once Seleucia (xiii. 4, namely that at the mouth of the Orontes). Also once Antioch (xiv. 25) and once Tyre, as a landing place (xxi. 3). The same preference for the more northern ports is observable in the early pilgrims, beginning with him of Bordeaux.

But Joppa was the place fixed upon for the cedar and pine-wood, from Mount Lebanon, to be landed by the servants of Hiram king of Tyre; thence to be conveyed to Jerusalem, by the servants of Solomon—for the erection of the first "house of habitation" ever made with hands for the invisible Jehovah. It was by way of Joppa similarly that like materials were conveyed from the same locality, by permission of Cyrus, for the rebuilding of the second Temple under Zerubbabel (1 K. v. 9; 2 Ch. ii. 16; Ezra iii. 7; 1 Esd. v. 55). Here Jonah, whenever and wherever he may have lived (2 K. xiv. 25 certainly does not clear up the first of these points), "took ship to flee from the Presence of his Maker," and accomplished that singular history, which our Lord has appropriated as a type of one of the principal scenes in the great Drama of His own (Jon. i. 3; Matt. xii. 40). Here, lastly, on the house-top of Simon the tanner, "by the sea-side" (Acts x. 5, 6, 8, 32; xi. 13)—with the view therefore circumscribed on the E. by the high ground on which the town stood, but commanding a boundless prospect over the western waters—St. Peter had his "vision of tolerance" (Acts x., xi.), as it has been happily designated, and went forth like a second Perseus, but from the East, to emancipate, from still worse thraldom, the virgin daughter of the West. The Christian poet Arator has not failed to discover a mystical connexion between the raising to life of the aged Tabitha—the occasion of St. Peter's visit to Joppa (Acts ix. 36–43)—and the baptism of the first Gentile household (*De Act. Apost.* I. 840, *ap.* Migne, *Patrol. Curs. Compl.* lxviii. 164).

These are the great Biblical events of which Joppa has been the scene. In the interval that elapsed between the Old and New Dispensations it experienced many vicissitudes. It was visited by Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. iv. 21). It had sided with Apollonius, and was attacked and

captured by Jonathan Maccabaeus (1 Macc. x. 75, 76; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 4). It witnessed the meeting between the latter and Ptolemy (1 Macc. xi. 6). Simon had his suspicions of its inhabitants, and set a garrison there (xii. 33, 34), which he afterwards strengthened considerably (xiii. 11). But when peace was restored, he re-established it once more as a haven (xiv. 5). He likewise rebuilt the fortifications (*v.* 34). This occupation of Joppa was one of the grounds of complaint urged by Antiochus, son of Demetrius, against Simon; but the latter



Joppa.

alleged in excuse the mischief which had been done by its inhabitants to his fellow-citizens (xv. 28, 35). It would appear that Judas Maccabaeus had burnt their haven some time back for a gross act of barbarity (2 Macc. xii. 3, 6, 7). Tribute was subsequently exacted for its possession from Hyrcanus by Antiochus Sidetes (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 3). By Pompey it was rebuilt, made a free city, and placed under the jurisdiction of Syria (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4); but by Caesar it was not only restored to the Jews, but its revenues—whether from land

or from export-duties—were bestowed upon the second Hyrcanus and his heirs (xiv. 10, § 6). When Herod the Great commenced operations, it was seized by him, lest he should leave a hostile stronghold in his rear, when he marched upon Jerusalem (xiv. 15, § 1), and Augustus confirmed him in its possession (xv. 7, § 3). It was afterwards assigned to Archelaus, when constituted ethnarch (xvii. 11, § 4), and passed with Syria under Cyrenius, when Archelaus had been deposed (xvii. 13, § 5). At the commencement of the Jewish war it was plundered and burnt by Cestius, and the inhabitants slaughtered (*B. J.* ii. 18, § 10); but such a nest of pirates had it become, when Vespasian arrived in those parts, that it underwent a second and entire destruction—together with the adjacent villages—at his hands (iii. 9, §§ 3, 4). Thus it appears that this port had already begun to be the den of robbers and outcasts which it was in Strabo's time (*Geog.* xvi. p. 759); while the district around it was so populous, that from Jamnia, a neighbouring town, and its vicinity, 40,000 armed men could be collected (*ibid.*). There was a vast plain near it, as we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4, § 4); it lay between Jamnia and Caesarea—the latter of which may be reached "on the morrow" from it (Acts x. 9 and 24)—and not far from Lydda (Acts ix. 38). It gave its name to the portion of the Mediterranean near it, "Sea of Joppa" (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15, § 1). The people of Joppa worshipped Ceto, or Derceto, a goddess, half woman, half fish, who was also worshipped at Ascalon under the name Atargatis.

When Joppa first became the seat of a Christian bishop, is unknown; but the subscriptions of its prelates are preserved in the acts of various synods of the 5th and 6th centuries (Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* iii. 629). In the 7th century Arculfus sailed from Joppa to Alexandria, the very route usually taken now by those who visit Jerusalem; but he notices nothing at the former place (*E. T.* p. 10). Saewulf, the next who set sail from Joppa, A.D. 1103, is not more explicit (*ibid.* p. 47). Meanwhile Joppa had been taken possession of by the forces of Godfrey de Bouillon previously to the capture of Jerusalem. The town had been deserted and was allowed to fall into ruin; the Crusaders contenting themselves with possession of the citadel (William of Tyre, *Hist.* viii. 9); and it was in part assigned subsequently for the support of the Church of the Resurrection (*ibid.* ix. 16); though there seem to have been Bishops of Joppa (perhaps only titular after all) between A.D. 1253 and 1363 (Le Quien, 1291; cp. p. 1241). Saladin, in A.D. 1188, destroyed its fortifications (Sanut. *Secret. Fid. Crucis*, lib. iii. part. x. c. 5); but Richard of England, who was confined here by sickness, rebuilt them (*ibid.*, and Richard of Devizes in Bohn's *Ant. Lib.* p. 61). Its last occupation by Christians was that of St. Louis, A.D. 1253; and when he came, it was still a city and governed by a count. "Of the immense sums," says Joinville, "which it cost the king to enclose Jaffa, it does not become me to speak; for they were countless. He enclosed the town from one side of the sea to the other; and there were twenty-four towers, including small and great. The ditches were well scoured, and kept clean, both within and without. There were three gates" . . . (*Chron. of Crus.* p. 495, Bohn). So restored it fell into the hands of the Sultans of Egypt, together with the rest of Palestine, by whom it was once more laid in ruins, A.D. 1267. So much so, that Bertrand de la Brocquière, visiting it about the middle of the 15th century, states that it then only consisted of a few tents covered with reeds; having been a strong place under the Christians. Guides, accredited by the Sultan, here met the pilgrims and received the customary tribute from them; and here the papal indulgences offered to pilgrims commenced (*E. T.* p. 286). Finally, Jaffa fell under the Turks, in whose hands it still is, exhibiting the usual decrepitude of the cities possessed by them, and depending on Christian commerce for its feeble existence. During the period of their rule it has been three times sacked—by the Arabs in 1722; by the Mamelukes in 1775; and lastly by Napoleon I. in 1799, upon the glories of whose early career "the massacre of Jaffa" leaves a stain that can never be washed out (v. Moroni, *Dizion. Eccl.* s. v.; Murray's *Hdbk.*; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 1–22; Sepp, *Jer. und d. h. L.* i. 1–21; Baedeker-Socin, *Hdbk.*).

Yâfa stands on a high round hill, close to the sea. The town rises in terraces from the water, and is surrounded on all sides by rapidly decaying fortifications. The port is very bad. The bazaars are amongst the best in Palestine. The population is about 8,000. The supposed house of Simon the tanner is still shown.

The gardens of *Yâfa*, surrounded by stone walls and cactus hedges, stretch inland about one and a half miles, and are over two miles in extent north and south. Palms, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, bananas, &c., grow in profusion, water being found beneath the sand which overlies a rich soil. The gardens are skirted on the south by vineyards.

The ancient cemetery, on the N.W. side of the town, was discovered in 1874 by M. Clermont-Ganneau, and numerous Greek inscriptions with Jewish emblems have been found in it (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 254–258, 275–278; Ganneau, *Mission en Pal. et en Phénicie*). [E. S. Ff.] [W.]

JOPPA, SEA OF (Ezra iii. 7). R. V. translates "to the sea, unto Joppa." [JOPPA.]

JOP'PE (Ἰόππη; *Joppe*), 1 Esd. v. 55; 1 Macc. x. 75, 76, xi. 6, xii. 33, xiii. 11, xiv. 5, 34, xv. 28, 35; 2 Macc. iv. 21, xii. 3, 7. [JOPPA.]

JO'RAH (יוֹרָה; Ἰωρά; *Jora*), the ancestor of a family of 112 who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra ii. 18). In Neh. vii. 24 he appears under the name HARIPH, or more correctly the same family are represented as the Bene-Hariph, the variation of name originating probably in a very slight confusion of the letters which compose it. In Ezra two of De Rossi's MSS., and originally one of Kennicott's, had יורה, *i.e.* Jodah, which is the reading of the Syr. and Arab. Versions. One of Kennicott's MSS. had the original reading in Ezra altered to יורם, *i.e.* Joram; and two in Neh. read הרים, *i.e.* Harim, which corresponds with Ἀρελμ of the A. MS., and *Hurom* of the Syriac. In any case the change or confusion of letters which might

have caused the variation of the name is so slight, that it is difficult to pronounce which is the true form, the corruption of Jorah into Hariph being as easily conceivable as the reverse. Burrington (*Geneal.* ii. 75) decides in favour of the latter, but from a comparison of both passages with Ezra x. 31 we should be inclined to regard Harim (חָרִם) as the true reading in all cases. But on any supposition it is difficult to account for the form Azephurith, or more properly 'Αρσιφουρίθ, in 1 Esd. v. 16, which Burrington considers as having originated in a corruption of the two readings in Ezra and Nehemiah, the second syllable arising from an error of the transcriber in mistaking the uncial E for Σ. [W. A. W.]

JO'RAI (יוֹרַי = יוֹרָיָה = *Jehovah teaches* [MV.[11]]; B. 'Ιωρεέ, A. 'Ιωρές; *Jorai*). One of the Gadites dwelling in Gilead in Bashan, whose genealogies were recorded in the reign of Jotham king of Judah (1 Ch. v. 13). Four of Kennicott's MSS., and the printed copy used by Luther, read יוֹדַי, *i.e.* Jodai.

JO'RAM (יְהוֹרָם, and יוֹרָם, apparently indiscriminately; 'Ιωράμ; *Joram*). **1.** Son of Ahab; king of Israel (2 K. viii. 16, 25, 28, 29; ix. 14, 17, 21–23, 29). [JEHORAM, 1.]

2. Son of Jehoshaphat; king of Judah (2 K. viii. 21, 23, 24; 1 Ch. iii. 11; 2 Ch. xxii. 5, 7; Matt. i. 8). [JEHORAM, 2.]

3. A priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat, one of those employed by him to teach the Law of Moses through the cities of Judah (2 Ch. xvii. 8).

4. (יוֹרָם.) A Levite, ancestor of Shelomith in the time of David (1 Ch. xxvi. 25).

5. (BA. 'Ιεδδουράν, as if reading Hadoram with 1 Ch. xviii. 10.) Son of Toi, king of Hamath, sent by his father to congratulate David on his victories over Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 10). [HADORAM.]

6. 1 Esd. i. 9. [JOZABAD, 3.] [A. C. H.]

JOR'DAN (יַרְדֵּן, i.e. *Yarden*, always with the definite article, הַיַּרְדֵּן = *the Descender*, except Ps. xlii. 6 and Job xl. 23, from יָרַד, *Yarad*, "to descend;" 'Ιορδάνης; *Jordanis*), 'Ιόρδανος (Pausan. v. 7, § 3); in the earlier Arab chronicles it is always given the name *el-Urdunn*;[a] after the time of the Crusades it began to be called *esh-Sheri'ah*, "the watering place," with the addition sometimes of *el-Kebîr*, "the great," the name by which it is known to the *Bedawîn* of the present day. It is never called "the river," or "the brook," or any other name than its own, "the Jordan," in the Bible; and Josephus only once, in describing the borders of Issachar (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22), calls it τὸν ποταμόν, without any distinctive name. Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 114, 26, *s. v.* Dan) derives the name from *Jor*, which he states is equivalent to ῥεῖθρον, *fluvius*, and *Dan*, the city, where one of its principal sources was situated; and he says (*Comm. in Matt.* xvi. 13), "Jordanes oritur ad radices Libani; et habet duos fontes, unum nomine *Jor*, et alterum *Dan*; qui simul mixti Jordanis nomen efficiunt." This etymology was adopted by the earlier commentators and pilgrims (Corn. à Lap. in Deut. xxxiii. 22; Ant. Mart. vii.; Arculfus, ii. 17; Wm. of Tyre, xiii. 18; John of Würzburg, xx., &c.), and is current amongst the native Christians of to-day. The Hebrew יַרְדֵּן, *Yarden*, has however no relation whatever to the name Dan, and the river was called Jordan in the days of Abraham, at least five centuries before the name Dan was given to the city at its source.

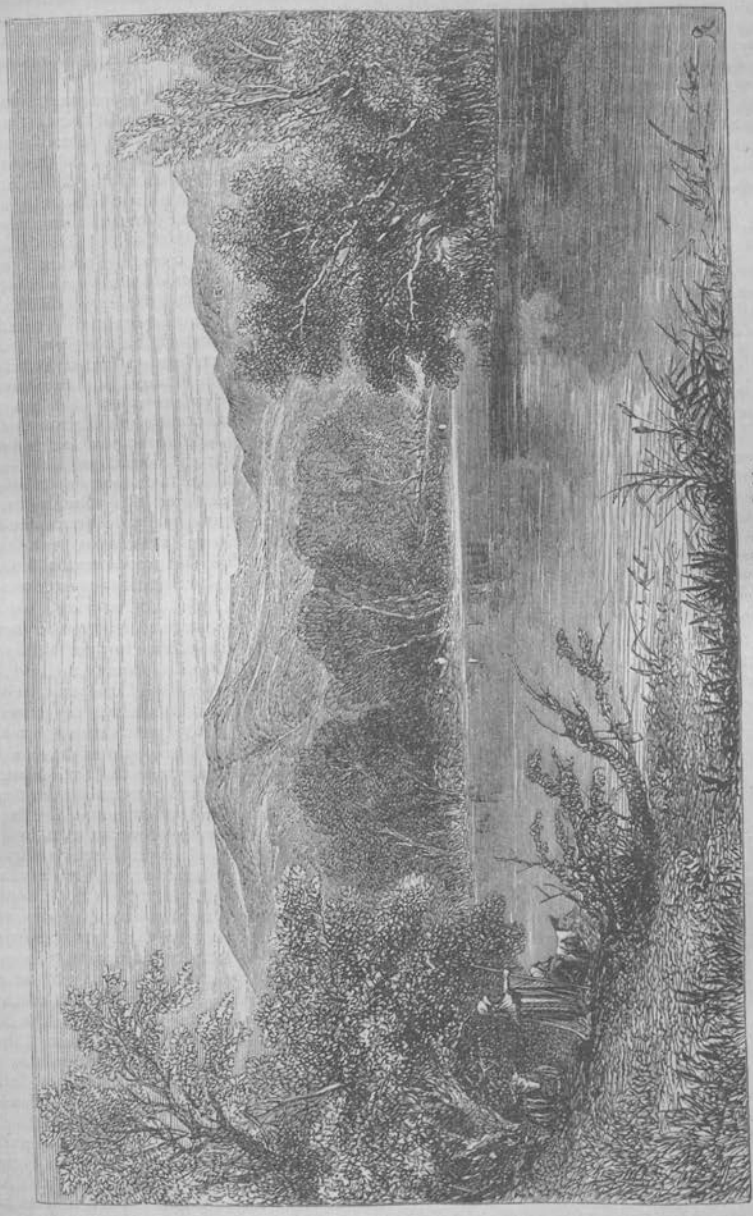
The Jordan is not only the most important river in Palestine, but one of the most remarkable rivers of the world. It flows from N. to S. in a deep trough, parallel to the western shore of the Mediterranean, and, for more than two-thirds of its course, lies below the level of the sea in the deepest depression on the globe. Its name is used in the Book of Job (xl. 23) as the synonym of a perennial stream. But in contrast to the rivers of other countries, "the Jordan, from its leaving the Sea of Galilee to its end, adds hardly a single element of civilisation to the long tract through which it rushes" (*S. & P.* p. 286). It has never been navigable; it has never boasted of a single town of eminence upon its banks; and it flows *into* a sea that has never known a port—has never been a highway to more hospitable coasts—has never possessed a fishery. Its fall from the great fountain at *Tell el-Kâdy*, Dan, to the Dead Sea, a distance of 104 miles, is 1797 feet, and from this rapid descent it probably derived its name, "the Descender." It is, and must always have been, "the great watering-place" of the nomad tribes, but it is the river of a desert. Excepting a few oases, produced by its tributary streams, and the rank mass of vegetation within the narrow range of its own bed (the "pride" of Jordan, Zech. xi. 3; Jer.[b] xii. 5, xlix. 19, l. 44), the valley through which it finds its way, in innumerable windings, is a naked desert in which, for ten months of the year, every particle of verdure is withered up by the intense heat. Dean Stanley well observes that, "as a separation of Israel from the surrounding country, as a boundary between the two main divisions of the tribes, as an image of water in a dry and thirsty soil, it played an important part; but not as the scene of great events, or the seat of great cities" (*S. & P.*, p. 287).

The earliest allusion to the Jordan in the Bible is not so much to the river itself as to the "plain," or "circle," *ciccar*, at the north end of the Dead Sea, through which it ran, and in which "the cities of the *ciccar*" stood before their destruction. "Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain (*ciccar*) of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere . . . even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt. . . . Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed east" (Gen. xiii. 10, 11); that is, from the spot, between Bethel and Ai, where he and Abram were then sojourning (*v.* 3). Abram had just left Egypt (*v.* 1), and therefore the comparison between the fertilising properties of the Jordan and the Nile is very apposite. How far the plain extended in length

[a] *El-Urdunn* gave its name to the military district of the Jordan.

[b] In Jer. the Hebrew word "Gaon" is wrongly translated "swelling" in A. V.; in R. V. correctly "pride."

or breadth is not said, but the same oasis is evidently referred to in Gen. xiii. 12, xix. 17, 25, 28, 29; and Deut. xxxiv. 3, "the plain of the valley of Jericho. . . . unto Zoar." In 2 Sam. xviii. 23 the word *ciccar*, "plain," apparently means the floor of the Jordan valley,[c] and it has the same meaning in 1 K. vii. 46, 2 Ch. iv. 17, where the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan, in which Solomon established his brass foundries, is said to have been in the



Banks of the Jordan near Jericho.

"plain" of Jordan.[d] Other words used in reference to parts of the Jordan valley are: *geliloth*, the "borders of," or "region about," Jordan (Josh. xxii. 10, 11; cp. Ezek. xlvii. 8); *bik'ah*, "the plain" of the valley of Jericho (Deut. xxxiv. 3); *sh'demoth*, "the fields" of

[c] Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 237) explains the word here as meaning a manner of quick running.

[d] In Neh. iii. 22, xii. 28, the reference does not appear to be to the "plain" of Jordan.

Gomorrah (Deut. xxxii. 32); *arboth*, "the plains" of Moab (Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, 63, xxxi. 12, xxxiii. 48–50, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13; Deut. xxxiv. 1, 8; Josh. xiii. 32), and of Jericho (Josh. iv. 13, v. 10; 2 K. xxv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 8). The expression "all the region round about Jordan" (Matt. iii. 5; Luke iii. 3) appears to include the wilderness of Judaea (cp. Matt. iii. 1). That portion of the Jordan valley which lies between the Sea of Gennesareth and the Dead Sea is always called in the O. T. *ha-Arabah*, "the desert," A. V. "the plain." [ARABAH.]

The Jordan, when not in flood, can be forded at more than fifty places between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. In flood-time it is impassable, and at other times, excepting where it is fordable, it is, and always must have been, an obstacle to the passage of large bodies of men (1 Macc. ix. 34–48). The main lines of communication between Eastern and Western Palestine naturally crossed by the easiest fords, and the seizure of these by friend or foe, during the progress of hostilities, was considered of great importance. There were fords over against Jericho, to which point the men of Jericho pursued the spies (Josh. ii. 7); the same probably as those "toward Moab,"* which the Israelites seized after the assassination of Eglon, and at which they slaughtered the Moabites (Judg. iii. 28). These fords are apparently those now known as the *Mukhâdet Ghôrâniyeh*, immediately opposite *Tell es-Sultân*, Jericho, and perhaps also the *M. Hajlah*, where pilgrims bathe in Jordan. Higher up the river, either at the *M. ed-Dâmieh* or the *M. ez-Zakkûmeh*, were the fords, A. V. "passages," of Jordan (Judg. xii. 5, 6), at which the Ephraimites, who could not pronounce the word Shibboleth, were slaughtered by Jephthah and the men of Gilead. Higher up again were the "waters unto Beth-barah and Jordan" (R. V. "as far as Beth-barah, even Jordan"), which the Ephraimites seized before the flying Midianites, and where they seem to have captured Oreb and Zeeb (Judg. vii. 24, 25). As the Midianites fled by Abel-meholah, *'Ain el-Helweh*, these "waters" must have been at the S. end of the plain of Bethshean, and they are possibly the streams running to the river below *M. esh-Sherâr*. [BETH-BARAH.] Higher still were the fords by which the roads approaching the plain of Bethshean, from the east, crossed the river. It was by one of these that Judas and his followers, having crossed by one of the southern fords (1 Macc. v. 24), passed over Jordan, when they were retracing their steps from the land of Galaad to Jerusalem (1 Macc. v. 52; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 5); and one of them, *M. 'Abârah*, is supposed by Major Conder to be Bethabara (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 89). The questions connected with the position of Bethabara are discussed elsewhere [BETH-ABARA]; it need only be observed here that if identical with Beth-barah it must have been near the S. and not the N. end of the plain of Bethshean. Nearer to the Sea of Galilee were other fords, of which the most frequented was that on the road from Accho to the cities of Decapolis.

The first passage of the Jordan, recorded in the O. T., is that of Jacob: "With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands" (Gen. xxxii. 10). There is no indication of position, but the Patriarch perhaps crossed by the same ford, *M. ed-Dâmieh*, by which he seems to have entered the land of Canaan after his parting with Esau (Gen. xxxiii. 16–18). David, in his campaign against the Syrians (2 Sam. x. 17), crossed by one of the northern fords; but subsequently, when a fugitive himself, on his way to Mahanaim (xvii. 22), he probably gained the eastern bank by the *M. Ghôrâniyeh*. Here, "at the fords (A. V. plain) of the wilderness" (xv. 28, xvii. 16), David tarried until he received Zadok's message from Jerusalem; and hither Judah came to reconduct him home (xix. 15). On this last occasion he passed at or on the "Abara" (*v.* 18), which the LXX. translates διάβασις (as if it were a moving raft), Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 11, § 2) γέφυρα (as if it were a bridge), A. V. and R. V. "a ferry boat;" and on reaching the western bank he was met by Shimei (1 K. ii. 8). Somewhere in these parts Elijah must have smitten the waters with his mantle, "so that they divided hither and thither" (2 K. ii. 8), for he had just left Jericho (*v.* 4), and by the same route that he went did Elisha probably return (*v.* 14). Naaman, on the other hand, may be supposed to have performed his ablutions (v. 14) at one of the upper fords, for Elisha was then in Samaria (*v.* 3), and it was by these fords, doubtless, that the Syrians fled when miraculously discomfited through his instrumentality (vii. 15).

One of the earliest facts mentioned in connexion with the Jordan is its periodical overflow during the season of barley harvest. In the language of the author of the Book of Joshua (iii. 15), "Jordan overflowed all his banks all the time of harvest:" a "swelling" which, according to the 1st Book of Chronicles (xii. 15), commenced "in the first month" (*i.e.* about the latter end of our March), drove the lion from his lair in the days of Jeremiah (xii. 5, xlix. 19, l. 44), and had become a proverb for abundance in the days of Jesus the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xxiv. 26). The context of the first of these passages may suffice to determine the extent of this exuberance. The meaning is clearly that the channel or bed of the river became brimfull, so that the level of the water and of the banks was then the same. The ancient rise of the river has been greatly exaggerated, so much so as to have been compared to that of the Nile (Reland, *Palest.* xl. 111). Evidently, too, there is nothing extraordinary in this occurrence. All rivers that are fed by melting snows are fuller between March and September than between September and March; but the exact time of their increase varies with the time when the snows melt. The Po and Adige are equally full during their harvest-time with the Jordan; but the snows on Lebanon melt earlier than on the Alps, and harvest begins later in Italy than in the Holy Land. Possibly "the basins of Hûleh and Tiberias" may so far act as "regulators" upon the Jordan as to delay its swelling till they have been replenished. On the other hand, the snows on Lebanon are certainly melting fast in April.

* R. V. translates "took the fords of Jordan against the Moabites."

The last feature which remains to be noticed in the Scriptural account of the Jordan is its frequent mention as a boundary (Gen. l. 10; Num. xiii. 29, xxxii. 5; Deut. ii. 29, iv. 21; Josh. iii. 1–17, iv. 1–23, xiii. 27; 1 Sam. xiii. 7; 2 Sam. ii. 29; Is. ix. 1; Judith i. 9; Matt. iv. 15, 25, xix. 1; Mark iii. 8, x. 1; John i. 28, iii. 26, x. 40): "over Jordan," "this" and "the other side," or "beyond Jordan," were expressions as familiar to the Israelites as "across the water," "this" and "the other side of the Channel," are to English ears. In one sense indeed—that is, in so far as it was the eastern boundary of the land of Canaan—it was the eastern boundary of the Promised Land (Num. xxxiv. 12; cp. xiii. 29). In reality, it was the long serpentine vine, trailing over the ground from N. to S., round which the whole family of the twelve tribes were clustered. Four-fifths of their number—nine tribes and a half—dwelt on the W. of it, and one-fifth, or two tribes and a half, on the E. of it, with the Levites in their cities equally distributed amongst both, and it was theirs from its then reputed fountain-head to its exit into the Dead Sea. Those who lived on the E. of it had been allowed to do so on condition of assisting their brethren in their conquests on the W. (Num. xxxii. 20–33); and those who lived on the W. "went out as one man" when their countrymen on the E. were threatened (1 Sam. xi. 6–11). The great altar built by the children of Reuben, of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, on the banks of the Jordan, was designed as a witness of this intercommunion and mutual interest (Josh. xxii. 10–29). In fact, unequal as the two sections were, they were nevertheless regarded as integral parts of the whole land; and thus there were three cities of refuge for the manslayer appointed on the E. of the Jordan; and there were three cities, and no more, on the W.—in both cases moreover equidistant one from the other (Num. xxxv. 9–15; Josh. xx. 7–9; Lewis, *Heb. Republ.* ii. 13). When these territorial divisions had been broken up in the captivities of Israel and Judah, some of the "coasts beyond Jordan" seem to have been retained under Judaea (Matt. xix. 1). [JUDAEA.]

Map of Jordan.

The contact of the Jordan with the history of the people "is exceptional, not ordinary, confined to rare and remote occasions, the more remarkable from their very rarity" (*S. and P.* p. 287). The earliest instance is that in which Abram and Lot looked down, from the heights between Bethel and Ai, upon the deeply-sunk valley beneath them, and Lot chose for himself the fertile "circle" of Jordan (Gen. xiii. 10, 11) where the Canaanites had established their earliest settlements on the east of Palestine (x. 19). It was apparently in the same rich district, in "the vale of Siddim," that the five allied kings were defeated by Chedorlaomer, king of Elam (xiv. 8–12); and it was at the Sidonian Laish, afterwards the Israelite Dan, by one of the sources of Jordan, that "Abram the Hebrew" defeated the invaders and rescued his nephew Lot (*vv.* 14–16). A few years later the catastrophe occurred which overwhelmed the five cities of the "circle" [GOMORRHA] and destroyed one of the most flourishing oases of the Jordan valley (xix. 1–29).

The most important events in sacred history connected with the Jordan are the passage of the children of Israel and the Baptism of Christ. The Israelites, on descending from the eastern plateau, encamped, in the first place, "in the plains of Moab, by Jordan," from Beth-Jesimoth, *'Ain Suweimeh*, to Abel-Shittim, *Keferein* (Num. xxxiii. 48, 49); and it was only three days before the passage that they moved down from the upper terraces of the valley to the banks of the river (Josh. iii. 1, 2). They probably crossed the river in several columns at or near the ford *Ghôrâniyeh*, opposite Jericho, but the exact spot is unknown. The passage took place at the time of barley harvest, corresponding to our April or May, when Jordan is in a state of flood, "overflowing all his banks"; and the operation must have been one of great magnitude, for—of the children of Reuben and of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh only—"about forty thousand

prepared for war passed over before the Lord unto battle" (Josh. iv. 12, 13). The ceremonial of the crossing is too well known to need recapitulation. It may be observed, however, that, unlike the passage of the Red Sea, where the intermediate agency of a strong east wind is freely admitted (Ex. xiv. 21), it is here said, in terms equally explicit, that as soon as "the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brink of the water, . . . the waters which came down from above stood, and rose up in one heap, a great way off, at (or from) Adam . . . . and those which went down toward the Sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea, were wholly cut off" (Josh. iii. 15, 16, R. V.; cp. Ps. cxiv. 5). As a memorial of the passage twelve stones were set up in the midst of Jordan, and twelve at GILGAL, where the Israelites encamped after they "came up out of" the deep channel of the river. In A.D. 1257, whilst the bridge, *Jisr Dâmieh*, was being repaired, a somewhat similar stoppage of the waters of the Jordan is said to have occurred. Upon this occasion, a landslip, in the narrow part of the valley, some miles above *Jisr Dâmieh* (Adam), dammed up the Jordan for several hours, and the bed of the river below was left dry by the running off of the water to the Dead Sea.[f]

The place of our Lord's Baptism is uncertain. John, who was a native of a city in the hill-country of Judah (Luke i. 39), commenced preaching in the wilderness of Judaea (Matt. iii. 1; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 2), and in "all the region round about Jordan" (Luke iii. 3). His preaching drew persons from Galilee, as far off as Nazareth (Mark i. 9) and Bethsaida (John i. 35, 40, 44), as well as from Jerusalem, Judaea, and "all the region round Jordan" (Matt. iii. 5; Mark i. 5); and the preaching was followed by baptism. These baptisms were apparently administered at more places than one. There was the place beyond Jordan, within easy reach of Bethany, "where John was at the first baptizing" (John x. 40), possibly the same as the place "in the wilderness" (Mark i. 4), and as "Bethabara (or Bethany) beyond Jordan," where the Baptist, having previously baptized our Lord—whether there or elsewhere—bears record to the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him which ensued (John i. 28–34). There was the place on the lower Jordan where all "Jerusalem and Judaea" went out to be baptized of John (Matt. iii. 6; Mark i. 5). There was AENON, near to Salem, where John was baptizing upon another occasion, "because there was much water there" (John iii. 23); and there was some place "in the land of Judaea" where our Lord, or rather His disciples, baptized about the same time (*v.* 22).

Jesus came from Galilee to be baptized, and His Baptism apparently followed that of the multitude from Jerusalem and Judaea (Matt. iii. 6, 13; Mark i. 5, 9), and was distinct from it (Luke iii. 21). According to St. Matthew (iii. 13; iv. 1), St. Mark (i. 9, 12), and St. Luke (iv. 1), He was baptized in Jordan, and immediately afterwards was "led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil"; John (i. 32–34) only alludes to the Baptism as having already taken place. The inference from the Bible narrative is that Jesus was baptized at the same place as the multitude, and that that spot was not far removed from the wilderness of Judaea, and within easy reach of Jerusalem and all Judaea. This view is supported by tradition, which, from the 4th century onwards, has consistently maintained that Jesus was baptized in Jordan at a point nearly opposite the Roman Jericho. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D. 333, places it, on the east bank of the river, 5 miles from the Dead Sea, and connects it with the little hill whence Elijah was caught up to heaven (*Itin. Hieros.*). Jerome alludes to the same place (*Per. S. Paulae*, xv.), and connects it with the spot where the priests that bare the Ark stood firm on dry ground in the midst of Jordan (Josh. iii. 17), and where Elijah and Elisha passed over Jordan on dry ground (2 K. ii. 3). See also Theodosius (xvii., xviii.), Antoninus (ix.–xii.), Arculfus (ii. 14), Willibald (*Hod.* xvi.), &c. This tradition refers to a place near *Kusr el-Yehûd* (Monastery of St. John); and as it agrees generally with the indications of the narrative, there seems little reason to doubt its accuracy.[g] Bethabara was possibly the same place as BETH-NIMRAH. But if it was a ford, it must have been either *M. Ghôrâniyeh*, where the Israelites crossed, and where there appears to have been a ferry in David's time (Bethany, "the house of a ship"), or at the S. end of the plain of Bethshean.

II. The Bible contains no information respecting the sources of the Jordan. What Josephus and others say about the Jordan may be briefly told. Panium, says Josephus (*i.e.* the sanctuary of Pan), appears to be the source of the Jordan; but in reality it has a secret passage hither under ground from Phiala, as it is called, about 120 stadia distant from Caesarea, on the road to Trachonitis, and on the right-hand side of and not far from the road. Being a wheel-shaped pool, it is rightly called Phiala from its rotundity (περιφερείας); yet the water always remains there up to the brim, neither subsiding nor overflowing. That this is the true source of the Jordan was first discovered by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis; for by his orders chaff was cast into the water at Phiala, and it was taken up at Panium. Panium was always a lovely spot; but the embellishments of Agrippa, which were sumptuous, added greatly to its natural charms (from *B. J.* i. 21, § 3, and *Ant.* xv. 10, § 3, it appears that the temple there was due to Herod the Great). It is from this cave at all events that the Jordan commences its ostensible course above ground; traversing the marshes and fens of Semechonitis ("the waters of Merom," *Bahcîret el-Hûleh*), and then, after a course of 120 stadia, passing by the town Julias and intersecting the lake of Genesareth, winds its way through a considerable wilderness (πολλὴν ἐρημίαν) till it finds its exit in the lake Asphaltites (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 7). Elsewhere Josephus somewhat modifies his assertion respecting the

[f] A notice of this historical stoppage of the Jordan has been found, in the history of Sultan Bibars, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, who has communicated the above particulars to the writer.

[g] Possibly the place of Baptism was a little higher up the river, at the *Ghôrâniyeh* ford, and in this case the same spot witnessed the Baptism of Christ and the passage of the Israelites.

nature of the great plain [JERICHO]; while on the physical beauties of Genesareth, the palms and figs, olives and grapes, that flourished round it, and the fish for which its waters were famed, he is still more eloquent (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 8). In the first chapter of the next book (iv. 1, § 1) he notices more fountains, at a place called Daphne,[h] which supplied water to the little Jordan, under the temple of the golden calf, and ran into the great Jordan (cp. *Ant.* i. 10, § 1; v. 3, § 1; and viii. 8, § 4). While Josephus dilates upon its sources, Pausanias, who had visited the Jordan, dilates upon its extraordinary disappearance. He cannot get over its losing itself in the Dead Sea; and compares it to the submarine course of the Alpheus from Greece to Sicily (lib. v. 7, 4, ed. Dindorf). Pliny goes so far as to say that the Jordan instinctively shrinks from entering that dread lake, by which it is swallowed up. On the other hand, Pliny attributes its rise to the fountain of Paneas, from which he adds Caesarea was surnamed (*H. N.* v. 15). Lastly, Strabo speaks of the aromatic reeds and rushes, and even balsam, that grew on the shores and marshes round Genesareth; but can he be believed when he asserts that the Aradians and others were in the habit of *sailing up Jordan with cargo?* (xvi. 2, 16.) It will be remembered that he wrote during the first days of the empire, when there were boats in abundance upon Genesareth (John vi. 22–24).

In the Middle Ages the Jordan was supposed to have two sources, Jor and Dan, which issued from the foot of Libanus, and united at the base of the mountains of Gilboa. Jor was the river running down the valley from *Bâniâs*, and Dan was identified with the *Yarmuk*, and supposed to run underground to a place called Medan, apparently *el-Mezeirîb* in the *Hauràn* (John of Würzburg, xxv.; Theoderich, xlv.). The first attempt to explore the Jordan, in modern times, was made in 1835, by Mr. Costigan, who descended the river in a boat from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea and died on his return to Jerusalem. In 1846 Lieut. Molyneux, R.N., made the descent, and wrote a short account of his voyage, but died soon after rejoining his ship (*Journ. R. Geog. Soc.* xviii. pp. 104–130, 1848); in 1848 Lieut. Lynch, U.S.N., under the authority of the United States Government, made a complete survey of the river and the Dead Sea (*Narrative* and *Official Report*); and in 1872–78 the course of the river from *Bâniâs* to the Dead Sea and the valley lying to the west of it were surveyed by Lieuts. Conder and Kitchener, R.E., for the Palestine Exploration Fund (*PEF. Memoirs*).

III. The Jordan flows from north to south in the deep trough, or fissure, parallel to the Mediterranean, which extends from the foot of the Taurus mountains to the Red Sea, and divides, as if by a fosse, the maritime highlands from those further east. In the northern and higher portion of the trough are the rivers Orontes and Leontes; in the central and more depressed is the Jordan, which pours its waters into the Dead Sea, 1292 feet below the Mediterranean, and lies for more than three-fourths of its course, including lakes *Hûleh* and Tiberias, below the level of the sea; and in the southern are the *W. el-'Arabah* and *W. el-'Akabah*, the Gulf of *'Akabah*, and the Red Sea. The entire fissure from the Sea of Galilee to the Gulf of *'Akabah* is called in the Bible "the Arabah" (A. V. "the plain"); but at present that portion only which lies S. of the Dead Sea is called the *'Arabah*. The valley to the N., a broad depressed plain, shut in between two ranges of mountains,—the Aulon (Αὐλὼν) of the Greeks,—is known amongst the Arabs by the name of *el-Ghor*.

The Jordan, after the junction of its head streams, expands into the *Baheiret el-Hûleh*. Then, "after rushing down a rocky chasm for several miles, it again spreads out into the Lake of Tiberias." From this lake, until it enters the Dead Sea, the Jordan "flows in its own well-defined and still deeper valley, winding through the plain of the *Ghôr*. Along and within this deeper valley (called by the Arabs the *Zôr*), the channel of the river winds exceedingly, and is in most parts fringed by a narrow tract of verdure on each side, made up of trees, bushes, reeds, and luxuriant herbage" (Robinson, *Phys. Geog. of the H. L.* p. 131).

The theory that the Jordan at one time ran to the Gulf of *'Akabah*, and that the depression of its valley and the interruption of its flow were due to intense volcanic activity, has been entirely disproved by recent investigation. The deep depression is the direct result of a fault or "fissure" of the earth's crust, accompanied by a displacement of the strata, to the extent in some cases of several thousand feet. "I am disposed to think," Prof. Hull writes, "that the fracture of the Jordan-Arabah valley and the elevation of the table-land of Edom and Moab on the east were all the outcome of simultaneous operations and due to similar causes, namely, the tangential pressure of the earth's crust due to contraction, —the contraction being in its turn due to the secular cooling of the crust." The fracture is supposed to have taken place at the close of the Eocene period. "As the land area was gradually rising out of the sea, the table-lands of Judaea and of Arabia were more and more elevated, while the crust fell in along the western side of the Jordan-Arabah fault; and this seems to have been accompanied by much crumpling and fissuring of the strata" (*PEF. Mem.*, Geology, p. 108 sq.). From the time of this great fracture the basin of the Dead Sea must have been a salt lake dependent on evaporation to remove the waters poured into it by the Jordan and other streams. The level of its waters must, however, have varied greatly at different times, for a succession of terraces of Dead Sea deposits extends around the basin of the sea and far up the Jordan valley (Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, pp. 106, 107; see also Lartet, *Géologie de la Palestine*, and Hull, *l. c.*). The waters of the Dead Sea are supposed to have reached their present level at the close of the Miocene or commencement of the Pliocene period (Hull, *Geology*, p. 112), so that there cannot have been any material change in the course and character of the Jordan during historic times.

The Upper Jordan is formed by the junction of three perennial streams having their origin in three large springs, near *Hâsbeiya*, at *Tell el-*

[h] Probably Dan should be read here, as there are no large springs at *Difneh*, the ancient Daphne, about 1½ miles below *Tell el-Kâdy*, Dan.

Kâdy, and at *Bâniâs*. The streams are fed by numberless springs and rivulets that gush forth from the slopes of Anti-Lebanon, but none of these are of sufficient importance to be regarded as permanent sources of the Jordan. The stream from the spring near *Hâsbeiya* (1700 feet), which, though not mentioned by any ancient writer, is the remotest source, runs down through the ravine of *W. et-Teim*, and is known as the *Nahr Hâsbâny*. About 6 miles below *Hâsbeiya*, the *Hâsbâny* is joined by a fine stream from *'Ain Seraiyib*, a large fountain at the foot of Hermon; and, after a rapid descent, it enters the *Hûleh* plain, running in a deep channel that it has worn for itself in the basalt. After receiving the waters of the *Nahr Bareighit*, it joins the united streams from *Bâniâs* and *Tell el-Kâdy*. The road from Damascus, through *Bâniâs*, to the west crosses the river by a bridge below *Ghujar*.

At *Tell el-Kâdy*, DAN, one of the largest springs in Palestine, bursts forth from the ground (altitude 505 feet); and its waters rush off a full-grown river, the *Nahr Leddân*, to join the stream from *Bâniâs* and form the Jordan. This is clearly the Daphne of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 1, § 1), who also calls the spring Dan (*Ant.* i. 10, § 1), and the stream ὁ μικρὸς Ἰορδάνης (viii. 8, § 4).

The spring at *Bâniâs* is the most picturesque and celebrated of all the sources of Jordan [CAESAREA PHILIPPI]. It is a copious fountain (altitude 1080 feet) springing out from the earth, in numberless rills, at the foot of a mass of loose stones and rubbish, in front of a cave formerly dedicated to Pan—the place called Panium by Josephus. The spring, apparently, once issued from the cave, which is now dry; but not at all in the manner described by Josephus, who speaks of a yawning chasm in the cave itself, and an unfathomable depth of still water of which there is no trace at present (*Ant.* xv. 10, § 3; *B. J.* i. 21, § 3). The little lake Phiala, which according to Josephus was the true source of the fountain at *Bâniâs*, is now called *Birket er-Râm*. It lies at the bottom of a cup-shaped basin, is supplied by the surface drainage of a small area, and has no outlet. The water is stagnant and impure, and, if it had a subterranean outlet, would be exhausted in a few hours. The topographical features also forbid any connexion with the spring at *Bâniâs*. The stream from the spring is joined by another, coming down *W. Z'aâreh*, at the N.W. corner of *Bâniâs*, and the united waters flow off as the *Nahr Bâniâs* to the Hûleh plain. In the first four miles of its course the stream descends at the rate of 200 feet a mile, and its volume is nearly equal to that of the *Nahr Leddân*, which it joins about 4½ miles below *Tell el-Kâdy*; half a mile lower down the river is joined by the *Nahr Hâsbâny*.

The *Hûleh* plain through which the Jordan runs is covered by a very intricate system of streams, some running in their natural channels, others in artificial aqueducts, used for irrigating the very fertile but malarious plain. A short distance below the junction of the *Hâsbâny* the river enters a dense impenetrable mass of papyrus, which extends for 6 miles and is from 1½ to 2 miles wide. Below the papyrus marsh are the "Waters of Merom," *Baheiret el-Hûleh* (alt. 7 feet), bordered by the great plain of *Ard el-Kheit*. On issuing from the lake, the Jordan flows through a narrow cultivated plain, but about 2 miles below its exit it commences a rapid descent, of about 60 feet a mile, over a rocky bed to the Sea of Galilee. The direct distance between the two lakes is 10 miles, and the fall 689 feet. Not quite 2 miles below Lake *Hûleh* there is a bridge called *Jisr Benat Y'akûb*, by which the great caravan route from *'Akka* to Damascus crosses the river. Below *et-Tell* the Jordan runs in a tortuous course through the western half of the plain *el-Batihah*, and at its mouth there is a bar where it can be forded. Its turbid waters can be traced running far out into the lake, and this has, perhaps, given rise to the fable that the Jordan passed through the Sea of Galilee without mingling its waters. That the waters of the river do not condescend to mingle in any sense with those of the lake, is as true as that the Rhone and the Lake of Geneva never embrace. [GENNESARET, SEA OF.] The river leaves the lake, a clear gently-flowing stream, close to the site of Tarichaeae.

The two principal features of Jordan are its descent and its sinuosity. From its fountain-heads to the point where it is lost in the acrid waters of the Dead Sea, it rushes down one continuous inclined plane, only broken by a series of rapids or precipitous falls. Between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, Lieut. Lynch passed down 27 rapids which he calls threatening, besides a great many more of lesser magnitude. According to the most recent surveys the distance between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, in a direct line, is 65 miles; the depression of the former below the level of the Mediterranean is 682 feet, and that of the latter 1292 feet. The difference of level between the two lakes is thus 610 feet, and there is a fall of 9·3 feet per mile. The sinuosity of the Jordan is not so remarkable in the upper part of its course, but, in the space of 65 miles between the two lakes, it "traverses at least 200 miles" (Lynch, *Narr.* p. 265). "It curved and twisted north, south, east, and west, turning, in the short space of half an hour, to every quarter of the compass" (p. 211). During the whole passage of 8¼ days, the time which it took Lynch's boats to reach the Dead Sea from Gennesaret, only one straight reach of any length, about midway between them, is noticed. The rate of stream seems to have varied with its relative width and depth. The greatest width mentioned was 180 yards, the point where it enters the Dead Sea. Here it was only 3 feet deep. On the 6th day the width in one place was 80 yards, and the depth only 2 feet, while the current on the whole varied from 2 to 8 knots. On the 5th day the width was 70 yards, with a current of 2 knots, or 30 yards with a current of 6 knots.

The principal tributaries of Jordan between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea are: (1) From the *East*. The *Sheri'at el-Mandhûr*, Yarmûk, or Hieromax, which enters the Jordan about 4½ miles below the lake. There is no allusion to this river in the Bible, but it is mentioned in the Mishna (*Parah*, viii. 9) and by Pliny (*H. N.* v. 16). It is formed by the confluence of a large number of streams which rise in *Jebel Haurân* and the eastern plateau, and amongst these is

doubtless the "brook by Raphon" (1 Macc. v. 37, 39, 40, 42). About 2½ miles before it reaches the Jordan Valley the Yarmûk receives the waters of the celebrated hot springs of Amatha. [GADARA.] The *Nahr ez-Zerka*, Jabbok, which rises in the plateau E. of Gilead, and enters the Jordan a short distance above *Jisr Dâmieh*. [ADAM; JABBOK.] The *Wady Nimrîn* and the *W. Hesbân*. (2.) From the *West*. The *Nahr el-Jâlûd*, which flows down the valley of Jezreel, and, past Bethshean, to the *Ghôr*. The beautiful *W. Fâr'ah*, which rises on the eastern slopes of Ebal and enters the Jordan 4½ miles below *Jisr Dâmieh*. The streams in *W. Fusâil* and *W. el-Kelt* do not reach the Jordan in summer.

The *bridges* over the Jordan mark the points at which the Roman roads crossed the river. Most, if not all of them, appear to have been constructed during the Roman occupation, and to have been afterwards rebuilt or repaired by the Arabs. They are all on important lines of communication, and not far from frequented fords. The bridges of *el-Ghujar* and *Benat Y'akûb* above the Sea of Galilee have already been noticed. At Tarichaeae, where the river leaves the lake, there are the ruins of a bridge, and, a little lower down, there are the remains of two others, one called *Jisr es-Sidd*, over which passed the roads connecting Tiberias, and *'Akka* with Gadara and the Decapolis. The next bridge, nearly 6 miles below the lake, is *Jisr Mujâmi'a*, which is still passable. It marks the point at which the great caravan-route from *Nâblus* and *Beisân* to Damascus crosses the river—a route following the line of one of the most important Roman roads in Palestine. The only other bridge is the *Jisr Dâmieh*, nearly opposite the mouth of *W. Fâr'ah*, which, from a change in the course of the river, has been left dry on the east bank. At this point the great road from Neapolis and the West, to Gilead and Bashan, crossed the river; and at the present day there is a road by the *ed-Dâmieh* ford, from *Nâblus* to *es-Salt* and *J. 'Ajlûn*.

Much information respecting the *fords* of Jordan was obtained during the survey of Western Palestine. It would appear (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 79, 225, 385; iii. 170) that there are fifty fords in the 42 miles above *Jisr Dâmieh*, and only five in the 23 miles below. No less than twenty-six of the fords are between *W. el-Jâlûd* and *W. el-Mâleh*, which mark the north and south limits of the plain of Bethshean; and this serves to explain the ease with which the nomads east of Jordan made their frequent incursions into the valley of Jezreel and the plain of Esdraelon. The principal fords and their possible identification with those mentioned in the Bible have already been noticed. At *M. el-Hajlah*, opposite Roman Jericho, the annual bathing of the Oriental pilgrims takes place, of which Dean Stanley has given a lively description (*S. & P.* pp. 314–16).

The Jordan Valley varies considerably in width. About 7 miles above *Jisr Dâmieh*, its narrowest point, it is only some 3 miles wide; whilst its greatest breadth, 12 miles, is at Jericho. The *Zôr*, or depressed bed, in which the river winds, is in most parts a quarter of a mile wide, but above the Dead Sea it opens out to nearly 2 miles. It lies between "cliffs of soft marl," from 50 ft. to 100 ft. high,[1] and is frequently flooded during the rainy season. The plain of the *Ghôr* falls pretty evenly towards the river; it is much cut up by the torrents that find their way across it from the mountains on either side.

The sites of the cities situated in the Ghôr are discussed under their respective names, and the physical features of the Jordan Valley will be treated more at large under the general head of Palestine. The *climate* on the shores of the Sea of Galilee is sub-tropical, and the temperature increases until the maximum is reached on the shores of the Dead Sea. Here frost is unknown; in the depth of winter the thermometer ranges from 60° to 80°, and a night temperature of 42° is quite exceptional. In April the thermometer often registers 105° in the shade; and in summer the heat is intense. In this tropical climate the corn is ripe in March, and melons ripen in winter. The natural products of the Jordan Valley, "a tropical oasis sunk in the temperate zone, and overhung by the Alpine Hermon," are unique. The course of the river, in this most unlike the Nile, hardly fertilises anything beyond its immediate banks. But, "from its extraordinary depression, whatever vegetation there is, is called into almost unnatural vigour by the life-giving touch of its waters" (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 11). In the *Hûleh* marshes the papyrus reaches a height of 16 ft. and flourishes luxuriantly, and on the borders of the *Hûleh* lake large crops of wheat, barley, maize, sesame, and rice are obtained. Corn-fields wave on the plain of Gennesaret; the palm and vine, fig and pomegranate, are still to be seen here and there; and here is also found the thorny *nubk* (*Zizyphus spina-Christi*), a tropical tree, the characteristic of the whole of the lower course of the river. Below the Sea of Galilee indigo is grown; pink oleanders, and a rose-coloured species of hollyhock in great profusion, wait upon every approach to a rill or spring; and tamarisks of peculiar species crowd the banks of Jordan. As the Dead Sea is approached "the *zukkum* or false balm of Gilead, the osher tree of Nubia and Abyssinia, the henna or camphire, the *Salvadora persica*, and many other products of the torrid zone, abound" (p. 12). The jungle of the *Zôr* is the same throughout, consisting principally of tamarisks, acacia, willow, gigantic thistles 10 to 15 ft. high, and reeds; whilst cane, frequently impenetrable, is ever at the water's edge. "Here and there," Lynch writes, "were spots of solemn beauty. . . . The willow branches were spread upon the stream-like tresses, and creeping mosses and clambering weeds, with a multitude of white and silvery little flowers, looked out from among them . . . . Many islands, some fairy-like and covered with a luxuriant vegetation, others mere sandbars and sedimentary deposits, intercepted the course of the river, but were beautiful features in the general monotony of the shores. The regular and almost unvaried scene of high banks of alluvial deposit and sand-hills on the one hand,

[1] The stoppage of the waters of the Jordan in 1267 was apparently due to the sliding forward of these beds of marl some miles above *Jisr Dâmieh*; and the running off of the waters to the Dead Sea, when the Israelites crossed, may have followed a similar landslip.

and the low swamp-like shore covered to the water's edge with the tamarisk, the willow, and the thick, high cane, would have been fatiguing without the frequent occurrence of sand-banks and verdant islands" (*Narr.* pp. 211–215). This thick jungle was formerly a covert for wild beasts, from which they were dislodged by the periodical overflow of the river, and the lion coming up from the "pride of Jordan" is a familiar figure in the Prophet Jeremiah (xlix. 19; l. 44). The lion, though mentioned by Phocas (xxiii.) and by Felix Fabri (ii. p. 27, Eng. trans.), has probably long been extinct. The leopard, however, still exists, and it was apparently two of these animals that *Molyneux mistook for* tigers. The fishes of the Jordan and its feeders do not differ from those of the Sea of Galilee. They are chiefly barbel and bream, and in every permanent stream abound in amazing numbers. The Jordan itself is alive with fish to its very exit. The flora and fauna of the Jordan Valley, and the large infusion of Ethiopian types that they present, have been described by Canon Tristram (*PEF. Mem.* Flora and Fauna of Pal.), who considers that "the unique tropical outlier of the Dead Sea basin is analogous, both in its origin and in the present isolation of its various assemblages of life, to the boreal outliers of our mountain-tops, and our deep-sea bottoms." [W.]

JO'RIBAS (Ἰώριβος; *Joribus*) = JARIB (1 Esd. viii. 44; cp. Ezra viii. 16).

JO'RIBUS (Ἰώριβος; *Joribus*) = JARIB (1 Esd. ix. 19; cp. Ezra x. 18).

JO'RIM (Ἰωρείμ), son of Matthat, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 29), in the 13th generation from David inclusive; about contemporary, therefore, with Ahaz. The form of the name is anomalous, and should probably be either Joram or Joiarim. [A. C. H.]

JOR'KOAM (יָרְקְעָם; B. Ἰακλὰν and Ἰεκλάν; A. Ἰερκαάν; *Jercaam*), either a descendant of Caleb the son of Hezron, through Hebron, or, as Jarchi says, the name of a place in the tribe of Judah, of which Raham was prince (1 Ch. ii. 44). It was probably in the neighbourhood of Hebron. Jerome gives it in the form Jerchaam (*Quaest. Hebr. in Paral.*).

JO'SABAD. 1. (יוֹזָבָד; BA. Ἰωζαβάβ; A. Ἰωζαβάδ; *Jezabad*.) Properly JOZABAD, the Gederathite, one of the hardy warriors of Benjamin who left Saul to follow the fortunes of David during his residence among the Philistines at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 4).

2. (B. Ἰωσαβεές, A. Ἰωσαβδός; *Josadus*) = Jozabad, son of Jeshua the Levite (1 Esd. viii. 63; cp. Ezra viii. 33, BA. Ἰωζαβάδ).

3. (B. Ζάβδος, A. Ὠζάβαδος; *Zabdias*), one of the sons of Bebai (1 Esd. ix. 29). [ZABBAI.]

JO'SAPHAT (Ἰωσαφάτ; *Josaphat*) = Jehoshaphat king of Judah (Matt. i. 8).

JOSAPH'IAS (Ἰωσαφίας; *Josaphias*) = JOSIPHIAH (1 Esd. viii. 36; cp. Ezra viii. 10).

JO'SEDEC (Ἰωσεδέκ; *Josedec, Josedech*), 1 Esd. v. 5, 48, 56, vi. 2, ix. 19; Ecclus. xlix. 12 = JEHOZADAK or JOZADAK, the father of Jeshua, whose name also appears as JOSEDECH (Hag. i. 1).

JO'SEDECH (יְהוֹצָדָק = *Jehovah is righteous*; Ἰωσεδέκ; *Josedec*). JEHOZADAK the son of Seraiah (Hag. i. 12, 14, ii. 2, 4; Zech. vi. 11).

JOSEPH (יוֹסֵף; Ἰωσήφ; *Joseph*). 1. Son of Jacob and Rachel. The meaning of the name Joseph, according to Gen. xxx. 23, 24, *is* connected with his family history.[a] Joseph became the favourite son of his father, being the youngest of all the sons of Israel born in Mesopotamia, the gift late in life from the wife whom Jacob loved the best. "Son of his old age" and "favourite son" were names given also to Benjamin after the loss of Joseph. Joseph was not only "a child of sorrow," but he became finally the deliverer and the pride of his whole family, and one of the most important personages in the history of Israel; because it was through him that the Hebrews went down into Egypt, where it was decreed that they should become "a great nation."

It is easy to grasp the deeper meaning underlying the story, which teaches plainly how God leads those whom He has ordained to higher spheres through trouble and humiliation, that He may raise them so much the higher afterwards. In Christian times Joseph has been regarded as a type of our Saviour, or as one whose character is in many respects related to His, so that the one has been compared with the other. Luther says, "*As* it was with Joseph and his brethren, so it was with Christ and the Jews."

The history of Joseph in the Book of Genesis was compiled from two different documents, now indicated by Biblical scholars as J and E. They are classified in the art. GENESIS, p. 1155.

The story (Gen. xxx. 22–24) of the birth of Joseph, as well as that of his life and death (Gen. xxxvii.–l.), is known to everyone. It became a favourite subject in Eastern poetry. Allah himself (Koran, ch. 12) is said to relate the history of Joseph to the prophet Mohammed as the "most beautiful of all stories." The story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Zuleikha) has particularly excited the imitation of Eastern poets. The poem of Yusuf and Zuleikha is the last song of the Persian epic poet Firdusi, and the figure of Joseph is surrounded here with so much mysterious splendour that many have supposed that by Zuleikha's love for the pure youth Yusuf (Joseph), the poet wished to represent the longing of the soul for God. Though, as a whole, the history of Joseph is easily understood, yet it may be interesting to show how faithfully it represents the circumstances of time and place in which it occurred. We shall

[a] A *double* etymology is suggested in this passage. According to E (v. 23) the name is from אָסַף, *'āsaph*, "to take away"; according to J (v. 24), it is from יָסַף, *yāsaph*, "to add." The name has been compared with Manetho's Osar-sif, as though Jo, Jebo-, *i.e.* Jehovah, had been substituted for Osar, *i.e.* Osiris. I-s-p-á-l occurs in the Karnak lists, and has been supposed equivalent to Joseph-el (יוסף־אל). It is the name of an old Canaanite town taken by Tutmes III. Cp. the similar Josiph-iah, Ezra viii. 10.—[C. J. B.]

establish this in detail, but we must first point out at what period the entrance of Jacob's family into Egypt took place. Ex. xii. 40 gives 430 years as the time of sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt. This compels us to place the Exodus in the reign of Meneptah I., the son of Rameses II., at the close of the 14th century B.C. If we then reckon back 430 years, it brings us to the end of the Hyksos government over Egypt; that is, if we may trust to the time given on the monuments as to the length of the different reigns. If, with Lepsius, we place the Exodus in 1314 B.C., the entrance of the Hebrews into Goshen will be in 1744 B.C., which year belongs to the close of the Hyksos government, and we reach the same conclusion if we take the figures lately arrived at by Malker's astronomical calculations, which place the reign of Thothmes III. from March 20th, 1503, to Feb. 14th, 1449.

Dr. Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 302, 2nd ed., P. Smith) endeavours to make the famine mentioned in the tomb of a dignitary named Baba, at El Kab, coincide with the one which Joseph so effectually opposed, and the time of Baba's life actually concurs with that of the dominion of the later Hyksos kings over Lower Egypt, while the native kings who had been forced back into Upper Egypt were making preparations to drive the Hyksos out of the country. The coincidence is not impossible, yet a similar "time of distress" is also mentioned at Beni Hasan in the tomb of Ameni, who lived before the time of the Hyksos (12th dynasty), and we know from the later history of the country that inundations either too low or too high have often occasioned want and distress in Egypt. It is true that the famine mentioned in the tomb of Baba lasted "many years," and such a long period of distress occurs only in the history of Joseph and in this inscription; it is therefore tempting to consider them identical, but investigators must be careful not to speak of that as certain, which is only possible or probable. It is not certain which Hyksos king was ruling in the Valley of the Nile at the time of the famine mentioned in the tomb of Baba. According to most chronographers, it was Apophis (Josephus), Aphobis (Jul. Africanus), Aphophis (Eusebius), and in hieroglyphics, *Apepa*—the same under whom began the expulsion of the Hyksos, according to a fabulous story contained in the Papyrus Sallier I., which says that this Apophis was in alliance with the native governor of Upper Egypt, Rasekenen or Sekenen-Ra; and the dignitary Baba, in whose tomb is the inscription mentioning the famine of many years, lived in the time of a Rasekenen, and, indeed, the third with the additional name Ta'a. The Byzantine chronographer who is known under the name of Syncellus (he held the office of Syncellus in his monastery) calls the Pharaoh of Joseph Apophis, while the Arab tradition, in which little or no reliance can be placed, calls him an Amalekite of the name of Raian Ibn el-Walid. We should not have mentioned him at all if Naville, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, had not found in his excavations at Bubastis a block with the name of Apophis, and near it the lower part of a black granite statue with the name Ian-Ra, or Raian, in hieroglyphics. Dr. Rieu and Mr. Cope Whitehouse, relying on the certainly very surprising discovery of this name, maintain that the Arab tradition was founded on a fact. The monument with the name of Raian is now in the Ghizeh Museum. We must therefore leave it uncertain whether Joseph came down into Egypt in the reign of Apophis, or in that of the hitherto unknown Raian.

Let us now inquire where the son of Jacob met with Pharaoh. The answer seems to be at Zoan (Tanis), at Bubastis, or at Memphis. The first of these three towns [ZOAN] is situated in the north-east of the Delta, and is very old, as is proved by Petrie's excavations and the words of the Bible (Num. xiii. 22), where it is said to have been built seven years later than Hebron. Tanis was a residence of the Hyksos kings, and here Mariette found the monuments called the "Hyksos sphinxes." Like those placed by the native Egyptian kings in avenues before the temples, these sphinxes are formed of the human head, symbolic of intelligence, and the lion's body, symbolic of strength. While, however, the sphinxes of other Pharaohs possess heads of true Egyptian cast, those of the Hyksos sphinxes appear to be portraits of a foreign race. The faces are wider and have higher cheek-bones; the noses, which in profile seem to be slightly curved, are flatter, and the corners of the mouth are turned a little downwards. The face seems to disappear in a head-dress resembling a mane; the expression of the features, taken as a whole, is much rougher and more brutal than that of the true Egyptian face, which meets the eyes of the spectator with a quiet peaceful dignity, and often with a smile. Even those unfamiliar with Egyptian art can see at a glance that we have here striking likenesses of foreigners; and the same is true of other monuments which have been found belonging to the Hyksos period. These have been found only in the Delta, and isolated instances in the oasis of the Feyûm, which stretches into the desert in a westerly direction from Memphis. Most come from Tanis, though latterly many have been found by Naville at Bubastis, the Pibeseth of the Bible. Tanis is the Zoan of the Bible, the Egyptian *t'an* or *t'a*, called Tanis by the Greeks and Romans. This splendid residence of the Hyksos and of other dynasties of Egyptian kings, the city called "great" by Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium, is now a fishing village, and nothing remains of its early glory except fragments of obelisks, statues and great temple buildings, and the name, which has become amongst the Arabs San, or San el-Hagr. Tanis was in the fourteenth nome of Lower Egypt, on the branch of the river called by the same name, which in early times was wide enough near its mouth for naval battles to be fought on its waters, as seems to be proved by the inscription in the tomb of the naval commander Ahmes at El Kab. The plain now is only intersected by a narrow little stream, called by the Arabs the Muizz canal. Tanis, which was formerly a harbour for ships, is now separated from the sea by a large deposit of land, and little is to be seen of the wonderful fertility for which the neighbourhood was famous in old times. The Hyksos kings as well as the Pharaohs who preceded and followed them provided for the irrigation of the province of Zoan, and the officers who were stationed at Tanis

under the Pharaoh of the Exodus (19th dynasty) speak in their letters of the life there as "sweet," and praise the neighbourhood for its fertility and for the abundance of food it produced. Whether the fortified camp of the Hyksos, called Avaris by the Greeks, was at Tanis or at Pelusium, we cannot here determine. Anyhow, Zoan (Tanis) was one of the residences of the Hyksos kings, and may have been the town which gave a friendly reception to Joseph. The same may be said of Bubastis and of Memphis, for On (Heliopolis), which lay close to the latter town, certainly belonged to the Hyksos; and as a daughter of a priest of On was chosen by Pharaoh to be Joseph's wife, we can easily imagine that he was residing at Memphis at the time, close to the home of this daughter of the priests, instead of at Tanis, which was divided from On (Heliopolis) by a wide stretch of country. Yet it is curious that the pyramids, so characteristic of Memphis, are never once mentioned in the story of Joseph.

The Biblical history of Joseph gives us the conditions of court and state life in Egypt. It seems true that this was very much the same under the Hyksos kings as under the native Pharaohs. Joseph could only have come into Egypt during the *latter* part of the rule of the foreigners, after they had lived some centuries in the country and conformed to the Egyptian life in every respect. To which nation the intruders belonged is discussed under EGYPT, p. 885, where it is shown that they probably came from Mesopotamia. At first their rule in Egypt must have been very severe, though they may not have been guilty of the devastations with which the hatred of the Egyptians charged them in later times; for in many towns where they ruled, we find that the monuments of their predecessors have been spared,—a considerable number from Tanis, Bubastis, Memphis, Heliopolis, &c., having come down to us. Later the conquerors assimilated themselves so entirely with the conquered Egyptians that they erected monuments of pure Egyptian style, and allowed the priestly scholars to go on with their studies. The handbook of Egyptian mathematics called the Rhind Papyrus (British Museum) was written under a Hyksos king, and the monuments prove that Egyptian civilisation was very little influenced by the Hyksos; for those erected shortly before their time (12th–13th dynasties) correspond in every way with those erected soon after their expulsion in the beginning of the 18th dynasty, the pure Hyksos being the 15th and 16th dynasties. The Hyksos also used the hieroglyphic writing without alteration; and as they retained everything in the higher intellectual spheres, it is probable that they did the same in the lower domains of material life. There were native kings in Upper Egypt at the same time, and it would have been strange if their courts and household arrangements had been essentially different in arrangement. The foreigners were obliged to allow the native officials free scope and to learn much from them, specially with regard to the irrigation of the Nile, without which the fertile valley would have become a wilderness. Joseph therefore found everything arranged in the Egyptian manner at the court of the Hyksos king, whose favour he had won.

We now pass to the details which need explanation in the history of Joseph. In Gen. xxxvii. we have, as some think, two stories woven together, relating how Jacob preferred Joseph above his brothers, and so excited the envy of the latter.[b] Ch. xxxvii. 5, &c., shows how their dislike changed to hatred on account of Joseph's dreams, and how, after their father had sent the "dreamer" after them, they resolved to murder him, but on Reuben's advice (xxxvii. 22) they only took the coloured coat off him, and threw him into a pit. This *coat* was, according to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 8, § 1), one with sleeves worn only by distinguished and elderly persons. We can see what is here meant by a picture with the colours well preserved in Khnum-hotep's tomb at Beni Hasan, of the 12th dynasty (before the Hyksos' time); it represents the coming of thirty-seven Amu (Shemites) into Egypt. The less important people in this procession wear only white sleeveless coats, like shirts, which reach just over the knee; or when the upper part of the body is bare, a coloured apron like a short petticoat, fastened above the hips and only covering the thighs. The dress of Joseph's brothers was probably of this kind. The chief in this picture, the earliest representation of a Semitic family, walks in front of his own people; he is called *Absoha* (or *Abousa*) and wears a coat made of brightly-coloured stuff (blue, white, and red) which entirely covers the upper part of his body, and reaches to his knees. The right arm is bare, but the left is covered by a wide sleeve as far as the elbow. Joseph's coloured coat probably resembled the dress of this chief.[c] The pit into which the brothers threw Joseph was situated near Dothain or Dothan (double well). The position of this place is described under DOTHAN. It must have been peculiarly interesting for Dr. E. D. Clarke (*Travels*, ed. 1812, Pt. ii. § 1, p. 509) just at this spot to meet a caravan of Ishmaelitish spice merchants, who would willingly have bought another Joseph and carried him with them into Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 28). These Ishmaelites are here more specifically Midianites.[d] That they were in alliance with

[b] From Jacob's expression "thy mother" (xxxvii. 10) it might be inferred that Rachel was living (and therefore Benjamin unborn) about the time that Joseph was sold. If she was dead, as the continuity of the narrative would suggest (xxxv. 19), "mother" would be used in a laxer sense, meaning mother of the house, Jacob's wife Leah, and this may be the best way of understanding the passage (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* on xxxvii. 10).—EDITORS.

[c] Another opinion given by Dr. Poole in the first edition is that this coat was a long tunic with sleeves worn by youths and maidens of the richer class. Its name (כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים) seems to signify "a tunic reaching to the extremities." The dress of David's daughter Tamar, and of "the king's daughters that were virgins," bears the same name in the Hebrew, rendered in A. V. "garment of divers colours" (2 Sam. xiii. 18, 19). There seems no reason for the LXX. rendering χιτὼν ποικίλος, or the Vulgate *polymita*, except that it is very likely that such a tunic would be ornamented with coloured stripes or embroidered. Of the dress described in the text there is an engraving in Brugsch's *Histoire d'Égypte dès les premiers temps*, ed. 1859, p. 63. For authorities on the nature of the dress, see *Speaker's Comm.* on Gen. xxxvii. 3, where the view given in the text is preferred.—EDITORS.

[d] That the two names are used interchangeably seems clear from this passage; it must therefore be supposed

Egypt at the time of the Hyksos (having been previously at war) is proved by the inscriptions lately discovered by Glaser in Arabia, and by Hömel's interpretation of those which relate to Egypt.

The chief articles of trade which the Ishmaelitish and Midianitish merchants brought to Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs, were spices of different kinds, metal work, glass beads, certain woven stuffs, chariots, semi-precious stones such as lapis-lazuli and malachite, and above all *slaves*. Throughout the whole time of the Khalifs slaves were the chief article of trade with the caravans that came from Asia, and down to the present time many white slave-girls are brought to Egypt by Syrian traders. We learn from several texts that slaves were brought from Asia under the 12th dynasty (before the arrival of the Hyksos). A very high price was always paid for fine youths. For certain particularly noble and well-formed Circassian boys under the Mamluk Sultans, much more was paid than for a fine horse. The Midianitish traders, into whose hands Joseph fell when he was seventeen years of age, would be able to make great profit out of him, for the twenty shekels of silver [SHEKEL] which they paid for him was a very low price even at that time. Slaves were needed in all great houses; and the names of a few which have come down to us from the time of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, prove certainly their Semitic origin. Besides these, the monuments mention slaves from Syria (Charu), from Canaan, and from many places in Western Asia, such as Karka, Tarbasana, &c. Several of these rose to high dignity at court. The usual words for slave and servant are *hon-u* and *bak-u*. Their value is well proved by the trouble people took to catch those who escaped. A Leyden papyrus tells of six who escaped from Prince Atef-amen and of the search for them.

Joseph would be sold in the slave market at Zoan (Tanis), Bubastis, or more probably Memphis; he was sold to *Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian* (Gen. xxxix. 1). Potiphar is called "an Egyptian," and his name is as truly Egyptian as his office. The name Potiphar is rightly rendered ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥⲣϩ (Petephre) by the Coptic translator of Genesis; it must be the Hebrew form of the hieroglyphic *Pe-du-pa-Ra* or *Pe-du-Ra*, which means the gift of the sun-god, and corresponds with the Greek Ἡλιόδωρος. Analogous forms occur with the names of other gods: e.g. *Pe-du-Amen = gift of Amen, Pe-du-hor = gift of Horus, Pe-du-Net = gift of Neith.*[*] It is grammatically right to put the masculine article *pa* before the name of the god in Potiphar. The Hebrew Version gives it as *pha*, and this proves that the writer of Genesis heard the word from a native of Lower Egypt, where the dialect would change Pa-Ra into Pha-Ra or Phra, by aspirating the initial *p*.

The word rendered "officer" in the A. V. and R. V. is literally "eunuch," and the LXX., Vulg., and Coptic so translate it here (*σπάδων, eunuchus,* ⲥⲓⲟⲩϩ). We need not be surprised at finding eunuchs at the Egyptian court; for though in Egypt monogamy was the rule for private people, the Pharaoh was allowed to have many concubines, besides his lawful queen, and these formed a harem, just like those of the Eastern courts of the present time.

With regard to the second title of Potiphar, he was a שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים. The Septuagint renders this ἀρχιμάγειρος; the Coptic ⲁⲣⲭⲓ-ⲙⲁⲅⲉⲓⲣⲟⲥ, which means "chief confectioner." According to the Syrian translation of the Bible, the word means "captain of the body-guard." The first part of the word, שַׂר, is, in the Egyptian language, *sar*, "captain" or "prince," and the second part may be translated "body-guard." Pharaoh, like other Eastern kings, possessed a body-guard. Under the peaceful rule of the old Empire, the Egyptian army was small, and its organisation most simple. The body-guard consisted then of the *shes-u*, or followers. [POTIPHAR.]

Gen. xxxix. 1–12. Joseph rises so high in the house of his master, that Potiphar makes him his servant, and sets him over his house. *Servant* here means a free functionary, not a slave. Even now in the East a slave who distinguishes himself by his good behaviour may receive his freedom and remain in his master's house as an upper and confidential servant. The *mer-per* or housemaster is often mentioned on the monuments.

As an introduction to what follows, *v.* 6 ends with these words: "And Joseph was a goodly person and well favoured." *Vv.* 7–23 treat of the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, which under the name of Zuleikha is a favourite subject for Oriental poetry. This story awakens peculiar interest from the fact that there exists another, with true Egyptian colouring, agreeing in its principal details with the Biblical narrative. It forms the beginning of the "Story of the Two Brothers," which was written in hieratic at Thebes, about the time of the Exodus. The MS. which contains it is in the British Museum: it is called the Papyrus d'Orbiney, after the name of the lady who brought it into Europe. The whole story has much in common with the German tale of the "Juniper Tree."[†] We will give a short *précis* of the beginning of the Papyrus d'Orbiney, which corresponds very nearly with the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, though the latter takes place in the house of a distinguished Egyptian officer, and the former amongst simple Egyptian peasants.

"There were once two brothers, who lived together in the country. The elder was called

that one of them is generic; and since the caravan was from Gilead, it is reasonable to infer that the merchants were more strictly Midianites, and called Ishmaelites by a kind of generic use of that name.—EDITORS.

[*] Brugsch explains this name as *Pe-du-per=the gift of him who appeared.* This is founded on no analogy and is refuted by the Coptic translation above cited.

[†] Several accurate translations have been produced since E. de Rougé made known the substance of the story. The original text was published by S. Birch in his *Select Papyri*, II., pp. ix.–xix., 1860. The best English translation is by Le Page Renouf, in Birch and Sayce's *Records of the Past*, vol. II., pp. 137–152; the best French translation is by Maspero; while literal translations have been published in German by H. Brugsch and G. Ebers (1868).

Anubis, the younger Batan; the former was married, and his brother lived with him and undertook all the work with the cattle and in the fields for him. This was done so excellently that there was not his equal in Egypt. So they all three lived together in perfect union. One day, however, when the inundation had gone down so that the time for ploughing had come, both brothers worked busily with the oxen until the seed-corn was finished; the elder brother then sent the younger home to fetch some more. The latter found his sister-in-law plaiting her hair; and when he asked her for the corn, she told him to go to the granary and take as much as he needed. Batan laded himself with a very heavy load of wheat and *durra* corn; but as he came back with it on his shoulder, his brother's wife *changed her voice*, forgot her duty to her husband, and tried to seduce him." Then he was very angry, and repulsed her in words very similar to those with which Joseph admonished his master's wife to remember her duty. We will place the two refusals side by side that they may be compared.

Gen. xxxix. 8, 9.	Tale of Two Brothers: Papyrus d'Orbiney.
Behold, my master wotteth not what *is with* me in the house, and he hath committed all that he hath to my hand. There is none greater in this house than I, neither hath he kept back anything from me, but thee, because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?	And hast not thou been as a mother to me, and thy husband as a father? and he who is my elder brother, he it is who provides for my living. Alas! what thou sayest to me is shameful. Say it not to me again. But I will tell it to no one; I will not betray it to a single person.

"Therefore Batan went back to the field; but the wife of the elder brother was afraid, because of the request she had made to him: she therefore disfigured herself, so that when her husband returned he should believe that some one had done violence to her. Towards evening he came home, and when he found his wife in such a sad state, he asked her what had happened. She then accused Batan of having requested her to do wrong, and, when she refused, of having beaten her, adding that if her husband allowed his younger brother to live, he would kill her as soon as he found out that she had betrayed his evil intentions." How Anubis then attempted to kill his younger brother, and how the latter called upon the sun-god to prove his innocence, &c., does not belong here.

This so much resembles our Bible narrative, that many have supposed that the one was borrowed from the other. E. Meyer and others think that the Egyptian tale is the foundation of our story, but it is much more probable that the contrary is the case, or that the two are entirely independent. The fact that rejected love begets hatred is an experience repeated amongst all nations in all circles of life, as in the Greek legend of Phaedra and Hippolytus.

The picture at Beni Hasan, mentioned above, explains also how Joseph could leave his coat behind with his tempter; this garment being only fastened round the neck and by one sleeve. In Gen. xxxix. 17 Potiphar's wife assures her husband that the Hebrew servant, whom he had brought into the house, came in to mock her: which may be an allusion to the unmanly employment of her husband, who was a eunuch.

Vv. 20–23. Potiphar puts Joseph into prison, but through the Lord's "mercy" the keeper of the prison loves Joseph, and places so much confidence in him, that he lets him go free in the prison, with authority over the other prisoners. In this "keeper of the prison," we have not, as some maintain, Potiphar, but a new character introduced into the story. In Egypt, where every department had its superintendent, Potiphar, the overseer of the harem, could not at the same time be governor of the prison. Joseph's lovable and excellent character won for him esteem and respect everywhere, even here also, and for this reason, "because the Lord was with him."

Chapter xl. follows with the interpretation of the dreams by Joseph. Pharaoh's "chief of the butlers" and "chief of the bakers" were his fellow-prisoners. They had roused the anger of the king, and the young Hebrew was destined to be of service to them. We have information on the monuments about both these officials. The "butler" had not only to present the wine, but also to mix it before the banquets. This was done during the meal, probably with the help of syphons, as we see depicted on a monument at Thebes (Wilkinson, ii. 314 [8vo ed.]). The monuments teach us that the Egyptians were good vine-growers, and the classical writers mention their good vintages. The cup-bearer belonged to the class of the *abu-u*, whose duty it was to seal the vessels as a safeguard against poison and pollution. They are represented bringing in jars of wine to the king. Some of these men held high offices in the State, at the same time performing their court duties, which brought them into close intercourse with the Pharaoh. Amongst them we find the overseer of the *abu-u dep-u arp-u*, who tasted the wines, and corresponds certainly with our chief cup-bearer.[s] Even amongst the Greeks the Egyptians were celebrated for their cookery, and so many different dishes are mentioned on the monuments that the cooks in the Pharaonic time must have been extraordinarily clever. The baker was called *chenti*, but we know of a number of these craftsmen who, as specialists, were concerned only with the preparation of particular kinds of pastry:—thus the baker of cakes (baker of the pastry), the preparer of *cakes* (which Maspero translates "biscuits durs"), the maker of the *persa-u* ("pastry"), and finally the maker of a kind of cake, *t'airir* or *t'airoiro* (according to Maspero, *galettes communes*).

Each of Joseph's companions dreamed a dream connected with his calling. The cup-bearer pressed three bunches of grapes into Pharaoh's cup, and gave it into his hand. This may appear a surprising custom in a country where wine was made in exactly the same manner as now in the districts given up to vine cultivation. The monuments show us how they picked the

[s] This title, as well as others, are found in the Hood Papyrus (Brit. Mus.), lately edited by Maspero. In this MS. people are arranged according to their various offices and occupations; and though it belongs to a later date, yet most of those mentioned are also found in earlier times.

grapes, trod them with their feet, caused the juice to run into great barrels, from which the wine vessels were filled. [EGYPT, p. 866.] We have already mentioned its intoxicating power; but at the same time the Egyptians used the juice of grapes squeezed into water as a sort of lemonade at certain feasts. The description of the life of the gods corresponds with that of the king and his courtiers; and in the Horus text of Edfu (Pl. xiii. l. 3), edited by Naville, we find that after Horus had killed the companions of Set (Typhon), he was embraced by his father Ra; the younger god then commands that the juice of grapes should be squeezed into water, that this drink may gladden the heart of the goddess (Hathor or Astarte). We read literally: "Squeeze grapes into water; what comes out of them (the juice) will refresh the heart of the goddess." From this we may take it for granted that this drink was also used at court, specially after great exertions. All that is necessary has already been said about the "bake-meats" which the baker carried on his head, and of which the birds ate.

To the cup-bearer Joseph explained that his dream signified that Pharaoh would be gracious to him, and give him back his office; but on the other hand he was obliged to tell the baker that Pharaoh would turn his face from him, and cause him to be hanged. It was on Pharaoh's birthday that there was a feast to all the servants (xl. 20–23). The cup-bearer was reinstated in his office and the baker hanged. In Egypt the birthday of the king was kept with great rejoicings, and down to Ptolemaic times it was usually the occasion for acts of mercy of various kinds. On the Rosetta Stone (l. 10) we read of the *hru mes netr nefr*, the birthday of the good god. The Septuagint rightly translates our passage *ἡμέρα γενέσεως*, and the Coptic is ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ ⲛⲓⲥⲓ ⲛⲛⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ (*dies natalis Pharaonis*). Even at the birth of a royal child there were great festivities. In the Papyrus d'Orbiney we read that when the "favourite" presented a son to the king, the whole country rejoiced, and his majesty solemnised a holy day. According to the bilingual text of the Rosetta Stone, an assembly of priests was called together in the temple of Memphis on the king's birthday, an amnesty was decreed for those criminals who were in prison, and freedom was given to some who, in spite of some misdemeanour, had long been considered by the judges as deserving of pardon. In the decree of Canopus (the second bilingual text found by Lepsius), we read of a similar assembly of priests called together for this purpose on the birthday of Ptolemy III. (Euergetes I.). On the stele of Kuban, of the time of Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the oppression, we read, *nehm-m-pet-u hru-n mest-f:* "There was rejoicing in heaven on the day of his (the king's) birth." We may be sure there were also rejoicings on earth. The baker was *hanged*. The monuments tell us that this was the usual punishment of criminals condemned to death. Beheading was not usual; but in the lawsuit against the robbers of the royal tombs, a few culprits were condemned to be impaled.

Gen. xli. 1, &c. Here we read of Pharaoh's dreams, and how, when no one could interpret them, the chief cup-bearer, who had forgotten Joseph (xl. 23), was reminded of his own dream and of the young Hebrew. Joseph, disclaiming all ability in himself and attributing that to God, intimating also that the dream is a revelation by God of His purposes in regard to Egypt (xli. 16, 28, 32), declares the interpretation, gives good counsel at the same time, and is raised to high honour. The learned men were always called together when the king needed advice or an interpretation; they were generally called the *rech-u chet-u*, i.e. those who have knowledge of things. [MAGIC.] Many of the monuments, *e.g.* the stele of the Great Sphinx and the so-called dream-stele, show how much importance was attached to dreams in Pharaonic times, and under the Ptolemies there are several papyri of the time of Ptolemy Philometor, which show that hermits lived alone in the Serapeum and devoted their lives to the explanation of dreams. The dreams are well known. In the first, the fat and lean cattle come up out of the Nile: several pictures represent this, and when the first were found, it was thought that they were representations of Pharaoh's dreams; but this was not the case, for from the earliest times, long before the Hyksos or the Hebrews came into Egypt, rich landed proprietors had representations of their herds in the interior of their tombs, to show their descendants how great were the possessions of their ancestors.

The Nile is called in Hebrew יְאֹר, *i.e.* the river *par excellence*, corresponding with the hieroglyphic *aur*, in old texts *iur*, from which comes the Coptic ⲓⲁⲣⲟ = *fluvius*. [EGYPT, p. 864.] The bank is called in Hebrew, as in Egyptian, "the lips of the river." The number *seven* is very Egyptian, seven being a sacred, comprehensive number, often used on similar occasions. Many attempts have of late been made to explain the importance of *seven* amongst symbolic numbers. Three is said to stand for the divinity, four for the cosmos, $3 + 4 = 7$ for the union of God with the world. The *seven* planets and the *seven* Hathors are well known in Egyptian mythology. The Hathors may be cow-headed, or they may appear in the form of cows, those animals being sacred to them, and this explains why *cows* should appear to Pharaoh in a dream.

In hieroglyphics the number *seven* is often denoted by a head, on account of its seven openings. In one copy of the Book of the Dead, the deceased are seen cutting 2×7 ears of corn in the Elysian fields. The medicinal and magical writings of ancient Egypt prove also the significance of the number seven. In the Ebers Papyrus, when several drugs are prescribed, seven is the number preferred, and never six, eight, or nine. In Pap. Ebers (71, 20–7) we find seven *tmmt*, little fish; (70, 8), seven plants of *utu*, herbs; (74, 14), seven *apnent* (snakes or worms), seven *aff* (flies), seven *aku* of the earth (moles?), &c. are to be taken; (54, 19), *seven* heated stones must be used to turn water into steam, which the sick person has to inhale through a reed.[a]

[a] In the symbolic numbers of Pythagoras, seven was also the number signifying health. Till a late date *seven* was used by preference in the magical writings:

Vv. 28–32. Joseph's interpretation.

Vv. 33–36. His advice to Pharaoh. He should choose a judicious wise man to be over the land of Egypt. Further, "let him appoint overseers (R. V.) over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years: and let them gather all the food of those good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities. And that food shall be for store to the land against the seven years of famine which shall be in the land of Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine." We mentioned above that this famine may be identical with that famine of many years mentioned in the grave of Baba at El Kab. Even before the Hyksos' time, a low inundation was often the cause of want and distress, and the governors of the nomes gloried in helping their subjects and saving them from distress; *e.g.* Ameni, in his tomb at Beni Hasan, extols himself in the following words:—"There were none in distress in my time, and none starving as long I lived. And when the years of famine came, I ploughed all the fields of the nome Mah, from the Southern to the Northern boundary.[i] I nourished the inhabitants, by preparing bread for it (the nome). No starving ones were to be found in it, for I gave to the widow, as to the lady of a husband, and never did I prefer the great to the small in all that I bestowed."

Thus acted Ameni, prince of the nome, in accordance with the old law and custom, still preserved in many texts, to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, and to clothe the naked.[j]

V. 37. These words pleased Pharaoh and his servants.

V. 38. The king acknowledges that the Spirit of God is in Joseph, and in *v.* 40 he says to the wise interpreter, "Thou shalt be over my house, and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled; only in the throne will I be greater than thou."

V. 42. "And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck. And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, 'Abrek'" (see below; A. V. and R. V. "Bow the knee"). This is entirely in accordance with Egyptian customs of the time of the Hebrews (after the importation of horses) and later. Rings were worn by men and women from the earliest times. Most of those which have come down to us are seal rings, often engraved with the name of the reigning king on the flat underside of a scarabaeus.[k] Most of the rings we have were taken from the fingers of mummies. Some of them show very artistic work; some are of pure gold; some have scarabaei, others movable plates of semi-precious stones, on which the seal was engraved. A few are richly ornamented, *e.g.* one in the Louvre with two golden horses, beautifully cut. On the king's ring was his cartouche, , framing his name, and underneath his usual title: "King of Lower and Upper Egypt." In Egypt, as in all Eastern countries, the seal was the confirmation or endorsement of a person's will; and when he delivered up his ring to any one, he gave him (to use a modern expression) the power to act for him with legal authority. Decrees and letters were *sealed;* animals and bricks were stamped with the name of the owner or builder. Even the most sacred things in the temples were sealed, and part of the ritual was the breaking of the seal on the entrance of the king or high-priest. Thus the "keeper of the seal" was the deputy of the king, the *adon*, and his office is called on the monuments *adonnu mer chetam*, that of the king's deputy and keeper of the seal.

The garment given to Joseph (*vv.* 41, 42) is called *shesh;* it means fine white Egyptian cotton, and the material into which it is made. It therefore signifies a garment of fine white texture. Although it stands for *flax*, there were cotton as well as linen stuffs in Egypt, and there was a special name for byssus, *pek*, *pek-t.* The opinion expressed in the last edition of Gesenius' *Heb.-Chald. Dict.* is correct with regard to Egyptian also: "The words for flax and cotton flow into each other." It is very possible that the Hebrew *shesh* is derived from the Egyptian *shesh* = "the white." In the Ebers Papyrus, a queen of the 1st dynasty is called *shesh* = "the white." The hieroglyphic reading *shes* signifies, according to Brugsch, a woven stuff of peculiar fineness: this is translated "byssus" by the bilingual texts; it was of a light colour, and Brugsch considers this *shes* the Egyptian form of the Hebrew שֵׁשׁ. The word may also be connected with the Old Egyptian *shendi-t, shenti*, the apron-garment. At the time of our history, Pharaoh could not have presented a greater mark of favour to any one than the royal apron-garment, the *shendi-t.* Erman was the first to teach us to distinguish the different fashions of dress of the men and women of Old Egypt. Before the Hyksos' time a certain dress was authoritative for foreigners, and Joseph could hardly (as has been till now asserted) have been honoured with that long shirt-like

e.g. in a Graeco-Egyptian papyrus, a twig of laurel, which was needed for some magical purpose, had to have seven leaves, &c.

["The perfectly Egyptian colour of all this part of the narrative is very noticeable, and nowhere more so than in the particulars of the first dream. The cattle coming up from the river and feeding on the bank may be seen even now, though among them the lean kine predominate; and the use of one Egyptian word, if not of two, in the narrative probably shows that the writer knew the Egyptian language. The corn with many ears on one stalk must be wheat, one kind of which now grown in Egypt has this peculiarity. Another point to be remarked is that Joseph shaved before he went into Pharaoh's presence, and we find from the monuments that the Egyptians, except when engaged in war, shaved both the head and face, the small beard that was worn on the chin being probably artificial."—R. S. P.]

[i] On the west and east were the Libyan desert and the Arabian mountains; therefore no boundary-stones were needed.

[j] The supposition of Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, iii. 334, 1st ed.) that this inscription refers to Joseph's famine is controverted by Brugsch (*Egypt*, i. 158, 2nd ed., P. Smith).—Editors.

[k] The oldest known bears the name of Khufu (Cheops), the builder of the Great Pyramid, and is in the possession of Herr Platherothe at Bremen.

garment, such as was worn by great men under the New Empire; it is far more probable that the royal apron is here meant, which under the Old Empire was a sign of royalty, and which later might only be worn by men in high office, and by the confidential advisers of the Pharaoh. The title "wearer of the *shendi-t*" is found in the tombs of the Old Empire, and betokens a particular honour. In the time of Joseph, the costume of the highest officers of state consisted of a thick under-apron, over which was worn the *shendi-t*. The latter was made of fine transparent byssus, and reached from the hips to the middle of the leg, covering the lower part of the body. It probably consisted of a long piece of byssus wound round the body. The end was drawn through the girdle, which was ornamented with gold clasps. Long garments covering the whole body were almost unknown at this time, though we find one prince of a nome under the 12th dynasty represented in one of them. The white linen or cotton material of which the *shendi-t* was made (probably the *shesh* of the Bible) was so thin, that though in folds it was probably transparent, and therefore the under-apron became a necessity. Under the Pharaohs, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, the heads of all the Government departments were allowed to wear the *shendi-t* on public occasions; later it gradually lost its significance and honour.

The *golden chain* was such a common ornament at the Egyptian court, that in hieroglyphics a golden necklace signifies "gold." It is written *nub*, = "gold." In the pyramid time the necklace was part of the dress of royal personages, and was worn over the otherwise bare upper part of the body.

"Pharaoh made Joseph to ride in the second carriage which he had." No horses are represented on the monuments before the time of the Hyksos, nor do we ever see the king in a carriage, though later he seems to have generally used one on leaving his palace. We therefore conclude that horses and carriages were introduced into the Nile valley by the Hyksos. During the time of their subjection, the native princes also learnt to make use of vehicles drawn by horses, both in war and peace, for the monuments show us the king penetrating far into the interior of Asia with his chariots of war, and also going for a quiet drive with his family. At Tell-el-Amarna Amenophis IV. (Khunaten) drives out with his daughters, and in the D'Orbiney Papyrus Pharaoh and his favourite wife take a drive for pleasure. The king, with wreaths of flowers round his neck, first leaves the palace in a carriage of silver-gilt (electron). The favourite is in the next carriage, of which the description is not given. That of the governor was inlaid with precious metals: the "second" carriage, which Joseph was to use, would naturally be less beautiful and costly. For an account of the Egyptian chariots, see CHARIOT; and for the horses, see HORSE.

V. 43. "They cried before him אַבְרֵךְ (*Abrek*), and he (Pharaoh) set him over all the land of Egypt." *Abrek* is an old Egypto-Hebrew word, and Brugsch is right when he makes it correspond with the hieroglyphic word *brok* or *brek*, and considers א (*abk*) to represent the Egyptian exclamation calling the people to obedience. *Abrok* is therefore to be translated "Bow the knee," or better, "Up, bow the knee," and expresses an act of deep submission. In an instance borrowed from Dümichen's historical inscriptions, it is construed with *n*, i.e. "before," and means, "We bow the knee before (*brok-n*) thy double crown." We have not yet met with *brok* in any older text; still it certainly belongs to the Old Egyptian language.[1]

V. 44. Pharaoh said unto Joseph that without him should no man lift up hand or foot in all the land of Egypt; and in *v.* 45 he called Joseph's name Zaphenat-Pa'neach, and "gave him Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, the priest of On, for his wife." The name which Pharaoh gave to Joseph has been generally read Zaphnath-paaneah, and its explanation has caused great difficulty. Dr. G. Steindorff[m] paraphrases this group of words, Zaphenat-Pa' neach, and shows that there is doubtless an Egyptian form, written Ze-pnute-ef-anch, corresponding to the Coptic ϫⲉ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ-ⲉϥ-ⲱⲛϩ. The meaning of this name is, "God speaks and he lives." Many texts give analogous names: "The god Khons speaks and he lives;" "The god Ptah speaks and he lives;" "The goddess Nut or the goddess Isis speaks and he lives." Brugsch translates Zaphnath-paaneah, "Governor of the Sethroitish nome;" but his theory is refuted by the above explanation of Steindorff's, which will certainly meet with universal acceptation.

Joseph received this name because the simple name under which he had come as a slave to Egypt was no longer befitting for him. He needed a more distinguished name, more pleasing to Egyptian ears, and as with him so it was with many Shemites who came to Pharaoh's court. We need only mention the herald (literally, a speaker) Ben Mat'ana, son of Iupa-a, a Shemite, who was obliged to allow himself to be called at Pharaoh's court "Rameses in the Temple of Ra." Change of name was also usual with *parvenus* whom the king wished to honour. The fact that names with the meaning "God speaks and he lives" only began to be commonly used in the time of the 22nd dynasty, causes Steindorff to place at that period the last redaction of the Hebrew story to which our passage belongs. The names which follow (Asenath and Potipherah) also belong to that epoch, and it may be that the later Hebrew writer added them to the original text. If the Hyksos king whom Joseph served lived at Tanis, it would be difficult to explain how he could choose a wife for Joseph, whose father lived so far away, and was a priest of the sun-god Ra, for the king and his family served no god but Set. If Memphis and the conditions of court life under the 20th dynasty were in the mind of the Hebrew writer at the conclusion of this passage, then each statement is in exact agreement, for the name Asenath is a regular change of form of the Egyptian female name *Nesnet*, meaning "belonging to the goddess Net" (Neith).

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[1] Benfey explains it by the Coptic ⲃⲱⲣ, also meaning "to prostrate;" and with the *a* for the Imperative and the suffix *k*, the second person (*abrok*) would mean "Prostrate thyself." [ABRECH.]

[m] *Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, 1889, p. 42.

Analogous names with *nes* = "belonging to," are very numerous; and names like Nes-Hor, Nes-Hathor, Nes-Khons, Nes-Isis, appear earlier, but are particularly numerous in the second division of the New Empire.[n]

The father of Joseph's wife was called in the Hebrew Potipherah, according to the Septuagint Πετεφρῆ. This Greek translation, as well as the Coptic, reads ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲫⲣⲏ, and compels us to recognise in this name, as in that of Joseph's first master, the Egyptian *Pe-du-pa-Ra* = "the gift of the sun-god Ra." He was a priest of On, the Greek Heliopolis, the very ancient town of the sun, lying a few miles north of Cairo, on the east bank of the Nile, and throughout the history of ancient Egypt the centre of the sun-worship. The high-priest of the highest solar deity was called the Urma; he was also chief prophet of the god, and under him were priests of various orders, to which, under the Hyksos kings, the doctors also belonged.

One of the chief tribunals of Egypt sat at Heliopolis, and the "faculty of medicine" in the "great halls" of this town was the most ancient and most famous in the land. To which order of priests in this temple and college Joseph's father-in-law belonged, we know not. The great sanctuary of Ra, described so fully by Strabo, has disappeared: nothing remains but a sacred obelisk still standing out against the sky, erected by Usertesen I. (12th dynasty), before the coming of the Hyksos, who spared it as well as the whole temple, for we are told in a MS. on leather in the Berlin Museum that the temple, which was rebuilt magnificently under the 12th dynasty, was still standing in the Ptolemaic time. The beautiful ruins are described by Arabian writers, who visited them even after the conquest of Egypt by Islam.

V. 46 states that "Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh, king of Egypt."

The end of chap. xli. relates how Joseph travelled through the whole country (carrying out his measures), and how everything he had prophesied came to pass. First the seven years of plenty, in which Joseph stored up the corn as "the sand of the sea." This is a favourite simile in Old Egyptian: we have noted a number of sentences similar to the following:—"The provision is more in quantity than the sand of the sea-shore" (Dümichen, *Temple Inscrip.* 86, 5). In the years of plenty two sons were born to Joseph by Asenath. *v.* 50, and he named the first-born Manasseh [MANASSEH], and the second Ephraim [EPHRAIM]. Then came the years of famine, and "the dearth was in all lands, but in all the land of Egypt there was bread" (*v.* 54). This famine is spoken of as one that is "over all the face of the earth" (*v.* 56); it therefore was not due entirely to the misfortune of the low Nile. At any rate it extended over Palestine, for Jacob (chap. xlii. 1, &c.) sent his sons to Egypt to buy corn there. The expression "the face of the earth" often meant but a small sphere; here probably Egypt and Western Asia are spoken of, and one can easily imagine climatic conditions which would be injurious to the corn in those parts of the world.

The position of Joseph is one we often meet with on the monuments of all ages. The prosperity of Egypt always depended on the produce of her fields; and even in the time of the pyramids the superintendent of the granaries was one of the highest officers of state. One inscription says, "He had the superintendence of the stewards in all domains of Pharaoh, from the miserable country of Cush (Ethiopia) to the borders of Mesopotamia (Naharina)." Under the 18th dynasty we find, that when there were good harvest returns, these officials were honoured by the golden necklace and other rewards. Men both of the highest priestly and secular rank held also this office. They were generally called "superintendents of the granaries of the South and of the North," and a certain Ramen-cheperseneb called himself "the royal scribe of the granaries of the North and of the South" (Ledrain's *Catalogue*, 1314). We know the appearance of the granaries, for Naville has cleared out the remains of some at Tell-el-Maskhutah (Pithom Succoth), and they are also often represented on the monuments. They were large rectangular long buildings, with no decoration, built of bricks of Nile mud, with slightly inclining walls and a row of windows high up, to admit air. A staircase led to the roof, for the openings into the rooms were at the top, and the corn was shaken into them from above. Near the granaries were offices for the scribes and the weighing-rooms, and every sack of corn which was brought in was registered by the clerks, who squatted on the roof. Joseph's position was more than simple overseer of the granaries, as we have already seen; he was "keeper of the seal," and this office was often connected with that of *t'at* or governor, the chief justice who superintended the whole administration of the country, and, like Joseph, was called the second after the king (De Rougé, *Hier. Ins.* 303). Even those of high rank had to obey him, and he was supreme at court.

The sons of Israel then came to Egypt (xlii.) Benjamin only, Jacob's favourite, the last-born of Rachel, was left behind—for fear that mischief should befall him. Joseph, the governor of the land, also sold the corn, and his "brethren came and bowed down themselves before him with their faces to the earth" (*v.* 6). This sign of submission was required from all who came to Egypt with a petition to the king. Absoha, the Semitic captain represented with his followers at Beni Hasan, is only bowing low, when he meets the prince of the nome Mah, but he comes with gifts, not with a petition. Other pictures show us Egyptian and Asiatic suppliants in a position corresponding exactly with the words "bowed down themselves before him with their faces to the earth," for they throw themselves down before him from whom they hope for favours, so that their nose or mouth would touch the ground. This custom

[n] The "n" in names composed with *nes* disappears in the language of other nations. The Greek Ζμῖνις corresponds with the Egyptian *Nes-Min*. To facilitate pronunciation an e is often introduced before the double consonant at the beginning: thus Ζμῖνις becomes Ἐσμῖνις. This e is rendered (*N*)*s-net* in the Hebrew translation. We cannot accept Brugsch's theory that Asenath is the old female name *Snat*. On the other hand, the laws of phonetic change are in favour of our theory.

was called contemptuously by the Greeks προσκυνεῖν, and by the Egyptians *senta* = "to smell or kiss the earth.") Under the Old Empire a royal prince, high-priest at Memphis (Ptahshepses), counted it the highest honour to kiss the king's foot, and the stele of Entef (12th dynasty) teaches us that even the great people of Upper Egypt threw themselves down on the ground before the *t'at*, the highest officer in Egypt. In later times, people of rank, if native Egyptians, were spared this humiliation, but those of lower rank and conquered princes and foreigners were always compelled to "smell the earth" before Pharaoh and his highest dignitaries, as *e.g.* the conquered rebel kings before Pianchi, the Ethiopian Pharaoh.

The brothers did not recognise the youth now grown to manhood; he however knew at once who they were, and "spake roughly to them," and accused them of having come as spies "to see the nakedness of the land" (*v.* 12). By this is surely meant the only way by which Egypt could be entered by enemies from the east, *i.e.* by the Isthmus of Suez. At this point fortresses had been erected under the Old Empire (12th dynasty), which in the time of Seti I. and Rameses II. (19th dynasty) were extended into a regular line of forts, called the *chetam*, or the key, corresponding to the word Etham in the Bible.[o] The various forts followed almost the same direction as the present Suez Canal. The most important strong points were *chetam en T'ar*, "the fortress of the North," probably the Pelusium of the Greeks (called rightly by Suidas the key of Egypt, ἡ κλεῖς τῆς Αἰγύπτου), and to the South the later Hero, Heroonopolis.[p] The latter was called by the Egyptians by the sacred name of Pithom (house of the god Tum), and Thekut (Heb. Succoth), as Naville has shown by the Egypt Exploration Fund excavations. It touched the western extremity of the Red Sea, which must therefore have extended much further north than it does now. Here was a fortified storehouse, and in Roman times a *castrum*, which may have been close to an Egyptian entrenched camp. As the lakes of Timsah and Balah were a protection from invaders on this side, it was only necessary to erect a few forts. One, as we find from the sculptures of Seti I. on the north wall of Karnak, was called *Makthol*, Heb. Migdol, the strong castle, or fortified tower; another, more to the west, is mentioned by Jer. ii. 16, xlvi. 14, xliii. 7, xliv. 1, and by Ezek. xxx. 18. It was called in Hebrew Tahpahnes [TAHPAHNES], and in the Septuagint Taphne, Taphnai. The Egyptian name was Thabne, and its position has lately been approximately determined. Thus in later times the eastern boundary of Egypt was well protected. Under the Hyksos, however, there only existed the town fortified by them, called by the Greeks Avaris, and a row of forts on the isthmus, spoken of in the *Travels of Seneha* as "obstructions" (12th dynasty). The eastern nations, if intending to conquer Egypt, had, above all, to discover the weak points in this line of fortifications; or, as the Bible expresses it, "to spy out the nakedness of the land."

The brothers defended themselves (*v.* 13), and began: "Thy servants are twelve brethren." The phrase "thy servants" is quite Egyptian, for, as Borchardt has lately shown, *bek am* is to be understood as a courteous formulary for "I," or "I thy servant;" so Joseph's brothers, instead of saying "we," said, "thy servants." This expression is used most frequently in the time of the 12th dynasty, therefore before the time of the Hyksos. Also the oath "by the life of Pharaoh," introduced by Joseph in his reply, is genuinely Egyptian; even the Pharaohs swore by their own names: *e.g.* the Pharaoh Pianchi, on the stele named after him, uses the expression *anch-a mer-a Ra*, "by my life," "by my love to Ra."

Vv. 15, &c. Joseph explained to the brothers that he intended to keep them prisoners while one fetched the youngest brother. They then talked to each other, and reminded each other sorrowfully of the wrong they had done to Joseph. They talked in their own language, and did not know that the prime minister of the king understood them, "for he spake unto them by an interpreter." This shows us that Egyptian was spoken at the Hyksos court, a fact we have already assumed from other circumstances (see p. 1793). Interpreters were found in Egypt at all times; and, indeed, under the founder of the 26th dynasty (middle of 7th century B.C.), when the king Psammetichus relied on Greek soldiers, and when numerous Greeks settled in Egypt, the *interpreters*, according to Herodotus (ii. 154, 164), formed a distinct class. In Roman times, Roman travellers conversed with the Egyptians through interpreters, whose profession fell into bad repute for want of truthfulness.

Vv. 24, &c., show us how Joseph, in spite of his emotion, caused Simeon to be bound; the others were sent away with corn and provisions, while the money which they had paid was put back into their sacks. The custom of using coined tokens began much later than the date of this story, so that *money* such as we use is not meant here, but metal paid in the form of balls or small bars, weighed in balances with two scales. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.] That this weighed metal is meant, we see from xliii. 21, "our money in full weight." The brothers laded their *asses* with the corn. *Asses* were much used in Egypt as beasts of burden; the camel was introduced much later, probably not before the time of the Ptolemies, as Barth has proved. The monuments do not give us a single example of the camel, though the papyri of the New Empire show us that people knew of them, but did not consider them suitable for use in Egypt, and the Egyptians were afraid of travelling in foreign countries.

Ch. xlii. 27. One of the brothers opened his sack in the *inn* and found his money. There must have been *inns* in very early times in those countries where numbers of people of all classes flocked together to certain places of pilgrimage, and remained there for several days. Thousands of people assembled at Bubastis for the feast of Sekhet (Pasht), or at Abydos, where was the tomb of Osiris. Here, as well as at Tanis and Memphis, the destination of so many

[o] See Ebers, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 78, &c.

[p] Herr M. Müller places *shur* before *t'ar* and makes it coincide with the Biblical Shur.

caravans, there must have been inns, probably much like the Oriental *khans* of the present day.

The rest of the story of Joseph and his brethren contains but a few points further which need explanation. On the return of the brothers with Benjamin, with presents from their father, and with the money which had been put into their sacks, Joseph ordered the "ruler of his house" (xliii. 16) to "slay and make ready, for these men shall dine with me at noon." Every great man had (as is said above) an overseer for his house. The monuments often show us pictures of the slaying of animals. Every temple had its slaughter-court, and the animals killed were generally oxen and a sort of large antelope, which was domesticated in old times. The animal was bound and its throat cut with a flint knife, no other knife being used for this purpose. The blood was carefully saved, and the body cut into pieces, the legs being considered the best part. In private houses, oxen, calves, and tame antelopes were preferred to any other kind of meat. Geese and ducks were preferred to all other birds. The Egyptian feasts, of which many are represented in the tombs, were not like ours; the guests sat on chairs in long rows opposite the richly-laden sideboard, which, like the tables of offerings, was always decorated with flowers. Servants, with serviettes in their hands, waited on the guests with dishes also decked with flowers. At ordinary meals a small table with a tray of food and drink was placed near each person: this is also customary in the East now. Under the Old Empire, the guests often squatted on the ground; in later times, however, four-legged chairs were used, which were often upholstered and had comfortable backs. Near these were placed jugs, from which, as is now the custom in the East, water was poured over the hands of those who ate: the use of knives and forks was unknown. The Egyptians never reclined on sofas at meals, like the Greeks and Romans. There was always a special dining-hall in the houses of the great. In the middle stood a large table, probably of stone or brick, on which dishes were placed as upon our sideboards.

Ch. xliii. 21. When the brothers defended themselves to the ruler of Joseph's house because of the money they had found in their sacks, he encouraged them with an expression used as much in Egyptian as in Hebrew; for in many hieroglyphic texts we find a friendly conversation beginning with the greeting *net' her ten* = "Peace be to you," or "Peace to you." In Joseph's house the steward brought water for the brothers to wash their feet; for this Eastern custom existed also in ancient Egypt, as we might expect with a nation where everything, even their religion, inculcated cleanliness of body. According to Herod. ii. 37, the priests always had to bathe twice a day and to wear sandals, while people of high rank often preferred to go barefoot, and had shoe-bearers to carry their sandals. Unwashen feet would have soiled the plaster floor of the cleanly-kept rooms, and that they were much afraid of doing this is proved by the fact that many mummies have the soles of their feet removed that they should not soil the floor of the hall of judgment in the underworld.

Vv. 26, &c. Joseph received his brothers, asked for news of his father, and at the sight of Benjamin, his mother's son, was so moved that he was obliged to withdraw into the inner chamber, in order to weep. Representations and ground-plans of Egyptian houses show us that this "inner chamber" would probably be the sleeping room, and could only be reached by passing through the court, the verandah, a reception-room, the dining-hall, and a sitting-room. It was usually at the back of the house, and (according to the representation of Merira's house) from the dining-hall Joseph would pass through the sitting-room on the right, which occupied one-third of the space behind the dining-hall, and enter the sleeping chamber which opened into it.

When at last they sat *down to table*, *v.* 32, "They set on for him by himself, and for them [his brothers] by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians." This passage shows us *how* completely Egyptian the court of the Hyksos kings had become, for the Hebrews, who were really their blood relations, were considered as unclean as all other foreigners. To a patriotic Egyptian it was always an abomination to eat at the same table with a foreigner, or to cut bread with the same knife, and this abhorrence still survived (according to the classical writers) long after Egypt had been opened out to foreigners under Psammetichus I. (26th dynasty), and after the Pharaohs had for centuries married foreign princesses. From the Pianchi stele (end of 9th century B.C.) we learn that the conquered rebel kings might not enter the king's palace, "because (ll. 150, 151) they were unclean (*ama-u*) and they ate fish." "Unclean" means, as we see by the determinative, *uncircumcised*, and "they ate fish" means every kind of fish, not those only that were allowed to the Egyptians for food. It seems to have been a cause of special abhorrence to the Egyptians that foreigners did not keep the laws which regarded cleanliness of the body and food. Besides this, foreign lands and their inhabitants belonged to Set (Typhon), and everything belonging to him was despised and unclean, even red-haired people, *red* being his colour; the word for "red" therefore signified also "wicked and bad." We know nothing more of the dishes of honour (*v.* 34) which Joseph caused to be served, except that Benjamin's share was five times as much as that of any of the others. At the end of the meal "they drank and were merry with him." The scenes of the Egyptian tombs show that it was usual to drink freely, men and women being represented as overpowered with wine, probably as an evidence of the liberality of the entertainer.

Ch. xliv. Joseph continued his rough treatment of his brothers, and brought them under suspicion of having stolen his own particular "silver cup." Various forms of goblets are represented on the monuments, some certainly made of precious metals, gold, silver, or electron. The cup was found in Benjamin's sack, and Joseph immediately pronounced the sentence of punishment that the boy should be left behind as his slave. Then Judah, mindful of the oath

he had sworn to Jacob, stepped forward and offered himself as a slave in the place of Benjamin, that he might not see the evil that should come upon his father.

Ch. xlv. *Joseph's heart was overcome by these words, and he made himself known to his brethren. Then follows the beautiful passage (vv. 3, &c.) in which he quiets the troubled men, by declaring that all has happened under God's guidance.*

V. 8. "So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God." Then he sent them back to fetch his father, and promised that they and their flocks and herds should settle near him in the land of Goshen. There he would take care of them, for there were yet "five years of famine." Goshen is praised as a land of great fertility. [GOSHEN.]

Vv. 16, &c. Pharaoh and his servants were pleased at the arrival of Joseph's brothers, and the king assured his favourite minister that both they and their father were welcome to the land of Egypt. "I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land." So Joseph, as Pharaoh had commanded, gave them wagons to fetch their father, their wives and children, and presented them with rich presents for themselves and their father, in all of which Benjamin had the preference. Here one point only needs notice: Jacob and his family were to be brought into Egypt in Egyptian *wagons*. Therefore in the time of the Pharaohs there were roads by which people could travel from Palestine to Egypt. In the present day, since the Roman roads have fallen into decay, this journey can only be made riding or on foot, and even to drive through the Delta is impossible. In Old Egypt the Egyptian war-chariots went as far as the north of Syria, and we see from this passage that private conveyances could be driven over this district. Under Rameses III. we find Asiatic tribes invading Egypt, and amongst their camp-followers are *ox-carts* for the conveyance of the wives and children. These carts are really only boxes on four wheels, while the baggage-wagons of the Egyptians, instances of which are represented in the camp of Rameses II., and the chariots for war or for pleasure, were two-wheeled. For the baggage, box-like tops were added to the conveyance. They were drawn, not by horses but by oxen, as is now the case in Ethiopia. We cannot decide which sort of *wagon* was sent to meet Jacob.

Ch. xlvi. 1, &c. Jacob and his family went down into Egypt, and the Lord promised him there (*v.* 3) to make of him "a great nation." Then follow the names of the sons and grandchildren of Jacob who came with him into Egypt. "All the souls of the house of Jacob which came into Egypt were three score and ten" (*v.* 27).

Vv. 28, &c. Judah was sent on before to Joseph, who caused his chariot to be made ready and went up to meet his father in Goshen. This helps us to settle the position of Goshen, which *must* have been between the eastern boundary of the Delta, and one of the king's residences, Tanis, Bubastis, or Memphis. See GOSHEN.

Vv. 29, 30. Joseph went up in his chariot and met his father.

Vv. 31–34. Joseph advised his brethren to make themselves known to Pharaoh as shepherds and herdsmen, so that he might allow them to remain in the land of Goshen; for (*v.* 34) "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Herodotus, a good authority on all he saw himself and a most careful observer when in Egypt, tells us (ii. 47) of the great contempt in which all swineherds were held. This is not surprising, for swine were held in as much abhorrence by the Egyptians as by the Jews and Mahommedans, and were kept but rarely (for certain sacrifices, *e.g.* in Nechebt, *i.e.* el-Kab). That shepherds were also hated, it is difficult to understand, for the ram was sacred in Egypt, and some Egyptians possessed large flocks of sheep. But though rams and bullocks are very often represented, the sheep appears very rarely, and the reason for this was probably religious, the sheep perhaps not being wholly a clean animal, and much inferior to the bullock, the favourite of the Egyptian landowner. Everything concerning the sheep was undertaken (as with swine) by the shepherds. On the other hand, it was the pride of the great man to enumerate on the walls of his tomb the number of each kind of bullock[q] which he possessed. Bullocks were treated with loving care; they were adorned with gay cloths and tassels. Their keeper is on friendly terms with them, and in the Papyrus d'Orbiney the cows are supposed to talk with the shepherd: they tell him where the best pasture is to be found, and the leading cow warns him that he is pursued.

The bullocks also were treated with medicine when they were ill, and were specially cared for at breeding time. The chief breed in Egypt was the old African zebra breed with the hump; the horns grew in the form of a lyre to a magnificent length: while another breed was kept artificially with short horns, or with no horns at all. Foreign bulls were brought into the country to improve the breed, some being imported under the New Empire from the Kheta country; that is, North Syria. Though the overseers, the stewards, the governors, and the scribes of the herds were illustrious civil servants, the shepherds and herdsmen were despised. Their business forced them to wander about, and they could not always keep out of contact with unclean things; they were, therefore, abhorrent to the Egyptians, with whom a settled life and cleanliness were held in the highest estimation. They were called *sechti-u* or marsh-men, and at certain seasons they had to take their cattle into the marshy districts, just as shepherds in the mountains at the present day take them up to "the Alm." In the marshes of the Delta, where birds were snared and wild animals trapped, they would probably come across strangers. Instead of houses they had huts, something like tents, quickly put up and taken down; and of all Egyptians (as we see by their pictures), they took the least pains

[q] A certain Sabu had 405 of one breed, 1237 of another, 1300 of another; besides 1200 calves of one breed, and 1138 of another; in addition 1308 antelopes, 1135 gazelles, and 1244 head of a kind of antelope-goat. A relation also of king Khafra Anch, whose grave is at Gizeh, possessed 835 long-horned cattle, 220 without horns, 974 sheep, 2235 goats, and 760 asses.

with their appearance. They wore a rough apron of plaited grass, and shaved neither their heads nor their beards. Though people avoided coming in contact with the herdsmen, they considered them very intelligent, just as we ascribe a power of sharp observation to our shepherds, who live in close intercourse with nature. Joseph made use of the prejudice against shepherds to settle his relatives on good pasture-land beyond the cultivated and thickly populated lands of the native Egyptians.

Pharaoh willingly agreed (*vv.* 3–6), and told Joseph that if there were capable men amongst them to place them as overseers over his own herds. The *mer* or overseer is often mentioned on the monuments. One was called "overseer of the horn, of the leg with the cloven hoof, and of the feather." He was therefore over all the cattle, the bullocks, the smaller animals, and the feathered flocks. The king must have possessed large herds of cattle; the royal domains were not much less than those belonging to the temples, and the latter owed most of their possessions to the gifts of the great landowners.[r]

Ch. xlvii. 7, &c. Jacob, who was 130 years old, blessed Pharaoh, and this need not surprise us when we remember the reverence the Egyptians paid to old age.

Vv. 13, &c. The wise financier Joseph gathered into the treasury of Pharaoh all the money of the Egyptians and of the inhabitants of Canaan by means of his accumulated stores of food. *V.* 14: "And Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's *house*." By this *house* is meant the treasury, which, together with the officials attached to it, appears countless times on the monuments. It is usually called *per-het* = "the house of silver," and the head-treasurer was a high officer of state.[s] His office was often connected with that of the *t'at* (see p. 1800), and he had many men under him, called "the stewards or clerks of the house of silver." The title of head-treasurer was given, even under the Old Empire, as an honorary title to the highest officers and to the royal relatives. Thus, in an inscription of the 6th dynasty, there is a list of the high officers of state; the princes precede every one, and next come the head-treasurers (the word used is in the plural, though *one* man discharged the duties of the office). There are many pictures of the treasure-house, with its scales on which a large number of clerks weighed and kept the register of the rings and bars. Each temple also had its treasure-chambers, *e.g.* those of Medinet Haboo of Rameses III. On the walls are represented the treasures it contained, metals of all kinds, as well as precious metals, precious stones, vessels of gold and silver, &c.[t]

The Bible tells us how the Egyptians gave all their money to save themselves from starvation, and how they were at last obliged to pledge their cattle and their land.

Vv. 20, &c.: "And Joseph bought *all the land of Egypt* for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's . . . Only the land of the priests bought he not; for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their lands." Then he gave the people seed for their fields, and required them in return to give Pharaoh the fifth part of the produce, the other four parts being their own, for seed of the field, and for their food. *V.* 26, "And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's."[u]

We have here a true picture of the agrarian relations in the valley of the Nile after the expulsion of the Hyksos. Under the Old Empire, as is related in the graves of that period, the nobility and princes of the nomes possessed large freehold estates, and in times of famine had to take care of their people. Under the New Empire, till long after the time of the Exodus, it was quite different; and if we review in chronological order the agrarian relations of Egypt, referred to on the monuments, we find that the reversion to the Crown of the landed property of the nobility must have occurred in the period just before the expulsion of the Hyksos. In Lower Egypt, also, the native Egyptian Pharaohs, from the time of Rasekenen I. to that of Ahmes, seem to have confiscated the large estates, and the story of Joseph gives an interesting account of this proceeding. It is certain that under the 18th dynasty (that following the Hyksos) all the land, with the exception of the priests' fields, belonged to Pharaoh, and that those in possession had to pay 20 per cent. of the produce (the fifth part) to the king, while under the Old Empire there is no trace of such a regulation; the *statutum* or fixed income of the priests (mentioned xlvii. 22) is also found in later times. Under the Old Empire the princes of the nomes presided over the colleges of the priests in their small feudal states, and received a fixed amount of the revenues (bread, meat, and beer). This was all changed later, for under the 19th and 20th dynasties the priests, instead of paying out part of their revenues, were continually begging, and so many gifts were added to the old emoluments that after the time of Rameses III. the priesthood had very large endowments (see *Pap. Harris*, I., Brit. Mus.), and became richer and more powerful than the king himself, so that under the 21st dynasty they deposed the old family of Pharaohs and usurped the throne.

[r] According to Erman, during thirty-one years under the New Empire they received 514,968 head of cattle.

[s] The reading is uncertain, though the meaning is quite clear.

[t] F. Dümichen has published drawings of the objects in this treasure-house, the same of which Herodotus relates his beautiful story of the "Treasure-house."

[u] This transaction of Joseph and that of the Egyptian king Sesostris as recorded by Herodotus (ii. 109), dividing the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants on the terms of an annual rent payable to the Crown, have led some writers to identify Sesostris with Joseph's Pharaoh. Such an identification is extremely precarious [PHARAOH, sec. 2, *The Pharaoh of Joseph*, p. 813 *a*]. But however that may be, the statement of Herodotus (with which may be read Diod. I. 54, Strabo xvii. p. 787) is held to corroborate Gen. xlvii. 20 so far as this, that Egyptian land tenure was believed in his day to have originated in assignments of land by the Crown as the supreme and ultimate owner of the soil.—EDITORS.

Under the Persians, 454 B.C., Herodotus observes (ii. 168) that the priests were exempt from taxes as well as the soldiers. The revenue brought in by a certain allotment of the taxes agrees with the fixed income (חֹק) in our history, and consisted daily of 5 minae of bread (between 4 and 5 lbs.), 2 minae of beef (not quite 2 lbs.), and 4 bowls of wine: money, of course, is not mentioned. The account of the changes which by the wisdom of Joseph were so much to the advantage of the Crown property, causes us to place our story towards the end of the Hyksos period; for from that time to the time of the Exodus, there are no historical indications of a similar revolution in the agricultural laws.

Vv. 27–31. We see how Joseph's family took firm root in the land, and multiplied quickly; and how Jacob, in his 147th year, feeling his end approaching, made Joseph swear to him that he would not bury him in Egypt, but in the burying-place of his fathers at Hebron.

Ch. xlviii. 1, &c., contains the last farewell of Jacob to Joseph, and the adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph, by Jacob, who received them into the number of his sons, so that "as Reuben and Simeon they shall be mine." Joseph was lost to Jacob because he had become an Egyptian, but by the adoption of the two sons of Rachel's firstborn the gap in the brotherhood to whom God had promised the land of Canaan was filled up. In spite of the fact that Manasseh was the elder son, Israel placed his *right* hand on the head of Ephraim, thus giving him the privileges of the first-born.

V. 21. Jacob promised Joseph that the Lord should bring his descendants back into the land of his fathers.

Chap. xlix. gives the blessing of Jacob to his sons [JACOB], and the repetition of his wish that he should be buried in the cave of Machpelah, by the side of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, and his own wife Leah [MACHPELAH]. *V.* 33. Jacob "gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people."

Ch. l. 1, &c. Joseph mourned for his father, and commanded his servants the physicians to *embalm* him: "And forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed: and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days" (*v.* 3). This statement corresponds with the length of time required for embalmment, according to the accounts given by the classical writers and by the monuments. Herodotus (ii. 86) and Diodorus (i. 91) give us many details about em*balm*ing. [EMBALMING.]

The body of the father of Joseph, the most distinguished man in Egypt, could only have been embalmed in the most costly method. An account of what was to be done with the body of a distinguished person is found in the Rhind Papyrus (Brit. Mus.). In this account the various substances are enumerated which are used in embalming, and seventy days are spoken of as the appointed time for the embalmment of a body. This is most interesting to us, as in our passage the time of mourning takes exactly the same length of time. In the Rhind Papyrus thirty-six days are given for the first process, instead of which we find (Gen. l. 3) the round number of forty. Pharaoh willingly granted that Joseph should fulfil his father's wish and take the body to the family burial-place. The funeral procession was as splendid as if Jacob had been of royal birth, for (l. 7) there followed all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt.

V. 9. "And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen: and it was a very great company." Such great funeral processions are often represented in the tombs of Abd-el-Kurna at Thebes; the horsemen alone are wanting, and some maintain that the Egyptians never used the horse for riding. This opinion, however, is not correct; for though horses with chariots are more often represented than riding horses, yet there are several pictures of Egyptians riding, and the hieroglyphic texts sometimes speak of horse-soldiers, *e.g.* an inscription at Karnak, where we find "soldiers riding on war-horses," and further on we read that they pursue the enemy. The finest picture of a man riding a horse without a saddle is one in the Museo Civico at Bologna. A man on horseback is also found carved in open work on a battle-axe of the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos. Joseph naturally accompanied the mortal remains of his father (on the place of burial, see JACOB). When he returned, his brothers (l. 15) feared that he would hate them, because of the evil they had done to him, and, throwing themselves at his feet, they begged him to forgive them for their father's sake. Then again we see the good and noble character of Joseph, who calms them with the beautiful, oft-repeated words (*vv.* 19 and 20): "Fear not: for am I in the place of God? Ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good."

Joseph continued to live in peace with his family in Egypt, and his earthly happiness was great in seeing Ephraim's descendants to the third generation, that is, his great-great-grandchildren; also his great-grandchildren, the grandchildren of Manasseh, the children of Machir. Joseph also wished to rest in the land of his fathers (l. 25). This wish was fulfilled, though much later, for we read (Ex. xiii. 19) that Moses took the bones of Joseph with him; and in Josh. xxiv. 32 we are told that the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel had brought with them out of the land of Egypt, were buried in Shechem, in the field which Jacob bought from the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for one hundred pieces of silver.

V. 26 tells us that Joseph was 110 years old. We often find that the Egyptians prayed that they might reach their 110th year, for to live 110 years was the last wish to be fulfilled for a happy life. In the most ancient MS. we possess, the Papyrus Prisse, a life of 110 years is declared to be the best, and in the Papyrus Anasti IV. (T. 4, l. 4) we read: "Fulfil 110 years on the earth, whilst thy limbs are vigorous." On a granite statue at Vienna, there is a prayer to the goddess Isis that she should grant life, health, happiness, and a good old age in this world, and also a splendid and excellent burial at Heliopolis, after 110 years on earth. It is written of the prophet Roma (19th dynasty) that when he had lived 110 years on earth, he

had attained the most perfect age of mortal men. "God," as he says himself, "granted me 110 years of life." Many similar passages speak of 110 years as the most perfect age to be desired, and therefore by the number 110 is inferred an especially blessed and prosperous life.[v] This number 110 is certainly worthy of attention, for it proves that the author of this passage was perfectly conversant with Egyptian matters, and that the story of Joseph's life, as it has come down to us, has in part, at least, obtained its local colouring on Egyptian soil.

[G. E.]

Joseph's character.—We have as full an account of Joseph as of Abraham and Jacob, a fuller one than of Isaac; and if we compare their histories, Joseph's character is the least marked by wrong or indecision. His first quality seems to have been, the greatest resolution. He not only believed faithfully, but could endure patiently, and could command equally his good and evil passions. Hence his strong sense of duty, his zealous work, his strict justice, his clear discrimination of good and evil. Like all men of vigorous character, he loved power; but when he had gained it, he used it with the greatest generosity. He seems to have striven to get men unconditionally in his power that he might confer benefits upon them. Generosity in conferring benefits as well as in forgiving injuries is one of his distinguishing characteristics. With this strength was united the deepest tenderness. He was easily moved to tears, even weeping at the first sight of his brethren after they had sold him. His love for his father and Benjamin was not enfeebled by years of separation, nor by his great station. The wise man was still the same as the true youth. These great qualities explain his power of governing and administering, and his extraordinary flexibility, which enabled him to suit himself to each new position in life. The last characteristic to make up this great character was modesty, the natural result of the others.

Joseph's place in history.—In the history of the chosen race Joseph occupies a very high place as an instrument of Providence. He was "sent before" his people, as he himself knew, to preserve them in the terrible famine, and to settle them where they could multiply and prosper in the interval before the iniquity of the Canaanites was full.

Joseph as a type.—In the N. T. Joseph is only mentioned (Heb. xi. 21, 22). Yet the striking particulars of the persecution and sale by his brethren, his resisting temptation, his degradation and yet greater exaltation, the saving of his people by his hand, and the confounding of his enemies, seem to indicate that he was a type of our Lord.

[R. S. P.]

2. Father of Igal, who represented the tribe of Issachar among the spies (Num. xiii. 7).

3. A lay Israelite of the family of Bani who was compelled by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezra x. 42). In 1 Esd. it is given as JOSEPHUS.

4. Representative of the priestly family of Shebaniah, in the next generation after the Return from Captivity (Neh. xii. 14).

5. (Ἰώσηφος.) A Jewish officer defeated by Gorgias c. 164 B.C. (1 Macc. v. 8, 56, 60).

6. In 2 Macc. viii. 22, x. 19, Joseph is named among the brethren of Judas Maccabaeus apparently in place of John (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 384, note; Grimm, *ad* 2 Macc. viii. 22). The confusion of Ἰωάννης, Ἰωσήφ, Ἰωσῆς is well seen in the various readings in Matt. xiii. 55.

7. An ancestor of Judith (Jud. viii. 1).

[B. F. W.]

8. One of the ancestors of Christ (Luke iii. 30), son of Jonan, and the eighth generation from David inclusive, about contemporary therefore with king Ahaziah.

9. Another ancestor of Christ, son of Judah or Abiud, and grandson of Joanna or Hananiah the son of Zerubbabel (Luke iii. 26). Alford, Westcott and Hort, &c., adopt the reading Josek, a mistake which seems to originate with the common confusion in Heb. MSS. between ה and ך.

10. Another, son of Mattathias, in the seventh generation before Joseph the husband of the Virgin.

11. Son of Heli, and reputed father of Jesus Christ. The recurrence of this name in the three above instances, once before and twice after Zerubbabel, whereas it does not occur once in St. Matthew's genealogy, is a strong evidence of the paternal descent of Joseph the son of Heli, as traced by St. Luke to Nathan the son of David.

All that is told us of Joseph in the N. T. may be summed up in a few words. He was a just man, and of the house and lineage of David, and was known as such by his contemporaries, who called Jesus the son of David, and were disposed to own Him as Messiah, as being Joseph's son. The public registers also contained his name under the reckoning of the house of David (John i. 45; Luke iii. 23; Matt. i. 20; Luke ii. 4). He lived at Nazareth in Galilee, and it is probable that his family had been settled there for at least two preceding generations, possibly from the time of Matthat, the common grandfather of Joseph and Mary, since Mary lived there too (Luke i. 26, 27). He espoused Mary, the daughter and heir of his uncle Jacob, and before he took her home as his wife received the angelic communication recorded in Matt. i. 20. It must have been within a very short time of his taking her to his home, that the decree went forth from Augustus Caesar which obliged him to leave Nazareth with his wife and go to Bethlehem. He was there with Mary and her first-born, when the shepherds came to see the babe in the manger, and he went with them to the Temple to present the infant according to the Law, and there heard the prophetic words of Simeon, as he held him in his arms. When the wise men from the East came to Bethlehem to worship Christ, Joseph was there; and he went down to Egypt with the Mother and the Child by night, when warned by an Angel of the danger which threatened them; and on a second message he returned with them to the land of Israel, intending to reside at Bethlehem, the city of

[v] It is not without design that the Papyrus Ebers ends at the 110th page, and Aulus Gellius knew something of the significance of this number, for in his *Noctes Atticae* he explains (x. 10) that the Egyptians only lived 110 years, because the heart loses each year seven drachms up to the age of fifty years, and then two drachms yearly till the hundredth year.

David; but being afraid of Archelaus he took up his abode, as before his marriage, at Nazareth, where he carried on his trade as a carpenter. When Jesus was twelve years old, Joseph and Mary took Him with them to keep the Passover at Jerusalem, and when they returned to Nazareth he continued to act as a father to the child Jesus, and was reputed to be so indeed. But here our knowledge of Joseph ends. That he died before our Lord's crucifixion, is indeed tolerably certain, by what is related in John xix. 27; and perhaps Mark vi. 3 may imply that he was then dead. But where, when, or how he died, we know not. What was his age when he married, what children he had, and who was their mother, are questions on which tradition has been very busy and very contradictory, and on which it affords no reliable information whatever. In fact, the different accounts given are not *traditions*, but the attempts of different ages of the early Church to reconcile the narrative of the Gospels with their own opinions, and to give support, as they thought, to the miraculous conception. It is not necessary to detail or examine these accounts here, as they throw light rather upon the history of those opinions during four or five centuries, than upon the history of Joseph. But it may be well to add that the origin of all the earliest stories and assertions of the Fathers concerning Joseph—as, *e.g.*, his extreme old age, his having sons by a former wife, his having the custody of Mary given to him by lot, and so on—is to be found in the apocryphal Gospels, of which the earliest is the Protevangelium of St. James, apparently the work of a Christian Jew of the second century, quoted by Origen, and referred to by Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr (Tischendorf, *Proleg.* xiii.). The same stories are repeated in the other apocryphal Gospels (see Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, s. v. "Gospels, Apocryphal"). The monophysite Coptic Christians are said to have first assigned a festival of St. Joseph in the Calender, viz. on the 20th July, which is thus inscribed in a Coptic almanack:—"Requies sancti senis justi Josephi fabri lignarii, Deiparae Virginis Mariae sponsi, qui pater Christi vocari promeruit." The apocryphal *Historia Josephi fabri lignarii* (see "Gospels, Apocryphal," p. 706), which now exists in Arabic, is thought by Tischendorf to have been originally written in Coptic, and the festival of Joseph is supposed to have been transferred to the Western Churches from the East as late as the year 1399.* The above-named history is acknowledged to be quite fabulous, though it belongs probably to the 4th century. It professes to be an account given by our Lord Himself to the Apostles on the Mount of Olives, and placed by them in the library of Jerusalem. It ascribes 111 years to Joseph's life, and makes him old and the father of four sons and two daughters before he espoused Mary. It is headed with this sentence: "Benedictiones ejus et preces servant nos omnes, o fratres. Amen." The reader who wishes to know the opinion of the ancients on the obscure subject of Joseph's marriage may consult Jerome's acrimonious tract *Contra Helvidium*. He will see that Jerome highly disapproves the common opinion (derived from the apocryphal Gospels) of Joseph being twice married, and that he claims the authority of Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and "many other apostolical men," in favour of his own view, that our Lord's brethren were his cousins only, or at all events against the opinion of Helvidius, which had been held by Ebion, Theodotus of Byzantium, and Valentine, that they were the children of Joseph and Mary. Those who held this opinion were called *Antidicomarianitae*, as enemies of the Virgin. (Epiphanius, *Adv. Haeres.* lib. iii. t. ii.; *Haer.* lxxviii., also *Haer.* li. See also Pearson *on the Creed*, art. Virgin Mary; Mill, *on the Brethren of the Lord;* Calmet, *de S. Joseph. S. Mar. Virg. conjuge;* and for an able statement of the opposite view, Alford's *note on Matt.* xiii. 55; Winer, *RWB.* s. vv. *Jesus* and *Joseph;* and the article in this Dictionary, "The Brethren of the Lord.") [A. C. H.]

* Calmet, however, places the admission of Joseph into the calendar of the Western Church as early as before the year 900. See Tischendorf, *ut sup.*

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA (Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἁρμαθαίας), a rich and pious Israelite who had the privilege of performing the last offices of duty and affection to the Body of our Lord. He is distinguished from other persons of the same name by the addition of his birth-place ARIMATHAEA, the Ramah of 1 Sam. i. 1, 19.

Joseph is denominated by St. Mark (xv. 43) an honourable counsellor, by which we are probably to understand that he was a member of the Great Council, or Sanhedrin. He is further characterised as "a good man and a just" (Luke xxiii. 50), one of those who, bearing in their hearts the words of their old Prophets, was waiting for the kingdom of God (Mark xv. 43; Luke ii. 25, 38, xxiii. 51). We are expressly told that he did not "consent to the counsel and deed" of his colleagues in conspiring to bring about the death of Jesus; but he seems to have lacked the courage to protest against their judgment. At all events we know that he shrank, through fear of his countrymen, from professing himself openly a disciple of our Lord.

The awful event, however, which crushed the hopes while it excited the fears of the chosen disciples, had the effect of inspiring him with a boldness and confidence to which he had before been a stranger. The Crucifixion seems to have wrought in him the same clear conviction that it wrought in the Centurion who stood by the Cross; for on the very evening of that dreadful day, when the triumph of the chief priests and rulers seemed complete, Joseph "went in boldly unto Pilate and craved the body of Jesus." The fact is mentioned by all four Evangelists. Pilate, having assured himself that the Divine Sufferer was dead, consented to the request of Joseph, who was thus rewarded for his faith and courage by the blessed privilege of consigning to his own new tomb the Body of his crucified Lord. In this sacred office he was assisted by Nicodemus, who, like himself, had hitherto been afraid to make open profession of his faith, but now dismissing his fears brought an abundant store of myrrh and aloes for the embalming of the Body of his Lord according to the Jewish custom.

These two masters in Israel then, having enfolded the sacred Body in the linen shroud which Joseph had bought, consigned it to a tomb hewn in a rock—a tomb where no human corpse had ever yet been laid.

It is specially recorded that the tomb was in a garden belonging to Joseph, and close to the place of Crucifixion.

The minuteness of the narrative seems purposely designed to take away all ground or pretext for any rumour that might be spread, after the Resurrection, that it was some other, not Jesus Himself, that had risen from the grave. But the burial of Jesus in the new private sepulchre of the rich man of Arimathaea must also be regarded as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (liii. 9): according to the literal rendering of Bishop Lowth, "with the rich man was His tomb" (cp. Delitzsch[4] in loco. The passage is much disputed; cp. Dillmann[5] in loco). Nothing but of the merest legendary character is recorded of Joseph, beyond what we read in Scripture. There is a tradition, surely a very improbable one, that he was of the number of the seventy disciples. Another (cp. Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* i. 270), whether authentic or not, deserves to be mentioned as generally current; namely, that Joseph being sent to Great Britain by the Apostle St. Philip, about the year 63, settled with his brother disciples at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire; and there erected of wicker-twigs the first Christian oratory in England, the parent of the majestic abbey which was afterwards founded on the same site. The local guides to this day show the miraculous thorn (said to bud and blossom every Christmas-day) that sprung from the staff which Joseph stuck in the ground as he stopped to rest himself on the hill-top (see Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 1; and Hearne, *Hist. and Ant. of Glastonbury*; Assemann, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 319).

[E. H—s.] [F.]

JO'SEPH, called **BAR'SABAS**, and surnamed Justus; one of the two persons chosen by the assembled Church (Acts i. 23) as worthy to fill the place in the apostolic company from which Judas had fallen. He, therefore, had been a companion of the disciples all the time that they followed Jesus, from His Baptism to His Ascension.

Papias (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) calls him Justus Barsabas, and relates that having drunk some deadly poison he, through the grace of the Lord, sustained no harm. Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 12) states that he was one of the seventy disciples. He is to be distinguished from Joses Barnabas (Acts iv. 36) and from Judas Barsabas (Acts xv. 22). The signification of Barsabas is quite uncertain. Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* Acts i. 23) gives five possible interpretations of it, viz. the son of conversion, of quiet, of an oath, of wisdom, of the old man. He prefers the last two; and suggests that Joseph Barsabas may be the same as Joses the son of Alphaeus, and that Judas Barsabas may be his brother the Apostle.

[W. T. B.]

JOSE'PHUS (Ἰώσηφος), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [JOSEPH, 3.]

JO'SE-S (Ἰωσῆς, Ἰησοῦς, Alford; Ἰωσὴ is the genitive case). **1.** Son of Eliezer, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 29), 15th generation from David, *i.e.* about the reign of Manasseh.

2. One of the Lord's brethren (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3). His name connects him with the preceding. See the BRETHREN OF THE LORD and JAMES. All that appears with certainty from Scripture is that his mother's name was Mary, and his brother's James (Matt. xxvii. 56).

3. JOSES BARNABAS (Acts iv. 36). [BARNABAS.]

[A. C. H.]

JO'SHAH (יֹאשָׁה; B. Ἰωσειά, Bᵇ. Ἰωσία, A. Ἰωσίας; *Josa*), a prince of the house of Simeon, son of Amaziah, and connected with the more prosperous branch of the tribe, who, in the days of Hezekiah, headed a marauding expedition against the peaceable Hamite shepherds dwelling in Gedor, exterminated them, and occupied their pasturage (1 Ch. iv. 34, 38–41).

JO'SHAPHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט = יְהוֹשָׁפָט = *Jehovah hath judged*; Ἰωσαφάτ, ℵ*. Ἰωσαφάς; *Josaphat*), the Mithnite, one of David's guard, apparently selected from among the warriors from the east of Jordan (1 Ch. xi. 43). Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* p. 1284) gives Mathnan as the Chaldee equivalent of Bashàn, by which the latter is always represented in the Targ. Onk.; and if this were the place which gave Joshaphat his surname, he was probably a Gadite. In the Syriac, Joshaphat and Uzziah (*v.* 44) are interchanged, and the latter appears as "Azi of Anathoth."

JOSHAVI'AH (יוֹשַׁוְיָה, of uncertain etymology; BA. Ἰωσειά; A. Ἰωσία; *Josaïa*), the son of Elnaam, and one of David's guards (1 Ch. xi. 46). The LXX. make him the son of Jeribai, by reading בְּנֵי for בְּנָיָ. The name appears in eight, and probably nine, different forms in the MSS. collated by Kennicott.

JOSHBEKA'SHAH (יָשְׁבְּקָשָׁה: in *v.* 4, B. Ἰεισβασακά; A. Σεβα· καιτάν; in *v.* 24, B. Βακατά, A. Ἰεσβακατάν: *Jesbacassa*), head of the 16th course of musicians. [JESHARELAH.] He belonged to the house of Heman (1 Ch. xxv. 4, 24).

[A. C. H.]

JOSH'UA (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ; Ἰησοῦς; *Josua*; i.e. "whose help is Jehovah," Gesen., or rather "Jah is Salvation"; cp. Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. II., p. 89, ed. 1843): on the import of his name, and the change of it from Oshea or Hoshea, Num. xiii. 16 = "welfare" or "salvation," see Pearson, *l. c.*; it appears in the various forms of HOSHEA, OSHEA, JEHOSHUA, JESHUA, and JESUS. **1.** The son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim[a] (1 Ch. vii. 27). The future captain of invading hosts grew up a slave in the brick-fields of Egypt. Born about the time when Moses fled into Midian, he was a man of nearly forty years when he saw the ten plagues, and shared in the hurried triumph of the Exodus. The keen eye of the aged Lawgiver

[a] The attempts to make Joshua an unhistorical personage or a tribal-captain magnified into a leader of Israel, have signally failed. These attempts are sufficiently examined and refuted by Kittel, *Geschichte d. Hebräer*, i. pp. 247 sq., 264 sq.—[F.]

soon discerned in Hoshea those qualities which might be required in a colleague or successor to himself. He is mentioned first in connexion with the fight against Amalek at Rephidim, when he was chosen (Ex. xvii. 9) by Moses to lead the Israelites. When Moses ascended Mount Sinai to receive for the first time (cp. Ex. xxiv. 13 and xxxiii. 11) the two Tables, Joshua, who is called his minister or servant, accompanied him part of the way, and was the first to accost him in his descent (Ex. xxxii. 17). Soon afterwards he was one of the twelve chiefs who were sent (Num. xiii. 17) to explore the land of Canaan, and one of the two (xiv. 6) who gave an encouraging report of their journey. The forty years of wandering were almost passed, and Joshua was one of the few survivors, when Moses, shortly before his death, was directed (Num. xxvii. 18) to invest Joshua solemnly and publicly with definite authority in connexion with Eleazar the priest, over the people. And after this was done, God Himself gave Joshua a charge by the mouth of the dying Lawgiver (Deut. xxxi. 14, 23).

Under the direction of God, again renewed (Josh. i. 1), Joshua, now in his eighty-fifth year (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, § 29), assumed the command of the people at Shittim, sent spies into Jericho, crossed the Jordan, fortified a camp at Gilgal, circumcised the people, kept the Passover, and was visited by the Captain[b] of the Lord's Host. A miracle made the fall of Jericho more terrible to the Canaanites. A repulse, due to the trespass of Achan, in the first assault on Ai impressed upon the invaders the warning that they were the instruments of a holy and jealous God. Ai fell: and the Law was inscribed on Mount Ebal, and read by their leader in the presence of all Israel.

The treaty which the fear-stricken Gibeonites obtained deceitfully was generously respected by Joshua. It stimulated and brought to a point the hostile movements of the five confederate chiefs of the Amorites. Joshua, aided by an unprecedented hailstorm, and a miraculous prolongation of the day, obtained a decisive victory over them at Makkedah, and proceeded at once to subjugate the south country as far as Kadesh-barnea and Gaza. He returned to the camp at Gilgal, master of half of Palestine.

In another campaign he marched to the waters of Merom, where he met and overthrew a confederacy of the Canaanitish chiefs in the north, under Jabin king of Hazor; and in the course of a protracted war he led his victorious soldiers to the gates of Zidon and into the valley of Lebanon under Hermon. In six years, six nations with thirty-one kings swelled the roll of his conquests; amongst others the Anakim—the old terror of Israel—are specially recorded as destroyed everywhere except in Philistia. It must be borne in mind that the extensive conquests of Joshua were not intended to achieve and did not achieve the complete extirpation of the Canaanites, many of whom continued to occupy isolated strongholds throughout the land.

Joshua, now stricken in years, proceeded in conjunction with Eleazar and the heads of the tribes to complete the division of the conquered land; and when all was allotted, Timnath-serah in Mount Ephraim was assigned by the people as Joshua's peculiar inheritance. The Tabernacle of the congregation was established at Shiloh, six cities of refuge were appointed, forty-eight cities assigned to the Levites, and the warriors of the trans-Jordanic tribes dismissed in peace to their homes.

After an interval of rest, Joshua convoked an assembly from all Israel. He delivered two solemn addresses reminding them of the marvellous fulfilment of God's promises to their fathers, and warning them of the conditions on which their prosperity depended; and lastly, he caused them to renew their covenant with God, at Shechem, a place already famous in connexion with Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 4) and Joseph (Josh. xxiv. 32). Respecting these two closing addresses of Joshua, see also JOSHUA, BOOK OF, pp. 1810 b, 1811 a.

He died at the age of 110 years, and was buried in his own city, Timnath-serah.

Joshua's life has been noted as one of the very few which are recorded in history with some fulness of detail, yet without any stain upon them. In his character have been traced, under an Oriental garb, such features as chiefly kindled the imagination of Western chroniclers and poets in the Middle Ages: the character of a devout warrior, blameless and fearless, who has been taught by serving as a youth how to command as a man; who earns by manly vigour a quiet honoured old age; who combines strength with gentleness, ever looking up for and obeying the Divine impulse with the simplicity of a child, while he wields great power and directs it calmly, and without swerving, to the accomplishment of a high unselfish purpose.

All that part of the Book of Joshua which relates his personal history seems to be written with the unconscious, vivid power of an eye-witness. We are not merely taught to look with a distant reverence upon the first man who bears the Name which is above every name. We stand by the side of one who is admitted to hear the words of God, and see the vision of the Almighty. The image of the armed warrior is before us when in the sight of the two armies he lifted up his spear over unguarded Ai. We see the majestic presence which inspired all Israel (iv. 14) with awe; the mild father who remonstrated with Achan; the calm, dignified judge who pronounced his sentence; the devout worshipper prostrating himself before the Captain of the Lord's Host. We see the lonely man in the height of his power, separate from those about him, the last survivor, save one, of a famous generation; the honoured old man of many deeds and many sufferings, gathering his dying energy for an attempt to bind his people more closely to the service of God, whom he had

[b] It has been questioned whether the Captain of the Lord's Host was a created being or not. Dr. W. H. Mill discusses this point at full length and with great learning, and decides in favour of the former alternative (*On the Historical Character of St. Luke's First Chapter*, Camb., 1841, p. 92. Cp. Dillmann[2] on Josh. v. 13, = an Angel, comparing Gen. xxxii. 2 and 1 K. xxii. 19). But J. G. Abicht (*De Duce Exercitus*, &c., ap. *Nov. Thes. Theologicophilolog.* i. 503) is of opinion that He was the uncreated Angel, the Son of God—"God manifested in the Person of His Word" (Espin in *Speaker's Comm.*, in loco).

so long served and worshipped, and whom he was ever learning to know more and more.

The great work of Joshua's life was more exciting but less hopeful than that of Moses. He gathered the first-fruits of the autumn harvest where his predecessor had sown the seed in spring. It was a high and hopeful task to watch beside the cradle of a mighty nation, and to train its early footsteps in laws which should last for centuries. And it was a fit end to a life of expectation to gaze with longing eyes from Pisgah upon the Land of Promise. But no such brightness gleamed upon the calm close of Joshua's life. Solemn words, and dark with foreboding, fell from him as he sat "under the oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord in Shechem." The excitement of his battles was past; and there had grown up in the mind of the pious leader a consciousness that it was the tendency of prosperity and success to make a people wanton and worldly-minded, idolaters in spirit if not in act, and to alienate them from God.

Holy Scripture itself suggests (Heb. iv. 8) the consideration of Joshua as a type of Christ. Many of the Christian Fathers have enlarged upon this view; and Bishop Pearson, who has collected their opinions (*On the Creed*, Art. II. pp. 87–90 and 94–96, ed. 1843), points out the following and many other typical resemblances:—(1.) The name common to both: (2.) Joshua brings the people of God into the Land of Promise, and divides the land among the tribes; Jesus brings His people into the Presence of God, and assigns to them their mansions: (3.) as Joshua succeeded Moses and completed his work, so the Gospel of Christ, succeeding the Law, announced One by Whom all that believe are justified from all things from which we could not be justified by the Law of Moses (Acts xiii. 39): (4.) as Joshua the minister of Moses renewed the rite of circumcision, so Jesus, the Minister of the circumcision, brought in the circumcision of the heart (Rom. ii. 29, xv. 8).

The treatment of the Canaanites by their Jewish conquerors is fully discussed by Dean Graves, *On the Pentateuch*, Pt. 3, Lect. i. He concludes that the extermination of the Canaanites was justified by their crimes, and that the employment of the Jews in such extermination was quite consistent with God's method of governing the world. Prof. Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, bk. iii. ch. 4, § 1, ed. 1854) argues with great force and candour in favour of the complete agreement of the principles on which the war was carried on by Joshua with the principles of the Christian dispensation. Cp. also Mozley, *Lectures on the Old Testament*; Lect. iv., "Exterminating Wars."

Among the occurrences in the life of Joshua, none has led to so much discussion as the alleged prolongation of the day of the battle of Makkedah (x. 12–14). Was it an astronomical miracle by which the motion of the heavenly bodies was for some hours suspended? Or, was the motion of the earth on its axis temporarily suspended? Or, was the miracle an optical illusion? Such solutions have been accepted by many (cp. Winer, *HWB.* and the 1st edition of this work); but in the present day they seem to be surrendered in favour of the view—that the passage (*vv.* 12*b*, 13*a*) taken from a poetical book with a prose reflection upon it (*vv.* 13*b*, 14*a*) is a fragment interpolated into the text, which does not commit the Book of Joshua to upholding that the marvel in the heavens actually took place (cp. Espin in *Speaker's Comm.*, Add. note on Josh. x. 12–15, and Dillmann[2] in loco, who give references to the enormous literature on the subject).

Procopius, who flourished in the 6th century, relates (*Vandal.* ii. 10) that an inscription existed at Tingis in Mauritania, set up by Phoenician refugees from Canaan, and declaring in the Phoenician language, "We are they who fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun." Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 297, 298) gives sound reasons for forbearing to use this story as authentic history (cp. also Kittel, *Geschichte d. Hebräer*, i. p. 264, n. 1). It is, however, accepted by Rawlinson (*Bampton Lecture for* 1859, iii. 91).

Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* in Matt. i. 5, and *Chorogr. Lucae praemis.* iv. § 3) quotes Jewish traditions to the effect that Rahab became a proselyte and the wife of Joshua, and the ancestress of nine prophets and priests; also that the sepulchre of Joshua was adorned with an image of the sun in memory of the miracle of Ajalon. The LXX. and the Arab. Vers. add to Josh. xxiv. 30 the statement that in his sepulchre were deposited the flint-knives which were used for the circumcision at Gilgal (Josh. v. 2). In Heb. iv. 8, the A. V. "Jesus" (see marg.) is correctly replaced by "Joshua" in the R. V. and Versions preceding the A. V. in order to avoid confusion.

The principal occurrences in the life of Joshua are reviewed by Bishop Hall in his *Contemplations on the O. T.*, bks 7, 8, and 9.

2. (B. Ὡσῆε, A. Ἰησοῦ; *Josue.*) An inhabitant of Bethshemesh, in whose land was the stone at which the milch-kine stopped, when they drew the Ark of God with the offerings of the Philistines from Ekron to Bethshemesh (1 Sam. vi. 14, 18).

3. (Ἰησοῦς; *Josue.*) A governor of the city who gave his name to a gate of Jerusalem (2 K. xxiii. 8).

4. (Ἰεσοῦς; *Jesus.*) Called Jeshua in Ezra and Nehemiah; a high-priest, who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel. For details see JESHUA, No. 4. [W. T. B.] [F.]

JOSH'UA, THE BOOK OF, so called from the name of the leader, with whose public life it is principally concerned, the sixth Book of the O. T. Canon. Among the Jews, the Book of Joshua was placed in a different category from the Pentateuch (the "Law"), and forms the first of the group of writings called by them the "Earlier Prophets" (*i.e.* Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings): but this distinction is an artificial one, depending on the fact that the Book could not be regarded, like the Pentateuch, as containing an authoritative rule of life. Its contents, and still more (as will be seen) its structure, show that it is intimately connected with the Pentateuch, and describes the final stage in the history of the *Origines* of the Hebrew nation [GENESIS, § 1]. It forms, in fact, the concluding part of a whole, which, consisting as it does of six Books, has been conveniently termed by modern writers the *Hexateuch*.

§ 1. *Contents.*—The Book of Joshua falls

naturally into two parts, the *first* (ch. i.–xii.) narrating the passage of Jordan and the conquest—so far as it was completed at the time—of Canaan; the *second* (ch. xiii.–xxiv.) describing the allotment of the conquered territory among the Israelites, and ending with the death of Joshua and of Aaron's son Eleazar.

I. Ch. i. Joshua is encouraged by God for the task imposed upon him, and receives, according to the stipulation (Num. xxxii. 6–33), the promise of assistance from the two-and-a-half tribes whose territory had been already allotted to them on the E. of Jordan. Ch. ii. The mission of the spies to Jericho, and the compact with Rahab. Ch. iii.–iv. The passage of the Jordan, and the erection of two monuments in commemoration of the event, consisting of two cairns of stones, one set up in the bed of the river itself, the other at the first camping-place on the W. side, Gilgal. Gilgal, probably Tell Djeldjul, in the plain midway between the Jordan and Jericho, becomes henceforth the head-quarters of the Israelites, till the conquest is completed. Ch. v. 1–12. Joshua circumcises the people at Gilgal: after this the Passover is kept there with cakes made of the produce of Canaan, and the manna ceases. Ch. v. 13–vi. Joshua receives instructions with reference to the conquest of Jericho; the city is taken and "devoted" (according to Deut. vii. 2, 25 sq.), Rahab and her household being spared according to the agreement made with the spies. Joshua utters a curse upon any one who should attempt to rebuild Jericho. Ch. vii. 1–viii. 29. The Israelites advance against Ai, in the heart of the land near Bethel: they are at first unsuccessful in consequence of Achan's sin, in having appropriated part of the spoil "devoted" at Jericho: but afterwards, Achan's offence having been discovered and punished, they obtain possession of Ai by means of a stratagem. Ch. viii. 30–35. Joshua builds an altar on Ebal, above Shechem, and fulfils the injunctions, Deut. xxvii. 2–8. Ch. ix. The Gibeonites, by a stratagem which disarms the suspicions of the Israelites, secure immunity for their lives, and are permitted to retain rights as dependents, on condition of their performing certain menial offices for the Sanctuary. Ch. x. The conquest of *South* Canaan: the defeat of the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon at Beth-horon, and the subsequent conquest of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Gezer, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir: further particulars are not given, but Joshua's successes in this quarter of Palestine are generalized in *vv.* 40–43. Ch. xi. The conquest of *Northern* Canaan: the defeat of Jabin king of Hazor and his allies at the waters of Merom, followed by the capture of the towns belonging to them (*vv.* 1–15): with a review (*vv.* 16–23) of the entire series of Joshua's successes in the South as well as in the North of Canaan. Ch. xii. A supplementary list of the kings smitten by the Israelites—Sihon and Og (with an account of the territory belonging to them) on the east of Jordan, and thirty-one kings slain by them under Joshua on the west of Jordan (of these sixteen have not been before mentioned in the Book: see § 3, note 11).

II. Ch. xiii.–xxiv.—Ch. xiii. (*a*) *vv.* 1–14. Joshua is commanded to proceed with the distribution of the conquered territory among the nine-and-a-half tribes, *vv.* 1, 7 (*vv.* 2–6 contain a parenthetic notice of certain districts not yet conquered): *vv.* 8–12 define anew the borders of the Israelitish territory E. of Jordan; *v.* 13 states particulars respecting tribes not dispossessed by the Israelites. (*b*) *vv.* 15–33. The borders and cities of the three trans-Jordanic tribes, *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the *half-tribe of Manasseh*. Ch. xiv. Preparations for the division of the land by lot, by Joshua and Eleazar (*vv.* 1–5). Caleb receives from Joshua his portion at Hebron, in accordance with the promise, Deut. i. 36 (*vv.* 6–15). Ch. xv. The borders of the tribe of Judah, *vv.* 1–12, followed by a notice of Caleb's exploit against Hebron, and Othniel's conquest of Kirjath-sepher, *vv.* 13–19 (*vv.* 14–19 almost verbally = Judg. i. 10–15), and by a list of the cities of Judah, arranged by districts, *vv.* 20–63. Ch. xvi.–xvii. The lot of the children of *Joseph*, i.e. Ephraim and the western half of Manasseh. The description is much less complete than in the case of Judah, and also less clearly arranged. Ch. xvi. 1–3 describes the S. border (but only this) of the two tribes, regarded as a whole: ch. xvi. 5–10 describes the borders of *Ephraim*, with a notice (*v.* 9) of certain cities belonging to Ephraim, but situated in the territory of Manasseh, and (*v.* 10) of the fact that Gezer continued to be inhabited by Canaanites (*v.* 10 = Judg. i. 29: see also 1 K. ix. 16, 20, 21). Ch. xvii. describes the borders of *Manasseh*, with a notice of the cities belonging to it in Issachar and Asher (*vv.* 1–13), concluding (*vv.* 14–18) with an account of the complaint of insufficient territory made by the joint tribes and of the permission given to them by Joshua to extend their territory for themselves. Ch. xviii. The Israelites assemble at Shiloh, and set up the Tabernacle there. At Joshua's direction, a survey ("describe," *lit.* "write") of the land yet undivided is made, and its distribution by lot to the seven remaining tribes is proceeded with at Shiloh, *vv.* 1–10. An account of the borders (*vv.* 11–20) and cities (*vv.* 21–28) of *Benjamin* occupies the rest of the chapter. Ch. xix. The cities belonging to *Simeon*, *vv.* 1–9; the borders of *Zebulun*, *vv.* 10–16 (the list of cities is incomplete); the cities and border (partly) of *Issachar*, *vv.* 17–23; the borders of *Asher*, *vv.* 24–31 (list of cities incomplete); the border and cities of *Naphtali*, *vv.* 32–39; the cities belonging to *Dan*, *vv.* 40–48; the assignment of Timnath-serah, in Ephraim, to Joshua, *v.* 49 sq. Ch. xx. Appointment of the cities of refuge (in accordance with Num. xxxv. 9 sq. and Deut. xix.; Deut. iv. 41–3 being disregarded). Ch. xxi. List of the forty-eight cities, assigned in the different tribes, to the tribe of *Levi* (in accordance with Num. xxxv. 1–8). Ch. xxii. Joshua dismisses the two-and-a-half tribes to their homes on the east of Jordan, *vv.* 1–8. The remonstrance addressed to them by the other tribes on account of the altar erected by them at the point where they crossed the Jordan, and their reply to it, *vv.* 9–34. Ch. xxiii. The *first* of Joshua's two closing addresses to the people, in which he exhorts the Israelites to adhere faithfully to the principles of the Deuteronomic law, and in particular to refrain from all intercourse with the native inhabitants of Canaan. Ch. xxiv. 1–25. The *second* of Joshua's closing addresses, delivered at *Shechem*. This discourse differs in scope from that in

ch. xxiii.: it comprises a review of the mercies shown by God to His people from the patriarchal days, upon which is based the duty of discarding all false gods and serving Him alone. The people, responding to Joshua's example, pledge themselves solemnly to obey; and a stone, in attestation of their act, is erected in the sanctuary at Shechem, *vv.* 16–28 (with *vv.* 14, 26 cp. Gen. xxxv. 2–4). The Book closes with notices of the death of Joshua, and his burial at Timnath-serah, *v.* 29 sq.; of the burial of Joseph's bones (in accordance with Gen. l. 25; Ex. xiii. 19) at Shechem, *v.* 32; and of the death and burial of Joshua's companion, Eleazar, *v.* 33 (*vv.* 28–31 recur, with slight variations, in Judg. ii. 6, 8, 9, 7). Chronological notes in the Book are rare (iv. 19, v. 10; and incidentally, xiv. 10); and the period of time embraced by it can only be determined approximately. From a comparison of xiv. 10 with Deut. ii. 14, it would seem that, in the view of the writer of the section, xiv. 6–15, the war of conquest occupied about seven years.

§ 2. *Composition and Authorship.*—The composite structure of the Book of Joshua discloses itself unmistakably as soon as it is studied with attention. Groups of passages occur in it, distinguished from one another partly by material differences, partly by differences of style and expression, which mark them as the work of different authors. Thus, one group of such passages has the characteristics of the Pentateuchal source known as P (see GENESIS): while another has strong affinities with Deuteronomy, esp. with ch. xxix.–xxxi.[a] In ch. i.–xii. the main narrative consists of a work, itself in its turn composite, which is regarded by critics as the continuation of "JE" (see *ibid.*), though whether its component parts are definitely J and E, or whether it is rather the work of the writer who combined J and E into a whole, and in this Book, perhaps, permitted himself the use of other independent sources, may be an open question. In ch. xiii.–xxiv., especially in the topographical descriptions, the work of P predominates, and his disposition of material seems mostly to have been retained unaltered. The process by which the Book appears to have reached its present form may be indicated in outline as follows. The composite work JE, just alluded to, being taken as a basis, was amplified by a writer strongly imbued with the spirit of Deuteronomy, who may be accordingly termed the *Deuteronomic Editor*, and denoted by the abbreviation D^2. The parts due to the hand of D^2 are in most cases readily recognizable by their strongly marked style. The chief characteristic of the Deut. additions is that they exhibit Joshua as the fulfiller of Mosaic ordinances, especially of the injunction to show no quarter to the native population of Canaan, and explain how accordingly success accompanied him, and the people under his guidance took triumphant possession of Canaan: see i. 1–9; iii. 7, 10; iv. 14; v. 1; vi. 2; viii. 1, 29 (Deut. xxi. 23), 30–35; and esp. x. 40–42; xi. 12, 14, 15, 16–23; xxi. 43–45 (Heb. 41–43); xxiii. 3, 9, 14 b; xxiv. 13, and the addition in *v.* 11. In point of fact, as other passages of the Book, and especially Judg. i., show (see § 6), the conquest was by no means effected with the rapidity and completeness here represented: but the writer, as it seems, generalizes with a free hand. Another characteristic of the Deut. additions is the frequent reference to the occupation of the trans-Jordanic territory by the two-and-a-half tribes—not merely in i. 12 sq. and xxii. 1–6, but also ii. 10, ix. 10, xii. 2–6, xiii. 8–12, xviii. 7 b. The work which left D^2's hands was afterwards combined, by an independent compiler, with the source P; and, with the exception possibly of a few notes which may have been added subsequently, the Book of Joshua was thus produced.[b] The accompanying tables, followed by short explanatory notes, exhibit the analysis of sources.[c]

§ 3. Part I.: chs. i.–xii. *The Conquest of Palestine.*

P

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3–4 uses the phraseology of the compiler of Kings: throughout 1 Ch. xxix. he expresses himself in the phraseology of the author of Chronicles.) *Shittim* in ii. 1 as Num. xxv. 1 (JE).

[3] The narrative in ch. iii.–iv. is intricate, and it is very possible that the true analysis is more complicated than is allowed for in the tables. Though some of the details are, consequently, uncertain, two things, however, are clear: (1) that the narrative is composite, (2) that it has been amplified in parts by a Deuteronomic hand. (1) *a*. While iii. 17 states that the passage of Jordan is already completed, iv. 4, 5, 10b implies that the people have not yet crossed: thus, if followed carefully, it will be seen that the narrative at iv. 11 is at precisely the same point that was reached at iii. 17. *b*. iv. 8 and iv. 9 describe two *different* ceremonies—the location of stones, taken from Jordan, at *Gilgal*, and the erection of stones *in the bed of the river itself*: *v.* 8 however manifestly continues the narrative of *v.* 3, while *v.* 9 is the sequel of *vv.* 4–7, which on the other hand interrupt the connexion of *v.* 8 with *v.* 8. *c*. iii. 12 is not needed, if it and iv. 2 belong to the same narrative; it is however required for iv. 4. The verses assigned to *a* form a continuous narrative, relating to the stones deposited at Gilgal; the narrative *b* has not been preserved in its integrity, parts having been omitted when it was combined with *a*. (2) The combined narrative *a b* has been amplified by D^2 (as the style shows) in iii. 7, iv. 14, 21–24, and probably in one or two places besides, *e.g.* iii. 3, "the priests the Levites" (cp. DEUTERONOMY, § 16), iii. 10b (cp. below, § 5, i.). (The letters *a* and *b* have been used because it seems doubtful whether the two narratives belong to J and E respectively.)

[4] In vi. 2, 27 there are indications of the hand of D^2: thus with *v.* 2 cp. Deut. ii. 24; ch. viii. 1; i. 14; viii. 3; x. 7; with *v.* 27, ch. i. 5, ix. 9 b. In the rest of the chapter it is probable that Wellh. and Dillm. are right in finding traces of a double narrative, one earlier and simpler than the other, with which it is now combined; but for this it must suffice to refer to Wellh. *Comp.* pp. 121–4, and Dillm. *Comm.* p. 461 sq.

[5] With probably a few phrases added by D^2 (cp. e.g. *v.* 26b with Deut. xiii. 17 [Heb. 18]).

[6] Likewise slightly amplified by D^2, as *v.* 1, "Fear not, neither be thou dismayed" (cp. Deut. i. 21, xxxi. 8; ch. x. 25), "See, I have given," &c. (cp. vi. 2); 2a (to *yourselves*), 27 (cp. Deut. ii. 35), and perhaps in one or two places besides. On the rest of these verses, cp. Wellh. *Comp.* p. 125 sq., Dillm. p. 472 sqq.

[7] With regard to this passage, a difficulty arises on account of the position which it occupies in the Book. Ebal is situated considerably to the north of Ai; and while the intervening territory remained unconquered, it is difficult to understand how the Israelites could have advanced as far. One suggestion is that the verses are misplaced, and should follow xi. 23: more probably the narrative of JE has not been preserved in its integrity, and the account which—to judge from the analogy of ch. x. and of ch. xi.—it must once have contained respecting the conquest of Central Palestine has been omitted by the compiler of the Book. On the analysis of the verses, cp. Kuenen, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1878, pp. 315–322. viii. 30–32 agrees with Deut. xxvii. 1–8; *v.* 33 also agrees tolerably with Deut. xi. 29, xxvii. 11–13, but not completely, there being no mention of the *curse*. The *reading* of the Law, *v.* 34 sq., is not enjoined in Deuteronomy. In *v.* 34 the words "the blessing and the curse," which, though they *seem* to be explanatory of "*all* the words of the law," evidently cannot be so in reality, are perhaps a later insertion, made for the purpose of rectifying the apparent omission in *v.* 33. In *v.* 33 notice the Deuteronomic phrase, "the priests the Levites" (DEUTERONOMY, § 16); and with *v.* 35b cp. Deut. xxix. 11 [Heb. 10].

[8] In *v.* 27 the words "for the congregation, and" are derived, in all probability, from the narrative of P. On *v.* 27bβ, cp. DEUTERONOMY, § 36, No. 2.

[9] The Deut. additions in x. 1–14 are similar in character to those in ch. vi., viii. *V.* 12b–13a (to *enemies*) is an excerpt from the ancient collection of national songs, called the Book of JASHAR; *v.* 13b–14a is the comment of the narrator (here, perhaps, E). In *vv.* 12a, 14b, notice the Deuteronomic phraseology (see p. 776, No. 20; and below, § 5, No. 3; with לעיני ישראל, *v.* 12, cp. Deut. xxxi. 7). With the excerpt itself, Judg. v. 20 should be compared. As regards the sequel of the battle of Beth-boron, *v.* 28 sqq., it is to be observed that Judg. i. 1–20 attributes the conquest of the South of Palestine to *Judah*: and Hebron and Debir are represented in Josh. xv. 14–19 (=Judg. i. 10–15) as having been taken under circumstances very different from those here presupposed. It seems that D^2 generalizes sometimes in his descriptions; and that he here attributes to Joshua more than was actually accomplished by him in person.

[10] With traces of D^2 in *vv.* 2, 3, 6, 7, 8. In *vv.* 10–15 the consequences of the victory at the waters of Merom are generalized by D^2 very much as those of the victory at Beth-horon are generalized in x. 28–39. *Vv.* 16–23 form a concluding survey of the whole course of the conquest. In *v.* 21 f., as Dillmann remarks, what in other narratives (xiv. 12; xv. 14–19=Judg. i. 10–15) is referred to Caleb and Judah, is generalized and attributed to Joshua.

[11] Another generalizing review by D^2, *vv.* 1–6 being a retrospective survey of the conquests made under Moses on the E. of Jordan (based, as Hollenberg, p. 499 sq. [see § 7], shows, not on Num. xxi., &c., but on Deut. iii. 9–12, 14–17), *vv.* 7–24 containing a list of the kings defeated by Joshua in Canaan itself. Of the thirty-one (or, if *v.* 18 be corrected after the LXX. [see *QPB.*[3]], 30) places named, sixteen (fifteen) are not mentioned elsewhere among the conquests under Joshua, viz., Geder, Adullam, Beth-el, Tappuah, Hepher, Aphek of the Sharon (LXX.), Taanach, Megiddo, Kedesh, Jokneam, Dor, the nations of (LXX.) Galilee, Tirzah (on Hormah and Arad, cp. Judg. i. 17, Num. xxi. 1–3). It is probable, therefore, either that omissions have been made in the narrative of JE (cp. n. 7) in the process of incorporation by D^2, or that this list has been derived from an independent source.

§ 4. Part II.: ch. xiii.–xxiv.

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[1] The connexion in xiii. 1–7 is imperfect. *Vv.* 2–6 contain an enumeration of the parts of the country still unsubdued, viz. certain districts on the S.W. coast and in Lebanon; *v.* 7, by the expression "this land," appears to refer to the parts just enumerated, while the injunction for its "division" refers it not less plainly to the whole country W. of Jordan. For a conjecture designed to explain the anomaly, see Wellh. *Composition*, p. 130 sq., or Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*, § 7. 27. At the beginning of *v.* 8 the text yields an incorrect sense, and must be in some way defective: see Dillm., or *QPB*^{3}. On the notice of the trans-Jordanic tribes, *vv.* 8–12, cp. above § 2: with the notices of Levi (*vv.* 14, 33), cp. xviii. 7a, and see (for the expressions used) Deut. x. 9, xviii. 1b, 2.

[2] This introduction to the account of the division of W. Palestine is taken (as appears both from the style and from its dependence on Num. xxxiv. 13–17, xxxv. 1–8) from P. It is possible that Wellh., Kuen., and Dillm. are right in supposing that xviii. 1 stood originally before xiv. 1: the mention of the assembly at Shiloh, and the notice that the land "was subdued before them," are more significant as preparatory to the allotment of the entire land than to that of the territory of seven tribes only. Throughout this and the following chapters the co-operation of Eleazar, it may be noticed, is mentioned only in P (xiv. 1, xvii. 4, xix. 51, xxi. 1); in JE Joshua always acts alone (xiv. 6, xvii. 14, xviii. 3, 8, 10, xxiv. 1).

[3] Expanded, perhaps, in parts by D^{2}. The most characteristic allusions are to the narrative in Deut. i., not to that in Num. xiii.–xiv.: thus *v.* 7, לרגל, *to spy out*, to Deut. i. 24 (the words used in Num. xiii.–xiv. are different); the "servant of Jehovah," see § 5; *v.* 8a to Deut. i. 28 ("our *brethren* . . . *made* our *heart to melt*"); *v.* 9a to Deut. i. 36 ("to him will I give *the land whereon he hath trodden, and to his children*"); *v.* 12, ענקים, to Deut. i. 28, בני ענקים (in Num. xiii. 22, 28, as ch. xv. 14, יליד הענק); *v.* 14b to Deut. i. 36 ("because he hath gone fully after Jehovah"). See further on this section Kuenen, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1877, p. 551 sq., 558 sq.; Dillm. *ad loc.*; or more briefly the writer's *Introduction to the Lit. of the O. T.*, p. 103.

[4] The description of the territory of the two sons of Joseph compares unfavourably, in point of both clearness and completeness, with the accounts of the territory occupied by the other tribes. The narrative of JE appears here to have diverged more than usually from that of P; and in order to retain its distinctive features, the compiler, who united JE with P, has sacrificed the systematic arrangement of P, and also abbreviated it more than is his usual wont. Thus, though in parts P has been followed, the main description is that of JE. The narrative betrays more than one mark of compilation. In JE, for instance, the lot of the two tribes sprung from Joseph is constantly spoken of as *one* (xvi. 1, xvii. 14–18, xviii. 5): in P it is expressly defined as twofold (xvi. 5, 8, xvii. 1a), Manasseh being named *first*, in agreement with xiv. 4, Gen. xlviii. 5, by the same narrator. Further, after the southern border of Joseph, and that alone, has been described (xvi. 1–3), a fresh beginning is made (xvi. 4), the description just given being in great part repeated (xvi. 5–8). The verses xvi. 4–8 contain also several expressions characteristic of the style of P. On xvii. 1b–2, which differs in representation from P (cp. Num. xxvi. 28–34), see Kuenen, *Th. Tijdschr.* 1877, pp. 484–488; or, more briefly, Dillm. p. 542.

[5] In the main ch. xx. belongs manifestly to P, and presupposes P's law of homicide in Num. xxxv. 9 sqq.; but in certain parts—viz., *v.* 3, "(and) unawares" (בבלי דעת; see Deut. iv. 42, xix. 4);* *vv.* 4–5; *v.* 6, from "(and) until" to "whence he fled;" *v.* 8, the words "at Jericho eastward"—it exhibits points of contact with Deut. It is remarkable, now, that just these passages *are omitted in the LXX.* It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the original text of P has been amplified by insertions from the law of homicide in Deut. (ch. xix.), which had either not been made at the date of the LXX. translation, or, if made, had not yet been introduced into all MSS. of the Hebrew.

[6] The source of xxii. 9-34 is uncertain. In parts the section exhibits the phraseology of P, but this is not traceable throughout. It seems either that a narrative of P has been combined with elements derived from another source in a manner which renders a satisfactory analysis difficult, or that the whole is the work of a distinct author, whose phraseology is partly that of P, but not entirely. The source of *vv.* 7–8 is uncertain: notice in *v.* 8 the late, Aramaizing word נכסים, *riches* (elsewhere in the O. T. only 2 Ch. i. 11, 12, Eccles. v. 18, vi. 2; and in the Aramaic of Ezra, Ezra vi. 8, vii. 26).

[7] With inconsiderable additions (similar to those in ch. vi., viii.) by D^{2}: principally in *v.* 1, middle clause (cp. Deut. xxix. 10 [Heb. 9]), *v.* 11, "the Amorite . . . the Jebusite" (cp. Deut. vii. 1: the context relates solely to the war with *Jericho*, with which these words do not accord), *v.* 13 (cp. Deut. vi. 10b, 11), *v.* 31 (Deut. xi. 7). In *v.* 12 "twelve" should certainly be read with LXX. for "two" (see *QPB*^{3}): the mention of the "two" kings of the Amorites (*i.e.* Sihon and Og, on the *East* of Jordan) is here out of place: the context requires a reference to some event subsequent to the capture of Jericho; and the conquest of the Eastern Amorites has been noticed already in *v.* 8. For the grounds on which this narrative is referred to E, it must suffice to refer to Dillm. p. 583 sq.

* The preceding term "unwittingly" (בשגגה, lit. *in error*) is the phrase of P (Num. xxxv. 11, 15; Lev. iv. 2, 22, 27; Num. xv. 25, 26, and elsewhere).

§ 5. The close affinities subsisting between the sections which have been styled Deuteronomic and Deuteronomy may be illustrated in two ways: (i.) by reference to the passages identical verbally, or nearly so, with passages in Deut.; (ii.) by reference to the turns and expressions characteristic of Deut., which here recur. Let the reader who would fully estimate these affinities, underline the passages and expressions referred to, supplementing them, where necessary, from his own observation.

(i.) Ch. i. is constructed almost wholly of phrases borrowed from Deut. Thus, cp. *vv.* 3–5a and Deut. xi. 24, 25a; 5b, 6a and Deut. xxxi. 23 *end*, 6, 7, 8 (also i. 38, iii. 28); 7b and Deut. v. 32 (Heb. 29), xxix. 9 (Heb. 8); 8 ("this book of the law") and Deut. xxix. 21, xxx. 10,[4] xxxi. 26; 8b and Deut. xxviii. 29; 9 and Deut. xxxi. 6; also i. 29, vii. 21, xx. 3 (the uncommon ערץ); 11b and Deut. xi. 31; 13b–15 and Deut. iii. 18–20; 17b as *v.* 5; 18b as *v.* 6a. The parallels with ii. 10, 11, as well as with some other of the shorter insertions, have been noticed above. In ch. iii. cp. *v.* 7 ("this day will I begin") and Deut. ii. 25; *v.* 7b as ch. i. 5; *v.* 10, with "the *Girgashite*," as xxiv. 11, Deut. vii. 1 only; with iv. 24 cp. Deut. iii. 24, &c. ("mighty hand"), xiv. 23b, xxviii. 10. In ch. xxii. the Deut. phrases are evident in *vv.* 1–6; in *vv.* 9–34 they are conspicuously absent, in spite of the abundant opportunity for their use, had the author been the same as before. Ch. xxiii. shows throughout the hand of D^{2} (cp. ch. i.), its object apparently being to supplement the *negative* exhortations to discard strange gods, which D^{2} found in E and incorporated in

[4] Cp. DEUTERONOMY, § 2.

ch. xxiv., with a definite *positive* injunction to carry out faithfully the principles of the Deut. law, and a special warning to hold no manner of intercourse with the Canaanite populations. Thus cp. *v.* 1 (so i. 13) and Deut. xii. 10 b, xxv. 19 a; *v.* 2 (so viii. 34) and Deut. xxix. 10; *v.* 3 and Deut. xxix. 2; *v.* 4 (cut off) and Deut. xii. 29, xix. 1; *v.* 4 b as i. 4; *v.* 5 and Deut. vi. 19, ix. 4 (הדף, so used only in these passages); *vv.* 5, 13, "drive out from before you" (cp. xiii. 6), and Deut. ix. 4, 5, xi. 23; *v.* 6 and Deut. xxx. 10, ch. i. 7; *v.* 7 *to serve* and *bow down* in parallelism, as often in Deut.; *v.* 8 ("cleave") and Deut. xxx. 20 al.; *v.* 9 a and Deut. iv. 38; *v.* 9 b and Deut. vii. 24, xi. 25 (in Josh. עמד, as x. 8, xxi. 44, varied from the synon. יתיצב of Deut.); *v.* 10 a and Deut. xxxii. 30 (the Song); *v.* 10 b, "that fighteth for you" (cp. below, ii. No. 3); *v.* 11 a and Deut. iv. 15; *v.* 11 b, "love," the keynote of Deut.,[e] *e.g.* xxx. 6, 16, 20, in a similar context; *v.* 12 and Deut. vii. 3; *v.* 13 b ("until ye perish," &c.) and Deut. xxviii. 20; *v.* 14 b, as xxi. 45; *v.* 15 and Deut. xxviii. 63, xxix. 27; *v.* 16 b and Deut. xxix. 26, 27, xi. 17. Even where the expressions used are not identical, the style and spirit of this discourse are still emphatically those of Deuteronomy.[f]

(ii.) Recurring phrases or expressions. Several passages in Joshua where these occur have been quoted under DEUTERONOMY, §§ 34, 36, a reference to which will make it still further apparent, how completely the style of D^2 was moulded upon that of Deut. To the examples there given may be added:

1. עבד יהוה, *the servant of Jehovah*, of Moses: Deut. xxxiv. 5;—Josh. i. 1, 13, 15; viii. 31, 33; xi. 12; xii. 6 *bis*; xiii. 8; xiv. 7; xviii. 7; xxii. 2, 4, 5 [of Joshua, xxiv. 29]. So *my servant*, i. 2, 7 [cp. Num. xii. 7, 8]; *his servant*, ix. 24, xi. 15 [cp. Ex. xiv. 31].

2. יי אלהיכם(ך), *Jehovah your* (*thy*) *God*, peculiarly frequent [some 200 times] in Deut.;—Josh. i. 9, 11, 13, 15, 17; ii. 11; iii. 3, 9; iv. 5, 23 *bis*, 24; viii. 7; ix. 9, 24; x. 19; xxii. 3, 4, 5; and 13 times in ch. xxiii. Though not confined to Deut. sections, the expression greatly preponderates in them.

3. יי (והוא) נלחם לישראל, Jehovah [is he that] fighteth [will fight] for (Israel, you, &c.): Deut. i. 30; iii. 22 (from Ex. xiv. 14, 25); cp. xx. 4;—Josh. x. 14 b, 42; xxiii. 3, 10.

4. הניח ל, *to give rest to* (sometimes with the addition of *from your enemies round about*): Deut. iii. 20, xii. 10, xxv. 19;—Josh. i. 13, 15; xxii. 4; xxiii. 1.

5. רְאֵה, *see!* calling attention to something about to be said: Deut. i. 8, "*See*, I have given the land before you;" 21; ii. 24, "*See*, I have given into thy hand Sihon;" 31; iv. 5; xi. 26; xxx. 15;—Josh. vi. 2, "*See*, I have given into thy hand Jericho;" viii. 1, "*See*, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai:" cp. the pl. ראו, viii. 4, 8; xxiii. 4. Occasionally elsewhere; but not with the same comparative frequency.

6. השמיד, *to destroy* (a favourite term in Deut., 28 times in the discourses);—Josh. ix. 24; xi. 14, 20; xxiii. 15; xxiv. 8 b [cp. Deut. ii. 12, 21, 22; xxxi. 3. This clause may, however, belong to E; cp. the seeming allusion in Amos ii. 9].

7. המנשה [with the *article*] in the phrase "the half tribe of (the) Manasseh": Deut. iii. 13;—Josh. i. 12; iv. 12; xii. 6; xiii. 7; xviii. 7; xxii. 7, 9, 10, 11, 21. Not elsewhere.

8. החרים, *to ban* or *devote*[g]: Deut. ii. 34; iii. 6, and especially in the injunctions for the future, vii. 2, xiii. 16, xx. 17;—frequently in the *summaries* or *retrospects* of D^2, Josh. ii. 10; x. 1, 28, 35, 37, 39, 40; xi. 11, 12, 20, 21. In vi. 18, 21, viii. 26, the term belongs no doubt to the original source: cp. Ex. xxii. 20 [Heb. 19], Num. xxi. 2, 3—both belonging to JE; and note also the subst. חֵרֶם ch. vi. 17, 18, vii. 11–13.

9. עד בלתי (לא) הישאיר שריד, (*until*) *he left none remaining*: Deut. iii. 3, cp. ii. 34 [Num. xxi. 35];—Josh. viii. 22; x. 28, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40; xi. 8. [2 K. x. 11.] Not elsewhere.

10. *There was not a . . . which . . .* (form of sentence): Deut. ii. 36; iii. 4;—Josh. viii. 35; xi. 19.

11. נמס, *to melt*, of the heart: Deut. xx. 8;—Josh. ii. 11; v. 1; vii. 5. (On Josh. xiv. 8, based upon Deut. i. 28, cp. above § 4, note [3].)

12. כל (ה)נשמה, *all that breathed* (lit. *all breath*): Deut. xx. 16;—Josh. x. 40; xi. 11, 14. [1 K. xv. 29; Ps. cl. 6.] Not elsewhere.

(iii.) Noticeable words and phrases not occurring before.

1. גבורי החיל, *mighty men of valour*: i. 14 [in Deut. iii. 18, בני חיל[h]]; vi. 2; viii. 3; x. 7. [2 K. xv. 20; xxiv. 14.]

2. . . . . הוביש מפני . . . . , *to dry up from before* . . . . : ii. 10; iv. 23 *bis*; v. 1.

3. עם המלחמה, *the people of war*: viii. 1, 3, 11 (העם, with the *art.*, strangely[i]); x. 7; xi. 7. Not elsewhere, except 1 Sam. xiii. 15, LXX. The usual expression is אנשי המלחמה: Deut. ii. 14, 16; Josh. v. 4, 6, vi. 3, x. 24; 1 Sam. xviii. 5, &c.

4. ממלכות, *kingdom*: xiii. 12, 21, 27, 30, 31. A peculiar form, possibly only an error of transmission for מַמְלָכֹת; elsewhere only 1 Sam. xv. 28; 2 Sam. xvi. 3; Jer. xxvi. 1; Hos. i. 4.

5. מחלקת, *division*, in the expression כמחלקתם: xi. 23; xii. 7; xviii. 10. Not again, except in the n. pr. 1 Sam. xxiii. 28, till

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[e] See DEUTERONOMY, § 34, No. 1.

[f] See also the passages of Josh. i., xxiii., containing the same phrases as Deut., cited under DEUTERONOMY, §§ 34, 36. Even with the addition of these, the literary affinities between these chapters and Deut. are not exhausted.

[g] Cp. the writer's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel* (Oxford, 1890), on 1 Sam. xv. 33.

[h] Which is not an archaism (Keil, *Einl.* § 15, 1), but, like אנשי חיל, a common expression in prose, as Judg. xviii. 2, 2 Sam. ii. 7, 2 K. ii. 16.

[i] Cp. the writer's *Hebrew Tenses*[3] (1892), § 190 *Obs.*

Ezek. xlviii. 29: often in Chron., but in a special application, of the *courses* of the priests and Levites.

6. הגוי, *the nation*, of Israel: iii. 17, iv. 1, v. 6, 8; גוי, x. 13 (without the article), is pretty clearly derived from the poem quoted. "*This* nation," applied to Israel, is found occasionally elsewhere; "*the* nation" is very unusual, and is never met with besides in prose.

7. . . . . לא עמד (יעמד) איש בפני, *a man stood not* (*shall not stand*) *in the face of . . .*: x. 8, xxi. 44 (Heb. 42), xxiii. 9, varied from . . . לא יתיצב איש בפני, Deut. vii. 24, xi. 25; Josh. i. 5 (here with לפני, *before*). In vii. 12, 13, the expression is a different one: קום לפני, to *rise up*, *subsist*, *endure*, before (not elsewhere).

8. הכל בא (באו), *all came to pass*: xxi. 45 (Heb. 43), xxiii. 14.

In x. 30, 32, 33, 37 *bis*, 39, there occurs an inelegant construction, ויבה . . . ואת כל אשר ויך אתה ואת כל אשר בה (for the normal בה), of which, however, there are two examples in Deut., viz. xi. 6 (contrast Num. xvi. 32); xv. 16 (about six times besides in the O. T.): see the writer's *Notes on Samuel*, on 1 Sam. v. 10.

The attentive reader will not omit to notice how frequently the expressions noted in this section are found *aggregated* in the passages attributed above to D^2.

§ 6. Thus the Book of Joshua as a whole assumed its present form by a series of stages. It follows that if the earliest form of the traditions respecting the conquest of Palestine is to be recovered, the stratum of narrative containing it must be disengaged by critical processes from those that have been superposed upon it. The Deuteronomic elements contain but little of direct historical import: in the main, they either give prominence to the motives and considerations by which Joshua is conceived to have been actuated, or they generalize and magnify the successes attributed to him. These being disregarded, it appears that in the first half of the Book, containing details of the conquest of Palestine, the source mainly followed is JE; in the second half, containing particulars of its topographical distribution among the tribes, it is P. The notices of the *conquest* belonging to P are brief and fragmentary. One group of the passages assigned to JE deserves special notice, on account of their affinity with the 1st chapter of Judges. This chapter, describing how certain of the tribes conquered, or failed to conquer, the territory allotted to them, is now generally regarded by critics as having formed originally part of a narrative, or survey, of the conquest of Palestine in the time of Joshua; the opening words, "after the death of Joshua," being an addition due to the compiler, who placed the section where it now stands, as an introduction to the Book of Judges.[k] The notices in the chapter relate in many cases, it is evident, to events *synchronous* with those recorded in the Book of Joshua, rather than to what took place subsequently. In some cases the same notices recur, with but slight verbal variations, in both Books; in other cases, notices cast in a similar form are met with in both equally. In all probability, Judg. i. is an extract from what was once a complete summary of the conquest of Canaan, of which other excerpts have been preserved in the verses of Joshua referred to. The notices from the two Books may be combined together somewhat as follows:—*a.* (Judah) Judg. i. 1 b (from "and the children of Israel asked"), 2–7, 19, Josh. xv. 63 (nearly = Judg. i. 21); Judg. i. 20, Josh. xv. 14–19 (nearly = Judg. i. 10–15; cp. also Josh. xiv. 13, 15); Judg. i. 16–18, 36.[l] *b.* (Joseph) Judg. i. 22–26, Josh. xvii. 14–18. *c.* (the ill success of different tribes) Josh. xiii. 13, Judg. i. 27–28 (nearly = Josh. xvii. 12, 13 [the names of the towns are not stated here in *v.* 12, having been given just before in *v.* 11]), 29 (Josh. xvi. 10), 30–33, 34, Josh. xix. 47,[m] Judg. i. 35.[n] Here we have in succession particulars respecting the conquests of Judah and Simeon, Caleb and Othniel, the "house of Joseph," Manasseh, Ephraim, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, Dan. Phraseological points of contact between the passages quoted are: the "House of Joseph" (Josh. xvii. 17, xviii. 5; Judg. i. 22, 23, 35: not common elsewhere); "daughters" for dependent towns, Josh. xvii. 11, 16, Judg. i. 27; "*would* dwell" (peculiar), Josh. xvii. 12, Judg. i. 27 b, 35; "became tributary,"[o] Josh. xvi. 10, Judg. i. 30, 33, 35; the form of the sentence, Josh. xiii. 13, xv. 63, Judg. i. 29, 30, 31, &c.; observe also the allusion to the "chariots of iron," Josh. xvii. 16, Judg. i. 19. The representation is, moreover, throughout similar: the joint action of the tribes up to a certain point is presupposed, followed *first* by the assignation to each tribe of its lot of territory, and then the conquest by the tribe of the lot thus assigned to it, or, in some cases, its failure to conquer it. The narrative, as we possess it, is evidently incomplete. Enough of it, however, remains to show how imperfectly the native inhabitants had in fact been expelled, notwithstanding the generalizing summaries of D^2 (*e.g.* x. 40, xi. 16–20, xxi. 43–5). Lastly, the notice of the conquest of the land in the retrospect in ch. xxiv. (E) should be alluded to (*v.* 11–12). This does

[k] Cp. the *Speaker's Comm.*, ii. p. 123 sq.

[l] Where *Amorites* is very probably a textual error for *Edomites*. Cp. Hollenberg, *ZATW.* 1881, p. 102 sqq.; Budde, *Richter u. Samuel*, p. 18 sq.; Kittel, *Gesch. der Hebräer*, i. p. 243 (Cod. A. and other MSS. of LXX. have ὁ Ἰδουμαῖος after τοῦ Ἀμορραίου).

[m] Cp. *QPB.*[3]; and the *Expositor*, Jan. 1887, p. 59 sq.

[n] For a comparative estimate of the textual variations between such of the passages as are parallel, see Budde, *Richter u. Samuel*, 1890, p. 1 sqq. (see the references on pp. 84–9), or more briefly Kittel, *Gesch. der Hebräer*, i. p. 239 sqq. Naturally, no stress is to be laid on the precise order in which the passages are combined; Budde arranges them somewhat differently, *l. c.* pp. 84–9 (prefixing also Num. xxxii. 39, 41, 42 to Josh. xiii. 13: cp. *ZATW.* 1888, p. 148).

[o] היה למס, lit. "were for task-work:" similarly נתן למס, Josh. xvii. 13; שם למס, Judg. i. 28. See R. V.; and cp. Deut. xx. 11; 1 K. ix. 21, Heb.; Is. xxxi. 8, Heb.

not perfectly agree with the picture in the earlier part of JE. Nothing is there said of the "citizens of Jericho" who "fought against" the Israelites; nor is any express mention made of "twelve" (LXX. v. 12: § 4, note[1]) "kings of the Amorites" put to flight before Israel,[b] "not with thy sword, nor with thy bow:" on the other hand, the retrospect here is silent as to the *series* of independent efforts by which the Jehovistic tradition represents the Israelites as slowly and toilsomely effecting the conquest, and appears (v. 18 a) to treat the expulsion of the native population as more complete than was really the case. As ch. xxiv. is admitted to belong to E, this divergence of representation may be taken as an indication that the source of the group of notices just referred to is J; the representation of E, on the other hand, approximates to that of D^2.

The description of the territories of the different tribes, in the second part of the Book, the "Domesday book of Palestine," derived mainly from P, though invaluable on account of the topographical data contained in it, refers, no doubt, to a later period than that of Joshua. This may be inferred from the fact that the country is represented as completely in the possession of the Israelites. The partition of the land being conceived as *ideally* effected by Joshua, its complete distribution and occupation by the tribes is here treated as his work, and as accomplished in his lifetime.

The *text* of Joshua, though not so faulty as that of Samuel or Ezekiel, is nevertheless less pure than that of the Pentateuch appears generally to be: the corruptions can in some cases be emended by help of the ancient Versions; see the study of Hollenberg mentioned in § 7, and Dillmann, p. 689 sq.

§ 7. *Literature.*—A. Knobel (in *Numeri, Deuteronomium u. Josua*, in the *Kurzgefasstes Exeg. Handb.*), 1861, ed. 2 (re-written) by Aug. Dillmann, 1886 (the best commentary); C. F. Keil in *Josua, Richter u. Ruth*, ed. 2, 1874; J. Hollenberg in the *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1874, pp. 472–506 (on the Deut. elements of the Book), and *Der Charakter der Alex. Uebersetzung des B. Josua*, Moers, 1876; Wellhausen in the *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theologie*, 1876–7, reprinted in *Die Composition des Hexateuchs, u.s.w.*, 1889, pp. 118–136 (cp. p. 351 sq.); Kuenen in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1877, p. 467 sqq. (on ch. xx.), 1878, p. 315 sqq. (on ch. viii. 30–35); K. Budde in the *Zeitsch. für die Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1887, p. 93 sqq.; 1888, p. 148 (reprinted in *Richter und Samuel*, 1890, pp. 1–83); R. Kittel, *Gesch. der Hebräer*, i. (1888), p. 238 sqq.; J. S. Black in the 'Smaller Camb. Bible for Schools,' 1891; Albers, *Die Quellenberichte in Josua i.–xii.*, Bonn, 1891. [S. R. D.]

JOSI'AH (יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ = *Jehovah heals* [MV.[11]]; Ἰωσίας; *Josias*). **1.** The son of Amon and Jedidah, succeeded his father B.C. 641 [al. 640], in the eighth year of his age, and reigned thirty-one years. His history is contained in 2 K. xxii.–xxiv. 30; 2 Ch. xxxiv., xxxv.; and the first twelve chapters of Jeremiah throw much light upon the general character of the Jews in his days.

He began in the eighth year of his reign to seek the Lord; and in his twelfth year, and for six years afterwards, in a personal progress throughout all the land of Judah and Israel, he destroyed everywhere high places, groves, images, and all outward signs and relics of idolatry. Those which Solomon and Ahaz had built, and even Hezekiah had spared, and those which Manasseh had set up more recently, now ceased to pollute the land of Judah; and in Israel the purification began with Jeroboam's chapel at Bethel, in accordance with the remarkable prediction of the disobedient prophet, by whom Josiah was called by name three centuries before his birth (1 K. xiii. 2). The Temple was restored under a special commission; and in the course of the repairs Hilkiah the priest found that book of the Law of the Lord which quickened so remarkably the ardent zeal of the king [see under HILKIAH]. The special commission sent forth by Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 7) is a proof that even under such kings as Asa and his son, the Levites were insufficient for the religious instruction of the people. What then must have been the amount of information accessible to a generation which had grown up in the reigns of Manasseh and Amon? We do not know that the Law was read as a stated part of any ordinary public service in the Temple of Solomon (unless the injunction Deut. xxxi. 10 was obeyed once in seven years), though God was worshipped there with daily sacrifice, psalmody, and prayer. The son of Amon began when he was sixteen years old to seek in earnest the God of David, and for ten years he devoted all his active energies to destroying the gross external memorials of idolatry throughout his dominions, and to strengthening and multiplying the visible signs of true religion. It is not surprising that in the twenty-sixth year of his age he should find the most awful words in which God denounces sin come home to his heart on a particular occasion with a new and strange power, and that he should send to a prophetess to inquire in what degree of closeness those words were to be applied to himself and his generation. That he had never read the words is probable. But his conduct is no sufficient proof that he had never heard them before, or that he was not aware of the existence of a "book of the Law of the Lord."

The great day of Josiah's life was that on which he and his people, in the eighteenth year of his reign, entered into a special covenant to keep the Law of the Lord, and celebrated the Feast of the Passover at Jerusalem with more munificent offerings, better arranged services, and a larger concourse of worshippers than had been seen on any previous occasion.

After this, his endeavours to abolish every trace of idolatry and superstition were still carried on. But the time drew near which had been indicated by Huldah (2 K. xxii. 20). When Pharaoh-Necho went from Egypt to Carchemish to carry on his war against Assyria (cp. Herodotus, ii. 159), Josiah, possibly in a spirit of loyalty to the Assyrian king, to whom

[b] Though Albers, p. 149, thinks the twelve kings intended to be those of Jericho, Ai, Bethel (according to the isolated notice in viii. 17), the five kings of the South (x. 3), and the four kings of the North (xi. 1).

he may have been bound,* opposed his march along the sea-coast. Necho reluctantly paused and gave him battle in the valley of Esdraelon: and the last good king of Judah was carried wounded from Hadad-rimmon, to die before he could arrive at Jerusalem.

He was buried with extraordinary honours; and a funeral dirge, in part composed by Jeremiah, which the affection of his subjects sought to perpetuate as an annual solemnity, was chanted probably at Hadad-rimmon (cp. the narrative in 2 Ch. xxxv. 25 with the allusions in Jer. xxii. 10, 18, and Zech. xii. 11, and Jackson, *On the Creed*, bk. viii. ch. 23, p. 878). The prediction of Huldah, that he should "be gathered into the grave in peace," must be interpreted in accordance with the explanation of that phrase given in Jer. xxxiv. 5 (cp. Jackson, *On the Creed*, bk. xi. ch. 36, p. 664). Josiah's reformation and death are commented on by Bishop Hall, *Contemplations on the O. T.*, bk. xx.

It was in the reign of Josiah that a nomadic horde of Scythians overran Asia (Herodotus, i. 104–106). A detachment of them went towards Egypt by the way of Philistia: somewhere southward of Ascalon they were met by messengers from Psammitichus and induced to turn back. They are not mentioned in the historical accounts of Josiah's reign. But Ewald (*Die Psalmen*, p. 165) conjectures that the 59th Psalm was composed by king Josiah during a siege of Jerusalem by these Scythians. The town BETHSHAN is said to derive its Greek name, Scythopolis (Reland, *Pal.* p. 992; Lightfoot, *Chor. Marc.* vii. § 2), from these invaders. The facility with which Josiah appears to have extended his authority in the land of Israel is adduced as an indication that the Assyrian conquerors of that land were themselves at this time under the restraining fear of some enemy. The prophecy of Zephaniah is considered to have been written amid the terror caused by their approach. The same people are described at a later period by Ezekiel (xxviii.). See Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 689. Abarbanel (*ap.* Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 858) records an oral tradition of the Jews to the effect that the Ark of the Covenant, which Solomon deposited in the Temple (1 K. vi. 19), was removed and hidden by Josiah, in expectation of the destruction of the Temple; and that it will not be brought again to light until the coming of Messiah.

[W. T. B.] [F.]

* Such is at least the conjecture of Prideaux (*Connexion*, anno 610), and of Milman (*History of the Jews*, i. 313). But the Bible ascribes no such chivalrous motive to Josiah: and it does not occur to Josephus, who attributes (*Ant.* x. 5, § 1) Josiah's resistance merely to Fate urging him to destruction; nor to the author of 1 Esd. i. 28, who describes him as acting wilfully against Jeremiah's advice; nor to Ewald, who (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 707) conjectures that it may have been the constant aim of Josiah to restore not only the ritual, but also the kingdom of David in its full extent and independence, and that he attacked Necho as an invader of what he considered as his northern dominions. This conjecture, if equally probable with the former, is equally without adequate support in the Bible, and is somewhat derogatory to the character of Josiah. Opinions still differ on this point (cp. Kautzsch in Herzog's *RE.*² s.n. "Josia").

2. The son of Zephaniah, at whose house the prophet Zechariah was commanded to assemble the chief men of the Captivity, to witness the solemn and symbolical crowning of Joshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 9). It has been conjectured that Josiah was either a goldsmith, or treasurer of the Temple, or one of the keepers of the Temple, who received the money offered by the worshippers, but nothing is known of him. Possibly he was a descendant of Zephaniah, the priest mentioned in Jer. xxi. 1, xxxvii. 3; and if Hen in Zech. vi. 15 be a proper name, which is doubtful, it probably refers to the same person, elsewhere called Josiah. [W. A. W.]

JOSI'AS. **1.** (Ἰωσίας; *Josias.*) Josiah, king of Judah (1 Esd. i. 1, 7, 18, 21–23, 25, 28, 29, 32–34; Ecclus. xlix. 1, 4; Bar. i. 8; Matt. i. 10, 11).

2. (B. Ἐσίας; A. Ἰεσσίας; *Maasias.*) Jeshaiah, the son of Athaliah (1 Esd. viii. 33; cp. Ezra viii. 7).

JOSIBI'AH (יֹאשִׁבְיָה, *i.e.* Joshibyah = *Jehovah makes a dwelling* [MV.[11]]; BA. Ἰωσβία; *Josabias*), the father of Jehu, a Simeonite, descended from that branch of the tribe of which Shimei was the founder, and which afterwards became most numerous (1 Ch. iv. 35).

JOSIPHI'AH (יוֹסִפְיָה = *Jehovah adds*; B. Ἰωσεφεία, A. -φία; *Josphias*), the father or ancestor of Shelomith, who returned with Ezra (Ezra viii. 10). A word is evidently omitted in the first part of the verse, and is supplied both by the LXX. (A.) and the Syr., as well as by the compiler of 1 Esd. viii. 36. The LXX. (A.) supplies Βααυί, *i.e.* בָּנִי, which, from its resemblance to the preceding word בָּנִי, might easily have been omitted by a transcriber. The verse would then read, "of the sons of Bani, Shelomith the son of Josiphiah" (cp. *QPB.*²). In the Syriac Shelomith is repeated, but this is not likely to have been correct. Josiphiah is called in Esdras JOSAPHIAS.

JOTAPATA. [JIPHTAH-EL.]

JOT-BAH (יָטְבָה = *goodness* [MV.[11]]: B. Ἰσεβδά, A. Ἰεραχδά; Jos. Ἰαβάτη: *Jeteba*), the native place of Meshullemeth, the queen of Manasseh, and mother of Amon king of Judah (2 K. xxi. 19). The place is not elsewhere named as a town of Palestine, and is generally identified with Jotbath, or Jotbathah, mentioned below. This there is nothing either to prove or disprove. [G.] [W.]

JOT-BATH, or JOT-BA-THAH (יָטְבָתָה: Deut. x. 7, B. Ταιβθα, A. Ἰετεβδθα, F. Ἰτε-; Num. xxxiii. 33, B. Σετεβδθα, B[ab]F. Ἐτεβάθα, A. Ἰετεβαθάν), a desert station of the Israelites: it is described as "a land of torrents of waters:" there are several confluences of Wâdys on the W. of the Arabah, any one of which might in the rainy season answer the description, and would agree with the general locality (see Dillmann² on Num. *l. c.*). [H. H.]

JO'THAM (יוֹתָם; Ἰωάθαμ; *Joatham*). **1.** The youngest son of Gideon (Judg. ix. 5), who escaped when his brethren, to the number of sixty-nine

persons, were slain at Ophrah by their half-brother Abimelech. When this bloody act of Abimelech had secured his election as king, Jotham, ascending Mount Gerizim, boldly uttered, in the hearing of the men of Shechem, his well-known warning parable of the reign of the bramble. The historical character of the narrative, impugned by Budde (*Die BB. Richter und Samuel*, p. 118) and others, is defended by Kittel (*Gesch. d. Hebräer*, ii. 76). Nothing is known of Jotham afterwards, except that he dwelt at Beer.

2. The son of king Uzziah or Azariah and Jerushah. After administering the kingdom for some years during his father's leprosy, he succeeded to the throne B.C. 758 [al. 750. The Biblical and Assyrian chronologies of this reign have not yet been reconciled; see p. 592], when he was twenty-five years old, and reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem. He was contemporary with Pekah and with the Prophet Isaiah. His history is contained in 2 K. xv. 32–38 and 2 Ch. xxvii., and much light is thrown upon the character and events of his time by such passages as Is. ii. 5–iii. 11, vi. He did right in the sight of the Lord, and his reign was prosperous, although the high-places were not removed. He built the high gate of the Temple, made some additions to the wall of Jerusalem, and raised fortifications in various parts of Judah. After a war with the Ammonites, he compelled them to pay him the tribute they had been accustomed to pay to his father. Towards the end of his reign Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah, began to assume a threatening attitude towards Judah (see the article "Jotham" in Herzog, *RE.*², and in Riehm, *HWB.*). [W. T. B.] [F.]

3. A descendant of Judah, son of Jahdai (1 Ch. ii. 47).

JO'ZA-BAD = *Jehovah hath given.* **1.** (יוֹזָבָד; B. Ἰωζαβάθ, A. Ἰωζαβάδ; *Jozabad.*) A captain of the thousands of Manasseh, who deserted to David before the battle of Gilboa, and assisted him in his pursuit of the marauding band of Amalekites (1 Ch. xii. 20). One of Kennicott's MSS. reads יוֹחָבָר, *i.e.* Jochabar.

2. (B. Ἰωσαβαίθ, א. -βεθ, A. Ἰωζαβέδ.) A hero of Manasseh, like the preceding (1 Ch. xii. 20).

3. (B. Ἐζαβάθ, A Ἰωζαβάθ, in 2 Ch. xxxi. 13.) A Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, who was one of the overseers of offerings and dedicated things in the Temple, under Cononiah and Shimei, after the restoration of the true worship.

4. (BA. Ἰωζάβαδ; *Josabad.*) One of the princes of the Levites, who held the same office as the preceding, and took part in the great Passover kept at Jerusalem in the reign of Josiah (2 Ch. xxxv. 9).

5. (BA. Ἰωζαβάδ.) A Levite, son of Jeshua, who assisted Meremoth and Eleazar in registering the number and weight of the vessels of gold and silver belonging to the Temple, which they brought with them from Babylon (Ezra viii. 33). He is called JOSABAD in the parallel narrative of 1 Esd. viii. 63 (*v.* 62, B. Ἰωσαβεές, A. -σαβδος), and is probably identical with 7.

6. (BאA. Ἰωζαβάδ in Ezra; B. Ὠκαΐληδος, A. Ὠκείδηλος, in 1 Esd. ix. 23: *Jozabed.*) A priest of the sons of Pashur, who had married a foreigner on the return from the Captivity (Ezra x. 22). He appears as OCIDELUS in the A. V. of 1 Esd.

7. (Ἰωζαβάδος, *Jorabdus*, in 1 Esd. ix. 23; Ἰωζαβάδ, *Jozabed*, in Ezra x. 22.) A Levite among those who returned with Ezra and had married foreign wives. He is probably identical with Jozabad the Levite, who assisted when the Law was read by Ezra (Neh. viii. 7); and with Jozabad, one of the heads of the Levites who presided over the outer work of the Temple (Neh. xi. 16). [W. A. W.]

JO'ZA-CHAR (יוֹזָכָר = *Jehovah hath remembered*; Ἰεζειρχάρ, A. Ἰωζαχάρ; *Josachar*), the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, and one of the murderers of Joash king of Judah (2 K. xii. 21). The writer of the Chronicles (2 Ch. xxiv. 26) calls him Zabad, a clerical error for Jozachar; the first syllable being omitted in consequence of the final letters of the preceding word עַלְיוֹן. In eighteen MSS. of Kennicott's collation the name in the Kings is יוֹזָבָר, *i.e.* Jozabad, and the same is the reading of thirty-two MSS. collated by De Rossi. Another MS. in De Rossi's possession had יוֹזָכָד, *i.e.* Jozachad, and one collated by Kennicott יוֹזָבָר, or Jozabar, which is the reading of the Peshitto-Syriac. It is uncertain whether their conspiracy was prompted by a personal feeling of revenge for the death of Zechariah, as Josephus intimates (*Ant.* ix. 8, § 4), or whether they were urged to it by the family of Jehoiada. The care of the Chronicler to show that they were of foreign descent seems almost intended to disarm a suspicion that the king's assassination was an act of priestly vengeance. But it is more likely that the conspiracy had a different origin altogether, and that the king's murder was regarded by the Chronicler as an instance of Divine retribution. On the accession of Amaziah the conspirators were executed. [W. A. W.]

JO'ZA-DAK (יוֹצָדָק; Ἰωσεδέκ; *Josedec*), Ezra iii. 2, 8, v. 2, x. 18; Neh. xii. 26. The name is a contraction of JEHOZADAK.

JU'BAL (יוּבָל; Ἰουβάλ; *Jubal*), a son of Lamech by Adah, and the inventor of the "harp and organ" (Gen. iv. 21; R. V. "harp and pipe"). His name appears to be connected with this subject, springing from the same root as *yobel*, "jubilee" (cp. Delitzsch [1887], Dillmann⁵ in loco). That the inventor of musical instruments should be the brother of him who introduced the nomad life, is strictly in accordance with the experience of the world. The connexion between music and the pastoral life is indicated in the traditions of the Greeks, which ascribed the invention of the pipe to Pan and of the lyre to Apollo, each of them being also devoted to pastoral pursuits. [W. L. B.]

JUBILEE, THE YEAR OF (שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, and simply יוֹבֵל; ἔτος τῆς ἀφέσεως, ἀφέσεως σημασία, and ἄφεσις; *annus jubilaei*, and *jubilaeus*; R. V. "jubile"), the fiftieth year after the succession of seven Sabbatical years (Lev. xxv. 10; Ideler, *Hab. d. Chronik*, i. 505), in which all the land which had been alienated returned to the families of those to whom it

had been allotted in the original distribution, and *all* bondmen of Hebrew blood were liberated. The relation in which it stood to the Sabbatical year and the general directions for its observance are given in Lev. xxv. 8–16 and 23–55.[a] Its bearing on lands dedicated to Jehovah is stated in Lev. xxvii. 16–25. There is no mention of the Jubilee in the Book of Deuteronomy, and the only other reference to it in the Pentateuch is in the appeal of the tribe of Manasseh, on account of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxxvi. 4).

II. The year was inaugurated on the Day of Atonement[b] with the blowing of trumpets[c] throughout the land, and by a proclamation of universal liberty.

1. The *soil* was kept under the same condition of rest as had existed during the preceding Sabbatical year. There was to be neither ploughing, sowing, nor reaping; but the chance produce was to be left for the use of all comers. [SABBATICAL YEAR.]

2. Every Israelite returned to "his possession and to his family;" that is, he recovered his right in the land originally allotted to the family of which he was a member, if he, or his ancestor, had parted with it.

(*a*) A strict rule to prevent fraud and injustice in such transactions is laid down:—if a Hebrew, urged by poverty,[d] had to dispose of a field, the price was determined according to the time of the sale in reference to the approach of the next Jubilee. The transfer was thus, not of the land itself, but of the usufruct for a limited time. Deduction was systematically made on account of the number of Sabbatical years, which would deprive the purchaser of certain crops within that period.[e]

(*b*) The possession of the field could, at any time, be recovered by the original proprietor, if his circumstances improved, or by his next of kin[f] (גֹּאֵל, i.e. *one who redeems*). The price to be paid for its redemption was to be fixed according to the same equitable rule as the price at which it had been purchased (*v.* 16).

(*c*) Houses in walled cities[g] were not subject to the law of Jubilee, but a man who sold his house could redeem it at any time within a full year of the time of its sale. After that year, it became the absolute property of the purchaser.

(*d*) Houses and buildings in villages, or in the country, being regarded as essentially connected with the cultivation of the land, were not excepted, but returned in the Jubilee with the land on which they stood.

(*e*) The Levitical cities were not, in respect to this law, reckoned with walled towns. If a Levite sold the use of his house, it reverted to him in the Jubilee, and he might redeem it at any previous time. The lands in the suburbs of the Levites' cities could not be parted with under any condition, and were not therefore affected by the law of Jubilee (*v.* 34).

(*f*) If a man had sanctified a field of his patrimony unto the Lord, it could be redeemed at any time before the next year of Jubilee, on his paying one-fifth in addition to the worth of

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[a] Ewald observes that *vv.* 17–22 in this chapter should be read immediately after *v.* 7, since they carry on the account of the Sabbatical year, and have no reference to the year of Jubilee.

[b] It does not seem likely that the rites of solemn humiliation which marked the great fast of the year were disturbed. The joyful sound probably burst forth in the afternoon, when the high-priest had brought the services of Atonement to a conclusion. The contrast between the quiet of the day and the loud blast of the trumpets at its close, must have rendered deeply impressive the hallowing of the year of release from poverty and bondage.

[c] The trumpets used in the proclamation of the Jubilee appear to have been curved horns, not the long straight trumpets represented on the Arch of Titus, and such as are represented in Egyptian sculptures and paintings (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 104 [1878]). The straight trumpet was called חֲצֹצְרָה, the other שׁוֹפָר and קֶרֶן. The jubilee horns used in the siege of Jericho are called שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיּוֹבְלִים (Josh. vi. 4); and, collectively, in the following verse, קֶרֶן הַיּוֹבֵל. (See Keil on Josh. vi. 4.) It is not quite certain whether they were the horns of oxen or formed of metal (Kranold, p. 50), but the latter seems by far more probable. Connected with the mistake as to the origin of the word יוֹבֵל (which will be noticed below), was the notion that they were rams' horns. R. Jehuda, in the Mishna, says that the horns of rams (זכרים) were used at the Feast of Trumpets, and those of wild goats (יעלים) at the Jubilee. But Maimonides and Bartenora say that rams' horns were used on both occasions (*Rosh Hashana*, p. 342, edit. Surenh.). Bochart and others have justly objected that the horns of rams, or those of wild goats, would form but sorry trumpets. [CORNET.]

It is probable that on this, as on other occasions of public proclamation, the trumpets were blown by the priests, in accordance with Num. x. 8 (see Kranold, *Comment. de Jubilaeo*, p. 50; with whom agree Ewald, Bähr, and most modern writers). Bähr supposes that, at the proclamation of the Jubilee, the trumpets were blown in all the priests' cities and wherever a priest might be living; while, on the Feast of Trumpets, they were blown only in the Temple. Maimonides says that every Hebrew at the Jubilee blew nine blasts, so as to make the trumpet literally "sound throughout the land" (Lev. xxv. 9). Such a usage may have existed, as a mere popular expression of rejoicing, but it could have been no essential part of the ceremony.

[d] It would seem that the Israelites never parted with their land except from the pressure of poverty. The objection of Naboth to accept the offer of Ahab (1 K. xxi. 1) appears to exemplify the sturdy feeling of a substantial Hebrew, who would have felt it to be a shame and a sin to give up any part of his patrimony—"The Lord forbid it me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers to thee." For another view of the conduct of Naboth, see a dissertation by S. Andreas, in the *Critici Sacri*, vol. xiii. p. 603.

[e] This must be the meaning of the price being calculated on "the years of fruits," שְׁנֵי־תְבוּאֹת (Lev. xxv. 15, 16), the years of tillage, exclusive of the years of rest (see Knobel-Dillmann in loco).

[f] Kranold observes (p. 54) that there is no record of the *goel* ever exercising his right till after the death of him who had sold the field. But the inference that the *goel* could not previously exercise his power seems to be hardly warranted, and is opposed to what is perhaps the simplest interpretation of Ruth iv. 3, 4. See note [m], § V.

[g] A Jewish tradition, preserved by Maimonides and others, states that no cities were thus reckoned, as regards the Jubilee, but such as were walled in the time of Joshua. According to this, Jerusalem was excluded.

the crops, rated at a stated valuation (Lev. xxvii. 19). If not so redeemed, it became, at the Jubilee, devoted for ever. If the man had previously sold the usufruct of the field to another, he lost all right to redeem it (*vv.* 20, 21).

(*g*) If he who had purchased the usufruct of a field sanctified it, he could redeem it till the next Jubilee, that is, as long as his claim lasted; but it then, as justice required, returned to the original proprietor (*vv.* 22–24).

3. All Israelites who had become bondmen, either to their countrymen, or to resident foreigners, were set free in the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 40, 41), when it happened to occur before their seventh year of servitude, in which they became free by the operation of another law (Ex. xxi. 2). Those who were bound to resident foreigners might redeem themselves, if they obtained the means, at any time; or they might be redeemed by a relation. Even the bondman who had submitted to the ceremony of having his ears bored (Ex. xxi. 6) had his freedom at the Jubilee.[h]

Such was the law of the year of Jubilee, as it is given in the Pentateuch. It was, of course, like the law of the Sabbatical year, and that of those rites of the great Festivals which pertain to agriculture, delivered proleptically. The same formula is used—"When ye be come into the land which I give unto you"—both in Lev. xxv. 2 and Lev. xxiii. 10.

III. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 12, § 3) states that all debts were remitted in the year of Jubilee, but the Scripture speaks of the remission of debts only in connexion with the Sabbatical year (Deut. xv. 1, 2). [SABBATICAL YEAR.] He also describes the terms on which the holder of a piece of land resigned it in the Jubilee to the original proprietor. The former (he says) produced a statement of the value of the crops, and of the money which he had laid out in tillage. If the expenses proved to be more than the worth of the produce, the balance was paid by the proprietor before the field was restored. But if the balance was on the other side, the proprietor simply took back the field, and allowed him who had held it to retain the profit.

Philo (*De Septenario*, chs. 13, 14, vol. v. 37, edit. Tauch.) gives an account of the Jubilee agreeing with that in Leviticus, and says nothing of the remission of debts.[i]

IV. *Origin of the word Jubilee.*—The doubt on this point appears to be a very old one. The Hebrew word is treated by the LXX. in different modes. They have retained it untranslated in Josh. vi. 8, 13 (where we find *κερατίναι τοῦ Ἰωβήλ*, and *σάλπιγξ τοῦ Ἰωβήλ*). In Lev. xxv. they generally render it by *ἄφεσις*, or *ἀφέσεως σημάσια*; but where the context suits it, by *φώνη σάλπιγγος*. In Ex. xix. 13 they have *αἱ φωναὶ καὶ αἱ σάλπιγγες*. The Vulgate retains the original word in Lev. xxv., as well as in Josh. vi. ("buccinae quarum usus est in Jubilaeo"), and by *buccina* in Ex. xix. 13. It seems, therefore, beyond doubt that uncertainty respecting the word must have been felt when the most ancient Versions of the O. T. were made.

Nearly all of the many conjectures which have been hazarded on the subject are directed to explain the word exclusively in its bearing on the year of Jubilee. This course has been taken by Josephus—*ἐλευθερίαν δὲ σημαίνει τοὔνομα*; and by St. Jerome—*Jobel est demittens aut mittens.* Many modern writers have exercised their ingenuity in the same track. Now in all such attempts at explanation there must be an anachronism, as the word is used in Ex. xix. 13, before the institution of the Law, where it can have nothing to do with the Year of Jubilee, or its observances. The expression there used is בִּמְשֹׁךְ הַיּוֹבֵל; similar to that in Josh. vi. 5, בִּמְשֹׁךְ בְּקֶרֶן הַיּוֹבֵל. The question seems to be, can יוֹבֵל here mean a peculiar sound, a long-drawn-out sound (Riehm), or the instrument for producing the sound? Ewald favours the latter notion, and so does Gesenius (*Thes. sub* מָשַׁךְ, and MV.[11]), following the old Versions (with which the A. V. agrees), though under יֹבֵל he explains יוֹבֵל as *clangor*. De Wette inclines the same way, rendering the words in Ex. xix. 13—*beim Blazen des Jobelhorns.* Luther translates the same words—*wenn es wird aber lange tönen* (though he is not consistent with himself in his rendering of Josh. vi. 5); Bähr renders them, *cum trahetur sonus*, and recent critics agree with him. It would follow from this view that what is meant in Joshua, when the trumpet is expressly mentioned, is, "When the sound called *Jubilee* (whatever that may be) is prolonged on the horn."

As regards the derivation of the word, it is by some ascribed to the root יָבַל, *undavit, copiose et cum quodam impetu fluxit.* Hence Kranold explains יוֹבֵל, *id quod magno strepitu fluit*; and he adds, "duplex igitur in ea radice vis distinguitur, fluendi et sonandi altera in מַבּוּל (diluvium), Gen. vi. 17, altera in יוּבָל (artis musicae inventor), Gen. iv. 21, conspicua." The meaning of *Jubilee* would thus seem to be, *a rushing, penetrating sound.*[k] But in the

[h] Maimonides says that the interval between the Feast of Trumpets and the Day of Atonement, in the year of Jubilee, was a time of riotous rejoicing to all servants. If there is any truth in the tradition that he records (which is in itself probable enough), the eight days must have been a sort of Saturnalia.

[i] The Mishna contains nothing on the Jubilee but unimportant scattered notices, though it has a considerable treatise on the Sabbatical year (*Shebiith*).

[k] Carpzov (App. p. 419) appears to have been the first who put forth this view of the origin and meaning of the word. The figure of the pouring along of the "rich stream of music" is familiar enough in most languages to recommend it as probable. But Gesenius prefers to make a second root, יָבַל, *jubilare*, which he ascribes to onomatopoeia, like the Latin *jubilare*, and the Greek ὀλολύζειν.

The notion that יוֹבֵל signifies a ram has some interest, from its being held by the Jews so generally and by the Chaldee Paraphrast; and from its having influenced the A. V. and R. V. in Josh. vi. to call the horns on which the Jubilee was sounded, *trumpets of*

uncertainty which, it must be allowed, exists, the A. V. and R. V. have taken a safer course by retaining the original word in Lev. xxv. and xxvii., than that which was taken by Luther, who has rendered it by *Halljahr*.

V. Maimonides, and the Jewish writers in general, consider that the Jubilee was observed till the destruction of the first Temple. But there is no direct historical notice of its observance on any one occasion, either in the Books of the O. T., or in any other records. Passages in the Prophets which can be regarded with much confidence, as referring to the Jubilee in any way, are Is. v. 7–10, xxxii. 7, lxi. 1, 2; Ezek. vii. 12, 13, xlvi. 16–18. After the Exile the special laws of the Jubilee fell into desuetude, if in matters of detail they still influenced social life (cp. Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, ii. 464). Some have doubted whether the law of Jubilee ever came into actual operation (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. lxxvi., and Winer, *sub voce*), others have confidently denied it (Kranold, p. 80; Hupfeld, pt. iii. p. 20). But Ewald and Riehm contend that the institution is eminently practical in the character of its details, and that the accidental circumstance of no particular instance of its observance having been recorded in the Jewish history proves nothing. Besides the passages to which reference has been made, Ewald applies several others to the Jubilee. He conceives that "the year of visitation" mentioned in Jer. xi. 23, xxiii. 12, xlviii. 44 denotes the punishment of those who, in the Jubilee, withheld by tyranny or fraud the possessions or the liberty of the poor.[l] From Jer. xxxii. 6–12 he infers that the law was restored to operation in the reign of Josiah[m] (*Alterthümer*, p. 424, note 1).

VI. The Jubilee is to be regarded as the outer circle of that great Sabbatical system which comprises within it the Sabbatical year, the Sabbatical month, and the Sabbath day. [FEASTS.] The rest and restoration of each member of the state, in his spiritual relation, belongs to the weekly Sabbath and the Sabbatical month, while the land had its rest and relief in the Sabbatical year. But the Jubilee is more immediately connected with the body politic; and it was only as a member of the state that each person concerned could participate in its provisions. It has less of a formally religious aspect than either of the other Sabbatical institutions, and its details were of a more immediately practical character. It was not distinguished by any prescribed religious observance peculiar to itself, like the rites of the Sabbath day and of the Sabbatical month; nor even by anything like the reading of the Law in the Sabbatical year. But in the Hebrew state, polity and religion were never separated, nor was their essential connexion ever dropped out of sight. Hence the year was hallowed, in the strict sense of the word, by the solemn blast of the Jubilee trumpets, on the same day on which the sins of the people had been acknowledged in the general fast, and in which they had been symbolically expiated by the entrance of the high-priest into the Holy of Holies with the blood of the appointed victims. Hence also the deeper ground of the provisions of the institution is stated with marked emphasis in the Law itself. The land was to be restored to the families to which it had been at first allotted by Divine direction (Josh. xiv. 2), because it was the Lord's. "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is Mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with Me" (Lev. xxv. 23). "I am the Lord your God which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to give you the land of Canaan, and to be your God" (*v.* 38). The Hebrew bondman was to have the privilege of claiming his liberty as a right, because he could never become the property of any one but Jehovah. "For they are My servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen" (*v.* 42). "For unto Me the children of Israel are servants, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt"[n] (*v.* 55).

If regarded from an ordinary point of view, the Jubilee was calculated to meet and remedy those incidents which are inevitable in the course of human society; to prevent the accumulation of inordinate wealth in the hands of a few; and to relieve those whom misfortune or fault had reduced to poverty. As far as

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rams' horns. It appears to come from the rabbinical view respecting the ram which was sacrificed in the place of Isaac. They said (R. Bechai in Ex. xix. *ap.* Kranold) that after the ram was burnt, God miraculously restored the body. His muscles were deposited in the golden altar; from his viscera were made the strings of David's harp; his skin became the mantle of Elijah; his left horn was the trumpet of Sinai; and his right horn was to sound when Messiah comes (Is. xxvii. 13). R. Akiba, connecting this with the Jubilee, affirms that יובלא is the Arabic for a ram, and the word יבל appears to have that signification in Phoenician (Ewald and Stade) and in Assyrian (MV.[11]). Dillmann on Exod. xix. 13 accepts this signification.

Other notions respecting the word may be found in Kranold (*p.* 11 *sq.*).

[l] The words of Isaiah (v. 7–10) may, it would seem with more distinctness, be understood to the same effect, as denouncing woe against those who had unrighteously hindered the Jubilee from effecting its object.

[m] Is there not a difficulty in considering this passage to have any bearing on the Jubilee, from its relating, apparently, to a priest's field? (See § II. 2 (*c*).). At all events, the transaction was merely the transfer of land from one member of a family to another, with a recognition of a preference allowed to a near relation to purchase. The case mentioned in Ruth iv. 3 *sq.* appears to go further in illustrating the Jubilee principle. Naomi is about to sell a field of Elimelech's property. Boaz proposes to the next of kin to purchase it of her, in order to prevent it from going out of the family, and, on his refusal, takes it himself, as having the next right.

[n] The foundation of the law of Jubilee appears to be so essentially connected with the children of Israel, that it seems strange that Michaelis should have confidently affirmed its Egyptian origin, while yet he acknowledges that he can produce no specific evidence on the subject (*Mos. Law*, art. 73). The only well-proved instance of anything like it in other nations appears to be that of the Dalmatians, mentioned by Strabo, lib. vii. (p. 315, edit. Casaub.). He says that they redistributed their land every eight years. Ewald, following the statement of Plutarch, refers to the institution of Lycurgus; but Mr. Grote has given another view of the matter (*Hist. of Greece*, ii. 530).

legislation could go, its provisions tended to restore that equality in outward circumstances which was instituted in the first settlement of the land by Joshua.[o] But if we look upon it in its more special character, as a part of the Divine Law appointed for the chosen people, its practical bearing was to vindicate the right of each Israelite to his part in the covenant which Jehovah had made with his fathers respecting the land of promise. The loud notes of the Jubilee horns symbolised the voice of the Lord proclaiming the restoration of political order, as (according to Jewish tradition) the blast in the Feast of Trumpets had, ten days before, commemorated the creation of the world and the completion of the material kosmos.

In the incurable uncertainty respecting the fact of the observance of the Jubilee, it is important that we should keep in mind that the record of the law, whether it was obeyed or not, was, and is, a constant witness for the truth of those great social principles on which the theocracy was established.[p] Moreover, from the allusions which are made to it by the Prophets, it must have become a standing prophecy in the hearts of the devout Hebrews. They who waited in faith for the salvation of Israel were kept in mind of that spiritual Jubilee which was to come (Luke iv. 19), in which every one of the spiritual seed of Abraham was to have, in the sight of God, an equality which no accident could ever disturb; and a glorious freedom, in that liberty with which He that was to come was to make him free, and which no force or fraud could ever take from him.

The older monographs on the Jubilee are mentioned in Winer, *RWB.* s. n. "Jubeljahr," in Kranold, *Commentatio de anno Hebraeorum Jubileo*, Göttingen, 1837, and in Bähr (*Symbolik*, vol. ii. p. 572 sq.). References to Ewald, Saalschütz, Hupfeld, Wellhausen, and others are given by Zöckler-Orelli in Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n. *Sabbathjahr*. Consult also Knobel-Dillmann on Exod.–Lev. *l. c.*; Riehm, *HWB.* s. v. "Jobeljahr;" Hamburger, *RE.* s. v. "Sabbathjahr." In these two last writers difficulties now obsolete (cp. also 1st ed. of this work) are discussed. [S. C.] [F.]

[o] A collateral result of the working of the Jubilee must have been the preservation of the genealogical tables, and the maintenance of the distinction of the tribes. Ewald and Michaelis suppose that the tables were systematically corrected and filled up at each Jubilee. This seems reasonable enough, in order that the fresh names might be filled in, that irregularities arising from the dying out of families might be rectified, and that disputed claims might be, as far as possible, authoritatively met.

Its effect in maintaining the distinction of the tribes is illustrated in the appeal made by the tribe of Manasseh in regard to the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxxvi. 4).

As regards the reason of the exception of houses in towns from the law of Jubilee, Bähr has observed that, as they were chiefly inhabited by artificers and tradesmen, whose wealth did not consist in land, it was reasonable that they should retain them in absolute possession. It has been conjectured that many of these tradesmen were foreign proselytes, who could not hold property in the land which was subject to the law of Jubilee.

[p] This view is powerfully set forth by Bähr.

JU'CAL (יוּכַל; Ἰωάχαλ; *Juchal*), son of Shelemiah (Jer. xxxviii. 1). Elsewhere called JEHUCAL.

JU'DA (Ἰούδας, *i.e.* Judas; Ἰούδα being only the genitive case).

1. Son of Joseph in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 30), in the ninth generation from David about the time of king Joash.

2. Son of Joanna, or Hananiah [HANANIAH, 8] (Luke iii. 26). He seems to be certainly the same person as Abiud in Matt. i. 13. His name, יְהוּדָה, is identical with that of אֲבִיהוּד, only that אֲ is prefixed; and when Rhesa is discarded from Luke's line, and allowance is made for St. Matthew's omission of generations in his genealogy, their times will agree perfectly. Both may be the same as Hodaiah of 1 Ch. iii. 24. See Hervey's *Genealogies*, p. 118 sqq.

3. One of the Lord's brethren, enumerated in Mark vi. 3. [JOSES; JOSEPH.] On the question of his identity with Jude the brother of James, one of the twelve Apostles (Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13), and with the author of the general Epistle, see p. 1836. In Matt. xiii. 55 his name is given in the A. V. as JUDAS.

4. The patriarch JUDAH (Sus. *v.* 56; Luke iii. 33; Heb. vii. 14; Rev. v. 5, vii. 5).

[A. C. H.]

JUDA, A CITY OF (Luke i. 39), *i.e.* a city belonging to that tribe; *al.* see JUTTAH.

JUDAEA or **JUDEA** (Ἰουδαία). The southern province of Western Palestine, named from the returning exiles of the tribe of Judah, but extending beyond the old north border of the tribal possessions to include all the territory of Dan, Benjamin, and the southern part of Ephraim, which districts were also recolonised by the exiles at the same time (Neh. xi. 25–36). The A. V. in one case (Ezra v. 8) renders the Aramaic יְהוּד by Judaea, in other cases by Judah (Dan. ii. 25, vi. 13) or Jewry (Dan. v. 13); the term meaning generally that part of the country in which the exiles had settled round Jerusalem. At this time the whole of Syria and Palestine formed a single province (see Ezra v. 8; Neh. xi. 3) under a satrap, and is counted by Herodotus (iii. 91) as the fifth out of the twenty which formed the Persian Empire. Classic authors, in the time of the Roman rule in Syria, use the term Judaea loosely in the same manner. Strabo (xvi.) includes all Palestine proper, south of the Lebanon—the Jews in this period having spread over the whole country. The unexplained notice of Judah on Jordan (Josh. xix. 34) and the reading (found in A.) "Judaea beyond Jordan" (Matt. xix. 1) tempted Reland and others to extend the application of the term to the regions east of the river; but the translation of the first of these passages, and the text, are alike perhaps doubtful; while in the second case other MSS. (א, B, C) read "and beyond Jordan," agreeing better with the parallel passage in Mark (x. 1). Josephus defines Judaea (*Wars*, iii. 3–5) as extending from the Jordan to Joppa, and from Anuath and Borceos on the north, to Iarda (Ἰαρδάν) on the south. The sites of the former towns are now marked by the ruins of *'Aina* and

Berkit (see Conder's *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 306), 15 Roman miles south of Shechem, or in the situation in which the *Onomasticon* (s. v. 'Ανουὰ) places Anua. The Iarda of Josephus is apparently the ancient Arad (*Tell 'Arâd*), on the border of the Beersheba deserts. The boundary between Judaea and Idumaea was, however, not very distinctly drawn [see EDOM], since the latter province was also included within the limits of the Holy Land as defined in early Rabbinical works. The Talmud gives other indications which serve to fix the boundary between Judaea and Samaria very clearly. It ran along the deep gorge of *Wâdy Deir Ballût*, from Antipatris to Anuath, and thence N.E., including the Acrabatene toparchy (*Wars*, iii. 3, 4) in Judaea. Antipatris was the border town on the Judaean side of the frontier (Tal. Bab. *Gittin*, 76*a*) on the west (Tal. Bab. *Sanhed*, 94*b*). Beth Rima (now *Beit Rîma*), Beth Laban (*Lubben*), and Keruthim (Corea, now *Keriût*) were also near the border, but within Judaea (Mishnah *Menakhoth*, ix. 7), and lay immediately south of the boundary gorge. Shiloh and Patris (probably the modern *Budrus*) were also in Judaea (Tosiphta *Demai*, 1); and since the beacon station of Sartaba (the present *Kurn Sartabah*) was clearly in Judaea (Mishnah *Rosh hash-Shanah*, ii. 3), it follows that the line must be carried east of Shechem, to the important valley which runs down to join the Jordan just north of that mountain.

Three natural divisions of Judaea are mentioned in the Mishnah (*Shebiith*, ix. 2); namely, "the mountain" or "King's Mountain" (הר המלך), the Shephelah or "low hills" (שפלה), and Daroma or "the south" (דרום). To these a fourth must be added on the east; namely, the Wilderness of Judaea (Matt. iii. 1), which included all the non-arable deserts west of the Dead Sea. This region is called the *Midbar* of Judah in the Old Testament (Josh. xix. 61; Judg. i. 16; 1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 25); and in it were the towns of Engedi, Ziph, Maon, and the "city of Salt," probably the present *Tell el-Milh*, or "Hill of Salt," west of Arad. This is still the most desolate region in Western Palestine, inhabited only by small nomadic tribes, at intervals along the plateau above the Dead Sea cliffs. The term in the N. T. may perhaps include the barren regions further north, where the wilderness of Bethaven is mentioned in the O. T., below Bethel on the east (Josh. xviii. 12), since these desert slopes, west of the Jordan valley, were also within the limits of Judaea.

The subdivision of Judaea into Toparchies is noticed by Josephus (*Wars*, iii. 3–5) and by Pliny (*H. N.* v. 14); and there were eleven of these districts with capitals at Acrabatta (*'Akrabeh*), Thamna (*Tibneh*), Gophna (*Jufna*), Lydda (*Lud*), Joppa (*Yâfa*), Emmaus Nicopolis (*'Amwâs*), Jericho (*Rîha*), Herodium (*Jebel Fureidis*), and Engedi (*'Ain Jidy*), while the two last regions were Idumaea and Bethleptephah (perhaps *Tuffûh*, near Hebron): this enumeration shows that no region beyond Jordan was included.

Other regions included in Judaea are mentioned in both the Talmud and the *Onomasticon*, in addition to the natural regions already noted. Daroma or the "dry" region, which stands for the Hebrew *Negeb* in the Targum (Onkelos, Deut. xxxiv. 8), was subdivided into the upper and the lower (Tosiphta *Sanhed.* 2, and Jer. and Bab. Talmuds on the same Mishnah). The town of Caphar Dhikrin (now *Dhikrin* in the north of Philistia) was in Upper Daroma as well as Lydda (Midrash *Ekha*, ii. 2), so that the plains south of Jaffa are evidently intended; and the region between Ekron and Jamnia still bears the name of *Deirân*. Lower Daroma appears to have been the Negeb proper or plateau of Idumaea. The plains round Gerar (*Umm Jerâr*) were however known to these writers as Geraritica (Tal. Jer. *Shebiith*, vi. 1); while the southern part of Sharon, north of Jaffa, was also a region in Judaea. Josephus indeed speaks of all the towns (as far north as Accho) in the Sharon plain as belonging to Judaea (*Wars*, iii. 3–5); but from the Talmudic notices it would seem that north of Antipatris the maritime plain was regarded as no part of the Holy Land until the border of Galilee was reached (Tal. Jer. *Demai*, ii. 2): there was certainly a mixed Jewish and Samaritan population in this region, and Caesarea appears not to be included in Judaea in the New Testament (Acts xii. 19, xxi. 10). The Roman Procurator of Judaea, however, resided during part at least of the year at this maritime capital instead of at Jerusalem (*Antiq.* xvii. 13, § 5; xviii. 1, § 1; 2, § 1; 3, § 1) after the deposition of Archelaus in 6 A.D. Judaea under the Procurators was attached to Syria, and ruled by the legate. The conquest of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. by Titus was commemorated by silver and brass coins (see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 207–229), many of which bear the legend IVDAEA CAPTA. In later Roman times Judaea was approximately the Palestina Prima of the Greek ecclesiastical organisation, with bishops under the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Talmudic references in this article are mainly taken from Neubauer's *Géographie du Talmud*, 1868; but when that valuable work was written, the sites of many important places, such as Anuath, Borceos, &c., had not been discovered.

[C. R. C.]

JU'DAH (יְהוּדָה, *i.e.* Yehûdâ: Ἰούδαν in Gen. xxix. 35; A. Ἰούδα; elsewhere Ἰούδας in both MSS. and in N. T.; and so also Josephus: *Juda*). The fourth son of Jacob and the fourth of Leah, the last before the temporary cessation in the births of her children. His whole-brothers were Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, elder than himself—Issachar and Zebulun younger (see xxxv. 23). The name is explained as having originated in Leah's exclamation of "praise" at this fresh gift of Jehovah—"She said, Now will I praise (אוֹדֶה, *ôdeh*) Jehovah, and she called his name Yehudah" (Gen. xxix. 35). The same play is preserved in the blessing of Jacob—"Judah, thou whom thy brethren shall praise!" (xlix. 8). The name is not of frequent occurrence in the O. T. In the Apocrypha, however, it appears in the great hero Judas Maccabaeus; in the N. T. in Jude, Judas Iscariot, and others. [JUDA; JUDAS.]

Of the individual Judah more traits are preserved than of any other of the patriarchs with the exception of Joseph. In the matter of the sale of Joseph, he and Reuben stand out in favourable contrast to the rest of the brothers.

But for their interference he, who was "their brother and their flesh," would have been certainly put to death. Though not the firstborn, he "prevailed above his brethren" (1 Ch. v. 2), and we find him subsequently taking a decided lead in all the affairs of the family. When a second visit to Egypt for corn had become inevitable, it was Judah who, as the mouthpiece of the rest, headed the remonstrance against the detention of Benjamin by Jacob, and finally

undertook to be responsible for the safety of the lad (xliii. 3–10). And when, through Joseph's artifice, the brothers were brought back to the palace, he is again the leader and spokesman of the band. In that thoroughly Oriental scene it is Judah who unhesitatingly acknowledges the guilt which had never been committed, throws himself on the mercy of the supposed Egyptian prince, offers himself as a slave, and makes that wonderful appeal to the

feelings of their disguised brother which renders it impossible for Joseph any longer to conceal his secret (xliv. 14, 16–34). So, too, it is Judah who is sent before Jacob to smooth the way for him in the land of Goshen (xlvi. 28). This ascendency over his brethren is reflected in the last words addressed to him by his father—"Thou whom thy brethren shall praise! thy father's sons shall bow down before thee! unto him shall be the gathering of the people" (Gen. xlix. 8–10).[a] In the interesting traditions of the Koran and the Midrash his figure stands out in the same prominence. Before Joseph his wrath is mightier and his recognition heartier than the rest. It is he who hastens in advance to bear to Jacob the fragrant robe of Joseph (Weil's *Biblical Legends*, pp. 88–90).

His sons were five. Of these three were by his Canaanite wife Bath-shua; they are all insignificant; two died early, and the third, SHELAH, does not come prominently forward, either in his person or his family. The other two, PHAREZ and ZERAH—twins—were illegitimate sons by the widow of Er, the eldest of the former family (Gen. xxxviii.). As is not unfrequently the case, the illegitimate sons surpassed the legitimate, and from Pharez, the elder, were descended the royal and other illustrious families of Judah. These sons were born to Judah while he was living in the same district of Palestine, which, centuries after, was repossessed by his descendants—amongst villages which retain their names unaltered in the catalogues of the time of the conquest. The three sons went with their father into Egypt at the time of the final removal thither (Gen. xlvi. 12; Ex. i. 2).

When we again meet with the families of Judah, they occupy a position among the tribes similar to that which their progenitor had taken amongst the patriarchs. The numbers of the tribe at the census at Sinai were 74,600 (Num. i. 26, 27), considerably in advance of any of the others, the largest of which—Dan—numbered 62,700. On the borders of the Promised Land they were 76,500 (xxvi. 22), Dan being still the nearest. The chief of the tribe at the former census was NAHSHON, the son of Amminadab (Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12, x. 14), an ancestor of David (Ruth iv. 20). Its representative amongst the spies, and also among those appointed to partition the land, was the great Caleb the son of Jephunneh (Num. xiii. 6; xxxiv. 19). During the march through the desert Judah's place was in the van of the host, on the east side of the Tabernacle, with his kinsmen Issachar and Zebulun (ii. 3–9; x. 14). The traditional standard of the tribe was a lion's whelp, with the words, "Rise up, Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered!" (Targ. Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 3).

During the conquest of the country the only incidents specially affecting the tribe of Judah are—(1) the misbehaviour of Achan, who was of the great house of Zerah (Josh. vii. 1, 16–18); and (2) the conquest of the mountain-district of Hebron by Caleb, and of the strong city Debir, in the same locality, by his nephew and son-in-law Othniel (Josh. xiv. 6–15, xv. 13–19). It is the only instance given of a portion of the country being expressly reserved for the person or persons who conquered it. In general the conquest seems to have been made by the whole community, and the territory allotted afterwards, without reference to the original conquerors of each locality. In this case the high character and position of Caleb, and perhaps a claim established by him at the time of the visit of the spies to "the land whereon his feet had trodden" (Josh. xiv. 9; cp. Num. xiv. 24), may have led to the exception.

The boundaries and contents of the territory allotted to Judah are narrated at great length, and with greater minuteness than the others, in Josh. xv. 1–12, 20–63. This may be due either to the fact that the lists were reduced to their present form at a later period, when the monarchy resided with Judah, and when more care would naturally be bestowed on them than on those of any other tribe; or to the fact that the territory was more important and more thickly covered with towns and villages than any other part of Palestine. The greater prominence given to the genealogies of Judah in 1 Ch. ii., iii., iv. no doubt arises from the former reason. However this may be, we have in the records of Joshua a very full and systematic description of the allotment to this tribe. The north boundary—for the most part coincident with the south boundary of Benjamin—began at the embouchure of the Jordan, entered the hills apparently at or about the present road from Jericho, ran westward to En-shemesh—probably the present *'Ain Haud*, below Bethany—thence over the Mount of Olives to Enrogel, *the Fountain of the Virgin*, in the Kedron valley; went along the ravine of Hinnom, under the precipices of the city; climbed the hill at the north end of the Vale of Rephaim, and thence by the waters of Nephtoah (probably the springs near *Solomon's Pools* above Etam[b]), Kirjath-Jearim (probably *Kh. 'Erma*), Beth-shemesh (*'Ain Shems*), Timnath, and Ekron to Jabneel on the sea-coast. On the east the Dead Sea, and on the west the Mediterranean, formed the boundaries. The southern line is hard to determine, since it is denoted by places many of which have not been identified. It left the Dead Sea at its extreme south end, and joined the Mediterranean at the *Wâdy el-Arish*; but between these two points it passed through Maaleh Acrabbim, the Wilderness of Zin, Hezron, Adar (R. V. Addar), Karkaa (R. V. Karka), and Azmon; the Wilderness of Zin the extreme south of all (Josh. xv. 1–12). This territory—in average length about 45 miles, and in average breadth about 50—was from a very early date divided into four main regions.

(1.) THE SOUTH—the undulating pasture country, which intervened between the hills, the proper possession of the tribe, and the deserts which encompass the lower part of Palestine (Josh. xv. 21; Stanley, *S. & P.*; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*). It is this which is designated as the wilderness (*midbar*) of Judah (Judg. i. 16). It contained thirty-seven cities, with their dependent villages (Josh. xv. 20–32), of which

[a] The obscure and much-disputed passage in v. 10 will be best examined under the head SHILOH.

[b] According to another view, Nephtoah is *Lifta*, and Kirjath-Jearim is *Kuryet el-'Enab*. [BENJAMIN.]

eighteen of those farthest south were ceded to Simeon (xix. 1–9). Amongst these southern cities the most familiar name is Beer-sheba.

(2.) THE LOWLAND (xv. 33; A. V. "valley") —or, to give it its own proper and constant appellation, THE SHEFELAH—the broad belt or strip, of low hills and undulating ground, lying between the central highlands—"the mountain" —and the Mediterranean Sea; the lower portion of that maritime plain, which extends through the whole of the seaboard of Palestine, from Sidon in the north to Rhinocolura at the south. This tract was the garden and the granary of the tribe. In it, long before the conquest of the country by Israel, the Philistines had settled themselves, never to be completely dislodged (Neh. xiii. 23, 24). There, planted at equal intervals along the level coast, were their five chief cities, each with its circle of smaller dependents, overlooking, from the natural undulations of the ground, the "standing corn," "shocks," "vineyards and olives," which excited the ingenuity of Samson, and are still remarked by modern travellers. "They are all remarkable for the beauty and profusion of the gardens which surround them—the scarlet blossoms of the pomegranates, the enormous oranges which gild the green foliage of their famous groves" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 257). From the edge of the sandy tract, which fringes the immediate shore right up to the very wall of the hills of Judah, stretches the immense plain of corn-fields. In those rich harvests lies the explanation of the constant contests between Israel and the Philistines (*S. & P.* p. 258). From them were gathered the enormous cargoes of wheat, which were transmitted to Phoenicia by Solomon in exchange for the arts of Hiram, and which in the time of the Herods still "nourished" the country of Tyre and Sidon (Acts xii. 20). There were the olive-trees, the sycamore trees, and the treasures of oil, the care of which was sufficient to task the energies of two of David's special officers (1 Ch. xxvii. 28). The nature of this locality would seem to be reflected in the names of many of its towns if interpreted as Hebrew words:—DILEAN=cucumbers; GEDERAH, GEDEROTH, GEDEROTHAIM, sheepfolds; ZOREAH, wasps; EN-GANNIM, spring of gardens, &c. &c. But we have yet to learn how far these names are Hebrew; and whether at best they are but mere Hebrew accommodations of earlier originals, and therefore not to be depended on for their significations. The number of cities in this district, without counting the smaller villages connected with them, was forty-two. Of these, however, many which belonged to the Philistines can only have been alloted to the tribe, and if taken possession of by Judah were only held for a time.

What were the exact boundaries of the Shefelah we do not know. We are at present ignorant of the principles on which the ancient Jews drew their boundaries between one territory and another. One thing only is certain, that cities close to the sea-coast, and others, whose modern representatives are found on the western slopes of the central highlands, at altitudes of more than 1000 ft., are enumerated as in the "lowland."

(3.) The third region of the tribe—THE MOUNTAIN, the "hill-country of Judah"—though not the richest, was at once the largest and the most important of the four. Beginning a few miles below Hebron, where it attains its highest level, it stretches eastward to the Dead Sea and westward to the Shefelah, and forms an elevated district or plateau, which, though thrown into considerable undulations, yet preserves a general level in both directions. It is the southern portion of that elevated hilly district of Palestine which stretches north until intersected by the plain of Esdraelon, and on which Hebron, Jerusalem, and Shechem are the chief spots. The surface of this region, which is of limestone, is monotonous enough,—round swelling hills and hollows, of somewhat bolder proportions than those immediately north of Jerusalem, which, though in early times probably covered with forests [HARETH], have now, where not cultivated, no growth larger than a brushwood of dwarf-oak, arbutus, and other bushes. In many places there is a good soft turf, discoverable even in the autumn, and in spring the hills are covered with flowers. The number of towns enumerated (Josh. xv. 48–60) as belonging to this district is 38; but, if we may judge from the ruins which meet the eye on every side, this must have been very far below the real number: hardly a hill which is not crowned by some fragments of stone buildings, more or less considerable,—those which are still inhabited surrounded by groves of olive-trees, and enclosures of stone walls protecting the vineyards. Streams there are none, but wells and springs are frequent—in the neighbourhood of "Solomon's Pools" at *Urtâs* most abundant.

(4.) The fourth district is THE WILDERNESS (*Midbar*), which here appears to signify the sunken district immediately adjoining the Dead Sea, and the Jeshimon, or desert tract to the west,—the "wilderness of Judah" (Judg. i. 16). It contained only six cities, which must have been either, like Engedi, on the slopes of the cliffs overhanging the sea, or else on the lower level of the shore. The "city of Salt" may have been on the salt plains, between the sea and the cliffs which form the southern termination to the *Ghôr*, or more probably at *Tell el-Milh*, east of Beer-sheba.

Nine of the cities of Judah were allotted to the priests (Josh. xxi. 9–19). The Levites had no cities[c] in the tribe, and the priests had none out of it.

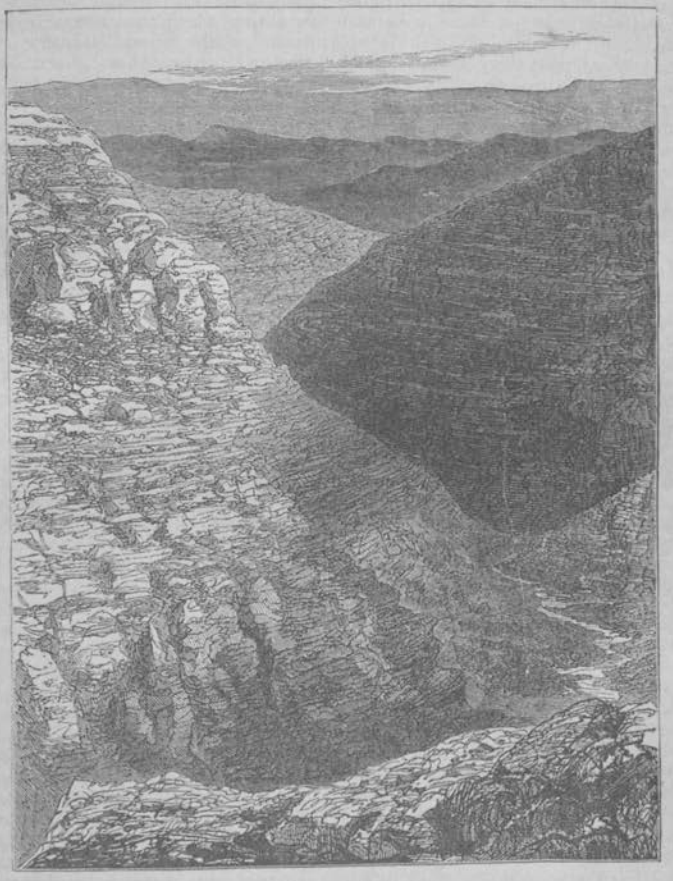
In the partition of the territory by Joshua and Eleazar (Josh. xix. 51), Judah had the first allotment (xv. 1). Joshua had on his first entrance into the country overrun the Shefelah, destroyed some of the principal towns and killed the kings (x. 28–35), and had even penetrated thence into the mountains as far as Hebron and Debir (*vv.* 36–39); but the task of really subjugating the interior was yet to be done. After his death it was undertaken by Judah and Simeon (Judg. i. 20). In the artificial contrivances of war they were surpassed by the Canaanites; and in some places,[d] where the

[c] But Bethlehem appears to have been closely connected with them (Judg. xvii. 7, 9; xix. 1).

[d] The word here (Judg. i. 19) is *Emek*, entirely a different word from *Shefelah*, and rightly rendered "valley." It is difficult, however, to fix upon any "valley" in this region sufficiently important to be

ground admitted of their iron chariots being employed, the latter remained masters of the field. But wherever force and vigour were in question there the Israelites succeeded, and they obtained entire possession of the mountain district and the great corn-growing tract of Philistia (Judg. i. 18, 19). The latter was constantly changing hands as one or the other side got stronger (1 Sam. iv., v., vii. 14, &c.); but in the natural fortresses of the mountains Judah dwelt undisturbed throughout the troubled period of the Judges. OTHNIEL was partly a member of the tribe (Judg. iii. 9), and the Bethlehem of which IBZAN was a native (xii. 8, 9) may have been Bethlehem-Judah. But even if these two judges belonged to Judah, the tribe itself was not molested; and with the one exception mentioned in Judg. xx. 19, when they were called by the Divine oracle to make the attack on Gibeah, they had nothing to do during the whole of that period but settle themselves in their home. Not only did they take no part against Sisera, but they are not even rebuked for it by Deborah.

Nor were they disturbed by the incursions of the Philistines during the rule of Samuel and of



Wilderness of Judah.

Saul, which were made through the territory of Dan and of Benjamin; or if we place the valley of ELAH at the *Wâdy es-Sunt*, only on the outskirts of the mountains of Judah. On the last-named occasion, however, we know that at least one town of Judah—Bethlehem—furnished men to Saul's host. The incidents of David's flight from Saul will be found examined under the heads of DAVID, SAUL, MAON, HACHILAH, &c.

The main inference deducible from these considerations is the determined manner in which the tribe keeps aloof from the rest—neither offering its aid nor asking that of others. The same independent mode of action characterises the foundation of the monarchy after the death of Saul. There was no attempt to set up a rival power to Ishbosheth. The tribe had had full experience of the man who had been driven from the court to take shelter in the caves, woods, and fastnesses of their wild hills; and when the opportunity offered, "the men of Judah came and anointed David king over the house of Judah in Hebron" (2 Sam. ii. 4, 11).

alluded to. Can it be the valley of ELAH, where contests with the Philistines took place later?

The further step by which David was invested with the sovereignty of the whole nation was taken by the other tribes; Judah having no special part therein; and though willing enough, if occasion rendered it necessary, to act with others, their conduct later, when brought into collision with Ephraim on the matter of the restoration of David, shows that the men of Judah had preserved their independent mode of action. The king was near of kin to them; and therefore they, and they alone, set about bringing him back. It had been their own affair, to be accomplished by themselves alone, and they had gone about it in that independent manner which looked like "despising" those who believed their share in David to be a far larger one (2 Sam. xix. 41–43).

The same independent temper will be found to characterise the tribe throughout its existence as a kingdom, which is considered in the article JUDAH, KINGDOM OF.

2. A Levite whose descendants, Kadmiel and his sons, were very active in the work of rebuilding the Temple after the return from captivity (Ezra iii. 9). Lord Hervey has shown cause for believing (*Genealogies*, &c., p. 119) that the name is the same as HODAVIAH and HODEVAH. In 1 Esd. v. 58, it appears to be given as JODA.

3. (In Ezra, Ἰούδας, B. Ἰοδόμ, ℵ. Ἰεδόμ; in Neh. xii. 8, ℵ*A. Ἰωδαέ, ℵ^c.a B. Ἰούδα; in xii. 36, BA. omit: *Juda, Judas.*) A Levite who was obliged by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezra x. 23). Probably the same person is intended in Neh. xii. 8, 36. In 1 Esd. his name is given as JUDAS.

4. (ℵ. Ἰούδα, BA. Ἰούδας; *Judas.*) A Benjamite, son of Senuah (Neh. xi. 9). It is worth notice, in connexion with the suggestion of Lord Hervey mentioned above, that in the lists of 1 Ch. ix., in many points so curiously parallel to those of this chapter, a Benjamite, Hodaviah, son of Hassennuah, is given (*v.* 7; R. V.). [G.] [W.]

JUDAH UPON [R. V. AT] JORDAN, the eastern termination of the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34). Von Raumer (*Pal.* pp. 405–410) makes an elaborate attempt to show that the villages of Jair are intended. Keil adopts this view (*Bib. Com.* in loco), and says that the district of Havoth-Jair is considered to be Judah's, or in Judah, because Jair was descended on the father's side from Judah through Hezron (1 Ch. ii. 5, 21 sq.). The view that the Havoth-Jair were largely colonised "by Judahites," especially perhaps that portion of them nearest the Jordan, and that that part of the river and its valley adjacent to these settlements was spoken of as "Judah upon Jordan," or more literally "Judah of the Jordan," is suggested in the *Speaker's Comm.* (in loco). In connexion with this suggestion it should be mentioned that near *Bâniâs* there *is a Seiyid Hûda ibn Y'akûb*, which Thomson (*Land and the Book*, p. 254) identifies with Judah upon Jordan. But the difficulty—*maximus atque insolubilis nodus, qui plurimos interpretes torsit*—has defied every attempt; and the suggestion of Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 380, note) is the most feasible—that the passage *is* corrupt, and that Cinneroth or some other word originally occupied the place of "to Judah." [W.]

JUDAH, KINGDOM OF. 1. When the disruption of Solomon's kingdom took place at Shechem, only the tribe of Judah followed the house of David. But almost immediately afterwards, when Rehoboam conceived the design of establishing his authority over Israel by force of arms, the tribe of Benjamin also is recorded as obeying his summons, and contributing its warriors to make up his army. Jerusalem, situate within the borders of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28, &c.), yet won from the heathen by a prince of Judah, connected the frontiers of the two tribes by an indissoluble political bond. By the occupation of the city of David, Benjamin's former adherence to Israel (2 Sam. ii. 9) was cancelled; though at least two Benjamite towns, Bethel and Jericho, were included in the northern kingdom. A part, if not all, of the territory of Simeon (1 Sam. xxvii. 6; 1 K. xix. 3; cp. Josh. xix. 1) and of Dan (2 Ch. xi. 10; cp. Josh. xix. 41, 42) was recognised as belonging to Judah; and in the reigns of Abijah and Asa, the southern kingdom was enlarged by some additions taken out of the territory of Ephraim (2 Ch. xiii. 19, xv. 8, xvii. 2). After the conquest and deportation of Israel by Assyria, the influence, and perhaps the delegated jurisdiction, of the king of Judah sometimes extended over the territory which formerly belonged to Israel.

2. In Edom an independent king probably retained some fidelity to the son of Solomon, and guarded for Jewish enterprise the road to the maritime trade with Ophir. Philistia maintained for the most part a quiet independence. Syria, in the height of her brief power, pushed her conquests along the northern and eastern frontiers of Judah and threatened Jerusalem; but the interposition of the territory of Israel generally relieved Judah from any immediate contact with that dangerous neighbour. The southern border of Judah, resting on the uninhabited Desert, was not agitated by any turbulent stream of commercial activity like that which flowed by the rear of Israel, from Damascus to Tyre. And though some of the Egyptian kings were ambitious, that ancient kingdom was far less aggressive as a neighbour to Judah than Assyria was to Israel.

3. Some would find a gauge of the growth of the kingdom of Judah in the progressive augmentation of the army under successive kings. In David's time (2 Sam. xxiv. 9 and 1 Ch. xxi. 5) the warriors of Judah are said to have numbered at least 500,000. But Rehoboam brought into the field (1 K. xii. 21) only 180,000 men: Abijah, eighteen years afterwards, 400,000 (2 Ch. xiii. 3): Asa (2 Ch. xiv. 8), his successor, 580,000, exactly equal to the sum of the armies of his two predecessors: Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 14–19), the next king, numbered his warriors in five armies, the aggregate of which is 1,160,000, exactly double the army of his father, and exactly equal to the sum of the armies of his three predecessors. After four inglorious reigns the energetic Amaziah could muster only 300,000 men when he set out to recover Edom. His son Uzziah had a standing (2 Ch. xxvi. 11) force of 307,500 fighting men. Unhappily, but little accuracy can be assigned to these numbers; though the deduction is drawn that the population subject to each king was about four times the number of the fighting men in his dominions. [ISRAEL.]

4. Judah had other means beside pasture and tillage of acquiring wealth; such as her maritime commerce from the Red Sea and possibly Phoenician ports, or by keeping up and developing the old trade (1 K. x. 28) with Egypt. Hence her ability to accumulate wealth, which supplied the Temple treasury with sufficient store to invite so frequently the hand of the spoiler. Egypt, Damascus, Samaria, Nineveh, and Babylon, had each in succession a share of the pillage. The treasury was emptied by Shishak (1 K. xiv. 26), again by Asa (1 K. xv. 18), by Jehoash of Judah (2 K. xii. 18), by Jehoash of Israel (2 K. xiv. 14), by Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 8), by Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 15), and by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxiv. 13).

5. The smaller kingdom of Judah possessed many advantages which secured for it a longer continuance than that of Israel. A frontier less exposed to powerful enemies, a soil less fertile, a population hardier and more united, the possession in Jerusalem and in the Temple of a fixed and venerated centre of administration and religion, an hereditary aristocracy in the sacerdotal caste, an army always subordinate, a stable dynasty and a succession of kings which no revolution interrupted, many of them being wise and good; men who strove successfully to promote the moral and spiritual as well as the material prosperity of their people; still more than these, the devotion of the people to the One True God, which if not always a pure and elevated sentiment, but disfigured by worship at "high places" and altars to foreign deities and by a mischievous commingling of heathen and purer rites (Riehm, *HWB.*, s.n.), was yet in much a contrast to devotion inspired by the worship of the calves or of Baal; and lastly the popular reverence for and obedience to the Divine Law, so far as they had learned it from their teachers:—to these and other secondary causes is to be attributed the fact that Judah survived her more populous and more powerful sister kingdom by 135 years; and lasted from B.C. 975 to B.C. 586. Cp. Kittel, *Gesch. der Hebräer*, ii. § 64, whose opinion is preferable to that of Wellhausen, Stade, and similar works referred to by him; Edersheim, *Bible History*, vols. iii. and iv.

6. The chronological succession of the kings of Judah is given at the end of the article ISRAEL. A detailed history of each king will be found under his name.

Judah acted upon three different lines of policy in succession. First, animosity against Israel: secondly, resistance, generally in alliance with Israel, to Damascus: thirdly, deference and vassalage to Assyrian and Chaldaean kings.

(*a.*) The first three kings of Judah seem to have cherished the hope of re-establishing their authority over the Ten Tribes; for sixty years there was war between them and the kings of Israel. Neither the disbanding of Rehoboam's forces by the authority of Shemaiah, nor the pillage of Jerusalem by the irresistible Shishak, served to put an end to the fraternal hostility. The victory achieved by the daring Abijah brought to Judah a temporary accession of territory. Asa appears to have enlarged it still farther; and to have given so powerful a stimulus to the migration of religious Israelites to Jerusalem, that Baasha was induced to fortify Ramah with the view of checking the movement. Asa provided for the safety of his subjects from invaders by building, like Rehoboam, several fenced cities; he repelled an alarming irruption of an Ethiopian horde; he hired the armed intervention of Benhadad, king of Damascus, against Baasha; and he discouraged idolatry and enforced the worship of the true God by severe penal laws.

(*b.*) Hanani's remonstrance (2 Ch. xvi. 7) prepares us for the reversal by Jehoshaphat of the policy which Asa pursued towards Israel and Damascus. A close alliance sprang up with strange rapidity between Judah and Israel. For eighty years, till the time of Amaziah, there was no open war between them, and Damascus appears as their chief and common enemy; though it rose afterwards from its overthrow to become under Rezin the ally of Pekah against Ahaz. Jehoshaphat, active and prosperous, repelled nomad invaders from the desert, curbed the aggressive spirit of his nearer neighbours, and made his influence felt even among the Philistines and Arabians. A still more lasting benefit was conferred on his kingdom by his persevering efforts for the religious instruction of the people, and the regular administration of justice. The reign of Jehoram, the husband of Athaliah—a time of bloodshed, idolatry, and disaster—was cut short by disease. Ahaziah was slain by Jehu. Athaliah, the granddaughter of a Tyrian king, usurped the blood-stained throne of David, till the followers of the ancient religion put her to death, and crowned Jehoash the surviving scion of the royal house. His preserver, the high-priest, acquired prominent personal influence for a time; but the king fell into idolatry, and, failing to withstand the power of Syria, was murdered by his own officers. The vigorous Amaziah, flushed with the recovery of Edom, provoked a war with his more powerful contemporary Jehoash, the conqueror of the Syrians; and Jerusalem was entered and plundered by the Israelites. But their energies were sufficiently occupied in the task of completing the subjugation of Damascus. Under Uzziah and Jotham, Judah long enjoyed political and religious prosperity till the wanton Ahaz, surrounded by united enemies, with whom he was unable to cope, became in an evil hour the tributary and vassal of Tiglath-pileser.

(*c.*) Already in the fatal grasp of Assyria, Judah was yet spared for a chequered existence of almost another century and a half after the termination of the kingdom of Israel. The effect of the repulse of Sennacherib and of the final overthrow of the Assyrian empire, of the signal religious revivals under Hezekiah and Josiah respectively, was apparently done away by the ignominious reign and religious reaction of Manasseh, and by the lingering decay of the whole people under the four feeble descendants of Josiah. Provoked by their treachery and imbecility, their Chaldaean masters drained in successive deportations all the strength of the kingdom. The consummation of the ruin came upon them in the destruction of the Temple by the hand of Nebuzaradan, amid the wailings of prophets, and the taunts of heathen tribes released at length from the yoke of David (cp. Kittel, §§ 70–74).

7. The national life of the Hebrews seemed

now extinct; but there was still, as there had been all along, a spiritual life hidden within the body.

It was a time of hopeless darkness to all but those Jews who had strong faith in God, with a clear and steady insight into the ways of Providence as interpreted by prophecy. The time of the division of the kingdoms was the golden age of prophecy. In each kingdom the prophetical office was subject to peculiar modifications which were required in Judah by the circumstances of the priesthood, in Israel by the existence of the house of Baal and the altar in Bethel. If, under the shadow of the Temple, there was a depth and a grasp elsewhere unequalled, in the views of Isaiah and the Prophets of Judah; if their writings touched and elevated the hearts of thinking men in studious retirement in the silent night-watches —there was also, in the few burning words and energetic deeds of the Prophets of Israel, a power to tame a lawless multitude and to check the high-handed tyranny and idolatry of kings. The organization and moral influence of the priesthood were matured in the time of David; from about that time to the building of the second Temple, the influence of the Prophets rose and became predominant. Some historians have suspected that after the reign of Athaliah the priesthood gradually acquired and retained excessive and unconstitutional power in Judah. The recorded facts scarcely sustain the conjecture. Had it been so, the effort of such power would have been manifest in the exorbitant wealth and luxury of the priests, and in the constant and cruel enforcement of penal laws, like those of Asa, against irreligion. But the peculiar offences of the priesthood, as witnessed in the prophetic writings, were of another kind. Ignorance of God's word, neglect of the instruction of the laity, untruthfulness, and partial judgments are the offences specially imputed to them, just such as might be looked for where the priesthood is an hereditary caste and irresponsible, but neither ambitious nor powerful. When the priest either, as was the case in Israel, abandoned the land, or, as in Judah, ceased to be really a teacher, ceased from spiritual communion with God, ceased from living sympathy with man, and became the mere image of an intercessor, a mechanical performer of ceremonial duties little understood or heeded by himself, then the Prophet was raised up to supply some of his deficiencies, and to exercise his functions so far as was necessary. Whilst the priests sink into obscurity and almost disappear, except from the genealogical tables, the Prophets come forward appealing everywhere to the conscience of individuals, in Israel as wonder-workers, calling together God's chosen few out of an idolatrous nation, and in Judah as teachers and seers, supporting and purifying all that remained of ancient piety, explaining each mysterious dispensation of God as it was unfolded, and promulgating His gracious spiritual promises in all their extent. The part which Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other Prophets also took in preparing the Jews for their captivity, requires, in order to be fully appreciated, to be supplemented by a review of the succeeding efforts of Ezekiel and Daniel. The influence which they exercised on the national mind was undoubted, and too important to be overlooked in a sketch, however brief, of the history of the kingdom of Judah, even though that influence has been understood differently by writers who have appreciated it otherwise than as here sketched (cp. Kittel, §§ 65–74, Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 70 sq., 153 sq., on the one side; Wellhausen, "Israel," § 8, in *Encycl. Brit.*[9], Stade, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, ixtes Buch, "Die Prophetie u. d. Untergang d. Staates," Robertson-Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*[2], Lect. X., on the other). [W. T. B.] [F.]

JU'DAS (Ἰούδας), the Greek form of the Hebrew name JUDAH, occurring in the LXX. and N. T. [JUDAH.]

1. 1 Esd. ix. 23. [JUDAH, 3.]

2. The third son of Mattathias, "called Maccabaeus" (1 Macc. ii. 4). [MACCABEES.]

3. The son of Calphai (Alphaeus), a Jewish general under Jonathan (1 Macc. xi. 70).

4. A Jew occupying a conspicuous position at Jerusalem at the time of the mission to Aristobulus [ARISTOBULUS] and the Egyptian Jews (2 Macc. i. 10). He has been identified with an Essene conspicuous for his prophetic gifts (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, 2; *B. J.* i. 3, 5) and with Judas Maccabaeus (Grimm, *ad loc.*). Some again suppose that he is a person otherwise unknown.

5. A son of Simon, and brother of Joannes Hyrcanus (1 Macc. xvi. 2), murdered by Ptolemaeus the usurper, either at the same time (*c.* 135 B.C.) with his father (1 Macc. xvi. 15 sq.), or shortly afterwards (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 1: cp. Grimm, *ad Macc.* l. c.).

6. The patriarch JUDAH (Matt. i. 2, 3). [B. F. W.]

7. A man residing at Damascus, in "the street which is called Straight," in whose house Saul of Tarsus lodged after his miraculous conversion (Acts ix. 11). The "Straight Street" may be with little question identified with the "Street of Bazaars," a long, wide thoroughfare, penetrating from the southern gate into the heart of the city, which, as in all the Syro-Greek and Syro-Roman towns, it intersects in a straight line. The so-called "House of Judas" is still shown in an open space called "the Sheykh's Place," a few steps out of the "Street of Bazaars:" it contains a square room with a stone floor, partly walled off for a tomb, shown to Maundrell (*Early Trav.* Bohn, p. 494) as the "tomb of Ananias." The house is an object of religious respect to Mussulman as well as Christian (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 412; Conybeare and Howson, i. 102; Maundrell, *l. c.*; Pococke, ii. 119). [E. V.]

JU'DAS, surnamed BAR'SABAS (Ἰούδας ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Βαρσαβᾶς: *Judas qui cognominabatur Barsabas*), a leading member of the apostolic Church at Jerusalem (ἀνὴρ ἡγούμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς), Acts xv. 22, and "perhaps a member of the Presbytery" (Neander, *Pl. & Tr.* i. 123), endued with the gift of prophecy (*v.* 32), chosen with Silas to accompany St. Paul and St. Barnabas as delegates to the Church at Antioch, to communicate the decree concerning the terms of admission of the Gentile converts, and to accredit their commission

and character by personal intercourse (v. 27). After employing their prophetical gifts for the confirmation of the Syrian Christians in the faith, Judas went back to Jerusalem, while Silas either remained at Antioch (for the reading Acts xv. 34 is uncertain; and while some MSS., followed by the Vulgate, add *μόνος Ἰούδας δὲ ἐπορεύθη*, the best omit the verse altogether) or speedily returned thither. Nothing further is recorded of Judas.

The form of the name Barsabas = Son of Sabas, has led to several conjectures: Wolf and Grotius probably enough suppose him to have been a brother of Joseph Barsabas (Acts i. 23); while Schott (*Isagog.* § 103, p. 431), taking Sabas or Zabas to be an abbreviated form of Zebedee, regards Judas as an elder brother of James and John, and attributes to him the "Epistle of Jude." He must not be identified, as he has been by some, with the Apostle Judas Thaddaeus (see p. 1837 a). [E. V.] [F.]

JU'DAS OF GALILEE (*Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος*; *Judas Galilaeus*), the leader of a popular revolt "in the days of the taxing" (*i.e.* the census, under the prefecture of P. Sulp. Quirinus, A.D. 6, A.U.C. 759), referred to by Gamaliel in his speech before the Sanhedrin (Acts v. 37). According to Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1), Judas was a Gaulonite of the city of Gamala, a city reckoned in Galilee, and hence his name of Galilaean. His insurrection took its rise in Judaea, and was of a theocratic character, the watchword of which was "We have no Lord nor master but God." He boldly denounced the payment of tribute to Caesar, and all acknowledgment of any foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution, and signifying nothing short of downright slavery. His fiery eloquence and the popularity of his doctrines drew vast numbers to his standard, by many of whom he was regarded as the Messiah (Orig. *Homil. in Luc.* xxv.), and the country was for a time entirely given over to the lawless depredations of the fierce and licentious throng who had joined themselves to him. But the might of Rome proved irresistible: Judas himself perished, and his followers were "dispersed," though not entirely destroyed till the final overthrow of the city and nation.

With his fellow-insurgent Sadoc, a Pharisee, Judas is represented by Josephus as the founder of a fourth sect, in addition to the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §§ 1, 6; *B. J.* ii. 8, § 1). The point which appears to have distinguished his followers from the Pharisees was their greater fanaticism and stubborn love of freedom, leading them to despise torments, or death for themselves or their friends, rather than call any man master.

The Gaulonites, as his followers were called, may be regarded as the religious ancestors of the Zealots (cp. the *Assumptio Mosis*, x. 8) and Sicarii of later days, and to the influence of his tenets Josephus attributes all subsequent insurrections of the Jews, and the final destruction of the City and the Temple. James and John, the sons of Judas, headed an unsuccessful insurrection in the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, A.D. 47, by whom they were taken prisoners and crucified. Twenty years later, A.D. 66, their younger brother Menahem, following his father's example, took the lead of a band of desperadoes, who, after pillaging the armoury of Herod in the fortress of Masada, near the "gardens of Engaddi," marched to Jerusalem, occupied the city, and after a desperate siege took the palace, where he immediately assumed the state of a king, and committed great enormities. As he was going up to the Temple to worship, with great pomp, Menahem was taken by the partisans of Eleazar the high-priest, by whom he was tortured and put to death Aug. 15, A.D. 66 (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, ii. 152, 231; Joseph. *l. c.*; Orig. *in Matt.* xvii. § 25). References to the literature on this subject are given in Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüdischen Volken im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, i. pp. 406–7. [E. V.] [F.]

JU'DAS ISCARIOT (*Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης*; *Judas Iscariotes*). He is sometimes called "the son of Simon" (John vi. 71, xiii. 2, 26), but more commonly (the three Synoptic Gospels give no other name) Iscariotes (Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 19; Luke vi. 16 *et al.*). In the three lists of the Twelve there is added in each case the fact that he was the betrayer.

The name Iscariot has received many interpretations, more or less conjectural (see the 1st ed. of this work), but it is now universally agreed that it is to be derived from Kerioth (Josh. xv. 25), in the tribe of Judah, the Heb. אִישׁ קְרִיּוֹת, 'ISH KERĪYŌTH, passing into *Ἰσκαριώτης* in the same way as אִישׁ טוֹב—'Ish Tob, a man of Tob—appears in Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, § 1) as *Ἰστωβος* (Winer, *RWB.* s. v.). In connexion with this explanation may be noticed the reading in John vi. 71 received by Lachmann and Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, *Ἰσκαριώτου*, which makes the name of Iscariot belong to Simon, as well as to Judas. On this hypothesis his position among the Twelve, the rest of whom belonged to Galilee (Acts ii. 7), would be exceptional.

Of the life of Judas, before the appearance of his name in the lists of the Apostles, we know absolutely nothing. It must be left to the sad vision of a poet (Keble, *Lyra Innocentium*, ii. 13) or the fantastic fables of an apocryphal Gospel (Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. N. T. Evang. Infant.* c. 35) to portray the infancy and youth of the traitor. What that appearance implies, however, is that he had previously declared himself a disciple. He was drawn, as the others were, by the preaching of the Baptist, or his own Messianic hopes, or the "gracious words" of the new teacher, to leave his former life, and to obey the call of the Prophet of Nazareth. What baser and more selfish motives may have mingled even then with his faith and zeal, we can only judge by reasoning backward from the sequel. Gifts of some kind there must have been, rendering the choice of such a man not strange to others, not unfit in itself, and the function which he exercised afterwards among the Twelve may indicate what they were. The position of his name, uniformly the last in the lists of the Apostles in the Synoptic Gospels, is due, it may be imagined, to the infamy which afterwards rested on his name; but, prior to that guilt, it would seem that he took his place in the group of four which always stand last in order, as if possessing neither the love, nor the faith, nor the

devotion which marked the sons of Zebedee and the son of Jonah.

The choice was not made, we must remember, without a provision of its issue. "Jesus knew from the beginning . . . . who should betray Him" (John vi. 64); and the distinctness with which that Evangelist records the successive stages of the guilt of Judas, and his Master's discernment of it (John xii. 4; xiii. 2, 27), leaves with us the impression that he too shrank instinctively (Bengel describes it as "singularis antipathia," *Gnomon N. T.* on John vi. 64) from a nature so opposite to his own. We can hardly expect to solve the question why such a man was chosen for such an office. Either we must assume absolute foreknowledge, and then content ourselves with saying with Calvin that the judgments of God are as a great deep, and with Ullmann (*Sündlosigk. Jesu*, p. 97) that he was chosen that the Divine purpose might be accomplished through him; or else with Neander (*Leben Jesu*, § 77) that there was a discernment of the latent germs of evil, such as belonged to the Son of Man, in His insight into the hearts of men (John ii. 25; Matt. ix. 4; Mark xii. 15), yet not such as to exclude emotions of sudden sorrow or anger (Mark iii. 5), or astonishment (Mark vi. 6; Luke vii. 9), admitting the thought "with men this is impossible, but not with God." Did He in the depth of that insight, and in the fulness of His compassion, seek to overcome the evil which, if not conquered, would be so fatal to His follower? It gives, at any rate, a new meaning and force to many parts of our Lord's teaching to remember that they must have been spoken in the hearing of Judas, and may have been designed to make him conscious of his danger. The warnings as to the impossibility of a service divided between God and Mammon (Matt. vi. 19–34), and the destructive power of the "cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches" (Matt. xiii. 22, 23), the pointed words that spoke of the guilt of unfaithfulness in the "unrighteous Mammon" (Luke xvi. 11), the proverb of the camel passing through the needle's eye (Mark x. 25) must have fallen on his heart as meant specially for him. He was among those who asked the question, Who then can be saved? (Mark x. 26). Of him, too, we may say, that, when he sinned, he was "kicking against the pricks," letting slip his "calling and election," frustrating the purpose of his Master in giving him so high a work and educating him for it (cp. Chrysost. *Hom. on Matt.* xxvi. xxvii., *John* vi.).

The germs (see Stier's *Words of Jesus*, infra) of the evil, in all likelihood, unfolded themselves gradually. The rules to which the Twelve were subject in their first journey (Matt. x. 9, 10) sheltered him from the temptation that would have been most dangerous to him. The new form of life, of which we find the first traces in Luke viii. 3, brought that temptation with it. As soon as the Twelve were recognised as a body, travelling hither and thither with their Master, receiving money and other offerings, and redistributing what they received to the poor, it became necessary that some one should act as the steward and almoner of the small society, and this fell to Judas (John xii. 6, xiii 29), either as having the gifts that qualified him for it, or, as we may conjecture, from his character, because he sought it, or, as some have imagined, in rotation from time to time. The Galilaean or Judaean peasant (we have no reason for thinking that his station differed from that of the other Apostles) found himself entrusted with larger sums of money than before (the three hundred denarii of John xii. 5 are spoken of as a sum which he might reasonably have expected), and with this there came covetousness, unfaithfulness, embezzlement. It was impossible after this that he could feel at ease with One Who asserted so clearly and sharply the laws of faithfulness, duty, unselfishness; and the words of Jesus, "Have I not chosen you Twelve, and one of you is a devil?"* (John vi. 70), indicate that even then, though the greed of immediate or the hope of larger gain kept him from "going back," as others did (John vi. 66), hatred was taking the place of love, and leading him on to a fiendish malignity.

In what way that evil was rebuked, what discipline was applied to counteract it, has been hinted at above. The scene at Bethany (John xii. 1–9; Matt. xxvi. 6–13; Mark xiv. 3–9) showed how deeply the canker had eaten into his soul. That warm outpouring of love called forth no sympathy. He himself uttered, and suggested to others, the complaint that it was a waste. Under the plea of caring for the poor he covered his own miserable theft.

The narrative of Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv. places this history in close connexion (apparently in order of time) with the fact of the betrayal. It leaves the motives of the betrayer open to conjecture (cp. Neander, *Leben Jesu*, § 264). The mere love of money may have been strong enough to make him clutch at the bribe offered him. He came, it may be, expecting more (Matt. xxvii. 15); he will take that. He had lost the chance of dealing with the three hundred denarii; it will be something to get the thirty shekels as his own. It may have been that he felt that his Master saw through his hidden guilt, and that he hastened on a crisis to avoid the shame of open detection. Mingled with this there may have been some feeling of vindictiveness,—a vague, confused desire to show that he had power to stop the career of the Teacher Who had reproved him. Had the words that spoke of "the burial" of Jesus, and the lukewarmness of the people, and the conspiracies of the priests led him at last to see that the Messianic kingdom was not as the kingdoms of this world, and that his dream of power and wealth to be enjoyed in it was a delusion? (Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, v. 441–446.) There may have been the thought that, after all, the betrayal could do no harm, that his Master would prove His innocence, or by some supernatural manifestation effect His escape (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* p. 886, in Winer, and Whitby on Matt. xxvii. 4). Another motive has been suggested (cp. Neander, *Leben Jesu*, l. c.; and Whately, *Essays on Dangers to Christian Faith*, Discourse iii.) of an entirely different kind, altering altogether the character

* Awful as the words were, however, we must remember that like words were spoken of and to Simon Peter (Matt. xvi. 23).

of the act. Not the love of money, nor revenge, nor fear, nor disappointment, but policy, a subtle plan to force on the hour of the triumph of the Messianic kingdom, the belief that for this service he would receive as high a place as Peter, or James, or John: this it was that made him the traitor. If he could place his Master in a position from which retreat would be impossible, where He would be compelled to throw Himself on the people, and be raised by them to the throne of His father David, then he might look forward to being foremost and highest in that kingdom, with all his desires for wealth and power gratified to the full. Ingenious as this hypothesis is, it fails for that very reason.[b] It attributes to the Galilaean peasant a subtlety in forecasting political combinations, and planning stratagems accordingly, which is hardly compatible with his character and learning, hardly consistent either with the pettiness of the faults into which he had hitherto fallen. Of the other motives that have been assigned we need not care to fix on any one, as that which singly led him on. Crime is for the most part the result of a hundred motives rushing with bewildering fury through the mind of the criminal.

During the days that intervened between the supper at Bethany and the Paschal or quasi-Paschal gathering, he appeared to have concealed his treachery. He went with the other disciples to and fro from Bethany to Jerusalem, and looked on the acted parable of the barren and condemned tree (Mark xi. 20–24), and shared the vigils in Gethsemane (John xviii. 2). At the Last Supper he is present, looking forward to the consummation of his guilt as drawing nearer every hour. All is at first as if he were still faithful. He is admitted to the feast. His feet are washed, and for him there are the fearful words, "Ye are clean, but not all." He, it may be, receives the bread and the wine which were the pledges of the new covenant.[c] Then come the sorrowful words which showed him that his design was known. "One of you shall betray Me." Others ask, in their sorrow and confusion, "Is it I?" He too must ask the same question, lest he should seem guilty (Matt. xxvi. 25). He alone hears the answer. St. John only, and through him St. Peter, and the traitor himself, understand the meaning of the act which pointed out that he was the guilty one (John xiii. 26).[d] After this there comes on him that paroxysm and insanity of guilt as of one whose human soul was possessed by the Spirit of Evil—"Satan entered into him" (John xiii. 27). The words "What thou doest, do quickly," come as a spur to drive him on. The other disciples see in them only a command which they interpret as connected with the work he had hitherto undertaken. Then he completes the sin from which even those words might have drawn him back. He knows that garden in which his Master and his companions had so often rested after the weary work of the day. He comes, accompanied by a band of officers and servants (John xviii. 3), with the kiss which was probably the usual salutation of the disciples. The words of Jesus, calm and gentle as they were, showed that this was what embittered the treachery, and made the suffering it inflicted more acute (Luke xxii. 48).

What followed in the confusion of that night the Gospels do not record. Not many students of the N. T. will follow Heumann and Archbishop Whately (*Essays on Danyers*, l. c.) in the hypothesis that Judas was "the other disciple" that was known to the high-priest, and brought Peter in (cp. Meyer on John xviii. 15). It is probable enough, indeed, that he who had gone out with the high-priest's officers should return with them to wait the issue of the trial. Then, when it was over, came the reaction. The fever of the crime passed away. There came back on him the recollection of the sinless righteousness of the Master he had wronged (Matt. xxvii. 3). He repented, and his guilt and all that had tempted him to it became hateful.[e] He will get rid of the accursed thing, will transfer it back again to those who with it had lured him on to destruction. They mock and sneer at the tool whom they have used, and then there comes over him the horror of great darkness that precedes self-murder. He has owned his sin with "an exceeding bitter cry," but he dares not turn, with any hope of pardon, to the Master Whom he has betrayed. He hurls the money, which the priests refused to take, into the sanctuary (ναὸς) where they were assembled. For him there is no longer sacrifice or propitiation.[f] He is "the son of perdition" (John xvii. 12). "He departed and went and hanged himself" (Matt. xxvii. 5). He went "unto his own place"[g] (Acts i. 25).

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[b] Cp. the remarks on this hypothesis, in which Whately followed (unconsciously perhaps) in the footsteps of Paulus, in Ersch. u. Gruber's *Allgem. Encycl.* art. "Judas." See *Speaker's Comm.* on St. John, Addit. note to xiii. 18.

[c] The question whether Judas was a partaker of the Lord's Supper is encompassed with many difficulties, both dogmatic and harmonistic. The general consensus of patristic commentators gives an affirmative, that of modern critics a negative answer (cp. Meyer, *Comm.* on John xiii. 36). Bp. Westcott is of opinion that Judas "was present at the distribution of the Sacramental Bread, and not present at the distribution of the Sacramental Cup" (*Speaker's Comm.* on St. John, Introd. note to ch. xiii.).

[d] The combination of the narratives of the four Gospels is not without grave difficulties, for which harmonists and commentators may be consulted. We have given that which seems the most probable result.

[e] This passage has often been appealed to, as illustrating the difference between μεταμέλεια and μετανοία. It is questionable, however, how far the N. T. writers recognise that distinction (cp. Grotius in loco). Still more questionable is the notion above referred to, that St. Matthew describes his disappointment at a result so different from that on which he had reckoned.

[f] It is characteristic of the wide, far-reaching sympathy of Origen, that he suggests another motive for the suicide of Judas. Despairing of pardon in this life, he would rush on into the world of the dead, and there (γυμνῇ τῇ ψυχῇ) meet his Lord, and confess his guilt and ask for pardon (*Tract. in Matt.* xxxv.: cp. also Theophanes, *Hom.* xxvii., in Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. Ἰούδας).

[g] The words ἴδιος τόπος in St. Peter's speech convey to our minds the impression of some dark region in Gehenna; or may be considered a euphemism for the condition of the soul of Judas. Lightfoot and Gill (in loco) quote passages from Rabbinical writers who find that meaning

We have in Acts i. another account of the circumstances of his death, which it is not easy to harmonise with that given by St. Matthew. There, in words which may have been spoken by St. Peter (Meyer, following the general consensus of interpreters), or may have been a parenthetical notice inserted by St. Luke (Calvin, Olshausen, and others), it is stated—

(1) That, instead of throwing the money into the Temple, he bought (ἐκτήσατο) a field with it.

(2) That, instead of hanging himself, "falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out."

(3) That for this reason, and not because the priests had bought it with the price of blood, the field was called Aceldama.

It is, of course, easy to cut the knot, as Strauss and De Wette have done, by assuming one or both accounts to be spurious and legendary. Receiving both as authentic, we are yet led to the conclusion that the explanation is to be found in some unknown series of facts, of which we have but two fragmentary narratives (cp. Beyschlag in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n.). The solutions that have been suggested by commentators and harmonists are nothing more than exercises of ingenuity seeking to dovetail into each other portions of a dissected map which, for want of missing pieces, do not fit. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 573, finds no real divergence between the accounts.

The life of Judas has been represented here in the only light in which it is possible for us to look on it, as a human life, and therefore as one of temptation, struggle, freedom, responsibility. If another mode of speaking of it appears in the N. T.; if words are used which imply that all happened as it had been decreed; that the guilt and the misery were parts of a Divine plan (John vi. 64, xiii. 18; Acts i. 16), we must yet remember that this is no single, exceptional instance. All human actions are dealt with in the same way. They appear at one moment separate, free, uncontrolled; at another they are links in a long chain of causes and effects, the beginning and the end of which are in the "thick darkness where God is," or determined by an inexorable necessity. No adherence to a philosophical system frees men altogether from inconsistency in their language. In proportion as their minds are religious, and not philosophical, the transitions from one to the other will be frequent, abrupt, and startling.

With the exception of the stories already mentioned, there are but few traditions that gather round the name of Judas. It appears, however, in a strange, hardly intelligible way, in the history of the wilder heresies of the second century. The sect of Cainites, consistent in their inversion, of all that Christians in general believed, was reported to have honoured him as the only Apostle that was in possession of the true GNOSIS, to have made him the object of their worship, and to have had a Gospel bearing his name (cp. Neander, *Church History*, ii. 153, Eng. Tr.; Iren. *adv. Haer.* i. 35; Tertull. *de Praesc.* c. 47). For the general literature connected with this subject, especially for monographs on the motive of Judas and the manner of his death, see Winer, *RWB.* For a full treatment of the questions of the relation in which his guilt stood to the life of Christ, cp. Stier's *Words of the Lord Jesus*, on the passages where Judas is mentioned, and in particular vii. 40–67, Eng. Tr.; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 471–475; Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, pop. ed., Index, s. n. [E. H. P.] [F.]

JUDAS, or **JUDE**, or **THADDAEUS**, or possibly **LEBBAEUS** (Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, Luke vi. 16, Acts i. 13; Θαδδαῖος, with *v. l.* Λεββαῖος, Matt. x. 3, Mark iii. 18), one of the Twelve. In all four lists of the Apostles he appears in the last group with James of Alphaeus and Simon the Zealot or the Cananaean; the fourth member of the group in the Gospels being Judas Iscariot, whose place is vacant in the Acts. In John xiv. 22 he is specially distinguished from Iscariot. The usual identification of the Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus) in Matt. and Mark with the Judas of James in Luke and Acts may be accepted without serious hesitation. It is unlikely that four lists of the Twelve should agree in all other cases and have a serious discrepancy here: and there is nothing improbable in one of the Twelve having even three names (*trinomius*, as Jerome calls him in *Comm.* on Matt. x. 3); although, like Simon Peter and perhaps Bartholomew, Judas of James probably had only two names—Judas and Thaddaeus. This traditional identification is ancient; it solves a difficulty in a simple manner; and the only objection to it is the lack of direct evidence; for Syrian legends, which distinguish Jude from Thaddaeus, the Apostle of Edessa, are not worthy of much credit. Those who reject it either resort to the far more violent hypothesis that Thaddaeus died, or left the apostolic company, and that Judas of James took his place (*e.g.* Schleiermacher and Ewald),—an hypothesis not easy to reconcile with Luke vi. 16; or else suppose that primitive tradition as to the names of the Twelve fluctuated (Strauss).

That the most natural translation of Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου is "Judas *son* of James" cannot be doubted. It is true that the genitive does not invariably denote the filial relationship (Moulton's Winer, p. 237; Winer, *Bibl. Realw.* ii. 57): but the obvious and usual translation ought not to be surrendered without clear evidence that some other relationship must be meant. Among the earliest Versions, the Old Latin and the Memphitic reproduce the vagueness of the Greek, *Judas Jacobi*; while the Peshiṭto and the Thebaic give the natural rendering, "Judas *the son* of James." None suggest the exceptional rendering, "*the brother* of James." Moreover, if St. Luke had meant this, why did he not bracket the two brothers as he does St. Peter and St. Andrew, St. James and St. John? He might easily have made the matter clear by writing "James of Alphaeus and Judas his brother," or "James and Judas the sons of Alphaeus." But in both lists he separates James and Judas by placing Simon the Zealot between them. The inference is that James and Judas were not related; for that James the father of Judas is identical with

in the phrase, even in Gen. xxxi. 55, and Num. xxiv. 25. Some interpreters reject that explanation (cp. Meyer in loco), and the great Anglican divine (Hammond, *Comment. on N. T.* in loco) explained the sentence, that St. Matthias should undertake the Apostolic circuit which had been assigned to Judas.

James of Alphaeus is most improbable. Nowhere is any such relationship suggested; and James was a very common name (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 263, 6th ed.). Among English versions, Wiclif and the Rhemish follow the indefiniteness of the Vulgate, "Judas (Jude) of James"; while Tyndale, Coverdale, and Cranmer have "son": the highly improbable "brother" comes from Beza and the Genevan Version. Luther has *Sohn*. The fact that in the opening address of the Epistle of Jude ἀδελφὸς is expressed, tells against rather than for its being understood in Luke vi. 16 and Acts i. 13; for, if it had been meant, it would have been expressed here also.

The name Lebbaeus or Lebaeus is probably an early corruption of Thaddaeus. Neither name is found in N. T., excepting in Matt. x. 3 and Mark ii. 18; and "the clearly defined attestation is unfavourable to the genuineness of Λεββαῖος in either Gospel. This name is apparently due to an early attempt to bring Levi (Λευεὶς) the publican (Luke v. 27) within the Twelve, it being assumed that his call was to apostleship; just as in Mark ii. 14 Λευεὶς is changed in Western texts to Ἰάκωβος because τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου follows, and it was assumed that the son of Alphaeus elsewhere named as one of the Twelve must be meant. The difference between the two forms of the name would be inconsiderable in Aramaic, *Levi* and *Levi* or *Lebi* and *Lebbi*; and Λεββαῖος might as easily represent *Lebbi* as Θαδδαῖος *Thaddi*" (Westcott and Hort, ii. Appendix, p. 11: cp. Origen *c. Celsum*, I. lxii., where *Levi* appears as *Lebes* and is not identified with Matthew). If this is correct, discussions as to whether Λεββαῖος means "man of Lebba," which is supposed to have been a town of Galilee (Baumgarten-Crusius), or "young lion" (Schleusner), or "dear heart" (Jerome), are out of place. Winer, Sieffert, and others would identify the meaning of Lebbaeus and Thaddaeus, interpreting the former as "heart" and the latter as "breast," and making both equivalent to "darling" (*Herzenskind*). There may be something in this, if the authors of the Western text were trying to express different varieties in the Aramaic. Λεββαῖος having been substituted for Θαδδαῖος in some early copies, the way was prepared for the conflate reading followed in all English versions previous to the R. V.,[a] Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος (C.[2] L.), for which some cursives have Θαδδαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Λεββαῖος, while some Old Latin texts read *Judas Zelotes*. This last perhaps comes from a wrong punctuation of Luke vi. 16; τὸν καλούμενον Ζηλωτὴν καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου being taken together as meaning "him who was called *Zelotes* and *Judas Jacobi*." A similar reading appears in the Thebaic Version of John xiv. 22, where "Judas the Cananaean" is substituted for "Judas not Iscariot." Thus a fourth name is added to Thaddaeus, Lebbaeus, and Judas of James: and the confusion is made worse by the Curetonian Syriac, which has "Judas Thomas" or "Judas the Twin" for "Judas not Iscariot." Apparently the Syriac translator understood St. John to mean Thomas Didymus, and not Judas of James; for in the Syrian Church Thomas was commonly called Judas. Thus Eusebius says that ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ (to Abgarus) Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς Θαδδαῖον ἀπόστολον, ἕνα τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα (*H. E.* I. xiii. 10). In the Gnostic *Acts of Thomas* this Apostle is called Judas Thomas, as also in the Edessan Acts and in the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostles*; and he is made the twin brother of Jesus, and so like Him that one was sometimes mistaken for the other (*Acta Thomae*, § 31, p. 217 ed. Tischend., p. 23 ed. Bonnet).[b] Thomas or "the Twin" looks like a surname, and it is not improbable that his first name was Judas. But it is not at all probable that St. John by "Judas not Iscariot" means the Apostle whom he everywhere else calls Thomas (xi. 16, xiv. 5, xx. 24–28, xxi. 2). All this confusion, however, admits of ready simplification without the employment of rash hypotheses. Judas and Thaddaeus are two names for one and the same Apostle, who was the son of an otherwise unknown James. "Lebbaeus" is probably a corrupt reading, the result of a mistaken identification of Thaddaeus with Levi or substitution of Levi for Thaddaeus. "Judas Zelotes" and "Judas the Cananaean" are certainly corrupt readings, perhaps produced by a misunderstanding of Luke vi. 16. "Judas Thomas" is equally certainly a corrupt reading in John xiv. 22, arising from the fact that Syrian Christians called Thomas the Apostle Judas. Thus all these substitutions or additions may be rejected, and the three well-established readings—"Thaddaeus," "Judas of James," and "Judas not Iscariot"—retained.

The Apostle who is thus designated is little more than a name to us in N. T., and traditions respecting him are untrustworthy. That he had some share in founding the Church of Edessa, is doubtful; and perhaps there is not even this element of truth in the Abgarus legend (Eus. *H. E.* I. xiii.). The Syrian Church believed that he went from Edessa to preach in Phoenicia, and there found a martyr's death. In Abdias the scene of his preaching and martyrdom is Persia. Nicephorus Callistus makes him preach in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, and then die a natural death at Edessa (*H. E.* II. xl.). In the *Apostolical Constitutions*, viii. 25, 26, the regulations about widows and exorcists are assigned to "Lebbaeus surnamed Thaddaeus"; and the two Vienna MSS. have a note stating that Thaddaeus or Lebbaeus "was surnamed Judas the Zealot" and preached in Mesopotamia. An apocryphal *Gospel of Thaddaeus* is mentioned in connexion with a synod at Rome in A.D. 494 in the time of Pope Gelasius: and we have some *Acta Thaddaei*, in which the letter of Abgarus differs somewhat from the one given by Eusebius (Tisch. *Acta Apost. Apocr.* p. 261; Lipsius, *Apocr. Apostelg.* iii. 154–200). See Sieffert's article "Judas Lebbaeus" in Herzog's *Encycl.* 2nd ed., Mangold's in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lex.*, and the articles on the Legend and Festival of JUDE, THE APOSTLE in Smith's *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, and on the DOCTRINA ADDAEI in the *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* [A. P.]

[a] Excepting Wiclif and the Rhemish, which of course follow the Vulgate in reading simply *Thaddaeus*.

[b] See also Wright, *Apocr. Acts of the Apostles*, p. 146; Lipsius, *Apocr. Apostelg.* I. 227; Phillips, *Doctrina Addaei*, p. 5; Cureton, *Anc. Syriac Documents*, p. 30; Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* I. 318; Ante-Nicene Library, *Apocr. Gospels and Acts*, pp. 389, 390, 394.

JUDAS, THE LORD'S BROTHER. In Matt. xiii. 55 we read, "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not His mother called Mary? and His brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas?" The parallel passage in Mark vi. 3 runs, "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and brother of James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon?" That the four brethren of Christ mentioned by St. Matthew are identical with the four mentioned by St. Mark, is manifest. It is sometimes, however, assumed that "Mary the mother of James and Joses" (Matt. xxvii. 56), "Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses" (Mark. xv. 40), is the mother of the four brethren mentioned in the first pair of passages. But this is very precarious. The omission of two of the four, the silence respecting any relationship to the Lord, and the fact that both James and Joseph were very common names, are very much against the identification. Moreover, there is mention of the Lord's mother in close connexion with the four brethren in the one case, whereas in the other case another Mary is the mother of the two brothers. The further identification of two, or even three, of the four brethren with the Apostles of the same name is still more untenable. If James the Lord's brother is James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon the Lord's brother is Simon the Zealot, and Judas the Lord's brother is Judas not Iscariot, then St. John could never have written "even His brethren did not believe on Him" (vii. 5). Moreover this theory involves two sisters both bearing the name of Mary, with other improbabilities. In none of the four lists of the Apostles is there any hint that any one of them was a brother of the Lord; and in Acts i. 13, 14, and 1 Cor. ix. 5, the Lord's brethren are distinguished from the Apostles. We may safely conclude that the four brethren of the Lord and His sisters are either the children of His mother or else of some person whose name is not known. In the latter case their precise relationship to the Lord is uncertain. Of these four, Joses or Joseph and Simon are not to be identified with any other *Joses* and Simon; and we know nothing respecting them beyond their names and their relationship to Christ. Of the other two, James is one of the most prominent figures in the primitive Church, being overseer of the mother Church of Jerusalem and the writer of the Epistle which bears his name, while his brother Judas or Jude is probably the author of the Epistle of Jude (see next article).[a]

Jude, like his brethren, did not at first believe that Jesus was the Messiah (John vii. 5), but was convinced by the Resurrection (Acts i. 14). He was married (1 Cor. ix. 5), and Hegesippus tells an interesting story of two of his grandsons (Eus. *H. E.* III. xx. 1–8). These two men were taken before Domitian as of the royal family of David, and therefore dangerous to the Emperor. For Domitian, says Hegesippus, "was afraid of the appearance of the Christ, as was Herod." They admitted their royal descent, but stated that they were humble persons, living by manual labour; in evidence of which they showed their rough hands. When asked about Christ's kingdom, they said that it was a heavenly one, and that at the end of the world He would come to judge the living and the dead. Domitian dismissed them as too simple to be dangerous, and forbade any further persecution of the family of David. A fragment of Philip of Side (*c.* A.D. 425) states that Hegesippus gave Zocer and James as the names of these two grandsons of Jude (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. 2, p. 169). On their return to Palestine they were honoured both as confessors and as of the family of the Lord, and lived until the reign of Trajan (Eus. *H. E.* III. xxxii. 5, 6). We must suppose that, when they were taken before Domitian, their father and grandfather were dead, otherwise they would have been arrested also. This seems to show that St. Jude died before, or not long after, the accession of Domitian, A.D. 81. [A. P.]

JUDE, EPISTLE OF. (See JUDAS or JUDE.)

There is no valid reason for doubting that this Epistle was written by the person whose name it bears. Nor is there very much doubt as to who this Jude or Judas is. He styles himself "servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James." If he had been an Apostle, he would probably have said so. His object in mentioning his brother James must have been to win the attention and interest of his readers; and to have mentioned that he was one of the Twelve would have been a far better way of securing attention. It is true that an Apostle might have written, "Remember ye the words which have been spoken before by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*v.* 17; yet cp. Ephes. iii. 5 and Gal. i. 19): but such a charge comes much more naturally from one who is not himself one of the number. The author evidently wishes to speak with all possible authority, and we can conjecture no reason for his suppressing the fact of his being an Apostle, if he had been one. We cannot, therefore, identify this Jude with Judas not Iscariot (John xiv. 22; Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13). Nor can we identify his brother James with James of Alphaeus, or James the son of Zebedee. There is no reasonable doubt that the James of whom our Jude is the brother is the first president of the Church of Jerusalem, the brother of the Lord, and the writer of the Epistle of James. Jude, therefore, is also a brother of the Lord. But neither he nor James claim any authority in virtue of this relationship, and do not mention the relationship in their Epistles, for reasons which are indicated by Clement of Alexandria in the *Adumbrationes:* "Judas, who wrote the Catholic Epistle, brother of the sons of Joseph, a very religious man, though he knew of his relationship, did not call himself His brother. But what said he? 'Judas, the servant of Jesus Christ' as his Lord." That is, reverence kept him silent. Jude, however, does think that his close relationship to the revered James the Just will win for him interest and attention; and he therefore mentions the relationship. The brother of James would be specially acceptable to Jewish Christians, whom the writer has chiefly in mind as he writes.

[a] [On the much-disputed question who were "the brethren of the Lord," see further the different views advocated in BROTHER, p. 461, and JAMES, pp. 1512 seq. —EDITORS.]

AUTHENTICITY. — The Epistles of both brothers are classed by Eusebius among the "disputed" books (ἀντιλεγόμενα) of the N. T., which means that some Christians had misgivings respecting them, and therefore proves that these books were not admitted into the N. T. without careful scrutiny. For some time after these Epistles were written there were Churches in the West that had never heard of the Epistle of James, and Churches in the East that had never heard of that of Jude. Even where they were known, their claim to authority was open to doubt, because they did not appear to be written by Apostles. The shorter Epistle was open to a further objection. "Because in it Jude derives a testimony from the Book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by some"[a] (Jerome, *Catal. Scr. Eccl.* iv.). The strongest evidence of objection to the Epistle of Jude, or of ignorance as to its existence, is afforded by its absence from the Peshitto, a fact which is of weight in determining the authorship. If the Apostle Judas Thaddaeus were the author, his connexion with Edessa would have secured the inclusion of his letter in the Syriac versions. Its omission is intelligible, if the author was not an Apostle. The silence of early writers proves very little, for the letter is too short to be often quoted. Even Chrysostom, who must have known it, does not quote it once in all his voluminous writings. Against the silence of many and the condemnation of some is to be set the general acceptance in the West which is shown by the Muratorian Canon: *Epistola sane Iude et superscriptio Johannis duas in catholica habentur.* Here *superscriptio* is a blunder for *superscripti*, "the John mentioned above," or for *superscriptae* [*Johannis duae*], "the two above-mentioned letters of John"; and almost certainly *in catholica* means "in the Catholic Church." But the evidence remains strong whatever be the right reading. Clement of Alexandria commented on it in his *Hypotyposeis* or *Adumbrationes* (Eus. *H. E.* vi. xiv. 1), and quotes it as Scripture (*Paed.* iii. viii. 280; *Strom.* iii. ii. 515); and his disciple Origen, although aware of doubts respecting it, yet accepted it himself and several times quotes it.[b] In commenting on Matt. xiii. 55 he calls it "an epistle of few lines, yet full of the strong words of heavenly grace." And Didymus, yet another head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, and the instructor of Jerome and Rufinus, condemns those who rejected the Epistle because of the passage about the body of Moses, much as Jerome seems to condemn those who rejected it because of the quotation from the *Book of Enoch*. The testimony from North Africa is also strong. Tertullian maintains that the *Book of Enoch* ought to be regarded as Scripture, among other reasons because it is quoted by "the Apostle Jude" (*De Cult. Fem.* i. iii.); and Augustine asks, "What of Enoch the seventh from Adam? Does not the canonical epistle of the Apostle Jude declare that he prophesied?" (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. xxxviii. 1). But for the lack of testimony from the East, this amount of evidence in favour of so brief a document is surprising; and about the year A.D. 269 we get evidence from the East. Eusebius has preserved part of the letter of a synod at Antioch against Paul of Samosata, and the tone of the document suggests acquaintance with the Epistle of Jude; *e.g.* "denying his God [and Lord]" (cp. Jude *v.* 4) and "not guarding the faith which he once held" (cp. Jude *v.* 9). The quotations from Jude in Ephrem Syrus (A.D. 350–373) are found only in the Greek translations of his writings, and cannot be relied upon as original: but without them the Epistle is sufficiently attested as of the apostolic age. Renan places it as early as A.D. 54; but regards it as an attack on St. Paul, who is one of those who "defile the flesh, and set at nought dominion, and rail at dignities." In this idea he is probably alone. A forger covertly attacking St. Paul would have written in the name of some one possessing more authority than "Judas, brother of James." Harnack (*Das N. T. um d. Jahr.* 200, p. 79) admits that Zahn (*Gesch. d. N. T. Kanons*, i. p. 321) exaggerates very little when he declares that about A.D. 200 the Epistle of Jude was accepted "in the Church of all lands round the Mediterranean Sea." Whatever misgivings existed in some quarters were exceptional, and before long passed away.

THE PERSONS ADDRESSED in the Epistle are "those that are called, beloved in God the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ"; *i.e.* all Christians, whether Jews or Gentiles, wherever they may dwell. But it is probable that the writer has Jewish Christians of Palestine and Syria principally in his mind. Like that of St. James, the Epistle is Palestinian in origin and in tone, and the writer would think chiefly of the kind of Christians with whom he was most familiar.

THE OCCASION of the letter is plainly stated. St. Jude had been intending to write an Epistle "about our common salvation" (*v.* 3), when the invasion of the Church by ungodly men produced a crisis which constrained him to write at once an Epistle of a different character, in order to denounce the authors of this trouble and put others on their guard respecting them. These invaders had "crept in privily," and had turned Christian liberty into the anarchy of heathen licence. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. ii. p. 515) thinks that St. Jude denounces prophetically the licentious doctrine and practice of Carpocrates. Some moderns suggest that the writer was *contemporary* with Carpocrates, and therefore cannot be Judas the brother of James. The date of Carpocrates is uncertain, and St. Jude may have known him: but there is no reason for supposing that he refers to him or any Antinomian teacher. These "ungodly men" were not propagandists, but libertines. They "denied our only Master and Lord," not by anti-Christian doctrines, but by unchristian lives. They maintained that Christians

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[a] *A plerisque rejicitur.* The meaning of *plerisque* is uncertain. The classical meaning of *plerique* was extinct, for even in Tacitus it means not "most" but "very many" (e.g. *Hist.* iv. 84). Later on it came to mean no more than "some." Thus Jerome, writing to Dardanus (*Ep.* cxxix.), says of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *licet plerique eam vel Barnabae vel Clementis arbitrentur*, where *plerique* = the τινὲς of Origen and Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. xx. 3; xxv. 1).

[b] *Homil. in Gen.* xiii.; *in Jos.* vii.; *in Ezech.* iv.; *Comment. in Mat.* xiii.

might indulge in gross sensuality; and, when rebuked, they reviled those who were set over them.

The CONTENTS of the Epistle exhibit a careful plan. *Introduction* (1–4): *Warning and Denunciation:* Three instances of God's vengeance (5–7) and application to the libertines (8–10); Three examples of similar wickedness (11), and threefold description corresponding to them (12–15, 16–18, 19): *Exhortation* (20–23): *Doxology* (24, 25). The writer's fondness for triplets is remarkable. We can trace a dozen, most of which can hardly be accidental. (1) Judas, a servant . . . and brother. (2) Called, beloved, . . . and kept. (3) Mercy and peace and love. (4) Ungodly, turning . . . and denying. (5) Israelites, angels, cities of the plain. (6) Defile . . . set at nought . . . and rail. (7) Cain, Balaam, Korah. (8) These are . . . These are . . . These are. (9) Who make separations, sensual, having not the Spirit. (10) Building up . . . praying . . . looking for mercy. (11) Have mercy . . . save . . . have mercy with fear. (12) Before all time, and now, and for evermore.

The Epistle presents some special *difficulties*. *a.* From *v.* 4 to *v.* 18 the resemblance to the central portion of 2 Peter is such that it is universally admitted that one writer must have borrowed from the other. That both have borrowed from a third is a possible, but much less probable, alternative, and it lacks supporters. Of late years the balance of opinion has been in favour of the priority of this Epistle, Spitta being a notable exception. The main arguments on each side are these. *For the priority of Jude.* (1) It is more probable that most of a short document should be inserted in a much longer one, than that a fraction of a longer document should be made the main portion of a short one. (2) It is more probable that things that seemed objectionable or difficult should be omitted in 2 Peter, than that they should be inserted in Jude: e.g. "*wells* without water" (2 Pet. ii. 17) looks like a correction of the self-contradictory "*clouds* without water" (Jude *v.* 12); and without Jude *v.* 9 the less decided statement in 2 Pet. ii. 11 is scarcely intelligible, as if the writer disliked the apocryphal literature which Jude uses so freely. The statements in Jude *vv.* 6, 14, 15, 23 are either omitted in 2 Peter, or put in a way less likely to offend (ii. 4, 11). *For the priority of 2 Peter.* (1) If 2 Peter is genuine, it is less probable that the chief of the Apostles should borrow from one who was not an Apostle at all, than *vice versâ*; and if 2 Peter is not genuine, it is unlikely that a plagiarist would discredit his forgery by incorporating what was already disliked for its use of apocryphal literature. (2) The troubles which 2 Peter speaks of as future (ii. 1) Jude speaks of as present (*v.* 4); and while 2 Peter says that "in the last days mockers shall come with mockery, walking after their own lusts" (iii. 3), Jude gives these very words as an apostolic prophecy (*vv.* 17, 18). The telling points in Jude which are not found in 2 Peter lead one to think that the writer of 2 Peter had not seen Jude; but these are balanced by telling points in 2 Peter which are not found in Jude. The triplets, so common in Jude, are not found in 2 Peter; and it seems to be more probable that the writer of 2 Peter has overlooked or ignored them, than that St. Jude has inserted them into borrowed material. The priority of Jude may be regarded as the more tenable hypothesis; but certainty is unattainable.

b. Another difficulty, noticed from very early times, is the use which St. Jude makes of apocryphal writings. He quotes the *Book of Enoch* as if it were inspired; and in other passages, without exactly quoting, he seems to be under its influence. Moreover he draws a portion of his material from the *Assumption of Moses*. The *Book of Enoch* is composite, and some of the central portion may be later than the Christian era. But chapters i.–xxvi. and lxxii.–cv. are undoubtedly earlier; and it is in these that the quotation and the parallels are found. "Angels which kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, He hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (Jude *v.* 6) is a condensation of Enoch vii.–xxi.: see especially x. 6–16; xiv. 2; xxi. 3, 6. The expressions "rail at dignities" (glories), "wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved for ever," and "the seventh from Adam" seem to have been suggested by the *Book of Enoch* (vi. 4; xxvi. 2; xviii. 6–16; xcii. 4). It is Origen who tells us that the contest between Michael and Satan for the body of Moses comes from the Ἀνάληψις or Ἀνάβασις *of Moses* (*De Princip.* III. ii. *sub init.*), a book known to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* VI. xv. p. 806), Didymus of Alexandria (Gallandi *Biblioth. Patr.* vi. 307), Augustine (*Epist.* clviii. 3), and others. From the eighth to the nineteenth century it disappeared. A portion of it has been found in a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, but the fragment ends before the death of Moses. That the *Assumptio Moysis* is earlier than the Epistle of Jude is almost universally admitted, the dates assigned to it varying from A.D. 4 to A.D. 70 (Schürer, *The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II. vol. iii. pp. 80–83; Herzog, Plitt and Hauck, *Real-Encycl.* vol. xii. p. 352); and we need not doubt the statements of Origen and Didymus that Jude *v.* 9 is based upon it. That St. Jude received a special revelation on the subject is a violent and untenable hypothesis. That a true tradition had survived for fifteen hundred years, without leaving any trace throughout the O. T., is not credible. The sober conclusion is that, in illustrating his denunciations, St. Jude has made use of legendary material; and this ought not to offend us. His spiritual teaching is not the less sound because he has mistaken legend for history. The Church, while profiting by his defence of truth and holiness, has never been misled by his lack of critical judgment. It has never been in doubt as to the true nature of the *Assumption of Moses* or the *Book of Enoch*. There is an able, but unconvincing, statement of the view that *v.* 9 comes from Zech. iii. 1–3, and not from the *Assumptio Moysis*, in Wright's *Bampton Lectures*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1879, pp. 53–57. The express statements of Origen and Didymus, who name the book, and of Apollinaris, who says that Jude here quotes from an apocryphal work, cannot lightly be set

aside:[c] and the passage in Zechariah lacks the most striking features in Jude v. 9,—"Michael the Archangel," and "the body of Moses."

The STYLE of the Epistle is somewhat cumbrous and harsh, as of one who does not express himself with perfect ease; but it exhibits a rough originality, which is less conspicuous in 2 Pet. ii. St. Jude writes better Greek than we might have expected from a Jew of Palestine; but it is not so surprisingly good as that of his brother St. James. Both brothers must have had some special advantages in this respect.

The following expressions are *peculiar in the N. T. to this Epistle*, and some of them are rare in Greek literature: ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι (v. 3), παρεισδύειν (v. 4), ἐκπορνεύειν, δεῖγμα, ὑπέχειν (v. 7), φυσικῶς (v. 10), σπιλάς, φθινοπωρινός (v. 12), ἐπαφρίζειν, πλανήτης (v. 13), γογγυστής, μεμψίμοιρος, ἀποδιορίζειν (v. 16), ἄπταιστος (v. 24), πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος (v. 25). The last two occur in the doxology, which from a literary point of view is the finest part of the Epistle and may possibly be influenced by Rom. xvi. 25-27.

Here and there the Epistle appears to be influenced by the language of the O. T., but there is not much that can with certainty be called quotation: cp. v. 9 with Dan. xii. 1 and Zech. iii. 2; v. 12 with Ezek. xxxiv. 8; v. 14 with Zech. xiv. 5 and Deut. xxiii. 2; v. 23 with Zech. iii. 2, 3.

There is little evidence respecting the PLACE in which the letter was composed, and not very much respecting the DATE. It is possible that Jude, the brother of the Lord, never travelled outside Palestine, and the use of the *Book of Enoch* and of the *Assumption of Moses* favours Palestine, for these are of Palestinian origin. It is not likely that he survived by very many years the destruction of Jerusalem, if he survived it at all. The testimony of Hegesippus tends to show that Jude died before the reign of Domitian.

That he would have mentioned the destruction of Jerusalem as a signal instance of God's judgments upon sinners (vv. 5–7), if it had already taken place, is by no means certain. Renan's date (*circa* A.D. 54) is probably too early; but if 2 Peter is genuine, and if the Apostle made use of Jude's letter, and not Jude of the Apostle's letter,—then our Epistle cannot be placed much later than A.D. 62. Nothing can be based upon the vague expression ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου (v. 18), which by no means proves that the writer is far removed from the apostolic age. St. Jude considers the appearance of these antichristian libertines a sign of the "last time," as St. John considers the appearance of "many antichrists" a sign of the "last hour" (1 John ii. 18); and the Evangelist probably wrote considerably later than this brother of James. But v. 3 points to a late date, and v. 17 rather implies that these words of the Apostles were spoken long ago. Perhaps we may conjecture that Jude would not have written at all if his brother James was still alive. In this case A.D. 62 is the earliest date that we can assign to the Epistle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Considering that the Epistle consists of only twenty-five verses, the amount of literature respecting it is remarkable. In the following list of commentaries the works of those who have commented upon the whole of the N. T. are not included; but in many cases the writer named has taken the Epistle of Jude in conjunction with one or more of the Epistles of Peter and of James. The advantage of combining either James or 2 Peter with Jude is obvious. Witsius, Meletem. 1739; Hanke, Lips. 1748; Schmidt, Lips. 1769; Herder, Lemgo, 1775; Semler, Hal. 1784; Hasse, Jena, 1786; Hartmann, Cöth. 1793; Morus, Leipz. 1794; Elias, Ultraj. 1803; Haenlein, Erl. 1804; Laurmann, Gron. 1818; Scharling, Havniae, 1841; Stier, 1850; Rampf, 1854; Gardiner, Boston, 1856; Fronmüller in Lange, 1862 [Eng. Tr. New York, 1867]; Wiesinger in Olshausen [Eng. Tr., T. & T. Clark, 1882]; Huther in Meyer [Eng. Tr., T. & T. Clark]; Schott, Erlangen, 1863 (attributes the Ep. to Judas Barsabbas); J. C. K. Hofmann, Nördlingen, 1875, and C. F. Keil, Leipz. 1885 (are among the last defenders of the apostolic authorship); Spitta, Halle, 1885; Kühl, Göttingen, 1887; Von Soden, Freib. i. B., 1890; Plummer, in the *Expositor's Bible*, 1891. Among these the comm. of Huther and Kühl may be specially commended. See also the comm. on the Catholic Epistles by Augusti, Benson, Ewald, Macknight, Reuss, and Welcker, with the *Introduction to the Cath. Epp.* by Gloag, 1887. Among Introductions to the N. T. (Bleek-Mangold, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, &c.) the treatment of this Epistle in B. Weiss [Eng. Tr., Hodder, 1888], and Salmon, Murray, 1891, should be studied. Dahl, *De authent. Ep. Petri post. et Judae*, Rost. 1807, assigns this Ep. to a presbyter named Jude; Jessien, *De authent. Ep. Judae*, Lips. 1821, is thought to have rendered the apostolic authorship untenable. See also Arnaud, *Essai crit. sur l'auth.*, Strasb. 1835; F. Brun, *Introd. crit. à l'Ép. de Jude*, Strasb. 1842; Arnaud, *Recherches crit. sur l'Ép. de Jude*, Paris, 1851 [Eng. Tr. in *Brit. and For. Ev. Rev.*, July 1859]; Ritschl, *Abhandl. über die Antinomisten* in *Stud. und Krit.* 1861, i. 103; Guerike, *Beiträge*, 1875; Sieffert in Herzog's *Real-Enc.* 1880; Zoeckler, *Handb. d. Theol. Wissensch.* I. ii. 111, 1889. [A. P.]

JUDEA. [JUDAEA.]

JUDETH. [JUDITH, 2.]

JUDGES. The administration of justice in all early Eastern nations, as amongst the Arabs of the desert to this day, rests with the patriarchal seniors;[a] the judges being the heads of tribes, or of chief houses in a tribe. Such from their elevated position would have the requisite leisure, would be able to make their decisions respected, and through the wider intercourse of superior station would decide with fuller expe-

[c] The passages will be found in full, with those from Clement of Alexandria and the letter of Evodius to Augustine (see above), in the Preface to Fritzsche's *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, pp. xxxiv., xxxv.; and the extant fragments of the *Assumptio Moyseos* will be found pp. 700–729.

[a] The expression נְשִׂיא בֵּית־אָב (Num. xxv. 14) is remarkable, and seems to mean the patriarchal senior of a subdivision of the tribe (cp. 1 Ch. iv. 38; Judg. v. 3, 15).

rience and riper reflection. Thus in the Book of Job (xxix. 7–9) the patriarchal magnate is represented as going forth "to the gate" amidst the respectful silence of elders, princes, and nobles (cp. xxxii. 9). The actual chiefs of individual tribes are mentioned on various occasions, one as late as the time of David, as preserving importance in the commonwealth (Num. vii. 2, 10, 11, xvii. 6, or 17 in Heb. text; xxxiv. 18; Josh. xxii. 14; so perhaps Num. xvi. 2, xxi. 18). Whether the princes of the tribes mentioned in 1 Ch. xxvii. 16, xxviii. 1, are patriarchal heads, or merely chief men appointed by the king to govern, is not strictly certain; but it would be foreign to all ancient Eastern analogy to suppose that they forfeited the judicial prerogative, until reduced and overshadowed by the monarchy, which in David's time is contrary to the tenor of history. During the oppression of Egypt the nascent people would necessarily have few questions at law to plead; and the Egyptian magistrate would take cognizance of theft, violence, and other matters of police. Yet the question put to Moses shows that "a prince" and "a judge" were connected even then in the popular idea (Ex. ii. 14; cp. Num. xvi. 13). When they emerged from this oppression into national existence, the want of a machinery of judicature began to press. The patriarchal seniors did not instantly assume the function, having probably been depressed by bondage till rendered unfit for it, not having become experienced in such matters, nor having secured the confidence of their tribesmen. Perhaps for these reasons Moses at first took the whole burden of judicature upon himself, then at the suggestion of Jethro (Ex. xviii. 14–24) instituted judges over numerically graduated sections of the people. These were chosen for their moral fitness, but from Deut. i. 15, 16, we may infer that they were taken from amongst those to whom primogeniture would have assigned it. Save in offences of public magnitude, criminal cases do not appear to have been distinguished from civil. The duty of teaching the people the knowledge of the Law which pertained to the Levites, doubtless included such instruction as would assist the judgment of those who were thus to decide according to it. The Levites were thus the ultimate sources of ordinary jurisprudence, and perhaps the "teaching" aforesaid may merely mean the expounding the Law as applicable to difficult cases arising in practice. Beyond this, it is not possible to indicate any division of the provinces of deciding on points of law as distinct from points of fact. The judges mentioned as standing before Joshua in the great assemblies of the people must be understood as the successors to those chosen by Moses, and had doubtless been elected with Joshua's sanction from among the same general class of patriarchal seniors (Josh. iv. 2, 4, xxii. 14, xxiv. 1).

The judge was reckoned a sacred person, and secured even from verbal injuries. Seeking a decision at law is called "inquiring of God" (Ex. xviii. 15). The term "gods" is actually applied to judges (Ex. xxi. 6; cp. Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6). The judge was told, "Thou shalt not be afraid of the face of men, for the judgment is God's;" and thus whilst human instrumentality was indispensable, the source of justice was upheld as Divine, and the purity of its administration only sank with the decline of religious feeling. In this spirit speaks Ps. lxxxii.,—a lofty charge addressed to all who judge; cp. the qualities regarded as essential at the institution of the office, Ex. xviii. 21, and the strict admonition of Deut. xvi. 18–20. But besides the sacred dignity thus given to the only royal function, which, under the Theocracy, lay in human hands, it was made popular by being vested in those who led public feeling, and its importance in the public eye appears from such passages as Ps. lxix. 12 (cp. cxix. 23), lxxxii., cxlviii. 11; Prov. viii. 15, xxxi. 4, 5, 23. There could have been no considerable need for the legal studies and expositions of the Levites during the wanderings in the wilderness while Moses was alive to solve all questions, and while the Law which they were to expound was not wholly delivered. The Levites, too, had a charge of cattle to look after in that wilderness like the rest, and seem to have acted also, being Moses' own tribe, as supports to his executive authority. But then few of the greater entanglements of property could arise before the people were settled in their possession of Canaan. Thus they were disciplined in smaller matters, and, under Moses' own eye, for greater ones. When, however, the commandment, "judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates" (Deut. xvi. 18), came to be fulfilled in Canaan, there were the following sources from which those officials might be supplied:—1st, the *ex-officio* judges, or their successors, as chosen by Moses; 2ndly, any surplus left of patriarchal seniors when they were taken out (as has been shown from Deut. i. 15, 16) from that class; and 3rdly, the Levites. On what principle the non-Levitical judges were chosen after Divine superintendence was interrupted at Joshua's death is not clear. A simple way would have been for the existing judges in every town, &c., to choose their own colleagues, as vacancies fell, from among the limited number of persons who, being heads of families, were competent. Generally speaking, the reputation for superior wealth, as some guarantee against facilities of corruption, would determine the choice of a judge, and, taken in connexion with personal qualities, would tend to limit the choice to probably a very few persons in practice. The supposition that judicature will always be provided for is carried through all the Books of the Law (see Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. *pass.*; Lev. xix. 15; Num. xxxv. 24; Deut. i. 16, xvi. 18, xxv. 1). And all that we know of the facts of later history confirms the supposition. The Hebrews were sensitive as regards the administration of justice; nor is the free spirit of their early commonwealth in anything more manifest than in the resentment which followed the venal or partial judge. The fact that justice reposed on a popular basis of administration largely contributed to keep up this spirit of independence, which is the ultimate check on all perversions of the tribunal. The popular aristocracy [b] of

[b] This term is used for want of a better; but as regards privileges of race, the tribe of Levi and house of Aaron were the only aristocracy, and these, by their

heads of tribes, sections of tribes, or families, is found to fall into two main orders of varying nomenclature, and rose from the *capite censi*, or mere citizens, upwards. The more common name for the higher order is "princes," and for the lower, "elders" (Judg. viii. 14; Ex. ii. 14; Job xxix. 7-9; Ezra x. 8). These orders were the popular element of judicature. On the other hand, the Levitical body was imbued with a keen sense of allegiance to God as the Author of Law, and to the Covenant as His embodiment of it, and soon gained whatever forensic experience and erudition those simple times could yield; hence they brought to the judicial task the legal acumen and sense of general principles which complemented the ruder lay element. Thus the Hebrews really enjoyed much of the virtue of a system which allots separate provinces to judge and jury, although we cannot trace any such line of separation in their functions, save in so far as has been indicated above. To return to the first or popular branch, there is reason to think, from the general concurrence of phraseology amidst much diversity, that in every city these two ranks of "princes" and "elders"[c] had their analogies, and that a variable number of heads of families and groups of families, in two ranks, were popularly recognised, whether with or without any form of election, as charged with the duty of administering justice. Succoth[d] (Judg. viii. 14) may be taken as an example. Evidently the *ex-officio* judges of Moses' choice would have left their successors when the tribe of Gad, to which Succoth pertained (Josh. xiii. 27), settled in its territory and towns: and what would be more simple than that the whole number of judges in that tribe should be allotted to its towns in proportion to their size? As such judges were mostly the headmen by genealogy, they would fall into their natural places, and symmetry would be preserved. The Levites also were apportioned on the whole equally among the tribes; and if they preserved their limits, there were probably few parts of Palestine beyond a day's journey from a Levitical city.

One great hold which the priesthood had, in their jurisdiction, upon men's ordinary life was the custody in the Sanctuary of the standard weights and measures, to which, in cases of dispute, reference was doubtless made. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that in most towns sufficiently exact models of them for all ordinary questions would be kept, since to refer to the Sanctuary at Shiloh, Jerusalem, &c., in every case of dispute between dealers, would be nugatory (Ex. xxx. 13; Num. iii. 47; Ezek. xlv. 12). Above all these, the high-priest in the ante-regal period was the resort in difficult cases (Deut. xvii. 12), as the chief jurist of the nation, and who would in case of need be perhaps oracularly directed; yet we hear of none acting as judge save Eli:[e] nor is any judicial act recorded of him; though perhaps his not restraining his sons is meant to be noticed as a failure in his judicial duties. Now the judicial authority of any such supreme tribunal must have wholly lapsed at the time of the events recorded in Judg. xix.[f] It is also a fact of some weight, negatively, that none of the special deliverers called Judges was of priestly lineage, or even became as much noted as Deborah, a woman. This seems to show that any central action of the high-priest on national unity was null; and of this supremacy, had it existed in force, the judicial prerogative was the main element. Difficult cases would include cases of appeal, and we may presume that, save so far as the authority of those special deliverers made itself felt, there was no judge in the last resort from Joshua to Samuel. Indeed the current phrase of those deliverers that they "judged" Israel during their term, shows which branch of their authority was most in request, and the demand of the people for a king was, in the first instance, that he might "judge them," rather than that he might "fight their battles" (1 Sam. viii. 5, 20).

The special Judges enumerated are fifteen in number: 1. Othniel; 2. Ehud; 3. Shamgar; 4. Deborah and Barak; 5. Gideon; 6. Abimelech; 7. Tola; 8. Jair; 9. Jephthah; 10. Ibzan; 11. Elon; 12. Abdon; 13. Samson; 14. Eli; 15. Samuel. Their history is related under their separate names.

privation as regards holding land, were an aristocracy very unlike what has usually gone by that name.

[c] A number of words—*e.g.* נְשִׂיא, שֹׁר, נָגִיד, and (especially in the Book of Job) נָדִיב—are sometimes rendered "prince" in the A. V.: the first most nearly uniformly so, which seems designative of the passive eminence of high birth or position; the next, שֹׁר, expresses active and official authority. Yet as the נָשִׂיא was most likely, nay, in the earlier annals, certain, to be the שֹׁר, we must be careful of excluding from the person called by the one title the qualities denoted by the other. Of the two remaining terms, נָדִיב, expressing princely qualities, approaches most nearly to נָשִׂיא, and נָגִיד, expressing prominence of station, to שֹׁר.

[d] The princes and elders here were together 77. The subordination in numbers, of which Ten is the base of Ex. xviii. and Deut. i. 16, strongly suggests that 70 + 7 were the actual components; although they are spoken of rather as regards functions of ruling generally than of judging specially, yet we need not separate the two, as is clear from Deut. i. 16. Such division of labour assuredly found little place in primitive times. No doubt these men presided "in the gate." The number of Jacob's family (with which Succoth was traditionally connected, Gen. xxxiii. 17) having been 70 on their coming down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 27), may have been the cause of this number being that of the "elders" of that place, besides the sacred character of the factor 7. See also Ex. xxiv. 9. On the other hand, at Ramah about 30 persons occupied a similar place in popular esteem (1 Sam. ix. 22: see also v. 13 and vii. 17.)

[e] The remark in the margin of the A. V. on 1 Sam. iv. 18 seems improper. It is as follows: "He seems to have been a judge to do justice only, and that in Southwest Israel." When it was inserted (1661), the function of the high-priest, as mentioned above, would seem to have been overlooked. That function was certainly designed to be general, not partial; though probably, as hinted above, its execution was inadequate.

[f] It ought not to be forgotten that in some cases of "blood" the "congregation" themselves were to "judge" (Num. xxxv. 24), and that the appeal of Judg. xx. 4-7 was thus in the regular course of constitutional law.

[It is difficult to define accurately the station and office of these "special deliverers," chiefly because the intimations respecting their exploits and government are not always clear. There had not arisen a second legislator such as Moses, nor a second leader such as Joshua, to instruct and guide the people, and the period proper of the Judges presents rather a reversion to patriarchal and tribal government than a continuation of the form of constitution preceding it. In Judg. ii. 11, &c., the *rationale* of their existence, their being raised up or appointment by the Lord in times of oppression, His Presence with them, their special commission to save His rebellious people time after time "out of the hand of them that spoiled them," is given in broad details, but is not applicable to all Judges without distinction (*e.g.* Eli and Samuel were not military Judges). In general, their appointment varied with the exigencies of the times, and was in conformity with the choice of the people, though the direct Divine appointments of Gideon and Samson were notable exceptions to the rule. Noble and magnanimous men whose patriotism was inspired by religious dependence upon God, however imperfect, and by a desire to help their fellow-countrymen rather than enrich themselves, they were not, and are not represented as, perfect men. They are the children of their age, and exhibit both its good and its bad points.

The chronology of their respective terms of office and of the period generally is beset with difficulties which are now recognised as insuperable. How are the blanks to be filled up? What value is to be attached to the frequent recurrence of round numbers (*e.g.* 40 years)? Were any of the Judges contemporaneous and ruling over separate districts? These are questions which have met with various answers, satisfactory only to those who must at all hazards find a solution. According to the chronology of the Book of Judges itself, the period of the Judges between Othniel and Samson was 410 years,—a total too high to be consistent with the period embraced in the 480 years of 1 K. vi. 1 or the 450 years of Acts xiii. 20. A table has been printed in Kitto's *Encycl. of Bibl. Lit.*[3], s. n. "Judges," which gives the conjecture, and systems of Josephus, Eusebius, Ussher, Jackson, Russell, &c.; but the conviction remains that "an exact chronology of the period is unattainable" (Driver, *LOT.* p. 152; cp. Budde, *Die BB. Richter u. Samuel*, p. 135, s. v.).—F.]

The judicial function of the priesthood, being, it may be presumed, in abeyance during the period of the Judges, seems to have been merged in the monarchy. The kingdom of Saul suffered too severely from external foes to allow civil matters much prominence. Hence of his only two recorded judicial acts, one (1 Sam. xi. 13) was the mere remission of a penalty popularly demanded; the other the pronouncing of a sentence (ib. xiv. 44, 45), which, if it was sincerely intended, was overruled in turn by the right sense of the people. In David's reign it was evidently the rule for the king to hear causes in person, and not merely be passively, or even by deputy (though this might also be included),[g] the "fountain of justice" to his people. For this purpose perhaps it was prospectively ordained that the king should "write him a copy of the law," and "read therein all the days of his life" (Deut. xvii. 18, 19). The same class of cases which were reserved for Moses would probably fall to his lot; and the high-priest was of course ready to assist the monarch. This is further presumable from the fact that no officer analogous to a chief justice ever appears under the kings. It has been supposed that the subjection of all Israel to David's sway caused an influx of such cases, and that advantage was artfully taken of this by Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 1–4); but the rate at which cases were disposed of can hardly have been slower among the ten tribes after David had become their king, than it was during the previous anarchy. It is more probable that during David's uniformly successful wars wealth and population increased rapidly, and civil cases multiplied faster than the king, occupied with war, could attend to them, especially when the summary process customary in the East is considered. Perhaps the arrangements, mentioned in 1 Ch. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29 (cp. *v.* 32, "rulers" probably including judges) of the 6000 Levites acting as "officers and judges," and amongst them especially "Chenaniah and his sons," with others for the trans-Jordanic tribes, may have been made to meet the need of suitors. In Solomon's character, whose reign of peace would surely be fertile in civil questions, the "wisdom to judge" was the fitting first quality (1 K. iii. 9; cp. Ps. lxxii. 1–4). As a judge Solomon shines "in all his glory" (1 K. iii. 16, &c.). No criminal was too powerful for his justice, as some had been for his father's (2 Sam. iii. 39; 1 K. ii. 5, 6, 33, 34). The examples of direct royal exercise of judicial authority are 2 Sam. i. 15, iv. 9–12, where sentence is summarily executed,[h] and the supposed case of 2 Sam. xiv. 1–21. The denunciation of 2 Sam. xii. 5, 6, *is*, though not formally judicial, yet in the same spirit. Solomon similarly proceeded in the cases of Joab and Shimei (1 K. ii. 34, 46; cp. 2 K. xiv. 5, 6). It is likely that royalty in Israel was ultimately unfavourable to the local independence connected with the judicature of the "princes" and "elders" in the territory and cities of each tribe. The tendency of the monarchy was doubtless to centralise, and we read of large numbers of king's officers appointed to this and cognate duties (1 Ch. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29–32). If the general machinery of justice, had been, as is reasonable to think, deranged or retarded during a period of anarchy, the Levites afforded the fittest materials for its reconstitution.[i] Being

[g] See 2 Sam. xv. 3, where the text (A. V. and R. V.) gives probably a better rendering than the margin (A. V.)

[h] The cases of Amnon and Absalom, in which no notice was taken of either crime, though set down by Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, bk. i. art. x.) as instances of justice forborne through politic consideration of the criminal's power, seem rather to be examples of mere weakness, either of government or of personal character, in David. His own criminality with Bathsheba it is superfluous to argue, since the matter was by Divine interference removed from the cognizance of human law.

[i] From Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, it would seem that after 50 years of age the Levites were excused from the service of the Tabernacle. This was perhaps a

to some extent detached, both locally, and by special duties, exemptions, &c., from the mass of the population, they were more easily brought to the steady routine which justice requires, and, what is no less important, were, in case of neglect of duty, more at the mercy of the king (as shown in the case of the priests at Nob, 1 Sam. xxii. 17). Hence it is probable that the Levites generally superseded the local elders in the administration of justice. But subsequently, when the Levites withdrew from the kingdom of the ten tribes, judicial elders probably again filled the gap. Thus they conducted the mock trial of Naboth (1 K. xxi. 8–13). There is in 2 Ch. xix. 5, &c., a special notice of a reappointment of judges by Jehoshaphat and of a distinct court, of appeal perhaps, at Jerusalem, composed of Levitical and of lay elements. In the same place (as also in a previous one, 1 Ch. xxvi. 32) occurs a mention of "the king's matters" as a branch of jurisprudence. The rights of the prerogative having a constant tendency to encroach, and needing continual regulation, these may have grown probably into a department, somewhat like our Exchequer.

One more change is noticeable in the pre-Babylonian period. The "princes" constantly appear as a powerful political body, increasing in influence and privileges, and having a fixed centre of action at Jerusalem; till, in the reign of Zedekiah, they seem to exercise some of the duties of a privy council; and especially a collective jurisdiction (2 Ch. xxviii. 21; Jer. xxvi. 10, 16). These "princes" are probably the heads of great houses[k] in Judah and Benjamin, whose fathers had once been the pillars of local jurisdiction; but who, through the attractions of a court, and probably also under the constant alarm of hostile invasion, became gradually residents in the capital, and formed an oligarchy, which drew to itself, amidst the growing weakness of the latter monarchy, whatever vigour was left in the state, and encroached on the sovereign attribute of justice. The employment in offices of trust and emolument would tend also in the same way, and such chief families would probably monopolise such employment. Hence the constant burden of the prophetic strain, denouncing the neglect, the perversion, the corruption, of judicial functionaries (Is. i. 17, 21, v. 7, x. 2, xxviii. 7, lvi. 1, lix. 4; Jer. ii. 8, v. 1, vii. 5, xxi. 12; Ezek. xxii. 27, xlv. 8, 9; Hos. v. 10, vii. 5, 7; Amos v. 7, 15, 24, vi. 12; Hab. i. 4, &c.). Still, although far changed from its broad and simple basis in the earlier period, the administration of justice had little resembling the set and rigid system of the Sanhedrin of later times.[l] [See SANHEDRIM.] This last change arose from the fact that the patriarchal seniority, degenerate and corrupted as it became before the Captivity, was by that event broken up, and a new basis of judicature had to be sought for.

With regard to the forms of procedure little more is known than may be gathered from the two examples, Ruth iv. 2, of a civil, and 1 K. xxi. 8–14, of a criminal character;[m] to which, as a specimen of royal summary jurisdiction, may be added the well-known "judgment" of Solomon. Boaz apparently empanels as it were the first ten "elders" whom he meets "in the gate," the well-known site of the Oriental court, and cites the other party by "Ho, such an one;" and the people appear to be invoked as attesting the legality of the proceeding. The whole affair bears an extemporaneous aspect, which may, however, be merely the result of the terseness of the narrative. In Job ix. 19, we have a wish expressed that a "time to plead" might be "set" (cp. the phrase of Roman law, *diem, dicere*). In the case of the involuntary homicide seeking the city of refuge, he was to make out his case to the satisfaction of its elders (Josh. xx. 4); and this failing, or the congregation deciding against his claim to sanctuary there (though how its sense was to be taken does not appear), he was not put to death by act of public justice, but left to the "avenger of blood" (Deut. xix. 12). The expressions between "blood and blood," between "plea and plea" (Deut. xvii. 8), indicate a presumption of legal intricacy arising, the latter expression seeming to imply something like what we call a "cross-suit." We may infer from the scantiness, or rather almost entire absence of direction as regards forms of procedure, that the legislator was content to leave them to be provided for as the necessity for them arose, it being impossible by any jurisprudential devices to anticipate chicane. It is an interesting question how far judges were allowed to receive fees of suitors; Michaelis reasonably presumes that none were allowed or customary, and it seems, from the words of 1 Sam. xii. 3, that such transactions would have been regarded as corrupt. There is another question how far advocates were usual. There is no reason to think that until the period of Greek influence, when we meet with words based on *συνήγορος* and *παράκλητος*, any professed class of pleaders existed. Yet passages abound in which the pleading of the cause of those who are unable to plead their own, is spoken of as, what it indeed was, a noble act of charity; and the expression has even (which shows the popularity of the practice) become a basis of figurative allusion (Job xvi. 21; Prov. xxii. 23, xxiii. 11, xxxi. 9; Is. i. 17; Jer. xxx. 13, l. 34, li. 36). The blessedness of such acts is forcibly dwelt upon in Job xxix. 12, 13.

There is no mention of any distinctive dress or badge as pertaining to the judicial officer. A staff or sceptre was the common badge of a

provision meant to favour their usefulness in deciding on points of law, since the maturity of a judge has hardly begun at that age, and before it they would have been junior to their lay coadjutors.

[k] That some of the heads of such houses, however, retained their proper sphere, seems clear from Jer. xxvi. 17, where "elders of the land" address an "assembly of the people." Still, the occasion is not judicial.

[l] The Sanhedrin is, by a school of Judaism once more prevalent than now, attempted to be based on the 70 elders of Num. xi. 16, and to be traced through the O. T. history. Those 70 were chosen when judicature had been already provided for (Ex. xviii. 25), and their office was to assist Moses in the duty of governing. But no influence of any such body is traceable in later times at any crisis of history. They seem in fact to have left no successors.

[m] The example of Susannah and the elders is too suspicious an authority to be cited.

ruler or prince, and this perhaps they bore (Is. xiv. 5; Amos i. 5, 8). They would perhaps, when officiating, be more than usually careful to comply with the regulations about dress laid down in Num. xv. 38, 39; Deut. xxii. 12. The use of the "white asses" (Judg. v. 10), by those who "sit in judgment," was perhaps a convenient distinctive mark for them when journeying where they would not usually be personally known. [H. H.]

JUDGES, BOOK OF (שֹׁפְטִים; Κριταί; Ἡ τῶν κριμάτων βίβλος, Philo, *de Conf. Ling.* 26, ed. Mang. i. 424; *Liber Judicum*).

I. CONTENTS.—The part of the history of Israel contained in this Book is of the highest importance. Following on the conquest of Canaan and the settlement of the tribes under Joshua, it describes a transition period, in which disorders, calamities, and want of union led to a growing desire for a new form of government promising greater unity and strength, which ended in the institution of the monarchy. And, apart from the lessons which it is intended to teach, the narrative possesses a deep interest. Owing to the character of the times, our attention is drawn to the part played by individual rulers, of whom the greater number are presented to us with a distinctness, vigour, and freshness not surpassed elsewhere in Scripture.

The Book derives its name from the Judges whose history forms the greater part of it. These were temporary leaders, neither inheriting their office nor transmitting it. In some cases —*e.g.* Jair, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon—they seem to have only exercised the peaceful office which their name implies. At least no deliverance of the people is attributed to them. And in this they were like Deborah, the prophetess, in the earlier part of her history (iv. 4), and Eli, and Samuel's sons (1 Sam. viii. 1). But the more prominent were leaders in war, retaining in the time of peace the authority they had earned. For this reason they are called Saviours (Neh. ix. 27: cp. Judg. iii. 9), who delivered, or rather saved, the children of Israel (ii. 16, 18; iii. 31; x. 1). This combination of offices had been seen in Moses and Joshua (cp. 2 K. xv. 5). The root of their Hebrew name, *Shophet*, is found in Assyrian [MV.[11]] and Phoenician. The title of Suffetes, which the Carthaginians gave to their chief magistrates, is well known from the Latin writers (Festus—"Sufes quod velut consulare imperium apud eos est;" cp. Liv. xxviii. 37), and is often found in inscriptions. But there is no reason for thinking that the name any more than the thing was borrowed on either side. The history of six of these Judges is given at more or less length, viz. Othniel, Ehud, Deborah (with Barak), Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson. Six others—Shamgar, Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon—are noticed very briefly. It has been thought that this number has been purposely adopted. But the fact of their being twelve is not brought forward prominently, as we might expect, if an arbitrary number had been chosen for reasons of symmetry. Eli and Samuel judged Israel (1 Sam. iv. 18; vii. 6, 15, 17: cp. viii. 1–2), but their close connexion with each other, and Samuel's relation to the kingdom of Israel, are enough to explain their not being included in this Book. Again Jael (v. 6) is often supposed to be distinct from the wife of Heber, and to have been a judge otherwise unknown to us, as well as Bedan (1 Sam. xii. 11). But it is at least possible that the two Jaels are the same person, and Bedan has been variously identified with Samson, Barak, and Abdon. If these or others have been omitted from this Book, the reason would seem to be a want of records relating to them.

The chief divisions are clearly marked: A, i.–iii. 6; B, iii. 7–xvi. [*al.* A = i. 1–ii. 5; B = ii. 6–xvi.]; C, xvii.–xxi. This is true also of the minor ones.

A, i.–iii. 6. This is an introduction consisting of two parts, i.–ii. 5 and ii. 6–iii. 6. The first of these contains an account of the sequel of the conquest of Canaan in continuation of the Book of Joshua, the cases in which the people of the land retained their possessions, and the rebuke which Israel received from an Angel (or messenger) of the Lord who went up from Gilgal to Bochim. After the death of Joshua, in answer to the inquiry of the Israelites, Judah is directed by the Lord to go up first against the Canaanites. His victories, with the help of Simeon, including the special exploits of Caleb, are related in i. 3–20. But his failure in expelling the inhabitants of the valley (*v.* 19) is followed by the similar case of Benjamin in reference to the Jebusites of Jerusalem (*v.* 21). One conquest of the house of Joseph is then described, that of Bethel (*vv.* 22–26), which is followed by the omissions of Manasseh, Ephraim, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan (*vv.* 27–36). Thus Issachar alone is not mentioned in this group. Levi also is not named anywhere. The rebuke of the Angel and weeping of the people are found in ii. 1–5. In this part there is a close indirect connexion with the Book of Joshua, the statements of which are presupposed throughout.

There are some difficulties in this account. There is a repetition, with a difference, in i. 10, 20; and there are statements in which some inconsistency lies on the surface (cp. i. 8, 21; i. 18, 19, iii. 3). The explanation of it lies in the brevity of the narrative. And while all the events are placed after the death of Joshua (i. 1), some occur in earlier Books (cp. i. 17 with Num. xxi. 3, Josh. xii. 14, xix. 4; i. 20, 10–15 with Josh. xv. 13–19; i. 27–28 with Josh. xvii. 11–13; i. 29 with Josh. xvi. 10).

The second part of the Introduction (ii. 6–iii. 6) begins by going back as far as the last days of Joshua (ii. 6–10), being almost entirely a verbatim repetition of Josh. xxiv. 28–31. It forms a direct connexion of Judges with Joshua. But here, too, we must distinguish two parts (ii. 11–19 and 20–iii. 6). In the former of these we are told that Israel continued to serve the Lord all the days of Joshua and the elders which outlived him, but that the new generation forsook the Lord and followed other gods; that His anger was hot against them, and He delivered them into the hand of spoilers; nevertheless He raised up Judges which delivered them, for it repented Him because of their groanings; but when the Judge was dead, they corrupted themselves more than their fathers. Here we have a general view of the following history and the

key to it. And this stands in close connexion with the so-called "framework," which unites the greater part of the separate histories of the Judges, and runs through the whole of that part of the Book which is devoted to them. Not only does the same mode of regarding the history occur in it, but the same language.

The rest of this section (ii. 20–iii. 6) dwells upon the effect of the presence of the remnant of the seven nations and the Philistines; repeats the determination of the Lord not to drive them out, already found in ii. 1–6; and adds other reasons—the purpose of proving Israel (ii. 22–iii. 1, 4), and of teaching them war (iii. 2). Thus the Introduction is double, the first part being chiefly historical, and the second didactic, but each in its own way making a fitting preparation for what follows.

B, iii. 7–xvi. contains the histories of the several Judges. The more important of these have the same form. They contain an account of the idolatry of Israel, its punishment by means of a foreign oppressor for a certain number of years, the deliverance by a Judge, and the length of time during which the land had rest. This is not the case with those of whom there is only a short notice. Besides the length of the time during which they exercised their office, little is recorded beyond what was of personal interest, including the place of their burial. Shamgar stands by himself for the scantiness of information.

The subdivisions are—(1) The oppression of Israel by Cushan Rishathaim, and the deliverance by Othniel, of the tribe of Judah (iii. 7–11). (2) The oppression by Eglon, king of Moab, and the deliverance by Ehud (Benjamin), iii. 12–30. (3) Shamgar's deliverance from the Philistines (iii. 31); his tribe is not stated. (4) The oppression by Jabin, king of Canaan, and the deliverance by Deborah (Ephraim?) and Barak (Naphtali), iv.; Deborah's Song, v. (5) The oppression by Midian and deliverance by Gideon (Manasseh), vi.–viii.; the history of Abimelech, ix. (6) Tola (Issachar), x. 1, 2. (7) Jair the Gileadite (Manasseh), x. 3–5. (8) The oppression by Ammon, and the deliverance by Jephthah the Gileadite (Manasseh), x. 6–xii. 7. (9) Ibzan (Zebulun, cp. Josh. xix. 15, or Judah), xii. 8–10. (10) Elon (Zebulun), xii. 11, 12. (11) Abdon (Ephraim), xii. 13–15. (12) The oppression by the Philistines, and the history of Samson (Dan), xiii.–xvi.

C, xvii.–xxi. This part is commonly called an Appendix. The time to which it belongs is marked as that of the Judges, though they are not mentioned in it, by being described as "the days when there was no king in Israel" (xvii. 6; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25). It consists of two histories. The first of these (xvii.–xviii.) narrates the conquest of Laish by a part of the tribe of Dan, and the transference thither of the idolatrous worship of Jehovah, instituted in Mount Ephraim by Micah, under the charge of Jonathan, the grandson of Moses. The name of Manasseh, the same as that of the idolatrous king of Judah, has been introduced into the text to save the honour of Moses. But the memory of the substitution is preserved in many MSS. and editions by writing the letter which makes the change above the level of the rest—*nun suspensum*.

The second (xix.–xxi.) describes the almost total destruction of the tribe of Benjamin by the united people of Israel, in consequence of their supporting the cause of the wicked men of Gibeah, and the means adopted for preventing its completion. Both narratives belong to the early part of the period. The mention of the grandson of Moses in one case, and of Phinehas, Aaron's grandson, in the other, mark the date in some degree; as well as the unanimity still existing in the people, which was shown in the punishment of Gibeah. Josephus therefore gives the events a place at the beginning of his account of the Judges.

II. AUTHORSHIP.—The authorship of the Book is ascribed in the Talmud to Samuel ("Scripsit librum suum et Judices et Rutham," *Baba Bathra*, xiv. 2); but of this there is no proof. We can say for certain that the whole Book, as it stands, is later than the setting up of the kingdom (cp. xvii. 6, &c.); but we cannot go safely beyond this. Keil and Cassel fix the time of its composition to the reign of Saul. Bleek ascribes it to the Jehovist in the reign of David, except ii. 6–23, which he thinks much later. Stade and Budde find more or less ample traces of J and E in the central portion of the Book; Kuenen and Kittel dissent. Ewald conceives that it forms the first part of an historical work reaching to the end of 2 Kings, and that the final arrangement of the whole must have been after the 37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, or B.C. 562 (see 2 K. xxv. 27). This view is founded on the similarity of the way in which the history is regarded (cp. Judg. ii. 11–19 with 2 K. xvii. 7–23); but this is not conclusive. Bertheau brings it as late as Ezra, whom he is inclined to regard as the author; but this is not confirmed by any reference in it to the Babylonian Captivity, or any later event.

The inquiry as to the age of the separate parts is a distinct one. It undoubtedly contains some contemporary monuments, such as the Song of Deborah and Jotham's parable. But there are also many parts having so distinct a character in their language, containing many words not found elsewhere, and so peculiar in style, that there can be little doubt about their having been incorporated as they came to the author's hand. This point requires more particular notice. In the Introduction, ch. i. seems to be a document older than David. Verse 21 witnesses to the same state of things as xviii. 28, with which compare 2 Sam. v. 6–9. Nor is there any reason for referring i. 28, 30, 33, 35 to a time so late as Solomon's (cp. 1 K. ix. 21). The question arises, how are we to explain i. 20, 10–15, 21, 27–28, 29, which are found with some differences in Josh. xv. 13–19, 63, xvii. 11–12, xvi. 10? Some change the name of Joshua (i. 1) to that of Moses. But this makes ch. i. a history of the conquest of Canaan without any mention of Joshua. It seems more likely that the passages in Joshua are anticipatory, and borrowed at some time from Judges, or from a common source. That Judges has not taken them from Joshua seems to be shown by the fact that the list of the tribes which did not drive out the people of the land is more complete in the former than in the latter. The case is different with ii. 6–10 and Josh. xxiv.

28–31. The new history begins with a repetition of the ending of the old. The relation of Ezra i. 1–3 to 2 Ch. xxxvi. 22, 23 is analogous.

In the main portion of the Book (iii. 7–xvi.) the account of Ehud clearly comes from near the time of the events, both on account of the whole look of the narrative and the obscure words found in iii. 22, 23. The Song of Deborah is undoubtedly contemporary with the victory it celebrates. But ch. iv. is no mere echo of ch. v., and must have been associated with it in early times. While it passes over much which is found in the Song, it tells us of the relations between Sisera and Jabin, and Deborah and Barak, and explains how Sisera came to flee to Jael's tent. The history of Gideon again stands out distinctly as derived from early sources; and it reads as one whole, throughout which runs the modesty and distrust of self which was combined with his other high qualities, though it has been attempted to trace the union of the original narrative with another containing the miraculous elements. The reality of the main facts is guaranteed by Is. ix. 4, x. 26. The account of Abimelech in ch. ix. is an original and early document, marked by the uniform use of the name Jerubbaal instead of Gideon. In the same way the preservation of the facts of Jephthah's history cannot be doubted. But the genuineness of his negotiations with the Ammonites is questioned on grounds of probability and on account of the similarity of the passage to Num. xxi. Yet to mention nothing else, xi. 24, which seems at least to imply an acknowledgment of the existence of Chemosh, has not the look of an invention by a late writer. And of those who maintain the legendary exaggeration of the facts of Samson's life, some at least are unwilling to fix upon too late a time for the adoption of the present form. As to the brief histories of the Judges, we cannot be sure whether the author has abridged fuller accounts of them or not.

The suggestion of late origin attaches, then, chiefly to the second part of the Introduction, and to the kindred passages which connect the longer histories. One argument is that the writer speaks throughout as if Israel as a whole was oppressed and delivered, while the narratives show that only part of the people was affected. The writer was, of course, conscious of this, and designedly treated the unity of Israel as existing *de jure*. But that feeling, which was never totally absent during the disintegration of the nation, reappeared with strength as early as Samuel's time, and led to the establishment of the kingdom. It is said again that the language in these parts is Deuteronomic, and that the peculiar mode of regarding history, in which the fortunes of the nation depended on the purity of its service of God, did not arise till the 8th century. But, without entering on that subject, may we not say, that the conception of the Divine nature which Israel had at every time, and without which its history is unintelligible, contained in it a belief in His jealousy as well as His holiness, His power to punish and His willingness to forgive? The bond which unites the narratives may be of a later date than their own; but how much later cannot be fixed with certainty.

The histories in the third part of the Book (xvii.–xxi.) have no direct connexion with each other, but they are united by the common reference to the times in which there was no king, they are wanting in any mention of the Judges, they both relate to the fortunes of a Levite in connexion with a tribe of Israel. Their style is unusually diffuse and minute. This, however, does not exclude an energetic brevity in places: see xix. 30, xx. 9, xxi. 17, and compare the asyndeton in xviii. 17 and xx. 43. The reality of the events recorded in chs. xix.–xxi. is confirmed by Hos. ix. 9, x. 9. But there is much repetition, and the account goes backwards and forwards, more after the manner of oral than of written narrative. It is suggested that this may be accounted for by the fusion of two separate descriptions of the same events, chiefly distinguished by the use of the terms "children of Israel" and "men of Israel" respectively. This is elaborately stated by Bertheau, and is not improbable. And the poetical expressions which occur, as well as rare words and forms, countenance the notion that one of these documents was a poem: see xix. 8, 9, 12; xx. 4, 6, 12, 34, 41, 38, 40, 43; xxi. 22, 24. This bears in some measure on the date, for a doubling of the tradition, it is urged, points to a high antiquity of the kernel. And there are reasons for connecting the Appendix with ch. i.: compare the prominence of Judah (i. 2, xviii. 20), and the use of peculiar expressions in i. 2, xviii. 10, 20, xx. 28; i. 27, 35, xvii. 11, xix. 6. Still the topographical notices in xx. 31, xxi. 19 (not necessarily xxi. 12), seem added comparatively late. And this perhaps is the best solution of the great difficulty connected with xviii. 30. The most natural explanation of "the captivity of the land" refers it to the time of the Assyrians (2 K. xv. 29, or xvii. 6). It is hard to suppose that the going into captivity of the land was involved in that of the Ark (1 Sam. iv. 11). And if at that time, the Philistines overran the country and destroyed Shiloh, as is inferred from Ps. lxxviii. 60–64, still the people were not carried away. On the other hand, the difficulty of thinking that idolatry could have existed openly at Dan during the reign of the first three kings is very great. To read "ark" for "land," according to Houbigant's conjecture, requires the change of only two letters in the Hebrew, but it is unsupported. May it not be that the words were added at some time after the captivity of the ten tribes by some one who connected in spirit the later idolatry at Dan with the earlier?

These later chapters, by being placed together at the end, leave uninterrupted the central part of the Book, which is mainly taken up with the deliverance of Israel from foreign enemies. Theodoret rightly says (*Quaest. in Judic.* xxvii.) that this putting of the first events last was not accidental.

We may speak in this connexion of the Song of Deborah. The spirit which breathes throughout it fixes its date. It marks, too, its authorship not only by *vv.* 3, 7, 9, 13, 21 (to which *v.* 12 is no objection), but by *vv.* 24–30, which show the thought and feeling of a woman. The best division of it, following the guidance of the sense, seems the following:—I. Prelude, *vv.* 2–3. God's glorious help in former times, *vv.* 4–5. The misery of the recent days, *vv.* 6–7.

The change, *vv.* 8–11. II. Second Prelude, *v.* 12. The gathering of the Tribes, *vv.* 13–15c. The defaulters, *vv.* 15d–18. The battle and flight, *vv.* 19–22. III. The curse on Meroz, *v.* 23. The blessing on Jael, *v.* 24. Her deed, *vv.* 25–27. The triumph over the mother and wives of Sisera, *vv.* 28–30. Conclusion, *v.* 31. Another more artificial division is adopted by Ewald and Bertheau, consisting of a regular number of strophes and subdivisions; but this symmetry is gained with some sacrifice of the connexion of the thought. Cassel traces a highly developed and delicate alliteration. Böttcher distributes the several parts among a number of *dramatis personae*, and choruses of men and women. But even the simplest arrangement gives the impression of a cultivated state of poetry. The language confirms its antiquity. It contains a large number of words and senses not found elsewhere, besides several rare words and forms. Hence its meaning is difficult. The result of the modern study of it may be seen in the rendering of the Revised Version. But some uncertainty still remains. The embarrassment of the ancient Versions is evident. The Vulgate makes important omissions in *vv.* 2, 29, 30. The Targum of Jonathan, usually a faithful representation of the Hebrew, here forsakes the humbler task of translation, and seems impelled by enthusiasm into exaggeration and magnifying of the Law, curiously exhibiting the thought of a very different age. The following passages are samples: "Quando voluerunt filii Israel ad serviendum erroribus novis, qui de proximo facti sunt, quibus non studuerunt in illis patres eorum, venerunt super eos gentes, et expulerunt ex urbibus eorum; et cum redierunt ad faciendum legem, non praevaluerunt eis: donec fortificarentur et ascenderet contra eos Zzizzara osor et tribulator in quadraginta millibus principum castrorum, in quinquaginta millibus tenentium gladios, in sexaginta millibus tenentium hastas, in septuaginta millibus tenentium clypeos, in octoginta millibus sagittatorum jaculorum, praeter nongentos currus ferri qui fuerunt cum eo . . . Dixit Deborah in prophetia, Ego missa sum ad laudandos scribas Israel; qui quando fuit tribulatio illa, non cessarunt ab interpretanda lege . . . Benediceris a benedictione mulierum bonarum Jaghel uxor Hheber Salmaei: sicut una ex mulieribus quae ministrantes in domibus Scholarum benediceris. Aquas petivit ab ea Zzizzara impius, lacte potavit eum, ad sciendum si cogitationes super eum, in phialis virorum attulit ante eum pinguedinem caseorum. Bona Jaghel uxor Hheber Salmaei, quae praestitit quod scriptum est in libro legis Mosis; Non erit armatura viri super mulierem, neque ornabitur vir ornamentis mulieris: sed manum suam ad clavum tetendit, et dexteram suam ad malleum."

The historical testimony of the Song is very valuable. It witnesses to the display of God's power at Sinai, and looks back to that time as a glorious one. The unity of Israel is strongly felt in spite of those who to their shame have forsaken the common cause; and the wars of Israel are those of the Lord. Dan appears as still in contact with the sea. There is no mention of the northern settlement of the tribe, which may not yet have taken place. The absence of any mention of Judah, Simeon, and Levi, shows the extent to which the separation of the tribes had gone.

III. Chronology. — The chronology is a matter of disappointment. We find a number of dates given with particularity, which reckoned together amount to 410 years. With this the 450 years assigned to the period of the Judges in Acts xiii. 20 agrees only if the 40 years of Eli be added to the numbers in Judges. This passage, however, does not come into consideration, if the reading of the Textus Receptus is given up, as is now commonly done. But a difficulty is created by xi. 26, which speaks of the time from the conquests of Israel on the east of Jordan to the days of Jephthah as 300 years; and still more by 1 K. vi. 1, where the whole period from the Exodus to the building of the Temple in the fourth year of Solomon is reckoned as 480 years. Josephus holds to the 410 years in Judges, and arrives at the 592 years (*Ant.* viii. 3, 1; x. 8, 5), or 612 years (*Ant.* xx. 10), which he allows between the Exodus and the building of the Temple, in a general sense only; viz., by allowing 40 years for the sojourn in the wilderness, 25 for Joshua (*Ant.* v. 1, 29), 410 for the Judges, 40 for Eli, 12 for Samuel (*Ant.* vi. 13, 5), 40 for Saul (*Ant.* vi. 14, 9; cp. Acts xiii. 21), 40½ for David = 607½ years. On the other hand, the genuineness of 1 K. vi. 1 is called in question by Kennicott (*Diss. Gen.* 80, 3) and others, but it is commonly accepted. In this case the sum of the numbers in Judges must be lessened. This introduces at once an element of uncertainty. And several of the minor periods up to the building of the Temple —such as the length of the time of Joshua, the interval between him and Cushan, the time of Samuel and Saul—are not fixed in the Old Testament, the ordinary computation being grounded on Josephus. Hence the different combinations are conjectural, which accounts for their number and variety. The length, however, commonly assigned to the time of the Judges varies from about 250 to 300 years. But the calculations of the Bishop of Bath and Wells (cp. 'Introd. to the Book of Judges,' § 4, in *Speaker's Comm.*), based on several genealogies found in Scripture, diminish it to a duration of from 140 to 160 years. In all this uncertainty little help seems obtainable from a source from which it has been sought,—the inquiries into Egyptian and Assyrian chronology.

IV. Circumstances of the Times.—It does not belong to the present article to enlarge on the history of the Judges, nor on their separate lives and characters. But a few remarks upon points which readily suggest themselves may not be out of place. The whole period was one of degeneracy. The nation, united in the time of Moses and Joshua by a common faith and purpose, when the latter had been accomplished to some extent in the incomplete conquest of Canaan, fell asunder into disunion and the pursuit of separate interests. No constitution had been provided by Moses. The only bond which united them on the loss of their great leaders was that of religion. Under this influence all Israel acted together "as one man" in the early part of the period (chs. xix.–xxi.). But this is the only instance. Some of the tribes combined under the oppression of foreign enemies, but never the whole number. Both the Law and the worship of the sanctuary pass out of sight. Other recognised centres of worship

appear, or are set up on private authority, as by Micah in an idolatrous form, and by Gideon. There is a free use of sacrifice when the occasion seems to require it. But there is a complete silence throughout iii. 6—xvi. about the Tabernacle, the priests, and the tribe of Levi. The authorised centre had fallen into neglect and powerlessness, no doubt in part by its own fault. But the worship of the Tabernacle continued, and at the latter part of the period reappeared in something of its old importance in the days of Eli and Samuel. To what this revival was due, and what part Eli had taken in it, we are not told; but he and Samuel prepared the way for the restoration and reforms of David's time.

The effacement of Judah and its comrade Simeon is a similar fact. In i. 2 and xx. 18 a certain prominence belongs to Judah. But there is no trace of this later. It supplied indeed the first judge, and possibly one more, xii. 8; but it is not named in the Song of Deborah nor elsewhere, except the passing mention x. 9, and the discreditable incident xv. 9–13. Perhaps the jealousy of Ephraim shut it off northwards, for it is characteristic of the time that that powerful tribe was not so ready for action on behalf of the others, as provoked by their courage which was its own reproach (viii. 1–3; xii. 1–6). But the time came when the tribes felt the danger of disunion. Here, too, the particular steps in the national revival are not strongly marked. But Israel is one again in the days of Samuel in the face of the Philistine oppression, and longs for a continuance of the union by having a king. This time the desire is granted. Two earlier attempts had failed: the first, through Gideon's loyalty to the tradition that the Lord was Israel's only king; the second, by the speedy disappointment of his son Abimelech's ambition. We must remember also that we have in this Book a history of wars and of a time of turbulence and calamity. The more peaceful periods are only indicated. But the Book of Ruth allows us a glance into daily life and domestic piety. It has a place now in the Hagiographa. But it is maintained that this is not its original position, and that it once formed part of the Book of Judges, or stood next to it, as it does in the LXX. and in our Bible. But this is not certain. Still in any case this is its natural place, as a third part of the Appendix to the Book of Judges.

In reference to the Judges themselves, we are struck by the contrast between what we expect of men "raised up" by God (ii. 18; iii. 9) and on whom "the Spirit of the Lord came" (iii. 10; vi. 34; xi. 29; xiii. 25; xiv. 6, 19), and parts of their conduct and moral judgment. Thus Ehud's assassination of Eglon, Deborah's approval of Jael's treachery, Gideon's sanctuary at Ophrah, the terrible nature of Jephthah's vow, as well as his early mode of life and his ambition, all detract from an ideal conception. This is seen most of all in Samson. He is unlike the other Judges in respect of his office. There is no trace of his administering justice, nor did he lead his countrymen in battle, in which Shamgar may have resembled him. He maintained single-handed the resistance to the Philistines. But there were other elements in his character in addition to his sense of the work assigned him before his birth and of which his Nazariteship was the symbol. He showed cunning as well as a light-heartedness that delighted in frolic and danger. There was a humour in his actions and in his speech, which at times contains a play upon words and rhyme (xiv. 14, 18; xv. 16). And all the occasions of his conflict with the Philistines arose originally out of his love for three women. But with all this a vein of irony runs throughout his history, making us feel that he is a victim of his own sport, which ends tragically in his blindness and death. Yet, such as he was, the space assigned him in the records must agree with the impression which he made on his own generation. He fulfilled his work, which was to "begin" the deliverance of Israel (xiii. 5), by keeping before men's minds that there was one Israelite unsubdued, and who employed all his resources in the service of that hostility to the enemies of God's people to which he was dedicated. A call to do God's work and the gift of His help in doing it do not imply now, any more than then, full enlightenment and perfection. He chooses His instruments out of each age, but they are men of that age, and show its characteristics.

V. MODERN CRITICISM.—We may now briefly notice the way in which some recent criticism affects this Book. It is in part connected with general views on the history of Israel and its faith, which this is not the place to discuss. They minimize the work of Moses, with whom it is assumed that trustworthy history begins, and regard almost the whole of the legislation found in the Pentateuch as having a later date than the Babylonian exile. The early history of Israel is looked on as that of the slow amalgamation into one nation of tribes more of less akin, the time of the Judges being mainly the formative period. Even the recognition of the absolute unity of God, and of Jehovah as God of all the earth as well as of Israel, is attributed to the work of the prophets of the 8th century. Taking Wellhausen as the chief exponent of these views, we will notice points in the history of the Judges which he presents under an unusual aspect. Ch. i. contains an account of the conquest of Canaan more correct than that which is found in the Book of Joshua. The first of the tribes to cross the Jordan were Judah, Simeon, and Levi. Their attack on the Canaanites was so unsuccessful that the two latter tribes were almost annihilated and disappear from history. Judah itself was so crippled that it did not recover during the period of the Judges, and was forced largely to incorporate the tribes of the wilderness, the Kenite and Kenezite. The fate of Simeon and Levi is the basis of Gen. xxxiv., xlix. 5–7. The next and happier attempt was made by Ephraim and the other tribes under the leading of Joshua, though the only particular event of their conquest recorded is the capture of Bethel (i. 22–25). It is obvious that this chapter supplies no ground for all this hypothesis. There is no mention in it of Levi. Success, not failure, is attributed to Judah and Simeon. The omission of any other conquest than that of Bethel is fatal. And why is Joshua not named? In ch. iii. the whole history of Othniel is considered to be unhistorical. Ch. v. is genuine, and v. 8 supplies a

correction of the high numbers assigned to the people of Israel in the Pentateuch; but Deborah is not the author,—the speaker throughout is the people of Israel: in *v.* 7 we should translate thus, "Until that Deborah arose." Ch. iv. is not based on original sources, but is derived from ch. v. The account of Jabin, who does not appear in the Song, has arisen from confounding this effort of the Canaanite kings under Sisera with Josh. xi. 1–15; to bring this into union with the Song, Sisera is represented as captain of Jabin's host. The circumstances too of Sisera's death are misrepresented from not understanding *v.* 25–27. Sisera was standing and drinking when Jael struck him. She used only one hand and one weapon: the 'look of a second arises from the poetical parallelism. There are two separate sources of the history of Gideon. The first assigns him a Divine call and has a supernatural colouring (vi. 1–viii. 3); in the second (viii. 4–21) his real motive appears in the duty of becoming an avenger of blood. What is said of Jair is another form of Num. xxxii. 41–2. Jephthah's history may be depended on, with the exception of xi. 12–28. Samson's exploits are indeed unconnected with any solar myth, but the basis of fact is hard to distinguish. There are strong marks of reality in ch. xvii.–xviii. The absence of any provision for the Levites such as we find in the Pentateuch is seen in the poverty of the grandson of Moses. Chs. xix.–xxi. are a late fiction, ascribing a unity of feeling and action to the tribes which could not have existed at the time. Hosea ix. 9, x. 9 does not refer to these events, but to the appointment of Saul as king. The way in which these criticisms are supported is often acute, but also wilful and confident.

VI. TEXT, &c.—Some miscellaneous observations follow here. The most important of the readings of the *Qeri* or of MSS., as well as of the ancient Versions, are noticed in the margin of the Revised Version. We may remark further that some word must have dropped out of the text at the beginning of xvi. 2, though it is not necessary to supply anything with the *Qeri* in xx. 13. The soundness too of the text may be doubted in xx. 38; xxi. 22. The reading of the LXX. in x. 12 of *Midian* for *Maon* is easy, and supplies a name which we look for. But the Syriac reads *Ammon*, and the Vulgate *Chanaan*, which makes it likely that the reading of the text, which is found again in 2 Ch. xxvi. 7, is original. Of conjectural emendations without ancient support we may cite the proposal to read *Moses* for *Joshua*, already mentioned, in i. 1; *Gilboa* for *Gilead*, vii. 3; "in Arumah" for "in Tormah" (or "privily"), ix. 31. Ewald's conjecture of *Shegal*, "queen" or "consort," for *Shalal*, "spoil," in v. 31 has met with great favour; and in v. 26, by reading *Tishlachennah* ("she put it forth," *i.e.* her hand), a grammatical difficulty is removed.

Instances of playing on words as affecting the choice or form of them are found in x. 4; xvi. 16. The shortening of the relative to *Shin praefixum*, which is frequent in the later Books, occurs in v. 7, vi. 17, vii. 12, viii. 26, and is allowed to be no objection to the antiquity of the documents in which it is found. It has been thought to be a mark of the language of Northern Palestine. The same view has been taken of the use of the absolute form instead of the construct in *Tsedah* (vii. 8) and *Ophrah* (viii. 32). But the only certain trace of provincialism in the Old Testament is the habit of the Ephraimites of pronouncing *Shin* as *Samech*, as in the case of *Shibboleth* (xii. 6).

The part of Josephus parallel with the Book of Judges is *Ant.* v. 2–8. Among the curiosities of his account is the supplying of the name of Jephthah's burial-place, *Sebea* (7, 12), and of Abimelech's mother, *Druma* (7, 1). Can the latter have arisen in any way out of *Arumah* (ix. 41)? So, too, Samson's mother is named *Zelelponi* in Jewish tradition from 1 Ch. iv. 2, 3.

The character of the patristic commentaries in general is that of Jerome's often-quoted words (*ad Paulinum*, 12), "In Judicum libro quot principes populi, tot figurae sunt." Of the more modern German commentaries, Studer's (2nd ed., Bern, 1842) led the way in the freer mode of treatment. He was followed by Bertheau, Leipzig, 1845, 2nd ed., 1883. Besides Ewald's *History of the People of Israel*, the following works are important:—Th. Nöldeke, *Die alttest. Literatur*, Leipzig, 1868, and his *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. Tests.*, Kiel, 1869; Wellhausen's edition of Bleek's *Einleitung*, Berlin, 1878, and his *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israel*, 1883 (English translation, 1885, which includes a reprint of his article on Israel in the *Encycl. Brit.* xiii.); Reuss, *Die Gesch. der heiligen Schriften A. Ts.*, Braunschweig, 1881; Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. "Richter"; Budde, *Die BB. Richter u. Samuel*, 1890; Kittel, *Geschichte d. Hebräer*, ii. §§ 30, 33–38. Commentaries of a conservative character are those of Keil, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1872; Cassel, 1865; and Bachmann, as far as the end of ch. v., Berlin, 1868. The first two are translated into English. The more recent English ones are those of Bishop Wordsworth, the Bishop of Bath and Wells (*Speaker's Commentary*), Dr. Farrar (Bishop Ellicott's), and Mr. Lias in the Cambridge Series. See also Driver's *LOT.*[4] ch. ii. § 1. Dean Stanley gives a vivid account of "the mediaeval history of the Jewish Church" in his Lectures, xiii.–xvi.

Ewald's version of ch. v. is found in *Die Dichter des A. B.*, 2nd ed., 1866, i. p. 178 sqq.; Stanley's is founded on Ewald's first edition. See also Böttcher, *Die ältesten Ruhmendichtungen, der Debora-Gesang und das Hohe Lied, dramatisch hergestellt*, Leipzig, 1850. On the character of Jael's act, see Arnold's *Sermons on the Interpretation of Scripture*, and Mozley's *Lectures on the Old Testament*, vi.–vii.; who has also some interesting remarks on the way in which Jabin remains in the background and the prominence of Sisera, p. 145 sqq. A list of the literature on this chapter is given by Bertheau and Cassel, but most fully by Bachmann. [E. R. O.]

JUDGMENT-HALL. The word *Praetorium* (πραιτώριον) is so translated five times in the A. V. of the N. T.; and in those five passages it denotes two different places.

1. In John xviii. 28, 33, xix. 9, it is the residence which Pilate occupied when he visited Jerusalem; *to* which the Jews brought Jesus from the house of Caiaphas, and *within* which He was examined by Pilate, and scourged and mocked by the soldiers, while the Jews were

waiting *without* in the neighbourhood of the judgment-seat (erected on the Pavement in front of the Praetorium), on which Pilate sat when he pronounced the final sentence. The Latin word *praetorium* originally signified (see Smith's *Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Ant.*) the general's tent in a Roman camp (Liv. xxviii. 27, &c.); and afterwards it had, among other significations, that of the palace in which a governor of a province lived and administered justice (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4, § 28, &c.). The site of Pilate's praetorium in Jerusalem has given rise to much dispute, some supposing it to be the palace of king Herod, others the Tower of Antonia; but it has been shown elsewhere that the former was probably the Praetorium. [JERUSALEM, p. 1655.] Pilate certainly lived there at one time (Philo, *Leg. in Caium*, 38, 39); and it is scarcely conceivable that the Roman Governor would have occupied any other palace than that which, with its three great towers, formed the citadel of the Upper City (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 3, § 2; v. 5, § 8). Herod, who, at the time of the trial of Christ, was at Jerusalem (Luke xxiii. 7), no doubt lived in the old palace of the Asmoneans, which stood above the Xystus, on the E. side of the Upper City. [JERUSALEM, p. 1647.] It appears from a passage of Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 14, § 8) that Gessius Florus not only resided in the palace, but set up his judgment-seat in front of it. Winer conjectures, with great probability, that the procurator, when in Jerusalem, resided with a body-guard in the palace of Herod (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 15, § 5), while the Roman garrison occupied Antonia. Just in like manner, a former palace of Hiero became the praetorium, in which Verres lived in Syracuse (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 5, § 12).

2. In Acts xxiii. 35 Herod's judgment-hall or praetorium in Caesarea was doubtless a part of that magnificent range of buildings, the erection of which by king Herod is described in Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 6; see also *B. J.* i. 21, §§ 5–8).

3. The word "palace," or "Caesar's court," in the A. V. of Philip. i. 13, is a translation of the same word *praetorium*. The statement in a later part of the same Epistle (iv. 22) would seem to connect this praetorium with the imperial palace at Rome; but no classical authority is found for so designating the palace itself. The praetorian camp, outside the northern wall of Rome, was far from the palace, and therefore unlikely to be the praetorium here mentioned. The opinion advocated by Wieseler, by Conybeare and Howson (*Life of St. Paul*, ch. 26), and by Bp. Lightfoot (*Comm. on Philip.* in loco) is adopted by the R. V. text, and is to the effect that the praetorium here mentioned has a personal sense and was intended to describe that detachment of the Praetorian Guards which was in immediate attendance upon the emperor, and had barracks in Mount Palatine. It will be remembered that St. Paul, on his arrival at Rome (Acts xxviii. 16), was delivered by the centurion into the custody of the praetorian prefect.

4. The word *praetorium* occurs also in Matt. xxvii. 27, where it is translated "common hall" or "Governor's House" (marg.; R. V. "palace"), and in Mark xv. 16. In both places it denotes Pilate's residence in Jerusalem.

5. Christian tradition, without exception, places the Praetorium east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, proceeding from (modern) Sion to the Gate of Neapolis (Damascus Gate), had Calvary on his left hand, and, on his right, "below in the valley" the ruins of the "house or praetorium of Pontius Pilate." Cyril (*Cat.* xiii. 39) speaks of it as "a desert place." Antoninus and Theodosius identify it with a Church of S. Sophia, apparently on the site now occupied by the Dome of the Rock. At a later period it was placed at the Gate of Neapolis (*Inom.* i., § 2). According to current tradition, it was at the N.W. corner of the Haram esh-Sherif, where the Turkish barracks stand. [W. T. B.] [W.]

JUDGMENT-SEAT, the translation in various places of *βῆμα* (*e.g.* Matt. xxvii. 19; John xix. 13; Acts xviii. 12, xxv. 6; Rom. xiv. 10; 1 Cor. v. 10) and *κριτήριον* (*e.g.* Jas. ii. 6). The R. V. marg. in 1 Cor. vi. 2, 4 gives to this latter word the rendering *tribunal*. In Matt. xxvii. 19, John xix. 13, the judgment-seat or *tribunal* on which Pilate sat, when he delivered our Lord to death, was outside the praetorium or judgment-hall (see preceding article). This judgment-seat, we are told by St. John (*l. c.*), stood on a place "called The Pavement, but in Hebrew Gabbatha." The subject is discussed under GABBATHA. [F.]

JU'DITH. 1. (יְהוּדִית; Ἰουδίθ, Ἰουδείθ, Ἰουδήθ), "the daughter of Beeri the Hittite," and wife of Esau (Gen. xxvi. 34). [AHOLIBAMAH.]

2. The heroine of the apocryphal book which bears her name, who appears as an ideal type of piety (Judith viii. 6), beauty (xi. 21), courage, and chastity (xvi. 22 sq.). Her supposed descent from Simeon (ix. 2), and the manner in which she refers to his cruel deed (Gen. xxxiv. 25 sq.), mark the conception of the character, which evidently belongs to a period of stern and perilous conflict. The most unscrupulous daring (xiii.) is combined with zealous ritualism (xii. 1 sq.), and faith is turned to action rather than to supplication (viii. 31 sq.). Clement of Rome (*Ep.* i. 55) assigns to Judith the epithet given to Jael (Ἰουδείθ ἡ *μακαρία*); and Jerome sees in her exploit the image of the victory of the Church over the power of evil (*Ep.* lxxix. 11, p. 508: "Judith . . . in typo Ecclesiae diabolum capite truncavit;" cp. *Ep.* xxii. 21, p. 105). The name is properly the feminine form of יְהוּדִי, *Judaeus* (cp. Jer. xxxvi. 14, 21). In the passage of Genesis it is generally taken as the correlative of *Judah*, i.e. "*praised*." [B. F. W.]

JU'DITH, THE BOOK OF, like that of Tobit, belongs to the earliest specimens of historical fiction. The narrative of the reign of "Nebuchadnezzar king of *Nineveh*" (i. 1), of the campaign of Holofernes, and the deliverance of Bethulia, through the stratagem and courage of the Jewish heroine, contains too many and too serious difficulties, both historical and geographical, to allow of the supposition that it is either literally true, or even carefully moulded on truth. The existence of a kingdom of Nineveh and the reign of a Nebuchadnezzar are in themselves inconsistent with a date after the Return; and an earlier date is excluded equally by internal evidence and by the impossibility of

placing the events in harmonious connexion with the course of Jewish history. The latter fact is seen most clearly in the extreme varieties of opinion among those critics who have endeavoured to maintain the veracity of the story. Nebuchadnezzar has been identified with Cambyses, Xerxes, Esarhaddon, Sardanapalus, Kiniladan, Merodach Baladan, Artaxerxes Ochus, &c., without the slightest show of probability. But, apart from this, the text evidently alludes to the position of the Jews after the Exile when the Temple was rebuilt (v. 18, 19; iv. 3), and the hierarchical government established in place of the kingdom (xv. 8, *ἡ γερουσία τῶν υἱῶν* Ἰσραήλ: cp. iv. 4, Samaria; viii. 6, *προσάββατον, προυμηνίον*); and after the Return the course of authentic history absolutely excludes the possibility of the occurrence of such events as the book relates. This fundamental contradiction of facts, which underlies the whole narrative, renders it superfluous to examine in detail the other objections which may be urged against it (*e.g.* iv. 6, Joacim; cp. 1 Ch. vi.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, § 6 [Joacim]). These objections are summarised by Zöckler (in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* "Die Apokryphen d. A. T."; *Das B. Judith*, Einl. § 2).

2. The value of the book is not, however, lessened by its fictitious character. On the contrary it becomes even more valuable as exhibiting an ideal type of heroism, which was outwardly embodied in the wars of independence. The self-sacrificing faith and unscrupulous bravery of Judith were the qualities by which the champions of Jewish freedom were then enabled to overcome the power of Syria, which seemed at the time scarcely less formidable than the imaginary hosts of Holofernes. The peculiar character of the book, which is exhibited in these traits, affords the best indication of its date; for it cannot be wrong to refer its origin to the latter portion of the Maccabaean period, which it reflects not only in its general spirit but even in smaller traits (see them collected in Zöckler, § 3). The impious design of Nebuchadnezzar finds a parallel in the prophetic description of Antiochus (Dan. xi. 31 sq.), and the triumphant issue of Judith's courage must be compared not with the immediate results of the invasion of Apollonius (as Bertholdt, *Einl.* p. 2553 sq.), but with the victory which the author pictured to himself as the reward of faith. But while it seems certain that the book is to be referred to the last two centuries B.C., the attempts which have been made to fix its date within narrower limits, either to the time of the war of Alexander Jannaeus, at the close of the reign of John Hyrcanus (105 B.C., Movers) or of Salome-Alexandra (B.C. 79–70, Ball), or of Demetrius II. (129 B.C., Ewald), rest on very conjectural data. It might seem more natural (as a mere conjecture) to refer it to an earlier time, *c.* 170 B.C., when Antiochus Epiphanes made his first assault upon the Temple.[a]

3. In accordance with the view which has been given of the character and date of the book, it is probable that the several parts may have a distinct symbolic meaning. Some of the names can scarcely have been chosen without regard to their derivation (*e.g.* Achior = *Brother of Light*; Judith = *Jewess*; Bethulia = בתוליה, *the virgin of Jehovah*), and the historical difficulties of the person of Nebuchadnezzar disappear when he is regarded as the Scriptural type of worldly power. Luther looked upon the book as a kind of Messianic prophecy (see Zöckler, § 5). But it is, perhaps, a mere play of fancy to allegorise the whole narrative, as Grotius has done (*Prol. in Jud.*), who interprets Judith of the Jewish nation widowed of outward help, Bethulia (בית־אל־יה) of the Temple, Nebuchadnezzar of the Devil, and Holofernes (הלפר נחש, *listor serpentis*) of Antiochus, his emissary; while Joacim, the high-priest, conveys, as he thinks, by his name the assurance that "God will rise up" to deliver His people. A similar attempt at allegorising by Scholz is examined by Zöckler (*op. cit.* § 2).

4. Two conflicting statements have been preserved as to the original language of the book. Origen speaks of it together with Tobit as "not existing in Hebrew even among the Apocrypha" in the Hebrew collection (*Ep. ad Afric.* § 13, *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτά* [*οἱ Ἑβραῖοι*] *καὶ ἐν Ἀποκρύφοις Ἑβραϊστί, ὡς ἂν αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν*), by which statement he seems to imply that the book was originally written in Greek. Jerome, on the other hand, says that "among the Hebrews the book of Judith is read among the Hagiographa [Apocrypha] . . . and being written in the Chaldee language is reckoned among the histories" (*Praef. ad Jud.*). The words of Origen are, however, somewhat ambiguous. There is now little doubt that the book was written in Palestine in Hebrew, and that the Chaldee text used by St. Jerome did not represent the oldest form of the narrative, but was itself a free translation or adaptation of the Hebrew account, which in his day was no longer extant (Ball, i. 243). Some, however, like Jahn (*Einl.* ii. § 3) and Eichhorn (*Einl. in d. Apokr.* p. 327), have maintained the originality of the present Greek text, on the authority of some phrases which may be assigned very naturally to the translator or reviser.[b]

5. The text exists at present in two distinct recensions, the Greek (followed by the Syriac and Old Latin Versions; cp. Ball, i. 242, n. 1) and the Latin. The former is evidently the truer representative of the original, and it seems certain that the Latin was derived, in the main, from the Greek by a series of successive alterations. Jerome confesses that his own translation was free ("magis sensum e sensu quam verbum e verbo transferens"); and peculiarities of the language (Fritzsche, p. 122) prove that he took the Old Latin as the basis of his work, though he compared it with the Chaldee text which was in his possession ("sola ea quae intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui Latinis expressi"). The Latin

[a] The theory of Volkmar (*Das vierte Buch Esra*, p. 6; *Theol. Jahrb.* 1856–7) that the book of Judith refers to the period of the Parthian war of Trajan, need only be noticed in passing, as it assumes the spuriousness of the first epistle of Clement of Rome (§ 6). Volkmar's theory is examined by Ball, *Speaker's Comm. on the Apocrypha*, i. p. 244 sq., notes.

[b] The present Greek text clearly points to a Hebrew original (Ball, i. 244. The illustration of this constitutes an essential element in his Commentary).

text contains many curious errors, which seem to have arisen in the first instance from false hearing (Bertholdt, *Einl.* p. 2574 sq.; *e.g.* x. 5, *καὶ ἄρτων καθαρῶν*. Vulg. et panes et *caseum*, i.e. *καὶ τυροῦ*; xvi. 2, *ὅτι εἰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ*. Vulg. qui *posuit* castra sua, *i.e. ὁ θείς*; xvi. 17, *καὶ κλαύσονται ἐν αἰσθήσει*. Vulg. ut *urantur* et sentiant); and Jerome remarks that it had been variously corrupted and interpolated before his time. At present it is impossible to determine the authentic text. In many instances the Latin is more full than the Greek (iv. 8–15, v. 11–20, v. 22–24, vi. 15 sq., ix. 6 sq.), which however contains peculiar passages (i. 13–16, vi. 1, &c.). Even where the two texts do not differ in the details of the narrative, as is often the case (*e.g.* 1, 3 sq., iii. 9, v. 9, vi. 13, vii. 2 sq., x. 12 sq., xv. 11, xvi. 25), they yet differ in language (*e.g.* ch. xv., &c.) and in names (*e.g.* viii. 1) and numbers (*e.g.* i. 2); and these variations can only be explained by going back to some still more remote source (cp. Bertholdt, *Einl.* p. 2568 sq.), which was probably an earlier Greek copy.[a]

6. The existence of these various recensions of the book is a proof of its popularity and wide circulation, but the external evidence of its use is very scanty. Josephus was not acquainted with it, or it is likely that he would have made some use of its contents, as he did of the apocryphal additions to Esther (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6, § 1 sq.). The first reference to its contents occurs in Clem. Rom. (*Ep.* i. 55), and it is quoted with marked respect by Origen (*Sel. in Jerem.* 23; cp. *Hom.* ix. *in Jud.* i.), Hilary (*in Psal.* cxxv. 6), and Lucifer (*De non parc.* p. 955). Jerome speaks of it as "reckoned among the Sacred Scriptures by the Synod of Nice," by which he probably means that it was quoted in the records of the Council, unless the text be corrupt (see Ball, i. 242). It has been wrongly inserted in the catalogue at the close of the Apostolic Canons, against the best authority (cp. Hody, *De Bibl. Text.* 646 *a*), but it obtained a place in the Latin Canon at an early time (cp. Hilar. *Prol. in Ps.* 15), which it commonly maintained afterwards. [CANON.]

7. The Commentaries of Fritzsche (*Kurzgefasstes Exeg. Handbuch*, Leipzig, 1853) and Ball (*Apocrypha*, edited by Dr. Wace, London, 1888) contain good critical apparatus and scholarlike notes. The literature is collected by Zöckler (§ 5) and Ball (p. 260). [B. F. W.] [F.]

JU-EL (Ἰουήλ; *Johel*). **1.** 1 Esd. ix. 34. [UEL.] **2.** 1 Esd. ix. 35 (B. Οὐήλ, A. Ἰουήλ; *Jessei*). [JOEL, 13.]

JU'LIA (Ἰουλία), a Christian woman at Rome, probably the wife, or perhaps the sister, of Philologus, in connexion with whom she is saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 15). Origen supposes that they were master and mistress of a Christian household which included the other persons mentioned in the same verse. Both names point to a connexion with "the household of Caesar" (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Romans, in loco). [W. T. B.] [F.]

[a] Of modern Versions the English follows the *Greek*, and that of Luther the *Latin* text.

JU'LIUS (Ἰούλιος), the courteous centurion of "Augustus' band," to whose charge St. Paul was delivered when he was sent prisoner from Caesarea to Rome (Acts xxvii. 1, 3). Augustus' band has been identified by some commentators with the Italian band (Acts x. 1); by others, less probably, with the body of cavalry denominated Sebasteni by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 9, § 2, &c.). It is more probable that the Augustan cohort was a detachment of the Praetorian Guards attached to the person of the Roman governor at Caesarea, and that this Julius may be the same as Julius Priscus (Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 92, iv. 11), sometime centurion, afterwards prefect of the Praetorians. [W. T. B.]

JU'NIA (Ἰουνίας, *i.e.* JUNIAS), a Christian at Rome, mentioned by St. Paul as one of his kinsfolk and fellow-prisoners, of note among the Apostles, and in Christ before St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 7). Origen conjectures that he was possibly one of the seventy disciples. Hammond also takes the name to be that of a man, Junias, which would be a contraction (as Winer observes) of Junilius or Junianus. Chrysostom, holding the more common, but perhaps less probable, hypothesis that the name is that of a woman, Junia, remarks on it, "How great is the devotion of this woman, that she should be counted worthy of the name of Apostle!" Nothing is known of the imprisonment to which St. Paul refers: Origen supposes that it is that bondage from which Christ makes Christians free. [W. T. B.]

JU'NIPER. The rendering in A. V. and R. V. (but R. V. margin *broom*) of the Hebrew רְתָם, *rōthem*; *ῥαθμέν*, *φύτόν*; *juniperus*; Arab. رتم, *ratam*; or Moorish رتمة, *ratamah*, whence the Spanish *retama*, applied to the *Genista*, or Broom. *Rōthem* occurs but in four passages: 1 K. xix. 4, 5; Job xxx. 4; Ps. cxx. 4. There is no question as to identification of the Hebrew name with the *ratam* of the Arabs, as shown by Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 195) and Forskål (*Flor. Eg.-Arab.* lvi.). It has nothing to do with the juniper, which is expressed by עַרְעָר, *'ar'ār* [see HEATH]. It is allied to the *Genista* (or Broom) genus of the family *Leguminosae*, *Retama raetam*. Forsk. of botanists. It may be considered the characteristic shrub of the desert, as it is the largest, most conspicuous, and most beautiful. It is as common in the dry wâdys or ravines as on the rocky plains, always on barren ground, and rarely at a high elevation. It is especially abundant in the neighbourhood of Sinai and in the ravines of Petra, in company with the caper or hyssop, and the savin juniper. It is frequent all round the Dead Sea, and in the ravines of the Jordan, and also on the barer slopes of the hills of Gilead and Moab. Its geographical range is from Arabia to Upper Egypt and North-east Africa. Westward, in the plateaux of Spain and Portugal, and in the Canary Islands, it is represented by allied species. Like many of its congeners, the Brooms, it puts forth its blossom in the early spring, before its leaves; and in the month of February, the shower of delicate white and purplish-pink blossoms which cover it, as with a gauzy mantle light as gossamer, renders it one of the most graceful and beautiful of shrubs. It

attains a height of ten or twelve feet, and affords a grateful though not very impervious shade. It was under a *rōthem* bush that Elijah lay down, when he fled into the wilderness, in the solitary passage which connects the desert of the wanderings with the subsequent history of Israel. "He came and sat down under a juniper tree (*rōthem*) . . . and as he lay and slept under a juniper tree (*rōthem*) an angel touched him" (1 K. xix. 45). Dean Stanley incidentally mentions (*S. & P.* p. 80) that, in the only storm of rain he ever encountered in his travels in the desert, he took shelter under a "Retem bush."

It is ruthlessly uprooted by the Arabs, who collect it wherever it is tolerably abundant, for the manufacture of charcoal, which is considered of the finest quality, and fetches a higher price in the Cairo market than any other kind. This explains the allusion in Ps. cxx. 4, "Sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of *rōthem*." The roots being of great thickness and solidity, very much larger than the stem, a single bush will supply no inconsiderable quantity of fuel. There is more difficulty in the passage in Job in which the word occurs, where the Patriarch describes outcasts from Edom driven into the wilderness, and in the last extremity of starvation "cutting up mallows by the bushes, and *rōthem* roots for their meat" (ch. xxx. 4). The woody root is of course uneatable, and the bark of it is very bitter, but not poisonous; while the stems, leaves, and fruit are eagerly sought after by goats, and in extreme cases might, like many other leguminous plants, maintain human life for a time. Gesenius (p. 1317, ed. 1842) suggests that the root may be used here in a general sense; for the whole plant; and under שֹׁרֶשׁ (p. 1484) adduces various arguments to show that the word *shōresh* is employed sometimes to express the whole product of a plant, what the root produces, and therefore its seeds or fruit, which might be edible. One of the stations during the forty years' wandering of the Exodus was named Rithmah, *i.e.* the place of Rothem (Num. xxxiii. 18). [H. B. T.]

JU'PITER (Ζεύς, LXX.). Among the chief measures which Antiochus Epiphanes took for the entire subversion of the Jewish faith was that of dedicating the Temple at Jerusalem to the service of Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. vi. 2), and at the same time the rival temple on Gerizim was dedicated to Zeus Xenius (*Jupiter hospitalis*, Vulg.). The choice of the first epithet is easily intelligible. The Olympian Zeus was the national god of the Hellenic race (Thucyd. iii. 14), as well as the supreme ruler of the heathen world, and as such formed the true opposite to Jehovah, Who had revealed Himself as the God of Abraham. The application of the second epithet, "the God of hospitality" (cp. Grimm on 2 Macc. *l. c.*), is more obscure. In 2 Macc. vi. 2 it is explained by the clause, "as was the character of those who dwelt in the place," which may, [illegible] be an ironical comment of the writer (cp. [illegible] iv. 5, 8), and not a sincere eulogy of the [illegible] tality of the Samaritans (as Ewald, *Gcs* [illegible] 339 n.). Jupiter or Zeus is mentioned [illegible] passage of the N. T., on the occasion of St. [illegible] visit to Lystra (Acts xiv. 12, 13), where the [illegible] pression "Jupiter, which was before their ci[illegible] means that his temple was outside the city. [B. F. W.]

JU'SHAB-HE'SED (יוּשַׁב־חֶסֶד; B. Ἀροβάσουκ, A. Ἀσοβαέσδ; *Josabhesed*), son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. iii. 20). It does not appear why the five children in this verse are separated from the three in *v.* 19. Bertheau and Oettli (in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco) suggest that they might be by a different mother, or possibly born in Judaea after the return, whereas the three others were born at Babylon. The name of Jushab-hesed = *Loving-kindness is returned*, taken in conjunction with that of his father and brothers, is a striking expression of the feelings of pious Jews at the return from Captivity, and at the same time a good illustration of the nature of Jewish names. [A. C. H.]

JUS'TUS (Ἰοῦστος). Schoettgen (*Hor. Hebr. in Act. Ap.*) shows by quotations from Rabbinical writers that this name was not unusual among the Jews. **1.** A surname of Joseph called Barsabas (Acts i. 23). [JOSEPH BARSABAS, p. 1807.]

2. A Jewish proselyte at Corinth, into whose house St. Paul (Acts xviii. 7) entered when he left the synagogue. Such a house might well be a meeting place for Hebrew and Greek (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco).

3. A surname of Jesus, a friend of St. Paul (Col. iv. 11). [JESUS, p. 1663.] [F.]

JUT'TAH (Josh. xv. 55, *plene* יוּטָּה, but xxi. 16, יֻטָּה: Ἰτάν, A. Ἰεττά; Ταυτά, A. omits: *Iota*, *Ieta*), a city in the mountain region of Judah, in the neighbourhood of Maon and Carmel (Josh. xv. 55). It was allotted to the priests (xxi. 16), but in the catalogue of 1 Ch. vi. 57–59 the name has escaped. In the time of Eusebius it was a large village (κώμη μεγίστη), 18 M.P. southward of Eleutheropolis and in Daroma (*OS.*[2] p. 266, 49; p. 233, 10, *s. v.* Ἰεττάν; *Ietan*). Reland (*Pal.* p. 870) conjectures that Juttah is the πόλις Ἰούδα (A. V. "a city of Juda") in the hill country, in which Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, resided (Luke i. 39). But this, though feasible, is not at present confirmed by any positive evidence.

It is now *Yutta*, a large village 15½ miles from *Beit-Jibrin*, Eleutheropolis, and near Carmel, *Kurmul*, and Ziph, *Tell ez-Zif*. Rock-hewn tombs and wine-presses are found near the village. The present inhabitants are very rich in flocks (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 310; Robinson, *B. R.* 1st ed. ii. 195, 628). [illegible] [W.]

END OF THE SECOND PART OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

00082244

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on 15 October, 2018